words, he wants to give the
introduction.

There are many Congolese
influences. In Congo there are 200 to 300
Pinyin rhythms I do not know and
nothing, are not the words that the
side invents new terms as well,
reference to a new style of music
and the Son

The Tcho . . . is an attitude and
able to sing for a bar of soap. I
a Tcho. It means ‘let’s be true –
and guess whether his banishment
this uncompromising view on
one view chafes against the world

and Koffi Olomide is typically
sense, than the music of the New
is Afro-Latin music but one that
It is a pre-modern homily. The
that music can effortlessly travel
thus this conviction is disorienting,
now “us” – which means already
from ourselves.

If the neo-African elements in popular music resist Western religious and
labor discipline (as I have been arguing), what role did they play along-
side related movements in the arts of the early twentieth century? The
European avant-gardes, for instance, defined themselves by attacking
bourgeois complacency and hypocrisy. Is there a connection between the
neo-African and the avant-garde in this respect? Although their literature
and painting have been extensively treated, the musical preferences of the
avant-garde have been much less explored. There is something to be
learned from looking at the avant-garde milieu where neo-African
musical forms entered Europe because of what it tells us about the
disgruntled, forward-looking artist’s attitudes toward the “modern”
(with all of that term’s civilizational associations).

There is controversy over whether or not neo-African popular culture
has undergone a de-mythification. Many contend that most of the original
African sacred elements have been purged. This is a common view, but I
have been suggesting that this sacred world, even though it signifies as
secular to its primarily monotheistic audiences, retains the ritual element
of its myths to a degree that is striking given the arenas of entertainment
in which it is produced and consumed. And in fact, this religious message
(with an underlying ethical worldview) is posed against civilization in a
manner unmistakable to its listeners who are drawn to it for precisely this
reason. Samuel A. Floyd has persuasively shown that the primary
cinquefoil and tresillo rhythms of the circum-Caribbean (out of which
the son and other genres emerged) are “symbols of African-diasporal
musical unity” and vital “structures of feeling” for those who live in the
region. This is very true, but one can go further. They are also vital to
those living outside the region (white and black), and the son's structure has a content that can be explained in narrative terms. The fact, for example, that the son is a "song that is danced" communicates a social value quite apart from the aesthetically compelling nature of that combination for its popularity. Below I would like to pursue this idea of the social symbolism of musical form by exploring what is communicated to audiences in the passage of son to salsa.²

The core of the music now widely known as "salsa" began to work its way into middle-class respectability in the Cuba of the 1920s under the sign of son.³ As much a public event as a musical genre in that decade, son had until then a semi-clandestine existence, its performers being recent migrants from the rural regions of Cuba's Oriente province to the cities of Havana and Matanzas. There, hanging out on street corners or haunting the boardwalks, the early soneros eventually became too much a part of the urban scenery to be ignored, their music too much of the sonic landscape not to force its way into compositional imagination of the musicians with access to polite society. My point of departure in this chapter is the observation that the son's entry into a broader kind of public acceptance coincided with two other events - the birth of surrealism and the rise of radio. All three did not just occur at the same time, but were talking to one another through global and regional circuits of migration and media.

The public acceptance of what would later be seen as Afro-Cuban roots music coincided, then, with its more or less simultaneous acceptance abroad, although in nothing but a roots form. In France of the 1920s and 1930s, Cuban music took on a highly theatrical appearance - its performers wearing pleated sleeves, headaddresses, and other pseudo-tropical paraphernalia - where they were given their imprimatur by the always decisive canons of French taste.⁴ It is in the son that we see how apparently nostalgic cultural forms are most modern in their gestures of preserving a space where one can flee modernity's consequences - where one can declare one's unwillingness to accept modernity, which then stands exposed as an arrogant, reductive, fetish of the new.

The European avant-gardes played a key role in the public embrace of Afro-Cuban and other New World African music between the wars.⁵ And yet, as a concept, the avant-garde indicates the desire for precisely that novelty I have just called into question. On the face of it, novelty is what the conservative religious legacies of Afro-Cuban music could never, it seems, deliver. But for a variety of reasons, this was not the case. To begin with, the interwar European avant-gardes (I am thinking here primarily of Dada and surrealism) were not deeply concerned with European cultural practices and their usualmism was not as much more than a vague Eurocentric aesthetic. More subjective, spiritual unity that may have had more for an artist of "simple and dark grinding whiteness" as he often put it.

In effect, the avant-garde intently modeled itself both metaphorically and perhaps literally on African and Afro-Cuban experiences. This is most true in French and Cuban surrealism, which is about the extent of this intellectual relationship. The importance of such a link is represented by the bohemians of European philosophies of music that are not"subordinated to a vaguely criminal origins among the paid functionaries of the courting world. Jacques Attali's Noise.⁷ The 1920s when the son was migrating from the black rural areas to city streets and paid and ill-fed martyrs to art the
of Dada and surrealism) were more aware of and dependent on non-European cultural practices and forms of political self-definition than is usually supposed. Although the story of their enlistment of the artistic "primitive" is well-known, the imaginative projection of the avant-garde artists of the early twentieth century and interwar period into a palpably anti-colonial (not only non-Western) space has been deeply underestimated. An often sardonic anti-colonial anger was the defining self-image of Louis Aragon, Rastko Petrovic, and Tristan Tzara, for instance. It was much more than a vague European disenchantment or a striving for subjective, spiritual unity that moved Tzara, Dada's founder, to state his preference for an art of "simple rich nymous naive" rather than "this dark grinding whiteness" as he expresses it in a manifesto from 1924.

In effect, the avant-garde intellectuals understood their own revolt to be modeled on the colonies. As bohemians they were in their own minds metaphorically either "Black" or "Red" in the sense that they staked out positions of incompatibility with power by borrowing attitudes and tropes from the most profoundly marginalized social actors they knew: colonial intellectuals resident in Europe and interwar party Marxists or their fellow-travelers. This process which links marginal colonial constituencies and politically marginalized European revolutionaries has been largely ignored, and my brief look at a few of the major players in French and Cuban surrealism below is an attempt to open a debate about the extent of this intellectual commerce.®

The importance of such a linkage is all the more clear in the type represented by the bohemians of the avant-garde. It is commonplace that for European philosophies of music to begin by marveling at its underworld, vaguely criminal origins among prostitutes, slaves, itinerant jongleurs, and paid functionaries of the court—an argument famously developed in Jacques Attali's Noise.7 The 1920s in Cuba, for example, was the period when the son was migrating from the Cuban countryside to the cities, shifting from the black mutual aid societies (cabildos) and the small-town or rural guitar and tres combos to streetcorners and boardwalks.® Argeïles León has called what they produced "fritas" music. Writing of the legendary Parisian-trained Cuban classical composer, Amadeo Roldán, who frequented the avenue leading to La Concha beach in La Playa, León describes the kiosks selling fried foods (fritas), where popular musicians tapping boxes and striking sticks played for change as the leisurely classes strolled by in the company of an occasional pimp and his attendant prostitutes.®

There is, then, already in music a ready-made analogy with the under-paid and ill-fed martyrs to art that bohemians are inevitably supposed to
device destined to create markets, borrowing, much as the avant-garde of a colonial world it could not control, how it created the desire in the Afro-Cuban music, however, is "jazz," although there are several that premise (see Chapter 7). At a influenced one another from the popular globally from at least the, and so was arguably as widely disseminate in the pantheons of North America, complicate matters, some of what Latin, African, or Asian. In the Latin Hermanos Barretto, for example, as were Jelly Roll Morton and who wants to make about the North Africa, or a Caribbean creation in the sense Caribbean metropolis on the contiguity flooded by the architectural, culinaries of points further south. French-New Orleans kept steady pace without the nineteenth century. The casual visitors, immigrants, or re-Caribbean who considered it more charming than any other metropolis on the so-Latin music was unlike jazz because, and because it was not the product.

In the most sustained and vivid Quintero Rivera develops a point that He states more clearly than others (or as he puts it, "tropical") data modernity defined by the reorganization in the music’s polyrhythms is, controlled disorder. At the very least, what a new, syncopated order of circum progression of crescendo, thematic elaborates on how ethnic reassures camouflage." The music’s mestizaje simply in the merging of European and pianos with guiros and marimbas, nized ears, trained to favor melodies.
SURREALISM AND THE SON

It suggests that the type was at its core in the era of early North American jazz, which programming.\(^10\) Black music, together in uncomfortable Bolshevism and the political these years, China, Abyssinia, image of an intellectual type reason that it overlapped with it bohemian had baggy clothes, but in the name either of a the modernist invention of a past age passed down, and the in elines. Their revolution, to conservative.

In ways. The very same avant- leftist outcasts would in time rate mass culture, but only in a how could the avant-garde find a of industry and profit? How, it perhaps? Preceding television and the sound for a culture that could be the time. As it turns out, many of reaching the commercial public gardes, including several of the parenthetically that those who leads from MTV are addressing.

One is reminded here of the \textit{La Música en Cuba}, elaborated by Leonardo Acosta: namely, that along time before you thought it

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{tonal programming, radio in those problems of reception. On the one}
  \item \textbf{symphonies and chamber music led}
  \item \textbf{of the classics that dominated decades.}\(^{15}\) On the other hand, the and \textit{jazz} as a commodity made it relationship between black music life.” To put this another way: disseminated jazz. The technological
\end{itemize}
device destined to create markets by creating a new kind of desire was borrowing, much as the avant-garde borrowed, from the formal repertoire of a colonial world it could not completely understand or exhaust – which is how it created the desire in the first place.

Afro-Cuban music, however, is not usually included under the rubric “jazz,” although there are several scholars who have begun to question that premise (see Chapter 7). At any rate, there is no question that both influenced one another from the start. Afro-Cuban music was also popular globally from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century, and so was arguably as widely disseminated as the work of artists enlisted in the pantheons of North American jazz, even if less studied; and to complicate matters, some of what is called “jazz” by global audiences is Latin, African, or Asian. In the 1930s, Fernando Collazo and the Tres Hermanos Barretto, for example, were as much jazz to French audiences as were Jelly Roll Morton and Louis Armstrong. Whatever claim one wants to make about the North American provenance of the form, jazz is a Caribbean creation in the sense that like Miami, New Orleans was a Caribbean metropolis on the continental ridge of the Northern continent flooded by the architectural, culinary, musical, and linguistic influences of points further south. French- and Spanish-language newspapers in New Orleans kept steady pace with the English-language papers throughout the nineteenth century. The city was a true port town, an arena for casual visitors, immigrants, or ne'er-do-wells from throughout the Caribbean who considered it more characteristic of their own familiar selves than any other metropole on the southern edge of North America. Afro-Latin music was unlike jazz because its foreignness was less manageable, and because it was not the product of an emerging world power.

In the most sustained and vigorous study of salsa to date, Ángel Quintero Rivera develops a point that is relevant to this line of argument. He states more clearly than others a widespread observation that Latin (or as he puts it, “tropical”) dance music stakes out an alternative modernity defined by the reorganization of Newtonian time.\(^{16}\) Codified in the music’s polyrhythms is, he argues, counter-rationality and controlled disorder. At the very least, what is created, he rightly maintains, is a new, syncopated order of circular movement that rejects the linear progression of crescendo, thematic variation, and coda. He convincingly elaborates on how ethnic reassertion in Latin music is achieved “in camouflage.” The music’s \textit{mestizaje} (cultural mixing) is present not simply in the merging of European and African elements – guitars and pianos with \textit{guiros} and \textit{marimba} – but in the sense that Europeanized ears, trained to favor melodic development, are cleverly tricked by
the music. The polyrhythmic lines are sold to the listener by the inclusion of a melody that is, strictly speaking, a matter of concealment.

A conservative strain of defiant preservation permeates Latin music, both as traditional homage to a venerated past (a sort of tic, or reflex action that has become conventional) and as an arch commentary on convention, modernizing the older gesture by insisting on its lived qualities. There is a shattering of the Judeo-Christian edifice with an African sensibility that predates it, and will (in the minds of the performers) outlive it. It may well be an act of camouflage, but it is also an act of civilizational impudence.

The study of Afro-Cuban music helps us appreciate the difference between bohemian revolt under stable governments where the public largely supports the prevailing power or at least can imagine no alternatives, and an art that under colonial conditions is dangerous to power because it points to a rejection of an order weakly established on the basis of exclusion. This paradoxical factor of art and revolt is what helps explain the avant-garde's interest in the arts of the other Americas in the 1920s and 1930s. What cultural forms like the Afro-Cuban son allow us to see is that the sort of resistance more likely to challenge power arises in colonial settings, in part because of the outrage that inclusion into polite society creates in that fragile political environment.

For decades, even after the repeal of slavery in 1888, New World African religious practices in Cuba were not simply denigrated by official opinion. They were illegal. After all, they gave cultural sanction to an African community that in the demographics of the Caribbean (unlike the United States) were far from a safely surrounded minority constituting only 13 percent of the population. The discourse of pluralism, moreover, invented in Latin America and later exported to the United States, was not yet generally accepted in the early twentieth century. There was no particular appeal, in other words, to include the African-based communities, even nominally, into a whole national body. The musico-religious practices were disturbing to the establishment because the African communities, not long out of slavery, remained too rooted in forms of expression that were strangely, and therefore dangerously, incomprehensible. Unlike in the heavily Protestant United States, their music had found a way to thrive in forms closer to their original instrumentation and collective performance, often in the original languages.

This is the pattern of musical revolt replicated in today's neo-African genres that are valued for being a "not-West." World music, as we saw in Chapter 1, has always signaled an open and systematic borrowing of foreignness in a context where the consumer already understands that this demonstration of a broad taste is not cultural theft. In this way, teleology music since the technological leap to create and disseminate television to the rest of countries, whereas music is, in much of the cultural theory for the world music relies on important settings in which a borrowed role.

But once these motivations aside, and new angle why Afro-Cuban music is world music. Of course, it possibility like New York or Los Angeles, contrarily arguing — interwar Europe that studies of popular music in imperial history and geopolitical talking about African-based or popular music in part because on a global scale — the United States. Now, music has not really played Caribbean cultural achievement theory of modernity (in Édouard cultural poetics, for example),

Since most critics find the nation traditions alien, and since education too long, they tend not to be disarmed.

On the other side of the process of modernity that do, in fact, explore falling back upon high cultural after clearing the ground for passing sphere. In all of this, music is domain of expressivity. This is where practices from outside Europe metropolitan youth cultures through the other arts, and have done so well (it is one of their strengths). The issue is it is a ubiquitous force, but because force. Music, furthermore, is what World impossible to ignore. In the only operating, Caribbean music is influence and even leadership in a prizes of Derek Walcott and Miguel.
demonstration of a broad taste is a critique of earlier patterns of colonial cultural theft. In this way, television is actually less international than music since the technological levels, and financial capacities, necessary to create and disseminate televised products belong only to very few countries, whereas music is, in principle, a low-technology art. Like much of the cultural theory found in Europe and the United States, world music relies on importations from colonial and postcolonial settings in which a borrowed resistance is defining.

But once these motivations are made clear, we can see from another angle why Afro-Cuban music fits so uncomfortably in a concept like world music. Of course, it positions itself internationally at the axis of a city like New York or Los Angeles, the Caribbean, and — I am somewhat contrarily arguing — interwar Europe. One can then begin to appreciate that studies of popular music are actually very crucial to theories of imperial history and geopolitical arrangements, especially when one is talking about African-based diasporic music, which is dominant in popular music in part because the great disseminator of mass culture on a global scale — the United States — is located in the Americas. Up until now, music has not really played this role, however. Even where Afro-Caribbean cultural achievement has been positioned as central to a new theory of modernity (in Édouard Glissant’s theory of la relation, or cross-cultural poetics, for example), the treatment of music has been scanty. Since most critics find the names of Caribbean musical styles and traditions alien, and since educating themselves in them would take too long, they tend not to be discussed.¹⁷

On the other side of the problem, in some well-known theories of modernity that do, in fact, explore neo-African music, there is a constant falling back upon high cultural and literary tropes that do the work of clearing the ground for passing comments on the popular musical sphere.¹⁸ In all of this, music is still not allowed to possess its own domain of expressivity. This is a problem for theory, since cultural practices from outside Europe and North America have penetrated metropolitan youth cultures through music more than through any of the other arts, and have done so without elaborate critical framing (which is one of their strengths). The issue of accessibility is in that way finessed: it is a ubiquitous force, but because so ubiquitous, it is unnoticed as a force. Music, furthermore, is what makes the African presence in the New World impossible to ignore. In the silent court of opinion that never stops operating, Caribbean music is the region’s claim to global cultural influence and even leadership in a way that literature — despite the Nobel prizes of Derek Walcott and Miguel Ángel Asturias — ever could.
But there are other and deeper reasons for placing African New World music in a theory of conflictual modernity. Music structures time. It gives meaning to time, and makes change audible. The free-play of signification beckons the critic to locate in the empowering contradictions of its immaterial presence both emotion and precision. As the art that fills space, the immanence of music obliges the critic to see through the object in order to create beyond its immateriality, where (as the music theorist and philosopher, Ernst Bloch, once put it) "the absence of meaning is in this case the presence of all meanings, absolute ambiguity, a construction outside meaning."19 Much as Attali was to argue later, Bloch found that music foreshadows the future in form, "overshooting" (in Bloch’s terms) the present possibility and overriding the conventions of modernity that are primarily literary.

In “The Philosophy of Music,” Bloch speaks of the academician of early medieval experiments with polyphony, which he insists “occurred only in European music.”20 The turn to the intellectualization of feelings, the transformation of the humanities into the “human sciences,” are for him what characterize Western culture. The West, he suggests, develops technique, and hence his reservations against according musical genius on the basis of merely technical innovation, since this would be to search for solutions only in the mind—a mind that views, records, reorders, purifies, and misremembers. In Western modernity, the mental thrill of a mastery without goal or direction—or rather, in which goals have been venally specified—obscures a dubious undertaking. Losses accompanied gains where losses (environmental, spiritual, communal) were permanent, and gains (mostly technological) were temporary. The changes wrought were also material, of course, although their materiality could only be viewed as realizations of what had been previously framed and then interpreted, so that its meanings could either not be seen or, if seen, coercively denied as unthinkable or tasteless.21

Bloch had almost nothing directly to say about modern non-European musical forms—about which he seems to have known nothing—but he nevertheless alluded repeatedly in the interwar years to the hunger of the avant-gardes for a place outside and against the “West.” His often very abstract attempts to describe musical desires flirt again and again with the intention of joining the idea of alien cultures with social transformations. Whereas for Bloch one loses oneself attempting to pierce the “opaque interior” of others, “sounding” brings them back again. “As a shaped longing and driving in itself... [it] represents invisible human features... The tone expresses what in man himself is still dumb.” It is a “call to that which is missing.”22

This sentiment resembles very closely that expressed by the African music—evident also in neo-ragtime, the Brazilian maxixe invaded Paris at the turn of the century. In the French canaille almost two decades later, Montmartre cafés were the scene of a third-world immigrant intellectuals, who formed a colonial element that always made it present in the name of the future—complacency toward Europe and its forces, was thought to be revolt against conditions, it was only a form of consciousness of another life.

The American composer George Gershwin points to the inadequacy of this kind of classicalism of New World music.

The first Negro jazz band arriving with the great war was as prophetic of the aftersorta as the Sacre [Stravinsky’s] was prophetic of it only a year after the stormy scene of 1913... It absorbed this period so that it is the greatest Slavic composer living we might say... “The time” almost without knowing it... composers springing up in Paris despairing of their music... As for South America, Diaghilev has been the most important for the collection of half Spanish-Portuguese and the basis of his well-known ballets and his well-known collection of South American music, we may today beneath this classical surface find cheap but infinitely touching “Berlin” music... but interesting and strong (in a way... Krenéz, or for that matter the last piece of Auric, we find the note...
This sentiment resembles very closely the idea of “hearing a beat that is not there,” which I referred to in the Introduction as one of the features of African music—evident also in neo-African forms from at least the time that ragtime, the Brazilian maxixe, and tango (“les dances brunes”) invaded Paris at the turn of the century. They were performed by the French canaille almost two decades before jazz was a buzzword in the cafés of Montmartre. And it is that feature of music, inflected as here with a colonial element that always moves the restless who resist the present in the name of the future—and who began to break out of their complacency toward Europe and its cultural centrality between the wars for a variety of reasons having to do with colonial uprisings abroad, highly publicized military scandals in Africa, a growing population of third-world immigrant intellectuals, and the Bolshevik revolution. These forces moved them to the order of a spell where music, against all the evidence, was thought to be revolt even though there, and under those conditions, it was only a form of containment in a better or worse dream of another life.

The American composer George Antheil captures extraordinarily well the way this bohemian homage to Africa plays itself out in the concrete conditions of the Americas in the 1920s and 1930s. In this passage, he points to the inadequately acknowledged reliance many had on the alternative classicism of New World African music:

The first Negro jazz band arriving in Paris during the last year of the great war was as prophetic of the after-war period immediately to come as the Sacre [Stravinsky’s] was prophetic of this selfsame war, declared only a year after the stormy scenes at the Champs Elysées Theatre in 1913... It absorbed this period so naturally that in 1919 we find the greatest Slavic composer living writing “Piano-rag-music” and “Rag-time” almost without knowing it, and a whole school of young composers springing up in Paris deeply influenced by American Negro music... As for South America, Darius Milhaud, who spent a number of his years there connected with the French Embassy, brought back a collection of half Spanish-Portuguese and Negro music. These formed the basis of his well-known ballet, Bœuf-sur-le-Toit and his equally well-known collection of South American dances... For look where we may today beneath this classical music of Stravinsky, or beneath the cheap but infinitely touching “Berlineses” of Weill, or beneath the beery but interesting and strong (in a Brueghel-like way) fabrications of Krenek, or for that matter the last creations of Schönberg, Milhaud, Auric, we find the note, the technic... the aesthetic of the Congo...
My interest, among other things, is how musical forms can be influential without generally being recognized as such, and then how they intimate a rural past in specific local allusions that are, moreover, racially coded. How did they perform the role not only of a mode of leisure in an emergent world culture but of a pocket of unmodernity (mistaken for premodernity) within modernity itself?

What always needs to be explained in derisive comments about fake authenticity is why, in the face of the obviously artificial, people generally strive to have the “real” and the “original” anyway.25 This is what perhaps characterizes modernity more than any other thing—this need to salvage what modernity has not yet destroyed by pretending not to notice that it is already gone while at the same time inventing its replacement. Afro-Cuban music does this, and this gesture is what makes its aesthetics a politics that is more than a simple outburst against intolerable but unchangeable conditions.

**Son as social symbol**

To the uninitiated, the idea that the son has anything to do with contemporary salsa seems unlikely. The former’s sound is rural and, like so much of New World popular music, not obviously African in its inspirations—quite unlike, in other words, the brassy dance frenzy of salsa, which wears its syncopation on its sleeve. Compay Segundo’s song “chan-chan” made famous by the Buena Vista Social Club seems hardly the kind of musical raw material out of which Tito Puente’s *timbales* could later make their memorable debut. Nevertheless, as Acosta reminds us, this genealogy is no longer controversial: “All of the salseros admit that the basis of the music is the *son cubano* along with other important ingredients such as the *guaguancó* [of rumba], the mambo and the chachachá—all from Cuba.”26

The passage from the *son* to salsa is, as we might expect, a history of gains and losses, but the palpable drama of the *son* as an indigenous (the Cubans would say “folkloric”) form is rarely rehearsed outside scholarly archaeologies of Cuban national culture. By contrast, contemporary music criticism is impatient with such stories, which are usually footnoted before moving quickly on to recent developments. I am returning to it because I am concerned with the fissures that take place within the New World African musical complex. The significance of the *son* in later Cuban musical innovation, as well as in the acutely national-popular sense of tradition governing its creativity, is a crucial feature for understanding how North American jazz traveled a different road, and may even now have reached a kind of music of the Americas as a unity without this kind of juxtaposition. Because in New York, it represents a U.S. adaptation—one of the few, despite the late República signifying as Caribbean (or, readily acknowledged).

The *son* is generally taken to be a province of Cuba at the beginning and some insist that it is as old as the (relatively) heavily on rhythmic patterns and various in the Spanish colonies.27 More common, it is a receptacle of slaves and their master’s influx. Domingo (present-day Haiti) followed in 1790s. It was not only that the French colony, much of whose population endured the demographic shock of these enslaved French Émigrés brought with them at the time, and characterized by music than were common in Cuba previously (the phrase known as the *cinyollo*, clear to many Caribbean genres) entered-

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**Figure 2.1** The *cinyollo*

The lower phrase is

This phrasing has the rhythmic or number of neo-African-based dance musics—a simplification of the African style that came. As Carpenter puts it, “the most important feature of the island by African-based rhythmic interpretation—modalities not written down but with certain jazz pianists, but that

What is clear, though, are two aspects in casual accounts of its history: (I)
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...musical forms can be influential and then how they intimate a culture, moreover, racially coded. A mode of leisure in an age of unmodernity (mistaken for...

...derisive comments about fake artificial, people generally anyway. This is what any other thing this need to be invented, not to notice some inventing its replacement. What is that makes its aesthetics burst against intolerable but...

**Symbal**

Son has anything to do with the former's sound is rural and, etc., not obviously African in its roots, the brass dance frenzy of the treble. Compay Segundo's song Vista Social Club seems hardly which Tito Puente's timbales Nevertheless, as Acosta reminds us: "All of the salseros admit no along with other important [rumba], the mambo and the...

...as we might expect, a history of the son as an indigenous (the primarily rehearsed outside scholarly premise. By contrast, contemporary histories, which are usually footnoted developments. I am returning to it now just that take place within the New significance of the son in later in the acutely national-popular phase, is a crucial feature for understanding a different road, and may even now have reached a kind of impasse. At any rate, my treating the music of the Americas as a unity with national differences also prompts this kind of juxtaposition. Because salsa (as such) was invented in New York, it represents a U.S. adaptation of a Caribbean musical innovation— one of the few, despite the late date of its rise, that at the same time publicly signifies as Caribbean (other innovations have not been so readily acknowledged).

The son is generally taken to be a form that emerged in the far eastern provinces of Cuba at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although some insist that it is as old as the (post-Columbus) island itself, and based heavily on rhythmic patterns and verse forms that circulated throughout the Spanish colonies. More commonly, its origins are located in the influx of slaves and their masters from the French colony of San Domingo (present-day Haiti) following the slave revolts there in the 1790s. It was not only that the highly Africanized character of the French colony, much of whose population was first-generation African, added to the demographic shock of these encounters. Both the white and black French émigrés brought with them musical traditions unknown in Cuba at the time, and characterized by more disciplined performance protocols than were common in Cuba previously. It is in this way that the rhythmic phrase known as the cinquillo, clearly of African origin (and fundamental to many Caribbean genres) entered Cuba.

![Figure 2.1](image-url) The cinquillo rhythmic phrase. The lower phrase is the more modern form.

This phrasing has the rhythmic regularity and symmetry found in a number of neo-African-based dances performed throughout the Americas—a simplification of the African polyrhythmic drumming out of which it came. As Carpentier puts it, "the modifications of European genres on the island by African-based rhythms functioned by modalities of interpretation—modalities not written down for a period of time, as happens with certain jazz pianists, but that soon created enduring habits."
old (much earlier than the early nineteenth century), and were already identified by Spanish writers of the Golden Age (late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), who spoke with excitement about the newest New World dances; and (2) it went by many names over time—names of myriad dances that were essentially the same rhythm. These two observations are important for understanding the unifying role played by African rhythm in the cultural complexity of the Caribbean region (forming, one might say, a kind of unconscious), and for helping us recognize the pattern of flow and movement of cultural influences in which it is often difficult to tell whether a European or a non-European cultural influence is predominant. Among the dances alluded to by the Spanish Gold Age poets were the paracumbés, retambos, cachubas, yeyés, zambapolos, zambapeques, gurrumbés, rumbas, bembés, sambas, batuques, macumbas, guaguancos, candombés, tumbas, chuchumbés, carrumbas, and yambús. One of the most important of these was the saraband. Carpenter explains that, like the chaconne, it was “something from the Indies…. similar in the case of the retambo or retambico, dances with vigorous movements, always sexual, in which the dancers ‘look like they’re in the throes of passion,’…. ‘kicking the apron,’ exactly as would currently be done by a Cuban rumba dancer with the tail end of her dress.”

Percolating in the small towns and villages of Oriente for decades after 1800, and as a result of the new movements of peoples and political disruptions caused by the French colonial immigration, the African musical element began to mix with a tradition of creole ballads sung by white Cuban peasants that was based on the punto and decima verse forms inherited from Spain. After roughly a century of experimentation under these conditions, and existing in relative obscurity, the son emerged in the 1920s in the cities of Havana and Matanzas (further west and north) about a decade or two after the defeat of Spain and shortly after the start of the U.S. occupation.

Samuel Feijóo captures the essential features of the combination that makes the form when he speaks of its “insistent heated-up rhythm, its percussion section of neo-African instruments, and its extraordinary folkloric literary sense.” But Carpenter is more specific. The musical revolution that the son launched, apart from its supple blending of Spanish and African elements in a coherent genre, lay in the fact that it gave the sense of a polyrhythm subjected to a unity of time. Up until then, one spoke of the rhythm of the contradanza, the rhythm of the guaracha, the rhythms of the danzón (admitting to a plurality within that succession). The son, on the other hand, established new cate-

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gories. Within a general tempo autonomous existence. If the first arado was rhythmic regularity, the second rhythmic variation. If the maracandu marking the harmonies with three tres, furnished a cadence.31

The singing, he continues, was “in the first place a song, more, the son, in its maturity, came to be a montuno [the montuno being an a “break”]. The largo was the ballad, anciently rooted and Sambo, one voice. It is in this descriptive way see clearly the later structure of this slow opening followed by a antiphonal section (see Plate 1). The son, however, tends not to modern Caribbean music for with bebop bvironments of the son, frequently treated in Cuban music, which came all that was original, play the role that Dixieland scat and inventive but rough-hewn predilection for bebop bountries. On the other hand, the longevity and contemporaneity of the son, bringing to aesthetic life the social and historical process, embedded for example, in Haitian French (both upper and lower) inflected by Arabic elements, which meet the black urban. Spanish shift neo-African percussion (bongo). A sound that grew out of dislocation and painful adjustment to revolt in San Domingo, it also sphere of political defeat followed by a confluence against Spain in the extraordinary for its perfectly equi- meeting of the European and the tropical element, a symbiosis, no overwhelming of one over the other. }
gories. Within a general tempo, each percussive element assumed an autonomous existence. If the function of the botijuela and the diente de arado was rhythmic regularity, that of the timbales was to enact rhythmic variation. If the marimba worked on three or four notes, marking the harmonies with the insistence of a basso continuo, then the tres, furnished a cadence. 31

The singing, he continues, was “sustained by the percussion . . . Furthermore, the son, in its maturity, came to us with a definite form: a largo and a montuno [the montuno being an instrumental solo, in faster tempo, after a “break”]. The largo was the initial recitative, the exposition of the ballad, anciently rooted and Santiago-based, in a deliberate time, sung by one voice.” It is in this description, particularly its last point, that one can see clearly the later structure of salsa, which is characterized precisely by this slow opening followed by a sudden break and then a faster montuno/antiphonal section (see Plate 1: “Son”).

The son, however, tends not to be the starting point of discussions of modern Caribbean music for chronological reasons alone, even if it is frequently treated in Cuban musical histories as the ur-form from which came all that was original in Cuba. 32 For this reason, it cannot play the role that Dixieland sometimes does in histories of jazz – the inventive but rough-hewn predecessor to the later sophistication of the bebop highbrows. On the contrary, the son is remarkable for its longevity and contemporaneity. It is a balance of contrary influences, bringing to aesthetic life the story of an historical event and a sociological process, embedded forever in the sediments of sound. The Haitian French (both upper and lower classes) meet the Spanish inflected by Arabic elements from Andalusia, and the white rural meet the black urban. Spanish ballads meet Arabic guitar and make-shift neo-African percussion (botijuela, marimba, maracas, cajón, bongó). 33 A sound that grew out of the tense aftermath, physical dislocation and painful adjustments following the successful slave revolt in San Domingo, it also was a sound developed in an atmosphere of political defeat following the frustrated War of Independence against Spain in the early nineteenth century. 34 The son is remarkable for its perfectly equal, perfectly non-acculturated, off-kilter meeting of the European and the African – a meeting that produces a sound that is importantly not hybrid (a term that suggests fusion), and certainly not a union of the two elements, but rather a truce or mutually respectful homage. There is no precedence given to the elements, no overwhelming of one by the other to the point that only
traces or hints of the one can surface in the playing of the other. Argeles León calls it a “grand synthesis.”

Embedded within the son, then, is a condensed historical record that replays itself in each hearing: one that is symbolized in the separate parts of the contribution that are ethnically coded and that retain their identities. In the movement from religious to secular devotion—from the practices of vodun and santería to a Spanish/African dance ritual that was, at the same time, a song—the genre necessarily sublimated the supernatural aspects of a vibrant and material nature into the aesthetic ideas of a popular musical classicism, a discipline, governed by a musical pantheon. It is significant—a point Feijóo emphasizes—that in addition to being a dance, the son was a literary form with deep Spanish and colonial roots, a vehicle for social satire, political commentary, and creative punning and jesting. This all-in-one aspect of the son in musical history is decisive for understanding the differences between Afro-Latin music and North American black popular musical forms.

Consider that rap—as part of a single New World African musical complex—can be seen in this light as the necessary completion of jazz, one demanded by the need for satire and social commentary that had always remained central to the son. In the United States, this aspect had been exercised from African-American popular classicism, although it continued, obviously, in a variety of vernacular African-American cultural practices that are habitually invoked as forerunners of rap (dozens, radio preaching, last poets, etc.). We tend to see rap as a miraculous invention responding to the social crises of the 1970s, whereas in the longer view it may be seen as rushing into a vacuum created by the cutting off of neo-African holism in the context of the music’s mainstreaming. The literary strengths of son raise in a new light the victory of writing over orality in Western popular cultures as a whole, and the unbalanced emphasis on literary rather than musical training in the liberal arts. The rhythmic core of son based on the clave (itself derived from the cinquillo) may well be, as so many have argued, a discovery that found its way into many Caribbean musical forms, including jazz. But only the son is a still-developing song/dance ritual with a pronounced secular literary component (calypso too fits the same pattern, although with less rhythmic variation).

It is one thing, though, to set out to describe the rhythmic, melodic, or harmonic components of a genre, and another to capture what the audience of a genre experiences—what the protocols of listening actually are. The veneration of earlier masters accounts not only for the classicism of Latin music but its secular devotion. The gliding from one to another performer of son over generations will take the form, say, of repeating for the hundredth time a well-known master, Miguel Matamoros. To the affirmation of an emotion fixed for it is part of the repertoire not only of feeling. In this respect, León speaks as the “pantheon”:

The narrative of popular epic, a sang of great deeds with no Americas, resolved itself ultimately enigmatic, to local circumstances another singer from one or another generation, lost its concrete as the symbol of a general fact.

The key point, for those who have in contemporary son a vivid ritual continually transformed into a collection of the tres that accompanies instrumentation is, for many, essentially, despite the introduction of more than “the manner in which it is integrated, where the components of elements imposed by the black is characterized by the superimposition of timbre. The percussive individualism丢了 tone of the sonority material, which event.”

The work of the Cuban sociol that neo-African cultures were seen representation or conjunctions and metal, corresponding to 3 ne mineral.” Acosta calls the African “alchemists” in the way that they form, proposed a new name, and accustomed into the magically altered mixture of the danzon cantado and even incorporating into itself model of the Spanish cuple.

Notice here, then, the dimension beyond sonority and lyrical conte:
the hundredth time a well-known couplet from the great Oriente-based master, Miguel Matamoros. To do so is something like a collective affirmation of an emotion fixed for all time in an expression of character. It is part of the repertoire not only of music but of a people-specific feeling. In this respect, León speaks of that aspect of son that I referred to as the “pantheon”:

The narrative of popular epic, a reflection of the old romances that sang of great deeds with no previous meaning to those in the Americas, resolved itself ultimately in the form of an allusion, often enigmatic, to local circumstances that, as it passed from one to another singer from one or another locality, from one or another generation, lost its concrete allusion and was converted into the symbol of a general fact.\(^{36}\)

The key point, for those who have studied the genre, is that there remains in contemporary son a vivid ritual element of its first religious impulse, continually transformed into a collective affirmation. The twangy vibrations of the tres that accompany its traditional sound (this original instrumentation is, for many, essential to any son worthy of the name, despite the introduction of more modern forms of orchestration)\(^{37}\) is less essential than “the manner in which the group of instruments are integrated, where the components of the orchestra respond to a synthesis of elements imposed by the black performers.” The music of the African is characterized “by the superimposition of layers, or tissues of percussive timbre. The percussive individualization depends on the magical significance of the sonoric material, where the timbre is the sign of a ritual event.”\(^{38}\)

The work of the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz has demonstrated that neo-African cultures were seeking in this musical arrangement “the representation or conjunctions of three elements: wood, leather, and metal, corresponding to 3 natural kingdoms: vegetal, animal, and mineral.”\(^{39}\) Acosta calls the Afro-Latin musicians of the Caribbean “alchemists” in the way that they added a small element to an existing form, proposed a new name, and thereby transformed the ordinary and accustomed into the magically altered. The chachachá was that kind of mixture of the danzón cantado and the danzón de ritmo nuevo, mambo and even incorporating into itself modalities as distinct as Cuban bolero and the Spanish cuplé.\(^{40}\)

Notice here, then, the dimension in this musical universe that exists beyond sonority and lyrical content. One is talking about how the total
form conveys a meaning that is collectively shared. It is, moreover, self-conscious and fully intended (in León’s word, “el negro buscaba . . .”) [the black performer was searching] as part of its ritual function. What is “magical” in the African element here is precisely not transcendent or sublime, but hard, solid, earthly, human, and even plebeian—a move, to take a radically different context, deployed by Pablo Neruda in the early movements of Canto General dedicated to these same three realms (vegetal, animal, mineral) and covered in an epic poetry that encyclopedically praises rocks, plants, and rivers by naming them.

Compositionally, the son announces what will later be characteristic of “salsa”: typically three rhythmic lines played off against one another, with a central 2-3 or 3-2 pulse known as the clave. The other formal features include an antiphonal (call and response) lyric structure common to most neo-African forms; and the overall two-part structure described by Carpentier above, consisting of a solo singer’s story (the motivo) usually in slower tempo set against the collective affirmation of the chorus in the song’s second movement (the coro-pregon), in which the tempo often explodes in a flurry of vocal improvisation and frenzied instrumental solos (montuno), or melodic repetitions by non-percussion instruments (horns, guitar, piano) performing a percussive role (guajeo). But the music later associated with rocking brass sections, lightning piano riffs, and extravagant costumes is a direct descendent of the coros de guaguancó played on wooden boxes, spoons, and a single large bass drum.

The many distinctions within the Cuban sound-complex—the daunting number of Cuban musical genres, then—are ways of referring to which rhythm is prominent, what tempo is being used, what the orchestration happens to be, whether it is primarily a song or a dance, and often to something so vague as its “sound.” Mambo, to take one example, although considered by some to be a separate rhythm, is a term that can also simply mean the bringing of Latin rhythms to the big band jazz sound of the 1940s and 1950s.

This bewildering list of terms gives a sense of how the global export of what later came to be known as “salsa” demanded of its devotees a kind of conversion. It is a history that cannot be read otherwise. However, as a syncretism already, and like other popular musics of African origin (rock and rap, for instance), its words are self-conscious. When not involved in social critique or expressions of love, the subject of the lyrics of salsa, as I am about to explore below, is usually salsa itself. The shift from religious ritual to secular pantheon witnesses the worship of “gods” who brought the sound that placed people and spirit in contact. The acknowledgement of performers who have performed in the past, or the tutoring of the audience on the name of the rhythm performer on his or her spin on traditional son as an adjunct to its message in son.

As a formal and aural document, one but two, and my effort above, son, musically speaking, was all in all am suggesting, should be seen as a son; the latter being the political ethic that saying is inadequate to Afro-Cuban son, as in later salsa, exist in a way of a break—a radical departure for another. Moreover the salsa dancer’s clave, experiences in each measure approximates in microcosm the large does this over and over again, induces pleasure of recovery. For the 2-3 figures that are unequal; an elemental missing, which then demands in dancer’s sway, a confinement of each dance, and keeps one interested in salsa’s repetitions.

Attali has argued that the economic representational mode (the rise of
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The tradition of “¡el negro buscaba...” [the negro was seeking...], an emblem of its ritual function. What is important is that the word, precisely not transcendent or holy, is not estranged from the personal and even plebeian—a move, to recall Breton’s and even, by Pablo Neruda in the early 1940s, what he called “a displacement of these same three realms of art and life that simultaneously is an epic poetry that encyclopedically radicalizes by naming them.

That, as will later be characteristic of the son, is played off against one another, is the clave. The other formal (counterpoint) lyric structure common to both is the two-part structure described to us in the son’s singer’s story (the motivo) the collective affirmation of the world (the coro-pregón), in which the musical improvisation and frenzied rhythmic repetitions by non-percussion players and drumming a percussive role (guajeo). Trumpet, cornet, trombone, and sometimes electric bass sections, lightning piano themes, all part of the son’s sound-complex—the daunting polyphony of the son are ways of referring to which part—in this playing used, what the orchestration is part of the song or dance, and often to the folklore of the people. Mambo, to take one example, a separate rhythm, is a term that in the large rhythms to the big band jazz audience on the name of the rhythm employed, or the boast of the performer on his or her spin on tradition, becomes the topic of the lyrics as an adjunct to its message in sound.

As a formal and aural document, then, the son basis of salsa is not one but two, and my effort above to describe the basic elements of the son, musically speaking, was all in the name of a basic point. The son, I am suggesting, should be seen as a divided rather than a hybrid object—the latter being the political ethic of a world as a world music aesthetics that I am saying is inadequate to Afro-Cuban music. The opening motifs of the son, as later in salsa, exist in a world that can bridge to its other only by way of a break—radical departure, in which one identity is exchanged for another. Moreover the salsa dance step, struggling to mirror the 2-3 clave, experiences in each measure an unsettling lift or caesura which approximates in microcosm the larger break of the son structure. And it does this over and over again, inducing a fear of loss and then again the pleasure of recovery. For the 2-3 (or 3-2) of the clave unit has two figures that are unequal; an element is called for, striven for, but missing, which then demands in its turn a momentary pause in the dancer’s sway, a confinement of energy that drives one forward in the dance, and keeps one interested in the recycling of a future history of salsa’s repetitions.

Attali has argued that the economy of music in the West sought in its representational mode (the rise of tonal music) “to replace the lost
ritualization of the channelization of violence." In traditional societies, that ritualization had been, in his opinion, marked by the absence of a distinction between music and ritual itself. Music was originally, he argues, "an element in a whole, an element of sacrificial ritual ... of the imaginary." But the son shows that this proposition is not exactly accurate. Salsa is the unfinished and unsettled confrontation in form of Arabic Spain and Africa, an anxious, desperate synthesis kept at the level of an exposed binary. And it is kept this way as a matter of aesthetic conviction. It develops a holistic that is even now referenced in lyrical allusions to abakuá and lucumi ceremony, just as it did when it vied for inclusion in Cuban creole society and later clamored for renown in the commercial networks of radio, record, and nightclub act. Pop salsa musicians in Havana and New York routinely invoke Yoruba gods like Yemaya, Ochun, and Babalú (San Lazaro) in the lyrics even of studio songs and in furiously market settings.

The gateway to the orishas (deities) turns out to be a music that in a peculiar way transplants Cuba to metropolitan settings. Unlike the mass-cultural exports of the United States, though, the form is not accompanied by blanket access to the home country, which critically frames it and delivers it to audiences as "information" (that is, as knowledge that has already been digested through interpretation). The invocation of the orishas in studio dance music in commercial surroundings is not a memory of a practice, not a quaint nod in the direction of earlier beliefs that have become purely conventional, but the still-living practice itself.

This devotion survives because it is in calculated ways unassimilable—too difficult, too specialized, and too linguistically alien to copy without approaching veneration. It is an unmodernity gesturing towards a pre-modernity, whose forms are designed to signal the insufficiently merged, or rather, the happily unmerged living in a productive tension. The religious element in mass-cultural entertainment of the Afro-Latin type is designed to hold in stasis the elements of its perpetually delayed unity. As such, it is not a striving-backward but a contemporary response, marked as contemporary, in which ethnic longing allegorizes its own ends: an escape by immigrants or domestic laborers (no longer colorful urban griots) from the crudeness of the market into a new kind of local community based on face-to-face contacts, oral forms of communication, and collective art.

To illustrate this point, we might reconsider the fritas music described by León (see above, page 51). In his essay "The Origin of the Work of Art," the philosopher Martin Heidegger captures some of what is at stake as the son moved from the eastern and northern cities like Havana.

In fabricating equipment—for example, suitable the less it resists vanishing equipment. By contrast, the less can not cause the material to disappear. The very first time and to come, wood comes to bear metals come to glitter and shimmer. The word to say. All this comes forth with the massiveness and heavy of stone, wood, into the hardness and justly darkening of color, into the clang of the word. 41

The materiality of the world apparatus makes up an object of utility and voice. If we imagine ourselves on the street by Roldán, we would see men of the past ensembles playing on wooden, incongruency in objects of use, or noise demands that socially compel the sound of social account; and this incongruity in the last sense that it is evoked in the last syncopation of a call to disorder. The language to speak, asks them not to be the much as imply what they might call.

Bohemia and the Salsa

A great deal has already been written about that history of enjoyment known as the depressing inadequacy of the very thing, what one is actually studying cannot be. A New York record promoters in the wake of other failures: bembé, amó, slogans only "salsa" survived, the musicians and white businessmen of Latin jazz (the era of the Cuban
as the son moved from the eastern rural regions of the island to western and northern cities like Havana and Matanzas:

In fabricating equipment— for example, an axe—stone is used, and used up. It disappears into usefulness. The material is all the better and more suitable the less it resists vanishing in the equipmental being of the equipment. By contrast the temple-work, in setting up a world, does not cause the material to disappear, but rather causes it to come forth for the very first time and to come into the open region of the work’s world. The rock comes to bear and rest and so first becomes rock; metals come to glitter and shimmer, colors to glow, tones to sing, the word to say. All this comes forth as the work sets itself back into the massiveness and heaviness of stone, into the firmness and pliancy of wood, into the hardness and luster of metal, into the brightening and darkening of color, into the clang of tone, and into the naming power of the word.\textsuperscript{41}

The materiality of the world appears different, in other words, when it makes up an object of utility and when, by contrast, it constitutes itself as art. If we imagine ourselves on the boardwalk in the scene evoked earlier by Roldán, we would see men of the night stroll with women of the night past ensembles playing on wooden boxes and metal spoons. There is an incongruency in objects of use, or more accurately refuse. The play of noise demands that socially expendable performers be seen now as objects of social account; and this incongruency is symbolized by the music in the sense that it is evoked in the languid stroll of even tempo and the syncopation of a call to disorder. This call, while moving the instruments to speak, asks them not to be themselves. The objects do not serve so much as imply what they might otherwise be.

**Bohemia and the son in New York**

A great deal has already been written about the difficulties of excavating that history of enjoyment known as “salsa,” which begin with the depressing inadequacy of the very word.\textsuperscript{42} Many have pointed out that what one is actually studying cannot even be named. The belated coinage of New York record promoters in the 1970s, salsa prevailed only in the wake of other failures: hembé, amor, sabor, fuego. Although among these slogans only “salsa” survived, they were all attempts by Nuyorican musicians and white businessmen to recapture the successes of 1930s Latin jazz (the era of the Cuban-based Spanish entrepreneur, Xavier
Cuban) and 1950s mambo in the face of the rock-inspired decline of Latin appeal in the 1960s.

The older styles, ushered in by the Hollywood patronage of Rudolf Valentino and the novel tastes of the U.S.-Havana tourist trade had been primarily the work of transplanted Cuban musicians who turned the interrelated genres of the Cuban sound into big-band orchestrations, film scores, and ballroom dancing: part of that steady exchange between Cuba and North America that was already prominent at the time of José Martí's famous American sketches written during his exile in New York in the 1880s and 1890s.43 Salsa, on the other hand, marked not only a period of more mixed influence in the 1960s and 1970s – with contributions from many Latin countries – but an attempt to compete with the recent success of rock by giving the Afro-Caribbean sound a polished studio finish, and enabling it to compete with the fire and frenzy of rock as a dance music and a youth revolt. It was, in that sense, a popularization like the others, but more detached from its Cuban sources, a new music in exile whose structure was nevertheless primarily Cuban.

By rehearsing this story, I want to highlight the tension within the form between a naggingly persistent small-nation content and a global reach that made it both difficult to ignore and easy to misconstrue. "Salsa" is a very specific thing, and not at all reducible to the Cuban son (nor the son to the "salsa"). And yet so much of the Latin music from the Caribbean that is now listened to, because of the success of that marketing term, is called (or thought of as) "salsa." So "salsa" is both a specific genre and a catch-all term. That combination seems in some ways vital to its attractiveness and semantic richness in the eyes of metropolitan audiences who either are, or temporarily let themselves become, bohemian. Longtime performers and specialists like Mario Bauzá and Ray Barretto could only see the invention of salsa as a "publicity stunt" and a marketing ploy.44

For the music that salsa borrowed from was originally referred to only by way of more specific forms, many of them Cuban. There were names for rhythms (guaguancó, mozambique, mambo), for dance styles (chachachá, vacunao, yambú) or instrumental arrangements (septeto, conjunto, charanga), although it is important to note that some of these terms mean more than one thing at the same time.

The new attempt at publicity in the 1970s was not merely an act of condensing but of erasing a complexity that was integral to the music as a devotional form – where the word "devotional" refers not only to its African religious inspirations but to its constructed pantheon of innovators whose role in the music’s development is often documented in the very lyrics of the songs that pay homage to them. Along with a humbling array of styles came a single instrumental style, as performed and enjoyed, legendarily by and among fellow music or listened to, you would not recognize it as danzón; Enrique Jorrín, the crooner, Benny Moré; the pioneros and Prado, Israel "Cachao" of Matanzas and Havana; about the difference between the rhythms...

Central to son (and by extension the reflexivity. Its modernity in the sense that it is not because it is secularized, and yet not immortalized in a musical pantheon since their musical contributions are to deities, even in commercial and about itself. It obsessively refers to its own energy. This spiritual/mystical aesthetic. The holism of an art form, some of the world’s most eminent in that quintessential gestures, although not in a modernist way.

In fact, the son inaugurated a revival of Suavecito" was performed by the band in Spain in 1929 – an exiled son of the provinces at the time. With an orchestra (a contrabass, trumpet, bongó, tam-tam, mellower) set the tone for Cuba...
rock-inspired decline of Latin

Hollywood patronage of Rudolf Havana tourist trade had been t
big-band orchestrations, film steady exchange between Cuba prominent at the time of José
during his exile in New York other hand, marked not only a 60s and 1970s – with contribute a attempt to compete with the o-Caribbean sound a polished with the fire and frenzy of rock fireball; in that sense, a popularization of Cuban sources, a new music in primarily Cuban.

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1970s was not merely an act of that was integral to the music as a notional” refers not only to its constructed pantheon of inno ment is often documented in the to them. Along with a humbling array of styles came a single interrelated sound-complex. In Cuban music as performed and enjoyed, legends surrounded legends. If you played the music or listened to it, you would know about Miguel Faílde, the creator of danzón; Enrique Jorrín, the creator of chachachá; the great bolero crooner, Benny Moré; the pioneers of big-band mambo like Dámaso Pérez Prado, Israel “Cachao” López, and Bauzá himself. For the amateur and the specialist alike, it was a point of pride to know about the special styles of batá drumming that distinguish the santeros of Matanzas and Havana; about the past masters of bolero, about the difference between the rhythmic patterns of son montuno and pachanga.

Central to son (and by extension, salsa) is, then, what I will call self-reflexivity. Its modernity in the clothing of African religion is modern because it is secularized, and yet it is secularized religion. The artist is immortalized in a musical pantheon whose spiritual role is prominent, since their musical contributions refined the instruments of access to the deities, even in commercial and public spaces. The music, quite plainly, is about itself. It obsessively refers to itself, manifesting itself in a devotional energy. This spiritual/mystical loop is an important aspect of the son aesthetic. The holism of an apparently ancient worldview localized in some of the world’s most economically underdeveloped regions expresses itself in that quintessential gesture of modernism – self-referentiality – although not in a modernist way.

In fact, the son inaugurated this gesture internationally when “El Suavecito” was performed by the Sexteto Habanero at the Seville Exposition in Spain in 1929 – an extraordinary honor for a group from the provinces at the time. With an orchestration consisting of a lead vocalist, a contrabass, trumpet, bongó, guitar, and tres, “El Suavecito” (the mellow one) set the tone for Cuba’s entrance into world music:

Carola, you just love to dance alone the son from the hills,
And you do it so lusciously.

Everything fast gets slow and easy with your lover, and when you dance it you tell him, all pleasure:
Take your time, make it gentle . . . . .
. . . A beauty from Seville was telling her young husband honey, that Cuban music drives me wild.

Easy, easy, take it slow.
The whole song plays in a double register. The showmanship of alluding to Seville itself (an allusion easily changed when performing in another location) and the salacious undertone are both jokes shared with the audience. This looking at oneself and the audience simultaneously breaks down the national, racial, and aesthetic walls between them. The scandalizing frankness with which the singer draws attention to the guilty pleasures of tropical dance allows everyone to smile relieved, for now it is okay to enjoy since everyone is a co-conspirator. At the same time, though, the lyrics play a teaching role, telling the audience unfamiliar with this aesthetic that their movements should be neither regimented nor frenetic. This is a dance with a sensuous style in which, like the sexual act itself, holding back heightens pleasure.

This combination of elements arises repeatedly, for example in an entirely different context more than two decades later in Benny Moré’s “Bonito y sabroso” (pretty and tasty) performed in Mexico City in 1952: “How beautiful and tasty Mexican women look when dancing mambo/They move their waists and shoulders just like the Cuban women/With such a sure rhythmic sense of how to make dance an act of pleasure/I can hardly believe my eyes: I must be in Havana.”

Moré manages an even shrewder boast than that of “El Suavecito”: the best compliment he can pay his audience is to say they have become Cuban! Self-reflexivity is in this case a mechanism for broadcasting what is sought in international exchange. In what is arguably the most famous son of all, “Son de la Loma” by Triyo Matamoros (1928), self-reflexivity has this same dimension, although with a twist. The emphasis is once again on the cultural underdog who commands attention and is desired, but the underdog is defined by class rather than nationality:

Mama, I want to know
where those singers I’m hearing come from?
I find them quite sharp,
and I want to be introduced to them
so I can learn to play their fascinating songs.
Where do you think they’re from?
They must be from Havana, or maybe from the magnificent
Santiago.
No, they’re from the hills, and they sing in the plains . . .
They’re from the hills, but they sing in the plains.

On the surface this son is deliberately naive, referring to nothing more than the attractiveness of the sound, although it is important that the attraction be presented as an act of cultural exchange that leads people on a mission to learn from another, and more subtle, one another. This is also that this son is from the hills, but that this son is from the hills, but at least metaphorically. The border demarcations have been made in Cuba’s music. Musicians come from the hills (those who are salt of the earth) but also that the “classical” heights while being made in the ordinary.

Again these features, with various features of the son into the era of modernidad and Orquesta Revelación’s “Aun sin son” (without a son”), which is a sort of musical joke speaking, inspires them in the same way you need is a story [motive].

The biographical song, “El Cantante fans on the street who pour out their hopes and has managed to capture their joy and ordinary lives.

It is the style of salsa that opens the door to pure party salsa or salsa romántica, the character most the salsa, in a way are themselves as soneros or who hire CDs. It would be an overstated claim to say, but the trait is too frequent: salsa exists from the earliest period of the nineteenth-century guaracheros and negro/ and I am better than you, maybe it’ll make you dance this way / yo soy mejor que tú; si te doy un consejo / you girls as well as in the Cuban dance El Cárdenas and El Cárdenas, in 1776, whose ribald, anti-elite style “take it slow” while dancing.

Even a fairly random sampling of soneros reveals a similar pattern. In Carretero and Ignacio Piñero’s Palmieri’s “Azúcar” there is a pattern have been describing. But some of the modern salsa repertoire: “Na, Quitate Tú” by Pete ‘Conde’ Ró
The showmanship of alluding to your private moments when performing in another’s presence is both jokes shared with the audience simultaneously breaks down personal barriers between them. The scansion draws attention to the guilty pleasure of a singer, a moment to smile relieved, for now it is a genuine inspiration. At the same time, the sharing of the stories of the audience unfamiliar with the genre is not only a vehicle for the singer but also a form of entertainment. In Cuba’s major cities, but he guesses wrong. The musicians come from the hills and they play in the plains (that is, they are of humble origins) but also that their sound is sublime, exalted, from the classical heights while being rural, and yet performed on the plains, which is to say to ordinary people in humble surroundings.

Repeatedly, for example in an article from the 1950s, and decades later in Benny Moré’s “El Suavecito”, the refrain of the popular singer about the Cuban women: “With their dance an act of pleasure/I can make a woman.”

Again these features, with variations, continue throughout the history of the son into the era of modern salsa: for example, in Ismael Miranda and Orquesta Revelación’s “Asi se compone un son” (“How to write a son”), which is a sort of musician’s confession of what, technically speaking, inspires them in the form: “To compose a son, the first thing you need is a story [motivo]”; or Hector Lavoe’s hugely popular autobiographical song, “El Cantante,” about a trovador who is stopped by fans on the street who pour out their hearts to him (a stranger) because he has managed to capture their joy and suffering, the good and bad of their ordinary lives.

It is the style of salsa that openly venerates its son origins (rather than the party salsa or salsa romántica) which displays this self-reflexive character most – the salsa, in other words, by performers who refer to themselves as soneros or who highlight the term “son” in the titles of their CDs. It would be an overstatement to say that the son always referred to itself, but the trait is too frequent to be insignificant. Self-consciousness exists from the earliest period of the son’s development: for example, in the nineteenth-century guaracha “Mambrú” (“You are thick-lipped negro/ and I am better than you/ If I give you a slap upside the head/ maybe it’ll make you dance the Mambrú [‘Tú eres un negro bembón/ y yo soy mejor que tú;/ si te doy un bofetón/ te hago bailar el Mambrú’]”) as well as in the Cuban dance El Chuchumbé, brought to Cuba from Europe in 1776, whose ribald, anti-clerical lyrics again counsel the listeners to “take it slow” while dancing.

Even a fairly random sampling of major modern and contemporary soneros reveals a similar pattern. From early traditional sones like “El Carretero” and Ignacio Piñeiro’s “Échale salsa” to jazz son like Eddie Palmieri’s “Azúcar” there is a persistent self-referentiality of the sort we have been describing. But so too (to take a small sampling) in the modern salsa repertoire: “Naña Sere” by Los Soneros del Barrio; “Quítate Tú” by Pete “Condé” Rodríguez, Santos Colón, Ismael Miranda,
Johnny Pacheco, Adalberto Santiago, Hector Lavoe, Cheo Feliciano and the Fania All-Stars; “Quimbara” by Celia Cruz with Johnny Pacheco; “El Que Se Fue” by Sammy Gonzalez; “Soy Boricua” by Marvin Santiago; “Pa’ Bravo Yo” by Justo Betancourt; “Agua de Clavelito” by Quinto Mayor; “Los muchachos de Belén” by Rubén Blades, (“Venga América Latina, Vamonos a guarachear!”); and in a flurry of Ray Barretto songs, among them “Guaguancó Bonito,” “Apríeta El Pollo,” “Guaíra y Tambó,” “A Puerto Rico,” “Ritmo Sabroso,” “El Watusi,” “Los Cueros,” “Guaguancó Pueblo Nuevo,” and so on.55

In “El Que se Fue” the twist on this tradition is especially ingenious. A tale of familiar romance dashed, the singer declares that he’s taking the break-up philosophically. In life, people come and go; the minute your lover leaves, you discover another around the corner. You may be on the hunt for a morena, but you discover a china instead. But the chorus repeats: “You don’t matter to me, just like I don’t to you; I’m still having fun, and this rhythm [that is, of the song he’s singing about the break-up], has none of you in it.”56 And it is, in fact, the most inappropriate rhythm and orchestration for the lyrics of loss – a driving, exhilarating, strong and controlled rhythm, unmotional, dispassionate, betraying neither joy nor sadness just sage expectation. The music forms in this way the “ambiente mejor” that he alludes to in the song – an entire world in fact, that is the arbiter of the good, and the sign of his happiness and his salvation.

This is the message as well of an entirely different kind of salsa from the traditional son variety, “Quimbara.” In the Celia Cruz version, it begins with a nod to traditional rumba with a slow, single conga drum opening against Cruz’s chant in unrecognizable African onomatopoeia. It is almost immediately sentimentalized, however, in the style of the nightclub quotation of neo-Africa for a sophisticated Latin audience – a turn that is announced by the song’s first stylistic break in the start of the modern salsa horn section. Then the lyrics begin: “The rhythm of the rumba is beckoning / Bongó, tell them I’m on my way/ tell them to wait just a little long/ and in the meantime, guaguancó / Tell them it’s no simple manner of speaking/ but a part of my very heart/ my life is nothing but that/ a well-played rumba and guaguancó” (“La rumba me está llamando/ bongó, dile que yo voy/ que espere momentico/ mientras tanto guaguancó/ dile que no es expresión/ pues di en mi corazón/ mi vida tan solo eso/ rumba buena y guaguancó”). However stylized the sentiment in this case, it is a striking illustration of the meeting of religious veneration and nightclub relaxation at the crossroads of entertainment art. The logic of the self-allusion here is not a boast exactly (although demonstrating her trance-like servitude to the god of her art), but an allusion to the religious origins of her authentic artistry, but a self-allusion. That her life is now only guaguancó of the music as a form of aesthetic elevation (view that is assumed by many of her admirers, but is not really a religious act), but an aesthetic act.

Another aspect of self-reflexivity occurs when he argues that the Caribbean has given the rest of the world an innocent benefit is not, as one might expect, mestizaje, the commodities of tobacco, dog-eared books, successful slave rebellion, but (in the words of Celia Cruz or bongó, that mocks from a distance, with the humor of son, by contrast, is that “mización” Cruz’s preferred genre of Cuban popular music.

The history of salsa involves an impossible demands of familiarity marimba, clave, and güiro to the parts of each drum, had to internalize its reverential training in the popular music that had no academic credit and had the ability to confound the European classicism, even if they were, were hierarchically distinct. The music of rock or jazz often insists upon the musical culture in precisely this act of music is thought to have “a localism maintaining a discipline protected by pedagogy, protocols of accreditation, forth ... an extremely specialized..." Although European classicism is obviously not the same, the difference in any of these features. It is true..."
her trance-like servitude to the gods of the drum, in addition to being an allusion to the religious origins of the music, also serves as a certification of her authentic artistry, but a fusing of artistic excellence with possession. That her life is now only guaguancó is a way of saying that the thrill of the music as a form of aesthetic transport is a function of its devotion, a view that is assumed by many of her listeners to be only a convention (this is not really a religious act), but not entirely.

Another aspect of self-reflexivity is revealed in Quintero Rivera’s work when he argues that the Caribbean is decisive in world history for having given the rest of the world an incalculable cultural gift. In his opinion this benefit is not, as one might expect, the politically influential concept of mestizaje, the commodities of tobacco and sugar, or even the world’s only successful slave rebellion, but (in his terms) happiness. The jubilance of Latin music, resistant to self-pity, responds to difficult times with a resounding “yes.” One could add that the vehicle of happiness and the content of its social commentary is frequently humor, which is abundantly present in all of the examples above. The lyrics of Latin music are frequently tongue in cheek—not ironic, which is a more literary attitude that mocks from a distance, wanting to maintain its separation. The humor of son, by contrast, is that of the shared joke, a formal feature of Cruz’s preferred genre of Cuban music, the guaracha.

The history of salsa involves an initiation of mind-boggling intricacy, involving performance etiquette, religious observance, and the all-but-impossible demands of familiarity with instruments ranging from the marimba, clave, and güiro to the conga and tres. Every drum, and often the parts of each drum, had a different name. To begin to understand the Afro-Latin musical complex leading to salsa, then, is to internalize its reverential training, or at least to resist viewing it as a popular music that had no academy in the broader sense. Salsa always had the ability to confound the assumptions that popular music and European classicism, even if they were equally valuable in some cosmic ledger, were hierarchically distinct. Even those who admire the popular music of rock or jazz often insist upon their essential difference from elite musical culture in precisely this academic sense. Only European classical music is thought to have “a remarkable apparatus for producing and maintaining a discipline protected by rituals of learning, traditions of pedagogy, protocols of accreditations, performance, display, and so forth...an extremely specialized language.”

Although European classicism and the son complex of salsa are obviously not the same, the differences between them cannot be found in any of these features. It is true that European classicism has an
incomparably large and detailed apparatus of aficionados, biographical and critical appreciations, networks of museums, professorships, and so on, which is matched perhaps only by Hindustani classical music. But it is unclear whether this difference has to do with aesthetic or intellectual refinement (as Max Weber would have it) as much as financial and technological capacity. We could at least go as far as to say that Cuban music has an internal life of great variety. Its apparatus and its protocols are bewilderingly intricate. Again, Antheil gives a glimpse of how this aspect of the matter appeared to a practicing classical composer on U.S. terrain:

The African "sound" in music is usually a tightening-up of the musical force, an intensive concentration and compactness, and thinning-out of line, and brilliant and sudden rhythmic decisions more daring than those of any other people or race, a marked tendency towards the "black" on the pianoforte, and the inevitable eight-note on the strong beats throwing into an immediate quarter-note following, the latter with an accent (almost the Negro signature, for go where one will in Negro music, these two notes occur like the signature of Alexander the Great in the ancient world... The Rumba of Cuba and the Biguine of Martinique, although Spanish in dress, have Negro hearts and certainly nothing but Negro bodies. The peculiar rhythm of the present popular West Indian music still escapes everyone but the actual native orchestras; daily it becomes more and more astounding that a white orchestra cannot catch the exact click of the two wooden sticks or the momentum of the rattles, or, indeed, anything but the most simple outward characteristics of the rumba. 59

But if son became more widely integrated into the Cuban middle classes in the 1920s, the same was not true of explicitly ritualized religious practices such as santeria. Despite the euphoria of the early street bands and cafés, the period was still one of repression, and neo-African religious practices remained the work of outlaw cultures. There were regular police raids on lucumi cabildos to steal their religious artifacts and place them in museums for proper "scientific" research. In the early decades of twentieth-century Cuba, practicing the reglas de ocha was a crime punishable by prison. Partly because of this, Afro-Cuban music had blended into the classical and salon traditions before migrating to Mexico, New York, and Paris. As early as the period 1800-1840, black professional musicians like Juan Peña and Bartolo Avilés were in the majority among those performing the classical European repertory; and the most famous of the early crossover sounds was danza, the creole elite in ballroom.

Antheil grasped the significance of the U.S. musical scene just beginning to take Stravinsky as his prophet.

In its original state in Africa, a wooden, incredibly complex, and involved Arabic music musician is invariably studied in choirs in rhythms and counter-rhythms of the Sacre rhythmic sense second to none, so intricate that one has not to do with mathematics, and engineered Congo... so intricate in contra-rhythms and propulsive choral impact are these extensions of a colossal Noces fabric, broader... wider... infinite... more epic. 60

Thus a pattern emerged of recreating the sounds that were the same; and it is this that Popping up abroad at the borders of the guardians of white taste that could not make sense until Habanero's Ignacio Piñeiro turned the favor on an interloper composing his own Cuban O salserita" ("put a little spice in it"

Until the age of bebop, the United States outside a few populists, or (as I have been ar, the high-low distinction, Cuba and
of aficionados, biographical sketches, presentations, professorships, and so forth, but not Latin American classical music. But it is not without aesthetic or intellectual interest (as much as financial and staggering) as far as to say that Cuban music apparatus and its protocols gives a glimpse of how this aging classical composer on U.S.

SURREALISM AND THE SNOOZE

SURREALISM AND THE SNOOZE

SURREALISM AND THE SNOOZE

crossover sounds was danzón, whose syncopation and sexuality pleased the creole elite in ballroom surroundings (see Plate 2). Once again, Antheil grasped the significance of this union while commenting on the U.S. musical scene just after the height of the Harlem Renaissance, taking Stravinsky as his point of comparison:

In its original state in Africa, this music first impresses us as hard, wooden, incredibly complicated rhythmically, so that even the most involved Arabic music must seem tame in comparison . . . [The white musician] is invariably stunned by the machine-precision of the black choirs in rhythms and counter-rhythms even more difficult than the last cataclysm of the Sacre . . . One thing is certain, the Negro has a rhythmic sense second to none in the world; one can scarcely believe that one has not to do with a highly civilized race, masters of steel, mathematics, and engineering, in hearing these choruses from the Congo . . . so intricate in rhythmic pattern, so delicately balanced in contra-rhythms and proportions, and so breath-taking in unisons and choral impact are these extraordinary performances. One is reminded of a colossal Noces fabricated by a single people for ages . . . broader . . . wider . . . infinitely more intricate and at the same time more epic.60

Thus a pattern emerged of relocation and usurpation, as though the two were the same; and it is this type of confusion that I am focusing on here. Popping up abroad at the beckoning of money or being chased away by the guardians of white taste (like Sanchez de Fuentes in Cuba), the music could not make sense untranslated. What pioneers like the Septeto Habanero's Ignacio Piñeiro had done in the Cuban cities, who left his job as a tobacco worker and bricklayer to join a septeto, was to take a village improvisational music and submit it to classical discipline. If Piñeiro, in arranging songs like "El Suavecito," developed the work of nameless musicians from Oriente province, George Gershwin only returned the favor on an international scale, visiting Havana in 1932 and composing his own Cuban Overture on the basis of Piñeiro's son, "Echale salsa" ("put a little spice in it").

Until the age of bebop, the bid for a black vernacular music that was considered worthy of respect by the highly cultured did not exist in the United States outside a few pockets of non-conformists, ethno-musicologists, or (as I have been arguing) bohemians. In this shattering of the high-low distinction, Cuba and Latin America generally led the way, and pioneered attitudes that only began to take hold in the United States after
the 1960s. Black classical composers existed in North America, of course, but the weight of white opinion and the now internalized strategy of bootstrapping dictated that they would keep images of plantation blues and rural church (much less gin mill and flophouse) far from view. They sought polite society and did not want to pollute themselves with associations of the living and breathing “folk” anymore than upper-middle-class African-American critics of rap do today. The scales of Cuban integration, in other words — not only of white and black performers, but classically trained orchestra members and weekend *soneros* — had no real counterpart north of the border between 1850 and 1940 (which is not at all to say that full-scale racial integration existed in Cuba then, or that there was no repertoire of abuse by Cuban reviewers for the “barbaric” sound of the African popular later, even after the revolution).

Edward G. Perry points out, for instance, that the challenges to the high-low distinction along Cuban lines did occur in North America, but that the composers seeking to bridge the two worlds remained obscure. They never were given a place in the classical tradition. Among the accomplished composers and publicists between 1829 and 1880 in the United States, Perry mentions James Hemmenway, Edwin Hill, A. J. Conner, Justin Holland, Samuel Milady, James Bland (composer of “Carry Me Back to Old Virginia”) and Septimus Winner (composer of “Listen to the Mockin’ Bird”). The most distinguished was Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, an Englishman of African descent who, like most U.S. black musicians at the turn of the century (just at the dawn of jazz), were busy writing popular ballads. Perhaps the clearest example of the musical success of this merging can be found in Will Marion Cook, leader of the Clef Club Orchestra and the New York Syncopated Orchestra. These composers, though, never achieved the full cultural acceptance that Manuel Saumell, Ignacio Cervantes, or Alejandro García Caturla did in Cuba eventually, particularly after the revolution.

But more linked bohemia, New York, and the Caribbean than such encounters, and the early *son* was not simply latched onto as proof of national vitality but as an historical archive. If the social symbolism of the *son* is significant, it is because of the sheer impact the form had on the multiple sources of international popular music before the age of mass marketing. Its prehistory, as I have discussed above, lay in earlier forms that spread widely throughout the Caribbean by way of European and South American fashions (with many additions and refinements). The *contradanza*, for instance, is conventionally defined as a

![Figure 2.3 Musical example of the habanera rhythm](image)

Carpentier (and many others after him) had reason to doubt the distinctiveness of the habanera rhythm.

What is known today as the *son* bears different names in the Americas and has many variations. They were sexual dance forms with identical gestures and intentions in the context of certain African ritual dances...
ninth-century ballroom dance that came originally from the English country dance and its French court variant (the *contradanza*), arriving in Cuba with the Haitian exiles. Its lilting rhythm has links to the Andalusian tango. And yet some have shown that songs like “La Guabina” sung in Havana before 1800 already contain this same tango rhythm and therefore the conventional chronology must be mistaken. Similarly, the *habanera*, an early nineteenth-century Cuban song form is said to have derived from indigenous dances of the Caribbean and to have a close similarity to Argentinian tango, which when played at a swift enough tempo could serve perfectly “as the bass line of the *contradanza*.” It gradually took on a European classical flavor “in the spirit of the minuet” and led to the Cuban *danzón* by way of the *danza*. As a well-established compositional form in the early nineteenth century, the *contradanza* clearly contained the habanera rhythm in the bass line (see Figure 2.3).

![Figure 2.3](image)

Figure 2.3 Musical examples showing the notation of the habanera rhythm in the *contradanza*.

Carpentier (and many others after him) persuasively argues that there is reason to doubt the distinctiveness of these genres:

What is known today as the rumba would be known under twenty different names in the American continent, dances with very slight variations. They were sexual dances, with a couple dancing apart, with identical gestures and intentions, their roots extending all the way back to certain African ritual dances.
“sarabands.” [It is] almost certain that the rhythm designated much later as tango rhythm or habanera rhythm was already known. With regard to the rumba, it was already in the air with all of its characteristics.65

By historical accident, as well as by virtue of Cuba’s centuries-old maritime centrality as a stopping-off point for ships from throughout the Spanish empire, the island became a major production and transportation center for musical innovation.

This pattern of success, publicized by creole pianists in the United States like Louis Moreau Gottschalk and by Spanish publishers of sheet music, created the conditions for the triumph of the son in the early twentieth century. One even sees its effects much later on the orchestration and arrangement of Trinidadian Calypso and Nigerian “highlife.” To anyone familiar with the early Cuban bands, it is impossible not to hear in the accompaniment of early calypsonians like Growling Tiger and Wilmot Houdini a distinctly Cuban orchestration, arrangement, and sonority feel, although this significant point goes unmentioned (or underplayed) in major studies of calypso.66 The 1970s breakout sound of Nigerian highlife music similarly laid the groundwork for such amazing musical personalities as Fela Anikulapo Kuti, whose jazz highlife and later Afro-beat drew heavily on Afro-Cuban jazz (according to the radio broadcaster Benson Idonje, the musicians Tunji Oyelana and Keziah Jones, and Fela Kuti himself).67 The triumph of son and son-based offshoots went beyond the international consumption of a Caribbean musical product. The Cuban son and its offshoots, both before and after salsa proper, became a way of life, adopted by musicians in Japan, Senegal, Turkey, and elsewhere who formed combos, internalized the musical pantheon, and made it their own—exactly as is occurring today with rap, with which it is (in this respect) analogous.

Given the chaotic flow of influences in popular music, the issue of attribution is always open to question, however. Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, for example, points out that popular musical genres then as now went by many names without excessive internal distinctions.68 But what is clear is that already in the nineteenth century, Cuba had succeeded in creating an international musical culture that was not a commercial market. There were obstacles to its development, however. After U.S. troops began their occupation of Cuba, the government they installed denounced Afro-Cuban culture with the eager assent of the cultivated classes.69 It was the paradoxical outcome of the newly imposed North American market on Cuba that explained the next phase of the worldwide expansion of Cuban music, and its precociousness in mechanical reproduction.

Looking to enter new markets capable of buying their products, Cuban music. As Díaz Ayala’s music greats were not strong enough phonographs. Something more associated with the individual companies, the passionate stake. Companies conducted a campaign to make for their preparation for entering actually recorded a full decade working for the recording studio censorship of lyrics, which often U.S.-sponsored government.

Latin music, much of it Cubans of the 1900s on the metropolis itself: jazz, film, the novel, and (evidence is suggested by the names Over Cuba,” Max Morath’s “Cuban Jazz Suite,” and Oscar less direct and ultimately more underplaying of influence. From the New York of West Side Story, the avant-garde still had a left-left barely registered in this urban center of the barrio in the riffs of “Dance in the Gym.” The pop that marked that memorable sound as difficult to assimilate.

The U.S. bohemias of Kerouac and William Burroughs, the pleasure that drew its inspiration prior to the Cuban revolution circles around, say, Margaret, major proponents in English of Mexico, and later Cuba—Hule Cedar Tavern dreaming of an...
rhythm designated much was already known. With all of its character-

The special status of Cuba’s centuries-old trade in norm, as their influence cap for ships from throughout production and trans-

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music, and its precociousness when set alongside jazz in the age of 

mechanical reproduction.

Looking to enter new markets and eager for middle and upper classes 

capable of buying their products, U.S. companies set out to learn about 

Cuban music. As Díaz Ayala points out, Enrico Caruso and other opera 
greats were not strong enough attractions to lure the public into buying 
phonographs. Something more emotional was called for: music associ-
ated with the individual countries themselves in which people had a 

patiose stake. Companies like Edison, Victor, and Columbia con-
ducted a campaign to make recordings of authentic national music in 

preparation for entering their markets. For this reason, Latin music was 

actually recorded a full decade and a half before jazz. Since U.S. officials 

working for the recording studios did not know Spanish, there was no 
censorship of lyrics, which often happened to be critical or satirical of the 

U.S.-sponsored government.

Latin music, much of it Cuban, also exerted its influence from the early 

1900s on the metropolis itself by way of Broadway, symphonic music, 
jazz, film, the novel, and (eventually) television. The Afro-Latin influ-
ence is suggested by the names of such songs as Duke Ellington’s “Moon 

Cuba,” Max Morath’s “Cubanola Glide,” Charlie Parker’s “Afro-
Cuban Jazz Suite,” and Oscar Peterson’s “Cuban Chant.” A number of 

less direct and ultimately more interesting stories grow out of this 

underlay of influence. Emerging from the dull light of the 1950s, 

the New York of West Side Story was the product of a time when the U.S. 
avant-garde still had a left-leaning social conscience. But Latin music 
barely registered in this urban cultural memory despite the thematic hints 
of the barrio in the riffs of Leonard Bernstein’s “America” and his 

“Dance in the Gym.” The populist impulse and the hunger for new forms 

marked that memorable era found the raw and unvarnished Latin 
sound as difficult to assimilate as others before them had.

The U.S. bohemiens of the 1950s – one thinks particularly of Jack 

Kerouac and William Burroughs in Mexico – were staking out a realm of 

pleasure that drew its inspiration at least partly from Latin America even 

prior to the Cuban revolution in 1959. Resourceful, angry outcasts – the 
circles around, say, Margaret Randell, who would become one of the 

major proponents in English of the Cuban testimonio form after living in 

Mexico, and later Cuba – huddled in small mutual support groups at the 
Cedar Tavern dreaming of another life.

The history of the son suggests that the lines between literature and 

music are not as hardened as our disciplinary boundaries imply. In Cuba, 
the novels of Carpentier (a librettist in his own right) were musically
based on the *son* and European classical music simultaneously. Feijóo's extensive research on *son* is conducted largely in the name of showing how the musical genre created the conditions for the rise of the black avant-garde poetry of Nicolás Guillén, Pichardo Moya and others. Like the character of Columbus in his novel *The Harp and the Shadow*, Carpenter "demanded that Cuba be a continent." Guillén's collection *Sóngoro Consóngo* deliberately brought Afro-Cuban synecology and black popular themes to the printed lyric. In the United States, the Afro-Latin connection was explored among others by the novelist James Weldon Johnson in his *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. It also found a place in the hop poetry of Sonia Sanchez as well as in Amiri Baraka, whose famous early visit to Cuba and the essay it prompted made an impact on his poetry and politics alike. Allen Ginsberg, Ishmael Reed, Paul Beatty, although from different generations, all took New York and its Caribbean musical sources as their point of departure.

It is good to recall, too, how completely the sorts of ironies associated with "magical realism" in the 1970s were an ordinary part of the musical development of the Caribbean, and how deeply they were internalized by Latin American artists before marvelous reality was ever theorized. Jacqueline Rosemain describes, for example, how French "bel ais" (light songs) arose from the raucous, pagan mouths of revelers at carnival in a period when "les sociétés de distraction" organized balls that did not neglect to feature lascivious dances like the *calenda*, *tarantella*, *fandango*, and *chica*. Down the street from the upper crust could be heard the music of the cabarets, which were meeting-places of "sailors, soldiers, blacks on the lam, free blacks, pirates, mercenaries, and women of small virtue launching their perpetual siege." The inspirations for dancing and singing, writes Rosemain, came from a variety of sources:

Tall tales of voyages, collisions, battles, everyday events, accounting rules, mockeries, anger, passing love affairs. The mobility of this cosmopolitan clientele and the bustle of the ports, especially those of Saint-Pierre, set the stage for the exchange of music both traditional and insurgent, sea-chanteys that made unlikely improvisations burst forth from the singers. (74)

The audience for Cuban music in the 1920s has no necessary relationship to either the avant-garde or bohemianism (and many of the leaders of the *negrismo* movement were, in fact, either socialists or on their way to becoming one). And yet bohemian intellectuals in New York, as in interwar Paris, lived and worked in surroundings that best illustrate the uses of local cultural reception even without knowing it, the unknown finds his/her way to it in pursuit of one and the same. But the two--the approach and such symbolic slippages, and the dark that quite reaches the cultural revolutions of colonial transplantation. Amiri Baraka was an intellectual whose pioneering work on the vicarious blackness of jazz is striving for "what is missing" the heterodox tendencies of experimental 1950s jazz.

What makes Baraka helpful is that he has very little to say--are the lessons the form he would later set up a contrast between the Village of the 1950s and, on the one hand, in the 1960s; or better, the Latin American-Cuban 1990s, staging original theatrical situations of what he saw while leaving behind a kind of lightheartedness about a black music more confined to the Village Vanguard--but appropriate in this context. For him the new jazz had to do with complaining about a low and devotional contexts and historical audiences, but which tended to be a kind of "high art" as though this was the point.

Unlike jazz, the various Cuban music traditions formed an exclusive national stereotype (as in the case of *chiquito*). The music was very early on associated with "the cosmopolitan triumph", only a different kind of nationalising the global success of Cuban music. The introduction to *Música popular Cubana* (1948) is an aspect. Performed today from South America and Europe, the effect of forging a generic Cuban contribution of Cuba was both instrumental and of seeing why the subject of sales.

It was not only the so-called "heroic" period, marked the interwar European in the texts of Pierre Mabille and the such that jazz in 1906 was only the beginning and will not stop and of which we are
the uses of local cultural receptions as global ones. The bohemian senses, even without knowing it, the underworld history of music as a form, and finds his/her way to it in pursuit of a world where glory and disrepute are one and the same. But the two worlds that colonialism erects cancel out such symbolic slippages, and the bohemian revolt of the metropolis never quite reaches the cultural revolution of the colonial setting (or its anti-colonial transplantation). Amiri Baraka in his Greenwich Village phase was an intellectual whose pioneering studies of blues and bebop appreciated the vicarious blackness of avant-garde practice and the indebted striving for “what is missing” among the early Village devotees of experimental 1950s jazz.

What makes Baraka helpful in an account of son – about which he had very little to say – are the lessons he drew about bohemian subcultures. He would later set up a contrast between, on the one hand, the Greenwich Village of the 1950s and, on the other, the Harlem or Newark where he fled in the 1960s; or better, the Latino Lower East Side that he frequented in the 1990s, staging original theatrical pieces at the Nuyorican Poets Café. It was what he saw while leaving bohemianism that brought into clarity his earlier uneasiness about a black music in settings of portable danger, safely confined to the Village Vanguard (whose name could not be more appropriate in this context). For Baraka the lessons of bebop’s rise had to do with complaining about a white voyeurism that underplayed the devotional contexts and historical record-keeping that mattered to black audiences, but which tended to be rendered by the white critic simply as “high art” as though this was the greatest and final compliment.

Unlike jazz, the various Cuban genres never affixed themselves to an exclusive national stereotype (as the tango did in Argentina, for example). The music was very early on a global product, what Fernando Ortiz called “the cosmopolitan triumph of the Cuban drum” – which is perhaps only a different kind of nationalist boasting. But this is not to say that the global success of Cuban music, noticed already by Eliseo Grenet in his introduction to Música popular Cubana in 1939, did not retain its national aspect. Performed today from Senegal to Japan, salsa had the paradoxical effect of forging a generic Latino identity in which the special contribution of Cuba was both ritualized and thematic (another way of seeing why the subject of salsa is salsa).

It was not only the so-called primitive art of Cubism or jazz that marked the interwar European intellectuals’ obsession with the colonies. Pierre Mabille pointed out that Picasso’s now legendary turn to primitive art in 1906 was only the beginning “of a revolution whose development will not stop and of which we are today still experiencing only the initial
phases.”77 It was his view, in other words, that in spite of familiar history, the European avant-garde’s inspirations were not limited to African sculpture nor were they limited to North American jazz. They were involved with an unacknowledged New World love affair that Breton’s tour of Martinique and Haiti in the 1940s would belatedly affirm.

Interwar avant-garde musicians ended up producing the right access under the wrong conditions. Imagining a society that would have wielded the knowledge for different ends, they perfected outreach using the techniques of aesthetic modernity in the service of counter-modernity. The Italian futurist Luigi Russolo wanted to turn factories into “an intoxicating orchestra of noises.” Like Dada’s disgust with highbrow pretension, Gebrauchsmusik in Germany was devoted to erasing the distinction between art music and music for use. Paul Hindemith’s Spielmusik, performed a similar function. In particular, it was Erik Satie whose manifesto of 1920 called for “furniture music” designed for law offices, banks, marriage ceremonies, and the home. As Joseph Lanza points out, creeping toward Muzak the avant-garde began by wanting to disrupt commercial culture, but ended up providing a blueprint for today’s “sonic wallpaper” and “audioanalgesics” – a common aurality that would live to become “the music world’s Esperanto” in Lanza’s words.78 Afro-Cuban music proved not to be assimilable in quite the same way as these forms. Salsa could be no Esperanto, which made it attractive to New York bohemians at a later date. The hidden power of global mass-culture is always that it continues to communicate its own locality.

As a descendant of son, salsa still grips urban middle-class audiences in part because it resists assimilation despite its many fusions, because it defies the sensual body, exalts the intentional messiness of polyrhythm, and secularizes devotion. Only because of its colonial formation does its aesthetic amount to a meaningful politics, resisting modernity without falling back on the neo-traditionalist revivals of so many of today’s monotheisms.

Face Down

In most contemporary writing, the claim that one make a certain time of music, place, inviolable. To many composers are suspicious, for it is always right that all genres of music are depur, rife with impromptu combinations; every case, they are the product of an indulgence.

In European art music, the composer’s work (Werktreue) is not the fact that styles of “true” people. Performers project their own way that there is a built-in ambiguity to. In popular music, a different tradition, style, or school, or collapse at the first hint of perceived very recent and disenchanted in an attempt to recover the impossible, shallow response to what a little mixed and richly indeterminate.

In the prevailing story, advanced or credulous, usually seduced by it. The task of the contemporary peripheries of modern life — the fluidities of transport and communication, apparently rural, anonymous, recording. The term “modern” amalgam that refers to related, difficult to separate these his

24. I am thinking here, for example, of the work of Jan Carew, Wilson Harris, José Lezama Lima, Edgar Kamau Brathwaite, and Alejo Carpentier, among others. I take up the specific treatment of these issues of modernity and its discontents in Chapter 5, where I explore Cuban music theory of the last four decades.

25. In contemporary “emo,” there is a spectacular evidence of the bid to politics in youth subculture—both at the level of mere words. Bands whose music combines moody sentiments, brittle guitar lashings, and raving silences on names that are like jokes shared with their equally outmaneuvered and powerless fans: Jihad, Living War Room, Slaves, Dillinger Escape Plan, Jonny Eat World, Honeywell, Native Nod, and Four Hundred Years. In German rap of the 1990s there were groups with names like Massive Tone, Freiheitskreis, Islamic Force, and Aziza A (the last two of them from Germany’s Turkish minority), which is less surprising, but the same gesture.

26. Fare, however, is regionally defined—an important proviso to the claims of world music. For the Spanish-speaking Americas, Lecuona is typically placed in the company of composers such as Agustín Lara from Mexico or Rafael Hernández from Puerto Rico. Although Lecuona is probably better known abroad, the other two are more famous among Latin Americans themselves. See Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, *Cuando salí de la Habana: 1898-1997, Cien años de la música cubana* (San Juan: Editora Centenario, 1999), 80.

27. His work is recorded on the London label in a series called “Entartete Musik” (“Forbidden music”—an allusion to the infamous exhibit of degenerate painting under the Nazis titled “Entartete Kunst.”)


31. Intended as a vehicle for Dolores del Rio, the film was the first Astaire/Rogers combo performance, made when Astaire himself was unknown outside Broadway. This number (which involved a forehead-to- forehead posture for the dancers) became a national dance craze in the United States after the film was released.

32. Doris Day, *Sentimental Journey* (New York: Collectables, 2001), B00005R1PB.


34. The process of musical creation, level of technological capacity, and distribution for musicians from smaller countries is explored wonderfully in Rober Wallis and Krisle Malm, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*.

35. Gigi, *Gigi* (New York: Palm Pictures, 2001), PALMCD 2068-2. The CD’s language reinforces the idea that Western genres have names but not Ethiopian genres: “Gigi interprets and transcends the romantic poetry of her native Ethiopian vocal traditions to create a true world fusion of jazz, dub, funk, and multiple African and Afro-Asian music styles.”

Chapter 2 – Surrealism and the Son


2. Cuban scholarship on the son, especially after 1959, is extensive. Among the major works are Samuel Feijoo, *El Son cubano: poesia general* (La Habana:
Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1986) and the evocative and atmospheric photo-essay with biographies (not all Cuban), Son de Cuba, with texts by Leonardo Acosta, René Espí, and Adriana Orejuela, intro. by Eliseo Alberto, and photographs by Tomás Casademunt (Colonia Chapultepec Morales, Mexico: Tríce Ediciones, 1999). Significant scholarly treatment of the form is found, among others, in Argeliers León’s excellent Del canto y el tiempo (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1984); in María Teresa Linares, La música y el pueblo (La Habana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación, 1979); and in Reinaldo Cedeno Pineda and Michel Damían Suárez, Son de la lona: Los danzas de la música cantan en Santiago de Cuba (La Habana: Editorial Musical de Cuba, 2001).

3. A good short definition of son is provided by Carpentier: “a dance that is sung.” Alejandro Carpentier in Music in Cuba, (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 229.

4. Cuban music was, with other foreign imports, the rage in Paris from 1922 onward. These “cubanisms” (as Carpentier, then a Paris-based journalist, dubbed them) entered Europe under the name “rumba,” although they had little technical to do with that highly Africanized and improvisational form. Performers like Julio Caevas, Rogelio Barba, the Tres Hermanos Barreto, and Fernando Collazo frequently performed in such Parisian clubs as La Coupole and Melody’s Bar before European and North American film and stage celebrities.

5. For a fuller account of how this took place, see my “Introduction to the English Edition” of Carpentier, Music in Cuba (op. cit.), 1–31. Particularly important in this respect was the work of Robert Desnos who collaborated with Carpentier on experimental radio programs for Radio Luxembourg, but a number of the poets and painters of the period were collectors of Latin recordings and frequented the music clubs where Latin music was played.


8. A “tres” (literally, “three”) is a traditional Cuban instrument similar to a guitar with three double strings usually plucked rather than strummed and with a deliberately metallic sound.


12. Moving some (Salvador Dali, Robert Desnos) to a more open and untroubled embrace of corporate profit-making, and others to leave the arts entirely and declare themselves communists (Aragon and Tzara).

13. In Germany, Walter Benjamin and Bertolt Brecht brought experimental literary work and political commentary to the mass medium of radio; in France, avant-garde formalist techniques were devised for radio by Robert Desnos and Antonin Artaud.


15. See, for example, the contributions on radio opera in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg,
NOTES TO PAGES 53–61

1. An evocative and atmospheric photo-essay on Cuba, with texts by Leonardo Acosta, photography by Eliseo Alberto, and photographs by Jorge Morales, Mexico: Tríce Ediciones, 1991. The nature of the form is found, among others, in el tiempo (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1991), ❋ de la música y el pueblo (La Habana: Música y Danza, 2001). As reported by Carpentier: “a dance that is sung.”


3. The imports, the rage in Paris from 1922 to 1925, then a Parisian-based journalist, and the name “rumba,” although they had little Africanized and improvisational form. According to Barba, the Tres Hermanos Barreto, performed in such Parisian clubs as La Colombe and the North American Club in Paris.

4. See, for example, see my “Introduction to the English Translation” (op. cit.), 1–31. Particularly important in this regard is the work of those who collaborated with Carpentier on “El Cenizal” in Colíné, Luxembourg, but a number of the poets of Latin recordings and frequented the clubs.


7. Although even here one can learn from J. H. Sturdivant’s point in Music: An Outline of Neo-African Culture (London: Faber and Faber, 1961 [1958]), 17, that “the African tradition as it appears in the light of neo-African music may also be a legend — but it is the legend in which African intelligence believes. And it is their perfect right to declare authentic, correct and true those components of their past which they believe to be so.”

8. Desnos a more open and untroubled (and others to leave the arts entirely and fully). See Jean-Paul Sartre, Brecht brought experimental literary mass medium of radio; in France, avant-garde radio for radio by Robert Desnos and Antonin Artaud... Música popular cubana (La Habana: Letras y Artes, 1991). Radio opera in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendorf.


15. An idea similar to that of Attali in Noise, where he remarks on the homology between the history of tonal music and political economy, “stamping upon spectators the faith that there is harmony in order,” 33, 46. Bloch, “Venturing Beyond and Most Intense World of Man in Music,” 1059.

16. Marta E. Savigliano, Tango and the Political Economy of Passion (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995). “When tango performers and spectators no longer shared a common race, class, and/or culture, tango became exotic for the ones ‘up’ who were looking ‘down’.”


18. Although even here one can learn from J. H. Sturdivant’s point in Music: An Outline of Neo-African Culture (London: Faber and Faber, 1961 [1958]), 17, that “the African tradition as it appears in the light of neo-African music may also be a legend — but it is the legend in which African intelligence believes. And it is their perfect right to declare authentic, correct and true those components of their past which they believe to be so.”

32. Maracas are gourds containing seeds that are shaken to produce rhythmic patterns; cajón (literally, “large box”), a wooden box struck with the hands; bongós, twin hide drums of different sizes connected by a piece of wood and pinned between the knees while played with the hands.

33. Although note the following statement by the Santiago-based poet, Marino Wilson, who sees son as a twentieth-century genre alone, and who considers the U.S. presence in Cuba strangely unproblematic (quoted in Jory Farr, *Rites of Rhythm, The Music of Cuba* [NY: Regan Books, 2003], 68): “As a poet I receive the spirit of Africa through a Cuban prism. But it’s not transmitted through a prism of oppression. In the son you would have to believe. American blues was born in South, where historical conditions were quite different for Africans. Even after the Civil War, American blacks suffered terribly. And that suffering went into their blues. But Cuban son developed after the Spanish lost control of Cuba. There was no longer any slavery in Cuba, and the son reflects that. We can’t forget that Cuba suffered through two wars of independence in the nineteenth century. But by the beginning of the twentieth century, those struggles were over. The son was mostly an ode to love and joy and triumph.”

34. Angelers León, *Del canto y el tiempo* (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1984), 120.

35. Ibid., 136.

36. Farr, *Rites of Rhythm*, 15. Papi Oviedo: “The son without tres is not son. The tres carries the rhythm and melody in son. Later, when the piano became part of the conjunto, the piano played the tumbao, the rhythms that created excitement. But the piano would accompany the tres. And the tresero’s job was to improvise.”

37. León, *Del canto y el tiempo*, 136.

38. Ibid., 139–40.


44. See, however, Leonardo Acosta’s “Los inventores de nuevos ritmos: mito y realidad,” in *Otra visión de la música popular cubana*, 86–118.


“Pero que bonito y sabroso/ báiler de manos y los hombros . . . que las Cubanas hasta parecen que estoy en Habana.”


48. As a widely popular cover song for—been recorded by hundreds of musicians (hills/plains) metaphor is particulled by Maria Dolores Pradera produced by Jerry Masucci, *Los soneros*.


50. “Sal de casa una noche aventure/Ay mi Dios, cuanto gocías/En una calles luminoso/Y llegó al balcar/voz de aquel que pregonabas asi: échale salída.”


52. Celia Cruz, Hector Lavoie, Isaac Quintana, Santos Colon, Isaac Justo Betancourt, Sammy Gonzalez produced by Jerry Masucci, *Far creations que porque canto/ Es que no Dice mucho y sufre poco.”

53. Quinto Mayor, *Salsa con Golpe*.

54. The Best of Ray Barretto (Columbia).

55. “Por cuenta tuya/ Buscando amor/ cuesta se ocupó/E l que se fue (m) sigo siempre en el goce/ O es en importas tú/ Y me entiendo con tuyo/ Y Clave, in addition to being a rhy-


57. Antheil, “The Negro on the Spie”

58. Ibid., 214–15.


62. See Gordon Rohlhrn’s magisteria *Trinidad* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: compilation of calypso history d
...are shaken to produce rhythmical sound, a wooden box struck with the hands; the sound is connected by a piece of wood and held with the hands.


Chapter 3 – Face Down in the Mainstream

4. As Walter Benjamin, describing his essay on the “Ursprung ist das Ziel” (“Origin is the End”): “The focus on the beginnings is always what we want to do. The problem is: The author is deprived of privacy.” (150).
13. “Freedom and Liberation (London: Routledge, 1998). The theoretical problems posed by the ‘black’ music . . . the music is both sorrow, indictment. With the talk of a white ‘rock’ is what its black past is.”