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CONTENTS

FROM THE EDITORS

This second issue of the Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology reflects the diversity of our discipline's interests. Peter Manuel provides an examination of the influence of socialist ideology on the Cuban music scene. Nazir Jairazbhoy considers the concept of consonance in the music of ancient India and questions whether conventional understanding of this subject is complete. Kenneth Culley's first installment of his index to The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians is a guide to those subject and author entries of interest to ethnomusicologists. In this issue's reviews, Steve Loza has prepared a precis of Arturo Chamorro's Los instrumentos de percusión en México and David Such gives us an introduction to "avant garde" jazz in his evaluation of John Litweiler's The Freedom Principle.

The Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology is a publication of the Ethnomusicology Students Association and is funded in part by the Graduate Student Association of the University of California at Los Angeles. The primary objective of the journal is to provide a forum for academic articles pertaining to ethnomusicology, particularly from graduate students at UCLA and elsewhere, but also from interested members of the scholarly community. While anticipating that the majority of submissions will come from scholars in ethnomusicology programs, the editorial board wishes especially to invite contributors from related disciplines such as anthropology, dance ethnology, folklore, psychology, and sociology.

The editors wish to thank those individuals who acted as anonymous referees whose suggestions and advice have helped to improve the quality of the journal. We also wish to thank Stanley Sadie for allowing and encouraging us to print Kenneth Culley's index to the New Grove, Roger Wright for his suggestions about the preparation of the journal, Jane Sugarman for her assistance in the early stages of this volume's planning, and Louise Spear and the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive for office support. The editors wish to acknowledge Tim Rice and Robert Stevenson and our advisors--Sue DeVale in the Music Department and Scott Spicer of the Graduate Student Association of UCLA--who have offered their suggestions and criticisms of PRE's format. Finally, we express our gratitude to the Graduate Student Association for its moral and financial underwriting without which this publication would not have been possible.

IDEOLOGY AND POPULAR MUSIC IN SOCIALIST CUBA

Peter Manuel

Much has been written on the subject of Cuban popular music, although most of this literature is in Spanish and tends to be written from a popular or journalistic rather than scholarly perspective. The usefulness of this material and the need for more academic studies are evident for several reasons, including the extraordinary and persistent international influence of Cuban popular music, the paucity of studies of the effect of the Cuban Revolution on music, and the important role of popular music in Cuban national culture. A study of ideology and popular music in Cuba may contribute to an understanding of how the popular music industry can function in a socialist society.

This article explores some of the attitudes toward the different kinds of popular music in Cuba and discusses aspects of the relationship between these attitudes, popular tastes, cultural policy, and musical ideology. A central goal here is the illustration of some of the complexities involved in such a study; these complexities stem in part from the diversity of opinions encountered (even within the bureaucracy itself), and from the frequent lack of consistency between Marxist theories of art, Cuban cultural policy as explicitly stated, and policy as actually practiced. This article focuses on such attitudes and policies, rather than on the music itself, primarily because the influence of the Revolution, as we will discuss, is far more evident in such extra-musical parameters than it is in the realm of musical style.

In capitalist countries the course of popular music is influenced primarily by the market, in the broadest sense of the word. In socialist Cuba, aspects of the "market"--for example, supply and demand--remain fundamentally influential, but the "demand," including taste, may be strongly affected by class revolution, while aspects of the "supply"--especially, the diffusion of music--may be largely determined by official cultural policy. This policy may often be vague and loose, but ultimately it is the state which, at some level, weighs economic and aesthetic priorities and makes decisions regarding such matters as the funding of music education, the opening of a new provincial radio station, and the import and sale price of

electric guitars. Thus, any attempt to place contemporary Cuban popular music in the context of its social background must deal with the relation of that music to Cuban socialist ideology.

Several Cuban musicologists--before and after the establishment of the Revolutionary government in 1959--have explicitly denounced the negative effects of the commercial North American music industry on Cuba. From the present Cuban perspective the development of music in the pre-Revolutionary period was stunted by the concentration of musical education and patronage in the urban upper and middle classes and, more importantly, it was warped by commercial foreign influences. From the socialist view, the artist, while "free" in the bourgeois sense, was a slave of the market, obliged to commercialize or sensationalize his art, or, often, to leave the country to seek work in New York or elsewhere (see Otero 1976:13).

Cuban authors Alejo Carpentier and Juan Villar lament that the international popularity of Cuban music in this century paradoxically led to its adulteration and sterilization, as Cuban artists and foreign imitators tailored their music to the tastes of Parisian and North American audiences (in Cuba as well as abroad); in doing so they simplified and domesticated rhythms, commercialized the melodies with banal harmonies and lush arrangements, and produced cheap marriages of the vital Cuban dances with the anemic foxtrot (Carpentier 1946:360, and Villar 1981:6-9). While Cuban music was thus commercialized, the Cuban media deluged islanders with "cheap North American music" (Thomas 1971:1164).

Thus, from a purely nationalistic perspective the inundation of foreign pop music was offensive to some Cubans (musicians and musicologists perhaps more so than the common man); from the socialist point of view, the commercial nature of this music made it doubly objectionable. Villar's indictment of the commercialization of Cuban music during this period is representative: the commodification of music, he argues, led to a deformation of taste and ideology, under which art was used as a means of ideological penetration by the dominant classes which controlled the media. This situation encouraged a passive, consumerist mentality by means of presenting an escapist, artificial, inverted portrait of reality--a portrait that obscured class antagonisms and frustrated individual and collective self-realization (Villar 1981).

In the years following the Revolution, nationalized state institutions virtually eliminated and replaced the free market economy (Mesa-Lago 1978:106), including most aspects of the formerly commercial music industry, such as nightclubs, recording companies, radio stations, and concerts. The Revolutionary government has undertaken the promotion of music on a mass scale, regarding the democratization of access to culture as a fundamental duty in the same sense as was literacy (Otero 1972:13-14). Although hampered by shortages of funds and teachers, and by a certain degree of chaos resulting from bureaucratic inexperience and the dislocation of the economy, the first decade of the Revolution saw a "remarkable improvement of material facilities for cultural expansion" (Mesa-Lago 1978:106). Music education has been introduced throughout the countryside via neighborhood cultural centers; where funds have been lacking, songs have been taught in schools via the radio (León 1984). Competitions and performance forums for amateurs were established (such as Todo el mundo canta, and the Adolfo Guzmán competition), and regular festivals of all kinds of Cuban music have been held, public admission being free or nominal in cost. While record production appears to have stagnated somewhat (Díaz Ayala 1981:286-287), publication of books (including musical literature) increased exponentially (Otero 1972:50), radio transmission potential tripled (Castro 1977), and prices were lowered at the now-nationalized clubs like the Tropicana. Mesa-Lago's table of average salaries (1981:154) illustrates the high priority given to musical entertainers: out of 36 occupations in all major fields, the salary of a "well-known musician" (700 pesos monthly) is equalled or surpassed by only four other occupations (cabinet minister, hospital director, highly skilled technician, and cane-cutter).

It is clear that popular music occupies an important place in Cuban cultural policy, and that it has been fully recognized as a vital and valuable part of Cuban cultural heritage; hence, for example, Che Guevara's oft-quoted ideal of "socialism with pachanga" (pachanga was a Cuban popular dance of the 1950's), Culture Minister Armando Hart Davalos's reference to the "festive character" of the Revolution (1983:68), and the explicit support given to national music in the Declaration of the 1971 National Congress on Education and Culture (National Congress 1977). This kind of state support contrasts with policies in some other socialist countries, such as Hungary, where popular music is at

best tolerated by the government (Szemere 1983). Policy regarding ideological expression has tended to follow Fidel Castro's broad 1963 dictum: "Within the Revolution, everything; against the Revolution, nothing." On a practical level, implementation of this policy has led to little state interference in musical style and content (see Lockwood 1969:136), aside from an obvious intolerance of counter-Revolutionary expressions, and, more specifically, a radio ban on all music produced by defectors (which, as Díaz Ayala cynically notes, would also apply to the music of pachanga inventor Eduardo Davidson). This article illustrates some of the diversity of opinions on popular music in Cuba, and reveals how cultural policy regarding it has not been monolithic, rigid or immune to criticism from within.

Rock Music and Cuban Ideologies

North American and British pop music--mostly rock--continues to enjoy considerable popularity in Cuba, and several youths interviewed by this author expressed their preference for it over Cuban music. The true extent of its popularity, however, is difficult to estimate. Record stores generally feature at most a few uncopyrighted 45 rpm discs of top hits from abroad (for example, Michael Jackson, Paul McCartney), and thus record sales cannot be used as an index of demand.[1] Public exposure and access to foreign pop music occur largely through radio (Cuban and Miami- based stations), TV music video broadcasts, and recordings brought by visiting Cuban-Americans. Tastes appear to follow selected contemporary rock artists; thus, favorites in 1984 were, predictably, Michael Jackson, Lionel Richie, Olivia Newton-John, Foreigner, assorted disco hits and established perennials like the Rolling Stones. On the whole, rock music is consumed but not produced in Cuba, although rock elements may be employed in Cuban dance music and other orchestral canción arrangements.

A rough idea of the popularity of rock music in Cuba can be gleaned from a preliminary survey of the dance music tastes of 100 students in Havana, conducted in 1982 by members of the Center for Research and Development of Cuban Music (CIDMUC) in Havana (Saenz and Vinueza 1982). The study revealed that among this group, the popularity of salsa and Cuban dance music was roughly equal to that of the current rock favorites in Cuba at the time (Kool and the Gang, Kiss, Queen, and Christopher Cross).

Co-author Maria Elena Vinueza cautioned against drawing general conclusions from such a limited questionnaire, but opined that a larger study involving a broader class and geographical cross-section of participants would probably yield comparable results, with the exception that the names of the preferred rock groups would differ now (Vinueza 1984).

Cuban radio and television both devote a considerable amount of air play to rock music, both in response to its popularity and a realization that boycotting North American pop music would simply drive more young Cubans to tune in to commercial Florida stations or the Voice of America, which can be picked up in much of Cuba except during inclement weather. Cuban media deliberately exclude, however, foreign songs or music videos which they feel promote sex and violence (Pereira 1984).

In early 1973, the Cuban government did prohibit stations from transmitting any North American or British pop and folk music, alleging that such music promoted alienation (Mesa-Lago 1978:111). Not even protest songs were tolerated, for Cuban officialdom regarded North American pop culture, and especially hippie culture, as self-indulgent, drug-induced escapism,[2] and an aberrant degeneration of bourgeois culture (Thomas 1971:1435). The ban appears to have been part of a general defensive crackdown in culture and ideology, encompassing a tightening of censorship, curbs on travel permits for foreigners, opposition to "imperialist" cinema, television and art, and condemnation of writers like Sartre and Carlos Fuentes who had protested Cuba's persecution of the poet Padilla.

Tensions were relaxed in 1974, and American pop music was back on Cuban radio to stay. Mesa-Lago (1978:111) relates the softened stance to the change in the United States' presidency and the atmosphere of detente following the Vietnam withdrawal, while a Cuban friend insisted to me, undoubtedly with considerable exaggeration, that a primary factor in the reinstatement of foreign pop was a "near rebellion" on the part of Cuban youth.

Rock music is primarily a product of the capitalist West, and the worldview and life styles associated with it are clearly capitalist in flavor; as such its popularity in socialist Cuba presents a contradiction that Cuban commentators have been obliged to confront. Attitudes vary, and in spite of the numerous Cuban denunciations of the negative influence of cultural colonialism and the corrupting influence of the capitalist market on artistic creation, opinions regarding the

influence of North American music are not all entirely negative--especially, of course, with the young, among whom this music is tremendously popular. Argeliers León, one of Cuba's leading composers and ethnomusicologists, denied that the popularity of North American and British pop in Cuba reflected any failure of Cubans to liberate themselves from mainland culture. León (1984) pointed out that Cuba has freely adopted musical elements from North America since the nineteenth century, when blackface minstrel groups visited the island. León similarly denied that the foreign pop music heard in Cuba was inherently commercial or ideological in character, saying:

> Commercialism is independent from aesthetic values; rather it concerns the use to which music is put...here we do not receive the commercialism, only the music... We can assimilate the good values in this music without subjecting it to a commercial usage, or promoting a cult around the singer. And in ideological terms, this music doesn't bother us at all, because it has only aesthetic meaning and value for us. One can say that there has always been incorporation of North American music into Cuban music. A popular urban music developed here which owed much to that music, and that has been changing in accordance with influences from the North. Such factors as the individualism which is exploited by commercialism don't exist here, nor is alienation an inherent product of commercialization. If we can borrow from North American music when it serves us, it's a form of winning against imperialism--taking what good the North American people have to offer, without their system.[3]

Other Cubans (not to mention many foreign ethnomusicologists) would question whether any music or art can shed the ideology of the class that sired it. The 1971 Congress of Education and Culture, for example, declared "Culture, like education, is not nor can ever be apolitical or impartial, insofar as it is a social and historical phenomenon conditioned by the necessities of the social classes and their struggles through the course of history." Further, Cuban musicians like Enrique Jorrín (Pola 1983a:21) have continued to voice their disapproval of the indiscriminate acceptance of foreign pop music

in Cuba on familiar nationalistic grounds.[4] But, as we have seen, it is León's tolerant view of North American music--including rock--that seems to be most congruent with state policy as practiced. While his denial of the inherent ideology of rock music (or music in general) may be at odds with much of Marxist theory, on another level he is expressing a faith in the strength of Cuban socialist culture to be able to absorb foreign influences while retaining its own integrity. More important, León argues, than the nature of the music itself are extra-musical factors like the use to which music is put, and the ideological orientation of the listener which conditions the way he apprehends music. León's views are echoed in those of Jorrín (Pola 1983a:21) and others (for example, Villar 1981:7), who argue that while some pop music, for example, may have a reactionary class ideology, it can be digested with impunity by an educated and politically aware audience that is ideologically prepared not be lured by inherent commercialism.

Cuban Dance Music

The field of Cuban dance music encompasses rumba, chachachá, guaracha, mambo, danzón, son pregón, and, above all, son. These genres constitute the core of the music which Puerto Ricans and Latinos in the United States often call "salsa," but Cubans, as we shall discuss, apply that term only to the foreign-produced imitations or offshoots of their own dance music, for which there is no single comparable term except "música bailable cubana" (Cuban dance music).

Discussions of most of the individual genres concerned may be found in several Cuban publications (for example, Carpentier 1946, León 1972, Urfé 1982) and a few English-language ones (for example, Borbolla 1980, Singer and Friedman 1977, Roberts 1979, Crook 1982). While the reader is urged to consult these sources for more detailed information, the relevant genres are briefly outlined here.

Properly speaking, "rumba" refers to a secular Afro-Cuban music-dance genre performed vocally with percussion instruments. In this century, elements of the most popular variety of rumba, the guaguancó, have gradually been incorporated into the son, which itself has been the predominant Cuban popular musical genre since the 1920's, and which is regarded as the Cuban musical expression par excellence (Orozco 1982), synthesizing Afro-Cuban,

Hispanic, and jazz elements in a uniquely Cuban manner. Son itself has undergone several evolutionary stages, rendering the term somewhat imprecise. The genre became widely popular in the 1920's, when it was typically played by a conjunto ("ensemble") of guitar, tres (guitar-like instrument of three double courses), trumpet, percussion, and voices. The son's formal structure bears some affinities with that of the rumba, particularly in the presence of a final, often long, call-and-response section (the montuno) with a repeated harmonic ostinato. In subsequent decades (particularly in the music of Arsenio Rodríguez), piano and other horns were added, individual percussion patterns standardized, tempo accelerated, and instrumental arrangements became more elaborate, while the basic structure of the son has continued to be the backbone of Cuban dance music and salsa.

The now-archaic danzón has a more European derivation and character; from the early decades of this century, it was most typically played by a charanga ensemble of flute, violins, piano, and percussion. In the 1940's and 1950's, it was one source for the development of the mambo--a rather vague term generally denoting an up-tempo instrumental composition with elaborate antiphonal horn sections--and for the chachachá. The latter term is often used loosely to denote a characteristic medium-tempo composite rhythm, but more precisely denotes a genre using that rhythm, performed by charanga bands.

Guaracha is an up-tempo dance piece, more popular in the nineteenth century, with a picaresque and often bawdy text. The son pregón is distinguished by its text, which imitates the calls of street vendors. The son pregón and, to some extent, the guaracha bear affinities with the son in rhythm and formal structure.

Cuban dance music is regarded as having reached a peak of sorts in the 1950's, especially in the musics of Benny Moré, Chappotín, Miguelito Cuní, and others. Since 1959, there have been no dramatic revolutions or new trends in the evolution of Cuban dance music, a fact which has led a few writers to call it stagnant (for example, Thomas 1971:1464). However, aside from a few specific trends such as the brief furor of the mozambique rhythm in the 1960's, there have been some notable developments, albeit within the basic stylistic frameworks inherited from the 1950's. For the last several years, the most popular and acclaimed groups have been Irakere and Los Van Van, led by composer-arrangers Jesus ("Chucho") Valdez and Juan Formell,

respectively. Dance music innovations have not been confined to these two groups, but they are the two most distinguished, accessible (on recordings), and representative bands. Van Van's novelty lies primarily in the frequent use of the new songo rhythm (which has a stronger downbeat than the more fluid rumba or son rhythms) and the distinctive ensemble timbre resulting from the addition of four trombones to a charanga format and a more active use of the flute in arrangements. Irakere's innovations include: the occasional combination of traditional Afro-Cuban rhythms and solos in modern jazz style within the format of an extended piece (for example, their Misa Negra, as recorded on Columbia 35655); the use of more elaborate arrangements, rock rhythms, and/or son rhythms with a far more active bass pattern (as in Aguanile on the same record); and the use (or parody) of rhythms and forms such as the conga.

While some afficionados of nueva trova--the "new song" discussed below--may deplore the triviality of many of the texts in the genres discussed above, these styles are designed as dance music, such that profundity is generally not expected of the texts. On the whole, their subject matter does not differ from that of the traditional son or rumba. The most common themes are love and heterosexual relationships, daily life, praise of Cuban dance music itself, or praise of Havana (for example, Irakere's "Yo soy de La Habana"), or of Santiago de Cuba (see, for example, the recorded collection of such songs on Egrem 2D-253), or of Cuba in general. A few songs concern the Afro-Cuban cults, and a significant minority are revolutionary (e.g., Van Van's "Qúe palo es ese?"). While the socialist content expressed in the latter may be new, it is best appreciated as continuing the tradition of political rumbas and congas, and revolutionary/nationalistic puntos and canciones dating from the nineteenth century and continuing to the present.

The fact that most Cuban dance groups play more conventional music than Irakere or Van Van, and the fondness of Cuban youth for foreign pop music and salsa has led to a prodigious concern among journalists, musicians, producers, and listeners regarding the state of Cuban dance music. The variety of opinions, and the depth of the preoccupation are best reflected in numerous interviews in Cuban magazines, especially Bohemia, and in the lengthy series of interviews with musicians, musicologists, and producers in Revolución y Cultura entitled "Música popular: sigue

la encuesta" ("Popular Music: The Survey Continues") (Martínez 1979-80).[5]

Some of those questioned (for example, journalist José Rivero and Pedro Izquierdo) as well as musicologists interviewed by myself (including Argeliers León and Olavo Alen) denied the existence of any stagnation or demoralization in the realm of Cuban dance music.[6] Others complained of a lack of creativity in the field (composer Rodrigo Prats), an "avalanche of facilism" and mediocrity (television director Douglas Poncé), cheap and tasteless texts (singer Amaury Pérez Vidal), and a general inability to compete with music from abroad (composer Enrique Jorrín). Most commonly expressed, however, was the opinion that, while Cuban dance music remained more or less vital, its popularity was undermined by poor media diffusion (such as the excessive reiteration of the same few hits--see Rodolfo de la Fuente), unfair media domination by Havana musicians (Osmundo Calzado), and bureaucratic obstacles to exposure and recognition (see, for instance, José Rivero).

The last complaint was voiced with particular stridence by saxophonist Paquito d'Rivera, who deplored the bureaucratic control restricting, for example, movement of a musician from one band to another, the insufficient number of live concerts, and, above all, the need for "inside" bureaucratic contacts and assistance ("la plantilla") in order to get ahead. The unusual note of bitterness in d'Rivera's complaint was prophetic, as he shortly thereafter defected to the United States, where he has established himself as a respected exponent of Latin jazz.

It is of interest that some of the criticisms of the Cuban media and music bureaucracy more or less parallel those of the music industry in the capitalist world, since these two sets of institutions perform the same functions, albeit in their own ways. Just as AM radio stations in the United States may focus programming on a small number of hits, so do the Cuban media tend to endlessly reiterate a few favorites (for instance, in 1984, Van Van's "Y qué tu crées?"), while many fine groups are ignored.

Furthermore, denunciations of the commercialism of bourgeois music notwithstanding, there is no reason to doubt that a degree of commercialism may exist in the realm of Cuban music. While a musician's salary may not be directly related to parameters like record sales or concert attendance, salaries do vary considerably, such that a performer might well feel inclined to alter his style in order to reach a wider audience and move into

a higher income category. In the absence of advertising and of competition between record companies for sales, Cuban writers tend to speak not of commercialism but instead of "facilism" and "populism," connoting unimaginative reliance on hackneyed sentimental effects, and the attempt to appeal to a lowest-common-denominator audience.

Evidence suggests that the diffusion of music has improved greatly in the last decade; this improvement is reflected in the profusion of live concerts, the abundance of LP discs filling what 15 years previously had been the near-empty shelves of record stores, and, above all, the enlivening of media presentations with such shows as "Para bailar" ("for dancing"), a popular television special featuring amateur dance contests with largely Cuban dance music. The latter show is singled out for praise by several interviewees--such as musicologists Helio Orovio and Zoila Gómez (in Martínez 1979). The increased attention to creative and lively programming is attributed by New York Times journalist Joseph Treaster (1984) to anticipated competition from the Reagan Administration's Florida-based "Radio Martí," but Cuban officials deny this explanation. The fact that many of the media improvements commenced several years ago suggests that they derive at least in part from internal factors such as the public criticisms mentioned above, from shifting policy priorities (for example, away from exporting revolution, instead concentrating on internal quality of life), and economic stabilization.

The "Salsa" Phenomenon

Much of the preoccupation with the state of Cuban dance music stems from the recent competition with the music now referred to as "salsa" (literally, "hot sauce"). Salsa is sometimes distinguished from Cuban dance music by its inclusion of non-Cuban Latin dance genres, especially the Colombian cumbia, the Dominican merengue, and the Puerto Rican plena and bomba. In the repertoires of most bands, however, these genres are peripheral to the musical core constituted by the Cuban guaracha, chachachá, and, above all, the modern son. Salsa horn instrumentation and arrangement style also may differ somewhat from that of the modern Cuban son, but the most important distinction between salsa and Cuban dance music remains non-musical: salsa is produced outside of Cuba, primarily by

Cubans and Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico and New York City, but also by groups in Mexico, Venezuela, and other Caribbean Latin countries (where it may be called música tropical). While the term "salsa" is now in extremely common usage, it is regarded as meaningless by many Latin musicians (Roberts 1979:188); the statement of band-leader Tito Puente is typical: "The only salsa I know comes in a bottle; I play Cuban music" (Martínez 1982).

Salsa, and the son style therein, derive primarily from Cuban dance music of the 1950's, although this music had certainly established its own roots in Puerto Rico by then. Roberts (1979:191) points out the increased jazz element in salsa, but many contemporary Cuban bands (e.g., Irakere, Rumbavana, and Son 14) incorporate jazz elements in much the same manner. Often, not only the style but the songs themselves are borrowed from the traditional Cuban repertoire; such is the case with Venezuelan salsero Oscar d'León's recording of Jesus Martínez's Yo quisiera saber and of Miguel Matamoros's El que siembra su maiz, El Gran Combo's (Puerto Rican) version of Felix Caignet's familiar Frutas de Caney, their recycling of Maria Teresa Vera's Falsaria as Salomé, Roberto Torres's LP of hits written by or associated with the Trio Matamoros, and Tito Puente's 1978 album dedicated to Benny Moré. Meanwhile, Cuban-born salsa musicians like Celia Cruz have continued to record and perform Cuban standards.

In general, salsa texts do not differ dramatically from those of Cuban dance music. Puerto Rican groups (El Gran Combo, Sonora Ponceña and others) naturally tend to sing nationalistic songs about their own homeland rather than about Cuba, while songs in the "daily life" category may describe the exasperation of waiting for a New York subway (e.g., Bobby Rodríguez: "Numero Seis") rather than the overcrowding of Havana (e.g., Van Van's "La Habana no aguanta más"). The music of collaborators Willie Colón (composer and band-leader) and Ruben Blades (singer) is often singled out for its eclectic juxtaposition of different Latin styles, its elaborate orchestral arrangements, and, above all, its greater attention to texts; many of these texts describe barrio life, indict social evils ("Plástico"), or support socio-political reform in fraternal Latin nations like El Salvador ("Tiburón").

While many salsa texts call for pan-Latin solidarity (e.g., Tito Allen/Ray Barretto: "Indestructible"), most avoid committing themselves to either a right- or left-wing stance. This

ambiguity is not surprising considering the extreme polarization of the salsa listening audience, from radical proletariats in New York, San Juan and Caracas to extreme right-wing Cuban-Americans based in Florida. Elements of the latter group have been particularly influential, blacklisting Ruben Blades for his support of the Sandinista government[7] and threatening to boycott Oscar d'León after his recent visit to Cuba; d'León, under pressure to mollify his Cuban-American audience, subsequently criticized the Cuban Revolution (Pereira 1984).[8]

The use of the term "salsa" for Latin dance music may derive from the song "Échale salsita" of the Septeto Nacional (Roberts 1979:187), and later from an early 1960's Caracas radio program entitled "La hora de la salsa" ("The salsa hour") (Pierre Goldman, in Martínez 1982). It seems clear, however, that the term's popularization was associated with Fania Records, the largest New York record company specializing in Latin dance music. Fania's head and founder, Jerry Masucci, promoted the term in a deliberate and successful attempt to give a single marketable and catchy label to the various genres comprising Latin dance music (Martínez 1982). The term stuck, and the last decade has seen a tremendous vogue of "salsa" in the United States, Puerto Rico, and other Latin America countries.

It is not surprising that Cuban views of the salsa phenomenon are highly ambivalent, and have been debated avidly in the media and in such contexts as the conference on the son held in Santiago de Cuba in 1982. On the one hand, while Cubans naturally appreciate the vogue of their musical styles abroad, some resent how the use of the term "salsa" as a marketing label obscures the true origins of the styles it comprehends.[9] Cuban musicologist Martha Castellón (1982) writes, "In countries like Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela, young people, knowing nothing of past Cuban music, think that 'salsa' is as modern as disco, that it has no relation to the past." Castellón regards the salsa phenomenon as another illustration of the cultural and informational domination of Latin America by the North American media, wherein Latino satellite states may be ignorant of and isolated from the cultures of their neighbors, dependent instead on the United States for cultural and ideological input from abroad. Since the United States has made a particular effort to isolate Cuba economically, diplomatically, culturally, and ideologically, the commercially successful recycling of Cuban music under the "alienating and mystifying slogan" (Torres 1982)

of "salsa" is seen as especially duplicitous. In a similar vein, Cuban musicologist Dora Ileana Torres (1982) regards the phenomenon as a typical instance of North America imperialist exploitation wherein a "primary product" (in this case, musical style) is extracted without due compensation from an underdeveloped nation, and is then packaged and marketed as a North American product. The appropriation of Latin music is thus, she argues, in the tradition of the "brain drain" under which many Latino musicians migrated to the United States to work.

Most Cuban commentators--including Torres and Castellón--are generally quick to point out that the salsa vogue in itself is a positive and healthy phenomenon, despite the artificiality of the rubric "salsa" and its relation to cultural imperialism. Cuban musicians themselves appreciate how the salsa boom has greatly promoted and popularized Cuban music, not only abroad, but especially among Cuban youths, who might otherwise be less familiar with their own musical heritage.[10] Says Van Van's leader Juan Formell, "With Oscar d'León and Ruben Blades, our young people start to enjoy traditional Cuban music" (Rivero and Pola 1983:21).

Cubans also view with pleasure the pan-Latin solidarity for which so many salsa songs explicitly call, insofar as it serves to counter North American cultural dominance. Salsa, asserts Martínez (1982), "reflects the vigor of the Latin American musical identity, erected as a rampart against the racial discrimination and acculturating designs of the dominating Yankees." Similarly, Torres (1982) writes of the paradoxical "boomerang" effect of the vogue, by which salsa's very commercial success contributes to a growing Latino cultural solidarity; "that is, in spite of the manipulations of the gigantic mechanism of the North American culture industry, salsa has developed into a shared song form of the (Caribbean) Latin American peoples."

Insofar as salsa songs do express this solidarity, their ideology is well-received in Cuba. Hence Ruben Blades and Willie Colón are particular favorites on the island, and Blades' occasional encounters with and praise of Cuban musicians are featured in the Cuban press. The aforementioned CIDMUC survey revealed that while the poll group enjoyed salsa and Cuban dance music roughly equally,[11] they expressed a marked preference for some of the salsa texts, especially those of Blades and Colón. (Indeed, the text emphasis and formal experimentation of Colón

and Blades renders much of their music less suitable for dancing than for active listening.)

Other aspects of salsa ideology are less appreciated in Cuba, such as the perceived sexism, vulgarity, and superstar flamboyance of Oscar d'Leon's texts and stage presence (including performing onanistic antics with his upright bass), which received mixed response in his Cuban tour (Capetillo 1983:21). D'Leon's style was parodied throughout 1984 in the floor show at the popular Havana Libre club. The vaudeville-like repertoire included a few songs of d'Leon, whose music is much loved in Cuba, partly because of its Cuban flavor and the frequent sentimental references to Cuba in his texts. One of his best-known and most popular songs is "Mi negra" ("My Dark One"), a particular favorite because of its catchy melody, but also a sexist complaint about his girlfriend's obstinacy ("She doesn't do laundry, doesn't iron, doesn't do anything, says she's tired--Out! I wear the pants around here"). In the live rendering of this song at the Havana Libre show, the vocal roles were reversed, with the singer being a middle-aged black woman complaining about her lazy, freeloading lover, who cringed and sulked behind her on the stage. Thus, while the audience got to hear one of its favorite songs, the song's machismo was effectively lampooned, to the considerable evident delight of the audience.

The popularity of salsa in Cuba, then, poses in itself an interesting and complex set of questions for those involved in or concerned with Cuban popular music--questions which stem from the paradoxical competition between Cuban dance music and what Cubans regard as recycled versions of that music produced in the capitalist world. As with rock, the Cuban media have disseminated salsa in accordance with popular demand, while commentators on popular culture continue to debate the issues of nationalism, ideology, and style posed by the salsa vogue.

The Cancion Romantica

We may now turn to music which is not intended for dance. In Cuba, the traditional genres in this category are collectively referred to as trova, and they include the (Cuban) bolero, criolla, guajira, clave, and, above all, the cancion. Most of these originated in the nineteenth century, their primary models being Spanish canciónes (boleros, tiranas, and polos), German

lieder, French romanzas, and especially Italian operatic arias. Products primarily of the black urban petty bourgeoisie, the trova songs dealt with love, the Cuban countryside, and nationalism (Gómez 1979:22-23). The most renowned composers were Sindo Garay (1866-1968) and Pepe Sánchez (1856-1918). From the 1930's on, "intermediate" trova incorporated features of the Cuban son (as in the bolero-son of Miguel Matamoros), but also came increasingly under the influence of North American popular music. This last trend contributed to the rise in the 1940's of filin (from "feeling"), a more unabashedly sentimental canción, also of urban working class origin, still typically performed, in trova tradition, by one or two vocalists with accompanying guitar. While traditional trova still abounds in Cuba, since 1950, under continuing foreign influence, the canción has adopted a mainstream international style, paralleling the course of its sentimental popular counterparts in the United States and Europe, that is, in the format of a solo singer backed by lush orchestral arrangements, with relatively standardized formal structure, and song lyrics dealing almost exclusively with heterosexual intimacy.

Thus, while one may trace the development and cultivation of the Cuban canción over the last century, in its present state it is identical in form and content to the international style of sentimental slow song, as rendered by Barbara Streisand, Julio Iglesias, and the like. Cuban canción singers also replicate the melodramatic--and, one may argue, affected--stage mannerisms of their foreign counterparts, such as the dazzling costume, the head bent down pensively between verses, and the histrionic gestures and postures culminating during the final climax.

The commercial and bourgeois associations of this music are, if anything, even more striking than in rock music, and as a result the pop canción's extraordinary popularity in socialist Cuba may well seem anomalous. The modern canción romantica, whether by Cuban or foreign artists, appears to be the single most predominant musical genre on the Cuban media, and it also dominates the large Cuban music competitions, notably Todo el mundo canta and the annual Adolfo Guzmán forum (referred to by the newspaper Tribuna as "the most important national musical event"). Further, whereas in other countries such music may be associated with the older generation, in Cuban competitions such as the Guzmán, the vast majority of singers and composers are under 35 years of age.

Canción texts are almost invariably romantic and apolitical. In the three-day festival of the 1984 Guzmán competition in Havana, the several entries by nueva trova "members" were not exceptions to this pattern. On the media they are broadcast side-by-side with similar foreign songs like "My Way"--in both Spanish and English versions--with its very un-socialist celebration of individualism ("What is a man, what has he got, if not himself?...The record shows I took the blows and did it my way"). Silvio Rodríguez does point out, however, the decline of picaresque "bar songs" portraying the male protagonist drowning his sorrows in liquor and disparaging a "cursed woman" (Areito 1975:87).

Aside from the popular appeal of the modern canción, Cuban writers and commentators on music are as ambivalent toward it as they are toward salsa and rock. On the one hand, the long evolution and cultivation of the canción in Cuba enables Cubans to regard it as a native form, even if its elements are foreign (Alen 1984), such that the classics of Sindo Garay and Pepe Sánchez are ranked among the most sublime expressions of Cuban popular culture (Gómez 1979:23). Hence, some of those interviewed by the author (including Argeliers León, Olavo Alen, and Alfredo Pereira) do not regard the "commercial" sound of the sentimental canción as anomalous in Cuba. Further, Cubans do point out that whether or not the content of such music is revolutionary, the admission price of live performances is; for a mere peso (about one dollar), one could, for example, attend the Guzmán finalists concerts in the luxurious Karl Marx theater and hear Cuba's top canción singers backed by full orchestra, with the most opulent and glittery Las Vegas-style stage lighting effects and sound system. State subsidies of such events are regarded as means toward the democratization of culture, in the sense that they render such extravaganzas accessible to everyone.

Nevertheless, the modern sentimental canción is not unanimously accepted, and, indeed, it is the butt of much criticism in periodicals. Thus, nueva trova singer Amaury Pérez deplores the melodramatic pop style which "becomes ever more remote from our own popular music, and especially from dance music" (in Martínez 1980). Similarly, vocalist Miriam Ramos laments the machismo and "negative ideology" of the canción, which appears "in open contradiction with the epoch in which we live, and in frank opposition to the image of love which the young should have in maturing" (in Martínez 1980). Juan Villar

indicts the canción as a commodified fabrication of the bourgeois music industry, relying on facile, catchy melodies, lush banal orchestration, simplified rhythms, and shallow, escapist texts which obscure social reality. Thus, he argues, the sentimental canción, "given the disappearance of the economic causes which engendered it, has no reason to persist, much less to be sung, in our country, since its social function is nil." Its continued popularity is due to the "deformation of taste, the responsibility for which lies with the mass media, and, more explicity, the dominant classes which always controlled them, promulgating a music which responded only to their interests" (Villar 1981:9).

The popularity of the canción in Cuba reveals, of course, that it does have considerable social function; what is at question is whether or not this function is incompatible with socialism. As with rock and salsa, state policy, reflected in the substantial promotion and dissemination of the canción, is considerably more tolerant and indulgent of popular demand than are the attitudes of critics like Villar. Again, one may well note the contrasts with the authoritarian policies of certain other socialist countries, such as China during the Cultural Revolution.

Nueva Trova

Thus far all the musical genres we have considered have been either foreign or pre-revolutionary in origin. As we have seen, the popularity of the former genres, and the relative stasis of the latter have generated ambivalent responses among defenders of the Cuban Revolution. The one genre that is clearly a product of the Revolution, and that explicitly reflects and promotes its ideology, is nueva trova. Nueva trova, the Cuban variety of the pan-Latin nueva canción, has justifiably received some scholarly attention in English as well as Spanish publications (see Carrasco 1982, Acosta 1981, Benmayor 1981). Stylistically, the genre is an extension of traditional trova--especially the Cuban canción--and it occasionally uses traditional poetic forms like the ten-line décima (Acosta 1981:15). However, the style is modernized by a free use of elements from North American rock and pop music, occasionally from non-Cuban Latin folk traditions (especially of the Andes and Puerto Rico), and the use of modern instrumentation (including synthesizers). The traditional

elements are used in a self-conscious manner, in an explicit effort to revive Cuban folkloric styles by giving them new content (León 1984). The use of other Latin forms and instruments is seen as expressing fraternal solidarity; sometimes, this may be more symbolic and gratuitous than musically functional, as, for example, when the group Manguaré uses Andean drums and flutes in a song whose style and texture remain that of tame North American "soft rock." The goal of appealing to a pan-Latin audience may also contribute to the frequent use of a bland, mainstream canción style, which may not be new, not to mention revolutionary.

The revolutionary aspect of nueva trova lies, then, primarily in its texts. On the one hand, their ideology has roots in such sources as the nineteenth-century nationalistic and revolutionary puntos and canciones, and the guarachas of Carlos Puebla. The socialist content, naturally, is more recent than the nineteenth century, drawing inspiration from the verse of the poets Neruda, Vallejo, and Guillén, as well as progressive North American singers like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez (Acosta 1981:11). Poetic style ranges from highbrow surrealism to more simple and accessible verse. As often as not, the subject matter may be love or personal relationships rather than socio-political affairs, but nueva trova composers stress their deliberate avoidance of machismo, objectification of women ("your pearly teeth," etc.), and romantic stereotypes and rhetoric (Acosta 1981:22).

Performance presentation also contrasts with that of the sentimental canción. As Benmayor observes, there is a conscious endeavor to demystify the artist, partly through frequent free live performances (1981:26). "From its inception, therefore, the nueva trova has waged war on banality and commercialism in song. It rejects the star syndrome, nightclub-style performances, glitter, and show. The singers appear on stage in street clothes, refuse to be made up, and strive to communicate with their audience in a natural, honest fashion" (Benmayor 1981:14).

In most Latin American countries, nueva canción may be categorized as "protest" music, and as such is often in an antagonistic relationship with governments--the extreme example being Chile, where, since the 1973 coup it has been effectually banned. In Cuba, appropriately, the genre is celebrated unequivocally on popular and offical levels. Clearly, quite a few Cubans who are fans exclusively of dance music take little

interest in nueva trovador Silvio Rodríguez's thin voice and bland arrangements; but there is no doubt that nueva trova enjoys considerable popularity in Cuba. Government support, meanwhile, is not simply a matter of passive approval or routine administration of diffusion. Carrasco describes how the nueva trova has become

> ...a sort of mass youth organization with representatives all over the country. Since its official birth in 1972 its members have met every year or two to discuss common problems and elect their representatives in the governing body, the Executive Directorate of the Movement of the Nueva Trova Cubana. This movement currently numbers 2,000 young people, membership depending on artistic or personal merit and the submission of works for discussion by active regional members. The basic units are called 'detachments of the trova,' and consist of groups or soloists. From time to time these detachments meet to discuss new compositions and organizational, artistic or political problems. As can be seen, the nueva trova has its statutes, its organizational structures and its operational machinery, and is highly organized at every level (Carrasco 1982:616).

Due to the compatibility between nueva trova and Cuban cultural policy and Revolutionary goals, the genre certainly presents none of the dilemmas and contradictions posed by rock, salsa, and the sentimental canción.[12]

Conclusions

This article has examined the relationship between the reality of popular music in Cuba and the theories and attitudes toward it expressed by officials, bureaucrats, musicians, musicologists, journalists, and consumers. As we have seen, many Cuban writers have been unequivocal in their denunciation of the negative effects on Cuban music of the capitalist marketplace and alleged North American cultural imperialism. These same critics, not surprisingly, are unanimous in their praise of the effects of the Revolution on music in Cuba. Nevertheless, as we have seen, except for nueva trova, the realm of music in Cuba is dominated

by North American rock, sentimental canciones in international commercial style, and Cuban dance music which, whether produced in Cuba or abroad, remains on the whole very close to the styles established by the 1950's. How, then, can the seemingly anomalous persistence of pre-revolutionary and international styles be reconciled with revolutionary and nationalistic cultural policy? Does this persistence reflect either disaffection or cultural stagnation? And, ultimately, what, if any, may be the spontaneous effects on music of a socialist revolution?

First of all, it is clear that 25 years of socialism in Cuba have not produced revolutions or even dramatic changes in the styles of music popular there. One might argue that this relative stasis contrasts with radical directions of modern Cuban cinema, architecture, and painting. Cinema and painting, however, were poorly developed in pre-revolutionary Cuba, whereas popular music was a strong tradition. Moreover, alleged commercialization notwithstanding, popular music--including dance music and canción--had strong working-class origins and audiences, such that the continuance of these styles in a proletarianized society is not inappropriate.

Secondly, it would seem questionable whether cultural policy has had a substantial effect on the direction of musical style, although its promotion of revolutionary content (as in nueva trova) is evident. Cultural policy has been, if anything, more tolerant than would be implied in Castro's dictum, "Within the Revolution, everything; against the Revolution, nothing." Cultural policy has always promoted popular music, unlike, for example, in socialist Hungary (Szemere 1983), and has generally attempted to satisfy the demand for foreign pop, again unlike, say, the Soviet Union, where jazz has been intermittently repressed (Starr 1983). Explicit directives regulating style and diffusion, for example, along Stalinist/Zhdanovist lines, do not appear to have been implemented. Nor has the state attempted to promote "communalized" choral and orchestral versions of traditional styles, as was done by Koutev and his followers in Bulgaria. Moreover, the media have promoted free exchange of ideas on cultural policy, albeit within a basic context of assumed support for the Revolution.

As we have seen, the opinions discussed above are far from monolithic, aside from their support for nueva trova. If one were to hazard extracting any sort of consensus among

commentators, it would be that the state should intervene to a greater extent than it does to promote Cuban music; but the state bureaucracy--including cultural ministers, disc jockeys, and competition organizers--clearly does not hesitate to diffuse foreign or "commercial" music in accordance with popular demand.

The presence of the Revolution in Cuban music, then, is not to be sought in style or formal structure. One may perhaps argue whether that is a result of the inherently abstract nature of musical style, of the youth of the Revolution, or of the depth or shallowness of its roots. What is clear is that while some changes have taken place in music, they are largely extra-musical. These changes should be the subject of another study, and they would include such phenomena as: the attempted democratization of access to musical education, performance, and its general diffusion to all possible sectors of the public; the increased politicization of song texts (in all genres); the invariable attempts to involve the audience in performances (through quizzes between songs, dance competitions, etc.); the aforementioned demystification of performers; the dissociation of music from commercials and from the capitalist market in general; and the ideological climate and propaganda which promote a different aesthetic apprehension of music on the part of the listener.

Further studies, it is hoped, will attempt to relate these factors to attitudes, policies, and the course of Cuban music itself, incorporating data as yet unavailable on demographic consumption patterns among different regions and economic strata. Studies of popular culture in socialist countries are overdue, and it is hoped that this preliminary discussion may contribute toward such explorations.

NOTES

1. Cassettes are only beginning to make headway in Cuba, most music stores selling only phonograph records. The primary source for cassettes and recorders is gifts (whether purchased abroad or in Cuban dollar-shops) from foreign (mostly Cuban-American) visitors.

2. Drug use appears to be minimal among Cuban youth, and it is harshly punished.

3. This theme is echoed in an interview with composer Rembert Egües (Pola 1983b:21). León's statement, along with all other Spanish references in this article, have been translated by the author.

4. Jorrín, in another interview, complains of a chachachá radio show of his being replaced by a rock program (Martínez 1979:74).

5. For sources of interviews cited in the following paragraph of the text, see References Cited listings under Martínez.

6. It is possible that some Cubans, out of nationalistic pride, may have been less likely to express disapproval to me than to a fellow Cuban.

7. Blades visited Nicaragua in 1984.

8. Pereira stated, "After Oscar toured here, Cubans in Miami who deal with the record industry put a lot of pressure on him, and so he criticized Cuba. An editorial came out in the cultural page here explaining his situation--it hurt the Cuban people, but in a way, people understand. He has to depend on people that way in the capitalist world. The popularity of his music here died down a lot after that."

9. See, for example, Carlos Puebla in Pola 1983:31.

10. See also, for example, Adalberto Alvarez, leader of Son 14, in Peñalver Moral 1983:23, and composer Pedro Izquierdo in Martínez 1980.

11. Very few salsa groups are actually familiar to Cubans; in two trips in 1984, the only salsa groups I encountered on the media were Colón and Blades, Oscar d'León, El Gran Combo, and a few Venezuelan groups.

12. One should not thus expect nueva trova to meet Che Guevara's insistence that revolutionary art should be revolutionary in form as well as content.

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HARMONIC IMPLICATIONS OF CONSONANCE AND DISSONANCE IN ANCIENT INDIAN MUSIC

Nazir A. Jairazbhoy

The immutability and continuity of tradition is exemplified by many elements of Indian practice, the prime example being the chanting of the Vedas, the sacred "books" of Hinduism. Yet there is good reason to believe that gradual as well as occasionally drastic change has been characteristic of some of the other areas of material and cultural life in India of which music is one. The idea of change has not always been accepted readily by all members of Indian society. In music, a resistance to change has been promoted possibly more by theoreticians than by practitioners with the result that technical terms have continued to be used long after their original significance has been lost. In other instances, definitions have been twisted although they still seem to preserve some semblance to the old usages. In this paper, we will examine some of the fundamental elements of changes which have taken place in Indian music from the earlist records to the present and also look at some of the attempts of theoreticians to reconcile ancient theory with modern practice.

The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, a treatise on drama which included dance as well as vocal and instrumental music, is thought by many scholars to be the earliest extant text containing a detailed discussion of secular Indian music. Its date has not, however, been definitely established and opinions range from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. It was evidently not the beginning of the Indian tradition of texts on drama, as Panini (c. 500 B.C.), in his grammatical sūtras, Aṣṭādhyayi (4-3, 110-1), refers to a work called Naṭasūtra by Silalin and Krsasva which was a treatise on acting--nata being an actor or mime (Monier-Williams 1899:525)--for wandering mendicants (bhikṣu). While there is no reference to any earlier treatise on the subject in the Nāṭyaśāstra itself, the elaborate detail found in this work clearly suggests that it represents the culmination of a lengthy period of development before it, perhaps dating back to the fifth century B.C. or even earlier.

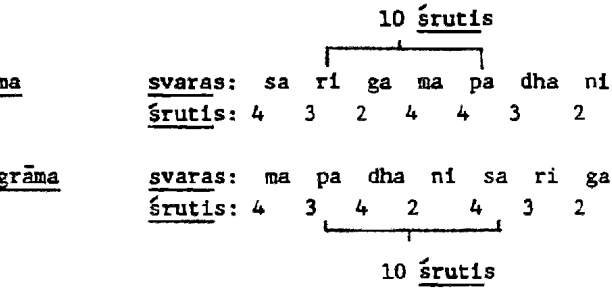
The dissertation on music in the Nāṭyaśāstra is subordinate to the main theme, nāṭya ("drama"). There is no mention of any traditions of music independent of nāṭya, but these must have

existed even in those days. There are several legends in the Jātaka tales which would suggest that there were even traditions of art music, as for instance the stories of Guttila and Mīsila[1] (and other Buddhist tales), the minstrel Sagga,[2] and Supriya, King of Gāndharvas.[3] The musical sections of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra have since become the basis of Indian musical theory. Whilst in practice the music has undoubtedly undergone changes in the natural course of evolution, spurred on by the impact of periodic invastions, later writers have venerated Bharata's tradition to the extent that they have given insufficient or even no coverage to the music of their own period. In the music literature which follows there are many instances where Bharata's theory has evidently been misinterpreted or subtly modified to fit the practice of another period, with the result that a reconstruction of the history of Indian music is an extremely complex matter.

The primary factor of importance in Bharata's system of music seems to have been a concept of consonance and dissonance, indicated by the terms vādī ("sonant"), saṃvādī ("consonant"), vivādī ("dissonant") and anuvādī ("assonant") which, as Fox Strangways (1914:108) points out are survivals of a theory of consonance now forgotten. It is quite evident that the recognition of consonance was very widespread in ancient India. As early as the Puṣpasūtra, an early ancillary text of the Sāmaveda, dated by some scholars in the eighth century B.C., the Vedic tones are said to have udūha ("raised counterparts") at apparently an interval of a fourth since they are described as being dvyantara, i.e., having two tones in between. Fox Strangways also draws attention to a reference in the Mahabharata (14, 14, 19--which I have not been able to trace in the editions available to me) which indicates that consonance was a factor in the music of its period. In this reference, the ten elements of sound are listed, the seven tones and three others, iṣṭa ("agreeable"), aniṣṭa ("disagreeable"), and saṃhata ("struck together"), which Fox Strangways (1914:114) reasonably equates with assonant, dissonant, and consonant.

In South India, too, consonance seems to have been an important concept for in the Cilappatikāram (8.13), written in the early centuries of the Christian era, there is a reference to four musical terms: iṇai, kiḷai, pakai, and naṭpu, which translate as "relationship of twins," "blood relationship," "enmity," and "friendship" (Ilango 1965:47).

Consonance and dissonance seem to be fundamental to Bharata's system, since he uses them to describe the two parent scales, ṣaḍjagrāma (or sāgrāma) and madhyamagrāma (or māgrāma) used in his system. These scales differ only fractionally in one interval so that no modal progression of one is duplicated in the other. To describe the scales and his concept of consonance and dissonance, he uses the term śruti, which clearly refers to a unit of tonal measurement smaller than a semitone. In relation to the vādī ("sonant"), the saṃvādī ("consonant") is either 9 or 13 śrutis from it. In the ṣaḍjagrāma, the fourth (sa-ma) and the fifths (sa-pa, ri-dha, and ga-ni) are given as saṃvādī. The interval ri-pa, which is also a fourth, is not samvadi relationship in the ṣaḍjagrāma since the interval between these degrees is 10 śrutis, whereas to be consonant it must be either 9 or 13 śrutis, as mentioned above.[4] In the madhyamagrāma, however, the interval ri-pa is saṃvādī, since the pa is reduced by one śruti. This has the effect of destroying the samvadi relationship of the sa-pa which now becomes 12 śrutis. Other saṃvādīs remain the same as in the ṣaḍjagrāma. Since Bharata gives the śruti intervals contained in each svara, the following schematic diagram can be constructed. References are to the Kashi edition of the Nāṭyśāstra unless otherwise indicated.



The vivādī ("dissonance") of Bharata's system are tones 20 srutis apart (in editions other than the Kashi referred to here, it is given as two śrutis), such as the intervals ri-ga and dha-ni (28.21f). Since the octave consists of 22 śrutis, the śrutis were evidently reckoned (in the Kashi edition, at least) in descending order. Bake, in lectures at the School of Oriental and African Studies, suggested that this may have been a remnant of the earlier descending principle which was characteristic of Samavedic chant in which the tones prathama ("first"), dvitiya

("second"), tritiya ("third"), etc. were in descending sequence. If this were the case, it is difficult to understand why Bharata lists his svaras (tones) in ascending order. A second explanation could be that in Bharata's experiment illustrating śrutis on two vīṇās, conducted by lowering one string of one vīṇā successively through all the śrutis of a four-śruti tone (described by Bake, 1957a), he establishes a descending order for calculating intervals in terms of śrutis.

The anuvādīs ("assonances") are the remaining tones of the scales other than vādīs, saṃvādīs, and vivādīs. In Bharata's time these included intervals as contrasting in character as the major third and the augmented fourth.

Bharata gives an important clue to the application of this system of consonance and dissonance when he says, "That tone which is aṃśa, that tone is vādī" (28.20). Later in the chapter (28.70), Bharata gives the ten characteristics of the jātis ("modes" or "mode groups") of which aṃśa is apparently the most significant since it, too, has ten characteristics (28.72-74). From these it is apparent that the term aṃśa was used to designate the most prominent tone (or tones) in a mode. Although Bharata equates aṃśa with vadi in this context, the two terms were not synonyms and Bharata's purpose seems to have been to point out that the prominent tones of a mode are to be treated as sonants, that is, that consonances and dissonances are particularly significant in the case of prominent tones rather than passing tones.

It seems very likely that the saṃvādī concept of Bharata's system is identical to the concept of perfect fourths (4/3) and fifths (3/2) which prevailed in ancient Greece. It is thus possible to reconstruct the consonant intervals of Bharata's scales on this basis. In the ṣaḍjagrāma, sa-ma-ga-ni are successive consonant fourths and sa-pa a consonant fifth and can thus be easily calculated. The remaining tones, ri and dha are problematic since ri is specifically stated to be not consonant to the sa in this grāma (being 10 śrutis) and is only consonant to dha which, in turn, is consonant only to the ri. In the madhyamagrāma, although ri is consonant to pa, the pa is no longer consonant to sa, and thus there is no saṃvādī basis of consonance on which to calculate either of these notes, or dha which remains only consonant to ri also in this grāma. If one knew the exact size of a śruti, the matter would be easily resolved, but this information is not given in the Nāṭyaśāstra

except in a general way. On the basis of conjecture, there are several different ways to calculate the value of a śruti, assuming they were equal in size as Bharata seems to suggest. If the octave were divided into 22 equal parts, each śruti would be 54.55 cents and the respective sizes of tones would be: semitone (two śrutis), 109.1 cents; intermediate tone (three śrutis), 163.65 cents; and the whole tone (four śrutis), 218.2 cents. This would mean that the consonant fourth of nine śrutis would be 490.95 cents, approximately seven cents smaller than the perfect interval, and the consonant fifth of 13 śrutis would be 709.15 cents, approximately seven cents larger than the perfect interval. In other words, dividing an octave into 22 equal intervals is extremely ingenious since the intervals of nine and 13 units so closely approximate the perfect fourth and fifth. Seven cents is not a large deviation and it could be argued that it could easily pass unnoticed in view of the fact that complex calculations are not used in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

On the other hand, if we begin with the four-śruti tone as being the difference between the perfect fourth and the perfect fifth, namely 204 cents, then, assuming the śrutis to be equal, each one would be 51 cents. The two-śruti tone would then be 102 cents and the three-śruti tone, 153 cents. This would give an octave of only 1,122 cents, which would be unacceptable by definition. But here again the discrepancy seems obvious only because we are using the cent system and would not be so apparent in an empirical demonstration.

Fox Strangways (1914:112) and other writers have, however, proposed that the śrutis were not equal, consisting of three different-sized intervals: (1) 22 cents, being the difference between the four śruti or "major" tone (204 cents) and the three-śruti "minor" tone (182 cents); (2) 70 cents, being the difference between the three-śruti "minor" tone (182 cents) and the two-śruti semitone (112 cents); and (3) 90 cents, being the difference between the two śruti semitone (112 cents) and the single śruti of 22 cents. Although Fox Strangways does not explain how he arrived at these conclusions, and particularly the size of the three-śruti interval, it seems evident that he is influenced by just intonation which prevailed in the West before equal temperament was introduced. In the just intonation system, the recognition of the major third as a consonance (5/4 or 386 cents) is essential to determining the minor tone as it is the difference between the major third, 386 cents, and the major

tone, 204 cents and it is this which Fox Strangways equates with Bharata's three-śruti tone.

In the Nāṭyaśāstra, however, the major third, i.e., the seven-śruti interval, was regarded as anuvādī ("assonant") as mentioned earlier, and there is absolutely no proof that it was the consonant 5/4 interval. A second strong argument against the just intonation interpretation is that Bharata evidently felt the śrutis to be equal[5] (Jairazbhoy 1975:41) and it seems highly improbable that he would have failed to mention the disparity between 22 and 90 cents had that been the case. The evidence in the Nāṭyaśāstra thus indicates that the three different-sized tones, expressed in terms of four, three, and two śrutis, were actually a fair approximation of the ratios of the tones then used, that is, roughly 100, 150, and 200 cents, obviously not precise as Bharata evidently had no sophisticated tools for measuring intervals.

There is no denying that there are superficial similarities between just intonation and Bharata's system as they both involve three different-sized tones. However, the just intonation hypothesis implies that Bharata's system was, like just intonation, derived from a form of art music and based on purely artistic principles. This hypothesis, however, does not take into consideration the function and purpose of ancient Indian music and drama in Indian society of that period. It is clear, from the Nāṭyaśāstra, that nāṭya ("drama") and its music were devised to create a religious atmosphere and to communicate religious and mythological conent. Bharata is quite unequivocal on this point and refers to nāṭya as the fifth Veda, claiming that the musical elements of nāṭya are derived from the chanting of the Sāmaveda. Attention to the similarities between the chanting of the Sāmaveda by the Kauthuma and Rāṇāyanīya schools of the present time and the ṣaḍjagrāma as described by Bharata have been drawn by a number of scholars, notably Arnold Bake (1957b:1157-63). While the Sāmavedic intervals are not precise, varying both from one Sāmagāh chanter to another and also within a single hymn, three different-sized tones are generally evident even today. A fairly typical example measures about 200, 160, and 110 cents--much closer to the 4, 3, 2 ratios than to the just intonation intervals. Since scholars have proved that Vedic chant has been preserved faithfully for more than two thousand years in terms of text and accent, it would not be unrealistic to accept also the veracity of their intonation.

This would suggest that the music of Bharata's religious drama may well have differed from other forms of music in India, not only in its textual content, but also in its intonation, orchestration, and other musical features so that it would be unique and immediately recognizable in order to evoke the religious connotations Bharata evidently intended. The three-śruti tone should perhaps be considered, not as a parallel of the just intonation minor tone, but rather like the neutral interval of Near Eastern music which is also perfectly acceptable from the musical standpoint.

There is, however, no evidence of such a neutral interval in present-day India music where only whole tones and semitones are generally recognized at the scalar level. The North Indian system, particularly, is very much like that of the Western 12-semitone system, except that the intervals are neither tempered nor precisely fixed. The late Pandit Bhātkhaṇḍe, perhaps the most renowned authority on North Indian music of this century, has pointed out (1939:4-8) that the Śrutisvarasthānas ("positions of the śrutis and svaras") of Bharata and that of the thirteenth-century author, Śārṅgadeva, are of little use in connection with modern Indian music, and states further that those of Locana and Ahobala (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively) are more meaningful since they explain their systems in terms of 12 mukhya svaras (main tones), which is obviously more consistent with present practice.

Further evidence that the 22 śruti system has long since disappeared from Indian music is given by Sir William Jones who stated, in 1784, that he had tried in vain to discover any difference in practice between the Indian scale and that of the West. He even went to the extent of requesting a German professor of music to accompany a Hindu "lutanist" who sang some popular airs of the love of Krishna and Radha; the professor assured him that the scales were the same (1875:141-142). Although Sir William Jones was referring primarily to the use of a mode comparable to the major scale, he, or at least the German professor of music, would undoubtedly have noticed and commented on any significant difference in intonation from that prevailing in the West, such as would have been the case if the three śruti neutral tone were still in use.

It must be emphasized that in the modern North Indian system the 12 semitones are neither tempered nor precisely fixed and that there are many deviations from the conceptual standard in

specific performance contexts. Measurements on a Stroboconn have revealed that the actual intonation varies from rāga to rāga, performer to performer, and even in ascent and descent (Jairazbhoy and Stone 1963; Levy 1981). Yet many scholars have attempted to correlate present practice with the ancient śruti system. Daniélou (1949:56), for instance, has given a complete and mathematically precise scale of 66 śrutis in one octave, which he claims to have arrived at "by careful measuring of the intervals used by musicians playing different ragas...." Firstly, the number 66 seems to have been derived from a misinterpretation of the Sanskrit treatises which normally refer to 3 octaves (sthānas, "places," or saptakas, "group of seven"), each having 22 srutis. Secondly, Daniélou assigns fixed and precise positions to each of the śrutis, whereas Stroboconn measurements of a leading sarod player show that a single tone may vary by as much as 15 cents, depending on whether it occurs in an ascending or descending series. Since Indian classical music is basically a solo performer tradition today, there has been no need for precise standardized intonation, with the result that one finds an even wider deviation of intonation between performers from different traditions (gharānas) and different geographical areas of the country.

Although the term śruti no longer has the same connotation as it did in Bharata's time, it continues to persist in present-day musical terminology, but with many different meanings and interpretations. In South Indian music, for instance, the term generally refers to the pitch of the ground tone on which the drone is based and has no reference to intonation. Some North Indian musicians, on the other hand, explain śrutis as intonational deviances from their "normal" conceptual standards of the tones which they use only in particular rāgas. This leads us to the general hypothesis that in Indian music, at least, technical terms tend to have a life beyond their original meaning or significance and that both theorists and musicians seem to prefer to preserve technical terms either as archaisms or to give them new meanings, rather than to invent completely new terms for new phenomena. The term śruti, as used in the South Indian context given above, is a classic illustration of the hypothesis.

The terms vādī, samvādī, vivādī, and anuvādī have also acquired new meanings over the years. In present-day North Indian music these terms no longer refer to a general concept of consonance and dissonance, but are applied in the contexts of

specific rāgas. The term vādī now refers to the most prominent note in a rāga, perhaps occupying the same role as the aṃśa in Bharata's time. The term aṃśa is seldom used now, but when it is, it is an archaism and is used as a synonym for vādī. Whereas in the ancient system some jātis had more than one aṃśa--in fact, the jāti ṣaḍjamadhyamā had all seven tones as aṃśa--today's rāgas are allowed only one vādī and one samvādī which now indicates the second most prominent tone in the rāga. In Bharata's time, of course, a tone could well have had two samvādīs of 9 and 13 śrutis, i.e., a perfect fourth and fifth. The samvādī today is also usually a fourth or fifth removed from the vādī, but not always, exceptions being rāgas such as Mārvā in which it is a diminished fourth (dha and komal re). There is an element of arbitrariness in the designation of the vādī and samvādī in specific rāgas, which has been discussed elsewhere (Jairazbhoy 1971:42, f.n. 4, 5), partly because many ragas of today seem to have more than two prominent tones, as the jātis also did in Bharata's time. The important point to note, however, is that the ancient concept of samvādī no longer applies, since it referred to consonances of both fourths and fifths, whereas in present-day music, it refers to only one of these (apart from the exceptions), even if the other perfect interval is also present in the rāga.

It is interesting to note that the present-day interpretation of samvādī has some features in common with that of the earlier interpretation, notably the matter of consonance. The attempt to reconcile Bharata's description of vivādī as a dissonance or a semitone in terms of modern practice has tried the ingenuity of several writers. According to Pandita Ahobala's Saṅgītapārijāta (seventeenth century), the definition of vivādī is merely that tone which destroys the rakti ("pleasingness," "charm") of a rāga (1.82-83). He makes no attempt to reconcile the semitone dissonance with the vivādī of his period. Writers in this modern period of newly awakened interest in Indian classical music theory have, however, managed in their several ways to bring in the semitonal interval in their explanations of vivādī in terms of present-day practice.

In his work, Saṅgīta Bhāva, Mahārānā Vijayadevjī of Dharampur (1933:26) says, "The note which is generally absent in a Rāga is called 'BIBĀDI' as well as notes which are, although not strictly within the main structure of the Rāg, but are employed to give it grace, are also called 'BIBĀDI.'" These

grace notes to which he refers, invariably a semitone removed from the normal scalar tones of rāgas, are equivalent to accidentals and are quite common in North Indian music.

In her book Deśī Saṅgītanī Paddhati (in Gujarati), Mulla (1930:31) expresses much the same notion. A free translation reads as follows:

> That note which is not used in a rāga is called vivādī. The vivādī svara is called the enemy of the rāga because if it is used by accident, the rāga is spoiled and the singer proves to be ignorant. But when experts bring in the vivādī svara it adds charm to the rāga. In order to do this, however, one must have both knowledge and considerable practice.[6]

In his work, Icaiyayal (1948:118), Pillai adds to this theory a South Indian or Karnatic music explanation of vivādī. He writes:

> The term "hostile svara" denotes those svaras opposed (one to another) and the term "friend" refers to those svaras which stand in some relation one to another. Some say that the vivāti serves to augment the beauty of the rāga, (but) this is not of importance to Karnatic music.[7]

This explanation of vivādī also involves an interval of a semitone, but its ingenuity will only become apparent in reference to the following schema which gives the tones of Karnatic music with their alternative names:[8]

	Nomenclature attributed to Veṅkaṭamakhīn	Name of svara	Alternative name of svara
1.	sa	ṣaḍja	-
2.	ra	śuddha ṛṣabha (2-śruti)	-
3.	ga - ri	4-śruti ṛṣabha	śuddha gandhāra
4.	gi - ru	sādhāraṇa gāndhāra	6-śruti ṛṣabha
5.	gu	antara gāndhāra	-
6.	ma	śuddha madhyama	-
7.	mi	prati madhyama	-

8.	pa	pañcama	-
9.	dha	śuddha dhaivata (2-śruti)	-
10.	na - dhi	4-śruti dhaivata	śuddha niṣāda
11.	ni - dhu	kaiśiki niṣāda	6-śruti dhaivata
12.	nu	kākali niṣāda	-

Although there are three nomenclatures used for altered forms of ri, ga, dha, and ni, there are, in fact, only 12 semitones used as the ri and ga, and dha and ni overlap. Pillai (1937:46) states, "The six-śruti ṛṣabha, the six śruti dhaivata, śuddha gandhāra and the śuddha niṣāda, these are called vivātī." Although the author is not very explicit, his meaning is clear. The six-śruti ri is vivādī to the śuddha ga, and the six-śruti dha is vivādī to the śuddha ni. The six-śruti ri (the second tone of the scale) is, in fact, the enharmonic equivalent of a minor third, and the śuddha ga (the third tone of the scale), the equivalent of a major second. The same inversion applies to the dha and ni, the sixth and seventh. These notes are considered vivādī because they destroy the ascending and descending lines when played in order. In other words the regular ascending sequence of tones sa ri ga ma (1 2 3 4) would be altered if the six śruti ri would be followed by the śuddha ga, i.e., 1, 2 sharp, 3 double flat, 4. While this explanation of vivādī also involves semitones, it is quite clear that the ancient concept of vivādī as harmonic dissonance is no more applicable to present-day South Indian music than North Indian music.

In the present-day practice of Indian classical music, whether of the North of the South, the semitone is in no way felt to be basically different from the other notes of the scale. There are now many rāgas using the minor second. In their relation to the drone all intervals have their particular flavors or effects and none of them is forbidden as in the original sense of vivādī, but are rather conceived of as resolved or unresolved or as conveying particular moods. In fact, both the natural seventh and the minor second are classified as either vādī or samvādī in particular rāgas.

It will thus be apparent that Fox Strangways was undoubtedly correct in his view that the ancient concepts of consonance and dissonance have now been forgotten and certainly do not apply to present-day music, even though the terms linger on and present writers still continue to define samvādī as consonance and vivādī as dissonance.

There has been no satisfactory interpretation of the nature of the ancient musical system with its strong emphasis on consonance and dissonance. Obviously consonances were important in terms of scale building in Bharata's time, but consonance was not the overriding consideration or else the parent scales of the time would have involved Pythagorean tuning based on pure fourths and fifths, a type of tuning which was probably very widespread in the ancient world and was very likely extant in India as well. That Bharata draws special attention to the fact that in the ṣaḍjagrāma ri and pa (second and fifth) and in the madhyamagrāma sa and pa (its fifth and second) are not consonant, clearly indicates there to be in Bharata's system some other determining factor, in addition to that of consonance. In this paper we have expressed the view that this factor was a religious one and it seems very probable to this writer that Bharata's purpose in describing the system in terms of consonances was to draw attention to the difference between his parent scales and what was probably existing in other musical contexts in ancient India.

The anomalies of Bharata's parent scales, the ṣaḍjagrāma and the madhyamagrāma in the context of the evidently widely prevailing factor of consonance in ancient India deserve to be examined in some detail. In the ṣaḍjagrāma, the ri-pa interval is stated to be of 10 śrutis, and therefore not consonant, being one śruti larger than the consonant fourth. Why should this be so? In the madhyamagrāma, this non-consonance is corrected by lowering the pa by one śruti--why not by raising the ri by one śruti? Why would Bharata have preferred to lower pa (fifth) to create consonance with ri (second) thereby destroying its consonance with sa, the ground tone, rather than to raise the ri, by one śruti, which would not affect the primary consonances of the parent scale? The result would have been Pythagorean intonation with tones of only two different sizes, whole tones of 204 cents and semitones of 90 cents, as follows:

degrees:	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni
interval in cents:	204	204	90	204	204	204	90

Why was this tuning not acceptable to Bharata when it is the logical outcome of the concept of consonances of fourths and fifths? The only answer that seems to fit is that the three different-sized tones were crucial to the music of nāṭya. Yet consonance was undoubtedly also an important factor in this

musical system. Not only is this evident from the way the two parent scales compensate for each other in providing missing consonances, but also from the two additional tones introduced by Bharata, evidently initially as accidentals to be used only in ascent, one in each of the grāmas. These additional tones apparently harden to become scalar tones, called sādhāraṇa, and replace their counterparts (see Jairazbhoy 1958). Called antara ga and kakali ni, they are raised two śrutis above the normal ga and ni; the former provides a perfect fourth for the dha in both grāmas, an interval which is otherwise of 11 śrutis (similar to the tritone), whereas the latter adds a perfect fifth above this antara ga.

Consonance was not important just for scale building in Bharata's time, but was also a practical consideration in performance, as we will attempt to show later in this paper. It is first necessary to consider the types of stringed instruments of the period, since Bharata illustrates the features of the melodic system on two vīṇās. However, Bharata gives no organological description of the instrument. At the present time, vīṇā refers to a stick zither in North India and a long-necked lute in South India, but in Bharata's time this was probably not the case. The earliest representations of stringed instruments in the sculptures and bas-reliefs of India, in Bhārhut, Sāñci, and Bodhgaya (about the second century B.C.), depict only bow-shaped harps. In the Gāndhāra and Amarāvati bas-reliefs of the first few centuries A.D., we see different types of short-necked lutes in addition to the bow-harp. In about the sixth century A.D., in the sculptures and paintings of Mahābalipuram and Ajanta, we begin to find long-necked lutes or stick-zithers which are so prominent in Indian music today.

A number of scholars, notably Coomaraswamy (1930:244-253), have argued that the ancient Indian vīṇā was a bow-shaped harp, and Sachs (1940:94,153) has connected, on linguistic grounds, the Indian word vīṇā with the Egyptian word bin't which is known to have been a bow-harp. Indeed, circumstantial evidence in the Nāṭyaśāstra tends to support the view that at least one of the types of stringed instruments in use at that time was a bow-harp. Bharata, however, refers to two types of vīṇā: citra, which had seven strings and was played with the fingers, and vipañcī, which had nine strings and was played with a kona (usually translated as "plectrum"). Both of these suggest bow-harps from the number of strings employed, but seven strings is by no means impossible

on a lute or stick zither, provided that some of these strings were used for producing a drone, as on present-day instruments such as the sitār and vīṇā. There is, however, absolutely no mention of a drone in the Nāṭyaśāstra and good reason to believe that there was no static drone in the music of that period as there is now. The whole conception of Bharata's musical system, with its parent scales, grāmas, from which are derived regular series of tones, mūrcchanās, beginning successively on each tone,[9] which are then crystallized into "modes," jātis, also based on each of the tones, would seem to be derived on harp-like instruments. The śuddha jātis, or "pure modes," were named after the seven tones and presumably had different ground tones, unlike present-day music in which the rāgas are performed on a common ground tone. If there were drone strings on the instruments of Bharata's period, they would have had to be retuned rather drastically from one mode to another.

Not all the evidence of this period suggests bow-harps, however. Some of the early literary sources suggest otherwise. An example of this is the story quoted earlier, from the Avadāna Śātaka (see f.n.3) which is dated about 100 A.D. (Keith 1920:65) in which it is stated that the seven tones and the 21-tone series (mūrcchanas) were played on one string. On harps it is usual to play just one tone on each string and even on lutes or stick zithers, playing these 21-tone series, each involving the full seven tones of the scale, would not be an easy task on a single string.

There is also some internal evidence, if circumstantial, in the Nāṭyaśāstra which suggests that a lute or stick zither may have been inovlved. Bharata describes an experiment or rather a practical demonstration on two vīṇās to illustrate that the intervals between the tones are of three different sizes, two, three, and four śrutis (28:prose following sl.24). Two vīṇās of the same size are tuned identically to the sāgrāma. One of these remains unchanged throughout the demonstration and serves as a frame of reference. The other is lowered in pitch, each time by a single śruti and the tones produced on it are compared with those on the reference vīṇā. After two lowerings, the ga and ni of the lowered vīṇā coincide with the ri and dha of the reference vīṇā, since there are two śrutis between them, the ri and dha of the former coincide with the sa and pa of the latter after three lowerings, and sa, ma, and pa coincide with ni, ga, and ma after four lowerings. If this demonstration was conducted on a

bow-harp, each lowering would have involved the retuning of every string of the altered vīṇā by a consistent amount which would have to be judged by ear and would, to some extent, defeat the precision of the demonstration. In the text there is no mention that each lowering is anything more than a single step and there is no reference to more than one string being lowered at each step. Thus Bake (1957:65) has reasonably argued that this demonstration is much more meaningful with a stopped instrument, such as a lute, where lowering the melody string by one śruti would result in the lowering of all the tones played on that string by an equivalent amount.

It thus seems that the so-called "ancient Indian vīṇā" may actually have been more than one type of instrument. One of these, and perhaps the most prominent one, was very likely the bow-harp. There is a great deal of other evidence in the Nāṭyaśāstra to support this, particularly the latter part of chapter 29, which is devoted to a description of instrumental techniques on the vīṇā. Incidentally, this very difficult and enigmatic section of the work still throws much light on the musical practice of the period and provides valuable clues to the importance of consonance and dissonance in the performance practice of the time. Although this chapter has been translated (Ghosh 1961), it contains many unexplained terms and references to musical concepts which have long since vanished, so that much of it is beyond our comprehension.

Such is the case with the term dhātu, which means "raw material," "element," "metal," or "ingredient," whose precise significance in application to instrumental technique in the Nāṭyaśāstra is unclear. There are four dhātus described in the treatise: vistāra, āviddha, karaṇa, and vyañjana. For the purposes of this paper, we examine only the last of these, vyañjana, a word which has had many meanings, including "decoration," "ornament," "sauce," and "seasoning." Bharata defines ten varieties of the vyañjana dhātu: (1) kala, striking the strings with the two thumbs; (2) tala; pressing with the left and striking with the right hand; (3) niṣkoṭita, doing a stroke with the thumb of the left hand; (4) unmṛṣṭa, a stroke with the forefinger of the left hand; (5) repha, a drawing towards the body with all fingers combined; (6) avamṛṣṭa, a three-fold movement of the right little finger and the thumb of the right hand; (7) puṣpa, the bringing together of the thumb and little finger simultaneously; (8) anusvarita, coming to rest down below

in the region of the tala (lower part, or base of the instrument); (9) bindu, a long or heavy akṣara (syllable or sound) on one string; and (10) anubandha, coming into being by vyāsa ("combination") and samāsa ("separation") of those (above) and belongs to all dhātus (29.90-95).

The descriptions of kala--striking with the two thumbs--, avamṛṣṭa, and puṣpa--plucking with the thumb and little finger --as well as the others which refer to striking or plucking with the left hand, certainly seems to suggest harp or board zither types of instruments. On a lute, generally, only one hand is used for plucking. A right-handed player would not have occasion to strike with the thumb of the left hand, although plucking with a finger of the left, or stopping hand, is not an unusual technique today. It might seem that tala--pressing with the left and striking with the right--was especially applicable to the lute, where the left hand stops the string by pressing it to the fingerboard. On the other hand, this surely is the most obvious aspect of playing the lute and it would seem rather unnecessary to classify it at all, except as a general characteristic applicable to practically all the ten varieties of vyañjana and the other dhātus. In relation to the harp, however, this could refer to a performance technique for damping, or perhaps a way of producing grace notes.

An interesting feature of these varieties of the vyañjana dhātu is that kala, puṣpa, and avamṛṣṭa apparently refer to the sounding of two strings at the same time. This in itself is not very significant unless it can be established that the second tone played was not the drone or ground tone, as it would be in present-day practice. Further in the same chapter, Bharata describes bāhirgīta, defined by Monier-Williams (1899:726c) as "a song accompanied by a stringed instrument", which seems to be used here in the literal sense as music played outside, or off stage (5.11). Bāhirgīta also has several parts; about one of these parts, saṃghoṭanā, Bharata says, "The instrumental execution of saṃghoṭanā must always be with a finger of the right hand and both thumbs, with the hands on the atidaṇḍa vīṇā" (or, a vīṇā with the hands [reaching] across the daṇḍa [stem?]) (29.137). "In saṃghoṭanā, samvādī and vivādī of notes occurs. It is called thus by Śeṣa and the others on account of Saṃghoṭanā" (29.138).

Saṃghoṭana is probably derived from the root, ghaṭ, which with the prefix, sam, merely means to strike or play an

instrument. It is evident from the description of saṃghoṭanā that three strings have to be struck simultaneously, with a finger of the right hand and the two thumbs. Bharata makes it quite clear here that the tones which are played together are governed by the concepts of consonance and dissonance. This must also have applied to the types of vyañjana dhātu in which more than one tone was sounded simultaneously.

These examples prove rather conculsively that some form of changing harmony was practiced on at least the stringed instruments of the period. The precise nature of this harmony may never be completely comprehended, but there still remain many technical terms and their definitions in chatper 29 of the Nāṭyaśāstra which are still undeciphered and, no doubt, contain many clues to the resolution of this matter--for instance, the terms vinyasa and saṃnyasa which are given as two of the characteristics of aṃśas (28.78). These are generally interpreted to mean the closing tones of the different divisions of a song, but mean literally, "ending apart" and "ending together" and could be interpreted in a harmonic sense, i.e., vinyasa could refer to an ending on the aṃśa accompanied by a consonant (or even an assonant) and saṃnyasa with an unison (or a consonant). In any case, it seems very probable that, in his description of the characteristics of amsa (28.77), Bharata is indicating that the aṃśa is played in combination (saṃyoga) with saṃvādī(s) and even anuvādī(s).

Consonances and dissonances are, of course, most obvious when strings are being sounded simultaneously and it is in this context that the importance placed on vādī, saṃvādī, vivādī, and anuvādī in Bharata's system becomes much more meaningful. Bharata's vivādī of two śrutis also begins to have considerable significance in this light. Even in medieval Western theory of the end of the twelfth century, the minor second and the minor seventh, together with the augmented fourth and the major seventh, were listed as perfect dissonances by Franco of Cologne (see Helmholtz 1954:196).

According to Helmholtz's calculations (1954:415-418), the semitones above and below the tonic are the most dissonant of the tones of the scale. The fifth is the most consonant, with the fourth very close. Only these two are recognized by Bharata as samvādīs. The major third and the major sixth are also both very consonant, but in Bharata's time they were not considered so and were classified with the other tones as anuvādīs. An interesting

point is that the 12-śruti tone (diminished fifth) which occurs as the sa-pa interval in the madhyamagrāma and the 10-śruti ri-pa interval in the sadjagrāma were not considered vivādīs as one might have expected, but as anuvādīs.

It is interesting to note that the ninth century author, Mataṅga, in his Bṛhaddeśī (1928:16), states that in the Madhyamagrāma, the seven-śruti interval (major third) is a saṃvādī.[10] This could be a scribe's error or a later interpolation, since it is not substantiated in the body of the work. Otherwise, it suggests that a consonant third was employed in Mataṅga's period and in the musical context he describes; but, since he writes many centuries later than Bharata, it is improbable that the comment has any bearing on Bharata's musical system.

A further clue to the nature of the music in ancient India can be derived from Bharata's comments on instrumental accompaniment of song. Bharata says,

> There are three ways in which vīṇā accompaniment of song can be done by experts, tattva, anugata, and ogha, with many different karaṇas (types of strokes).
>
> Tattva is that kind of playing which brings out laya (tempo), tāla (time measure), varṇa (melodic movement), pada (text), yati (succession of tempi), gīti (melody) and akṣara (syllable).
>
> Anugata is that which just follows the song, and ogha is that form of accompaniment which disregards the sense of the song, with one pāṇika (hand rhythm?) after another, quick with many āviddha karaṇas (multiple strokes) and in quick tempo (29.102-4).

These three techniques of accompaniment were also characterized by different tempi, tattva in the "fixed" (slow), anugata in the medium, and ogha in the quick (29.105).

The literal meaning of tattva is essence or truth, and as it is played slowly, we could interpret it was an accompaniment which just emphasizes the basic notes of the melody. Anugata, as its meaning and explanation suggest, may have been an accompaniment in unison with the melody. Ogha, literally, flood or abundance, very much suggests a greater density of notes than are present in the melody of the song and might well have been a form of heterophony or even counterpoint against the singer's melodic line.

Harmony, heterophony, and counterpoint would be quite natural developments, as the prevailing stringed instrument was the bow-harp. On such instruments, it is easy to pluck two or more strings at the same time, whereas on lutes and stick zithers changing harmony requires complex fingering on several strings. The bow-harp is, however, quite unsuited to reproducing the complicated ornaments and graces of which a voice is capable, and as an accompanying instrument it would be surprising if it were limited to accompanying in unison the bare notes of the vocal melody. Some elements of this ancient style can probably still be heard in the vocal accompaniment of Burmese songs on their bow-shaped harp, saung gauk, which was very likely derived from the ancient Indian vīṇā, although their intonation and principles of harmonization and counterpoint undoubtedly differ from that in ancient India.

It is impossible to know just why and how this music changed to that of the present, why the bow-harp was abandoned in favor of stick zithers, or why harmony and counterpoint were replaced by the present modal system dominated by a drone, but it is certain that the ancient musical system was one of the wonders which inspired A. L. Basham to write The Wonder That Was India.

NOTES

1. "A feeble musician, Mūsila of Ujjain, whose music on the vīṇā was 'like scratching on a mat,' came to learn of Guttila of Banāras (the Bodhisatta in an earlier birth). Guttila's parents when they heard him said 'Shoo! Shoo! the rats are gnawing the vīṇā to pieces.' Guttila who, as Bodhisatta, was 'skilled in discerning from the lineaments of the body' said, 'Go, my son, this art is not for you.' But Mūsila got his way; and Guttila Bodhisatta who 'did not stint his knowledge,' at last pronounced his pupil perfect. Mūsila pressed to be taken into the king's service. This was done; but the king awarded Guttila twice as much as his pupil. Mūsila protested, and forced matters to a contest, of which proclamation was made to tuck of drum. The Bodhisatta reflected that he was old, and that 'if he beats me, death in the woods is better than the shame which will be my portion.' So to the woods he went; but 'kept returning through fear of death, and going back to the woods for fear of shame,' so that 'the grass died as he walked and his feet wore away a path.'

In his trouble Sakka, the king of the Gods, appeared. Guttila was to break, in the contest, one string after another, beginning at the 'beestring,' and the music should be as good as before. 'Then you shall go on playing with nothing but the body; and from the ends of the broken strings the sound shall go forth and fill all the land of Banāras for the space of twelve leagues.' All happened as was foretold, and the scholar, beaten out of the field, was stoned and torn in pieces by the populace" (Fox Strangways 1914:79).

2. "The minstrel Sagga in search of Queen Sussondī came across certain merchants of Bhārukachha (Broach) who were setting sail for the golden land. He said, 'I am a minstrel (magadha). If you will remit my passage money I will be your minstrel.' They agreed. When the ship had set sail they called to him to make music for them. 'I would make music,' he said, 'but the fish would be so excited that your vessel would be wrecked.' 'Fish.' they said, 'will not be disturbed by what mortals do. Play on.' Then tuning his lute and keeping perfect harmony between the words of his song and the accompaniment of the lute-string he made music for them. The fish were maddened, and a certain sea-monster leaping up on the ship broke it in two" (Fox Strangways 1914:80).

3. Avadāna Śātaka. Story 17. "Supriya, king of Gandharvas, arrived in Śrāvasti, and having heard of King Prasenajit's skill in Gāndharva, challenged him to a contest. King Prasenajit of Kośala suggested that they should go to his teacher, the supreme king of the Gāndharvikas (Buddha) in Jetavana. This they did accompanied by 500 gandharvas. Now the Buddha, having known of their approach, had Pañcaśikha bring a vīṇā with a vaidurya daṇḍa (beryl stem) in the company of 7,000 gandharvas. When Supriya began to play the vīṇā in the presence of the Lord he showed the 7 svaras and the 21 mūrcchanās on one string. Whereupon the whole congregation was astonished. Then the Lord caused the vaidurya daṇḍa vīṇā to be heard, producing several special kinds of svaras and mūrcchanās on one string after another. Supriya then left his vīṇā and renounced the householder's life. The 500 gandharvas who had accompanied Supriya invited the Lord to enter their city and when he approached they welcomed him with their various instruments, the vīṇā, the mṛdaṅga, the veṇu, the paṇava and others and attended him with food. The Lord then declared to

Ānanda that these gandharvas would, in the distant future, become pratekabuddhas, called varṇasvaras." (Feer 1891 and Speyer 1902)

4. The names of the seven scale degrees in ascending order are ṣaḍja (sa), ṛṣabha (ri), gāndhāra (ga), madhyama (ma), pañcama (pa), dhaivata (dha), and niṣāda (ni).

5. In his experiment on two vīṇās, Bharata describes how the pitch of one instrument is lowered successively by one śruti and compared with the unchanged pitch of the other, after the first lowering, he says "punar api tad evapakarsat" (lower just that much again) (28.22f).

6. "je rāgamā je svara nahi levāno hoya, te, te rāgano vivādī kahevāya che. vivādī svara, rāgano duśmana kahevāya che, kemake jo bhūlathī rāgamā vivādī svara lāgī jaya, to rāga bagaḍī jaya che, ne gānāra mūrkha ṭhare che. pan vaḷi ketālaka kuśaḷa gavaiyāo jāṇī joine moṭī khubīthī vivādī svara rāgamā āṇe che tyāre te ghaṇū śobhe che. paṇ tema karavā māṭe lāmbā vakhatanī prekaṭīsa tathā sārū jñāna joie."

7. "pakai ccuraměṉpatu virotamuḷḷa curaṅkaḷaiyam (naṭpu ěṉpatu ŏṉṟukkŏṉṟu nĕruṅkiṉaṭāka ppŏrunti niṟkum curaṅkaḷaiyum) kuṟikkum. vivāti ěnpatai ccilar irākkatiṉ aḷakai mikaipaṭa ccěyatěṉṟum kūṟukiṉṟaṉar. atu karunāṭaka caṅkĪtattiṟku ppŏruntātat'ākum."

8. This chart is based on the Mela Rāga Mālikā, 1937:xvi-xviii.

9. Both editions of the Nāṭyaśāstra (Kāshi and Kāvyamālā) are somewhat garbled in the prose passage following śl. 32 (Kāshi) and the equivalent passage following śl. 35 (Kāvyamālā). We are thus accepting the version emended by A.A. Bake: "dvividhaikamūrcchanāsiddhiḥ. tatra ṣaḍjagrāme dviśrutiprakarṣād dhaivatĪkṛte gāndhāre mūrcchanā grāmayor anyataratvaṃ. śrutyantaraṃ pañcamadhaivatayos tadvat. gāndhārotkarṣāc catuḥśrutikaṃ antaraṃ bhavati. tadvaśān madhyamādayo yathāsaṅkhyena niṣādādi-(ma)-tvaṃ pratipadyante. madhyamagrāme dhaivatamārdavād dvaividhyaṃ bhavati tulyaśrutyantaratvāc ca. śeṣāś cāpi niṣādaṣaḍjarṣabhādayo madhyamāditvam prāpnuvanti tulyaśrutyantaratvāt. antaradarśanam api śrutinidarśane

proktaṃ." (A means to make a mūrcchanā have a twofold function: by tuning up gāndhāra in the ṣaḍjagrāma making it into dhaivata (of the madhyamagrāma), the mūrcchanā can belong to the other of the two grāmas. The śruti interval between pañcama and dhaivata should remain the same, but by tuning up the gāndhāra a four śruti interval appears, by the force of which madhyama and the following take the place of niṣāda and the following in succession. In the madhyamagrāma the ambivalence arises by the tuning down of dhaivata on account of the sameness of śruti content. The others, niṣāda and the following, take the place of madhyama and so on by the sameness of śruti content. By this demonstration of śrutis the definition of the intervals has been given.)

10. "...saptanavakatrayodaśāntaḥ saṃvādinaḥ" (as far as seven, nine, and thirteen śrutis is saṃvādī).

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AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL INDEX TO THE NEW GROVE DICTIONARY OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS[1]

Part One

Kenneth Culley

This index, part one of which is presented in this issue, is an aid for those who wish to determine the ethnomusicological topics in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.[2] Although only the geographical and author listings are included in this part of the index, these introductory remarks have a bearing on the entire list. An outline is therefore included here to help elucidate the remarks in this introduction and to demonstrate the range of categories which have been included.

The index is meant as a quick reference to entries on world areas, genres, instruments, scholars, performers, composers, terms, disciplines, institutions, notation, and musical techniques.

Differing from the excellent and useful appendix in volume 20 of the dictionary, this index lists items with separate entries and groups them together under various headings. In contrast, the New Grove indexes, for the most part, terms which lack separate entries.

The New Grove has assembled an impressive array of authors for ethnomusicological entries and it follows that the dictionary is a key to current scholarship. It is hoped that the index will be useful as a window on this scholarship and that it may provide a tool for future revision of the dictionary.

The Classification

This index includes entries on jazz, popular music, gospel, and hymnody as well as articles concerning more "ethnic" topics. Readers will note among the entries recorded here that some items may be considered within the provenance of the study of Western art music. For example, such subjects as "iconography," "analysis," "musicology," and "archives and music," cross disciplinary boundaries but are included since they are among the interests of most ethnomusicologists. An index of this kind serves to reinforce Seeger's oft-repeated contention that the

segregation of Western art music from any other music is artificial at best.

The outline below is a summary of the classification that evolved from compiling this index. There are five principal categories (excluding the author listing) with subdivisions within each. Although the organization and content of the articles in the dictionary are often suggestive of a classification scheme, this index includes categories that may or may not be treated as separate subjects in the New Grove. For example, there is no article titled "genres" in the dictionary. Similarly, there is no separate entry for "religious/ritual" music, nor for "vocal" music.

The "geographical" classification which is included here is among the most problematic. There is an implicit classification apparent in the New Grove. Africa and Asia, for example, have been subdivided according to points of the compass. This is consistent with the opening sentences of many articles where authors have described the country as a "State in southern Africa" (Angola, 1:431) or as a "West African Republic" (Cameroon, 3:647).

Not every article has such convenient directions for geographical classification. In formulating the outline used here, an attempt was made to stay as close as possible to a points-of-the-compass rubric. Therefore, where it is possible, a geographic designation takes precedence over a cultural or ethnic designation.

The following discussion treats each of the geographical subdivisions and points out the peculiarities of this classification.

Asia. The New Grove indicates the standard subdivisions for this continent (that is, East, Central, South, and South-East). Although a great portion of the Soviet Union lies physically in Asia, it tends to be treated in the literature as part of Eastern Europe. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is therefore to be found under "Europe, East" and is an exception from the geographical bias which, it was hoped, would inform this classification. These portions of the country which are clearly Central Asian are cross-referenced.

Europe. A simple East/West division is fairly standard in treating Europe even though the musics of two "Eastern European" countries such as Poland and Bulgaria have little in common. When it came time to include the music of Greece with that of

Scotland, the need for a new category "Mediterranean" was conceived. This last category includes the southern portions of Europe and the Mediterranean islands.

America. Points of the compass are used again for these continents, and the additional "Caribbean" subdivision has been included to separate the predominantly African-derived styles of the islands of the Caribbean.

The dictionary has many references to "Latin America" and, indeed, devotes a substantial article to the music of this cultural area. In keeping with the geographical preference of this index, however, the points-of-the-compass framework prevails.

Pacific Islands. The designation "Oceania," it appears, has been retired and will now appear only on antique maps of early explorers. There is a cross-reference in the dictionary that directs readers from "Oceania" to "Pacific Islands." Australia and New Zealand are included in this category.

Near East. The term "Near East" has superceded "Middle East," although the latter enjoys wide currency in newspapers and popular publications. Neither term is really applicable since the notion of "far" or "near" has a great deal to do with relative positions. "Western Asia" is perhaps a better designation, but it lacks currency.

Scandinavia. This designation likewise is not one to be found in the dictionary. It was introduced to provide a slot for Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Iceland.

No doubt readers will find other entries which ought to be included. The author would welcome any additions or corrections. The index is "on-line" and an expanded listing could be possible with reader contributions and comments.

Outline of the Index

1. Authors of Articles

2. Geographical Index
   a. Africa
      i. General
      ii. Central
      iii. East
      iv. North
      v. South
      vi. West
   b. America
      i. Caribbean
      ii. Central
      iii. North
      iv. South

2. Geographical Index (cont.)
   c. Asia
      i. General
      ii. Central
      iii. East
      iv. South
      v. South-East
   d. Europe
      i. General
      ii. East
      iii. West
   e. Mediterranean
   f. Near East
   g. Pacific Islands
   h. Scandinavia

3. Instruments
   a. General
   b. Miscellaneous
   c. Aerophones
   d. Chordophones
   e. Electrophones
   f. Idiophones
   g. Lamellaphone
   h. Membranophone

4. Other
   a. Composers
   b. Disciplines
   c. Institutions
   d. Notation
   e. Performers
   f. Techniques

5. Scholars and Collectors

6. Genres

NOTES

1. The groundwork for this index was accomplished during a project undertaken by the author as a research assistant for UCLA's Ethnomusicology Archive. It is presented with the permission of the editors of the New Grove.

2. Part two of the index will appear in Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology, volume 3, 1986.

AUTHOR LISTING

GEOGRAPHICAL

AFRICA - GENERAL

AFRICA - CENTRAL

AFRICA - EAST

AMERICA - NORTH (cont.)

AMERICA - NORTH (cont.)

AMERICA - NORTH (cont.)

AMERICA - NORTH (cont.)

EUROPE - GENERAL

EUROPE - EAST

EUROPE - EAST (cont.)

EUROPE - WEST

EUROPE - WEST (cont.)

EUROPE - WEST (cont.)

MEDITERRANEAN

NEAR EAST (cont.)

NEAR EAST (cont.)

A NOTE ON THE INDEX

The Editors

The compilation of an ethnomusicological index to The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians has been a laborious task requiring many hours of painstaking effort. It is even more remarkable that one individual has endeavored to complete this chore, partly under the auspices of UCLA's Ethnomusicology Archive.

This index goes further than Appendix A of the New Grove in that it is more than an alphabetical listing of terms. Culley has attempted to consider the various parameters in which ethnomusicologists approach music behavior and has organized the information accordingly. Implicit in this process are epistemological decisions about ethnomusicology (see Sadie 1979 for a discussion of the history of the editorial philosophy on the relevant portions of the New Grove). As editors, we have influenced the compiler's choice of subjects to be included, but by and large it remains as he has planned it. The dictionary has generated considerable discussion on the selection and presentation of its subject matter and on the choice of scholars (and their viewpoints). This index will hopefully serve as an aid in the formulation of informed logical arguments about the nature of ethnomusicology (if not generating discussion of the choices of the compiler).

Culley has maintained much of the organizational format of the New Grove in his index--the use of uppercase and lowercase Roman numerals and the reproduction of punctuation, headings, and subheadings.

The distinction between "see" (directing the reader to a more appropriate entry title) and "see also" (directing the reader to additional information on a topic) is not maintained in the New Grove. In this index the difference is inferred by the inclusion or omission of specific reference locations after a "see" entry.

Finally, we refer interested readers to recent issues of Ethnomusicology for reviews of individual entries in the dictionary.

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BOOK SUMMARY AND REVIEW

Chamorro, Arturo. Los instrumentos de percusión en México. México: El Colegio de Michoacán (CONACYT), 1984. 275 pp.

Published by El Colegio de Michoacán (the author's research base) and the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología in Mexico City, Los instrumentos de percusión en México concerns the diversity of percussion instruments used in Mexican music, and includes indigenous and transculturated forms of idiophones, membranophones, and a sole chordophone type--the musical bow. Chamorro presents a compilation of chronological perspectives of Mexican percussion instruments and applies various taxonomic systems in a highly organized methodology that reflects his extraordinary training and knowledge in the field of ethnomusicology.

The author has organized the study into four chapters which describe the historical development of percussion instruments in Mexico. The first chapter begins with a helpful survey of prehistoric antecedents of percussion instruments on the American continent and even includes the human body as an integral percussion instrument.[1] Delineating the various origins and materials of pre-classic (from 2000 B.C. until the common era) indigenous instruments, the chapter emphasizes the importance of the discovery and use of ceramics in the fabrication of musical instruments in MesoAmerica.[2] The narrative progresses to the appearance of metallurgy in the post-classic period (from ca. A.D. 800 until 1521), especially in the construction of percussion instruments. Chamorro proceeds to discuss the diversity of pre-Cortesian musical culture as reflected by the complex social functions and symbolic importance of indigenous percussion instruments such as the Aztec teponaztli and huehuetl.

Importantly, the author consistently relies upon and cites the organizational concepts and theories of recognized scholars in ethnomusicology (Sachs, Nketia, Boilès, Kolinski) while referring to the research of major musicologists who have studied organology in Mexican music. Substantial references are made to Stevenson (1976), Castellanos (1970), Mendoza (1955, 1956), Marti (1968), and Béhague (1979). Included in the first chapter is Castellanos's (1970) useful table which chronologically organizes pre-Hispanic percussion instruments in accordance with historical

periods in Mexico: pre-agricultural (10000-5000 B.C.), proto-agricultural (5000-2000 B.C.), pre-classic (2000-0 B.C.), classic (A.D. 0-ca. 800), and post-classic (ca. A.D. 800-1521).

Additionally, Chamorro incorporates in this same chapter various non-musicological sources and underscores the connection between the diffusion and socialization of Mexico's population and the evolution of percussion instruments and their socio-musical functions. He notes, for example, that the initial contact period between the indigenous world of the Americas and the Iberian tradition was marked by the arrival of musical instruments through the religious evangelization undertaken by the Church.[3] Chamorro also considers the durable effect of Moorish transculturation from northern Africa to southern Spain and on to New Spain. Syncretism, therefore, characterizes the development of Mexico's musical tradition as a result of numerous culture contacts.[4] He further discusses the transplantation of non-indigenous aspects of instrument fabrication such as the tuning of membranophones. The marimba is also presented as an example of the acculturation process. The various theories of its Asian, African, Afro-American, and indigenous origins are reviewed from the perspectives of Izikowitz (1970), Ortiz (1971), Castañeda Paganini (1951), Stevenson (1976), Garfias (1983), Baratta (1952), Armas Lara (1970), and Hernandez (1975). Chamorro notes that the most developed marimba type in Mexico, a chromatic model with resonators, is found in the southeastern states of Tabasco, Chiapas, and Oaxaca and related marimba types are found in adjacent Guatemala and El Salvador.

The first chapter concludes with an insightful transition to Chapter II, an essay focusing on classification systems. He points out that instruments as physical specimens were not the sole or primary media of musical change, but that the variety of musical styles and performance techniques integral to and synonymous with these newly introduced instruments were of equal importance. One example is the practice of sesquiáltera, both a formal characteristic and rhythmic performance technique common throughout Mexico in indigenous and mestizo musical traditions. From sesquiáltera a great diversity of percussive rhythms have developed.

In Chapter II, Chamorro concentrates on general organological characteristics of selected percussion instruments and their placement within a taxonomy. Citing Hood's (1971:123-124) definition of organology, Chamorro emphasizes the importance of

physical description, acoustics, historic antecedents, performance technique, and function in instrument classification. The author proceeds to develop a classification oriented to the individual aspects of his inventory of percussion instruments, dividing his approach into categories of performance technique, construction materials, and percussion group types (that is, membranophones and idiophones). Preferring the nomenclature of "percussion instruments" as a pragmatic referent, he further subdivides this category into two formats of performance technique: auxiliary instruments (or "percussors") and percussed instruments (or "percussion"). Auxiliary instruments are determined by their striking manner whereas the percussed instruments are identified as those that are receptors of the striking action. Referring to the traditional classification systems developed in Europe by Mahillon (1893) and Hornbostel and Sachs (1914), Chamorro defines in detailed fashion the four primary instrument groups of idiophones, membranophones, chordophones, and aerophones. The author also explains the numerical taxonomy devised by Hornbostel and Sachs and its value as a means of coded classification and cataloguing. Recognizing the limitations of the system, Chamorro warns against its over-generalized use. In this particular study, however, he considers the application of the Hornbostel-Sachs classification as a useful vehicle for cataloguing the historical panorama of percussion instruments in Mexico, and in fact applies it.

Continuing with his analysis of percussion instruments through classification, Chamorro provides descriptions of construction techniques and materials. These include wood, metal, animal gut, and other natural sources. Essential to the construction of many percussion instruments, particularly the teponaztli, are the symbols and representative figures often sculpted into wood or metal portions of the instrument bodies. A detailed illustration of such art work on the teponaztli is included. Also presented are descriptions of the material and construction of tarimas de percusión ("dance platforms"), marimba, castanets, musical bow, metal percussion, machetes, bells, jaw bones, and marímbola (similar to the Afro-Cuban marímbula which evolved from the African mbira or sansa). Other percussion idiophones described include an assortment of rattles, rasps, guiros, and matracas. Membranophones surveyed include the Aztec huehuetl (vertical drum), clay drum, friction drum, and frame drum (pandero). Two varieties of the musical bow are

considered as percussion instruments in Mexico: the triangular bow, found in the northern regions and in the southern state of Guerrero, and the "hunting bow" type, observed by Lumholtz (1960) in his expeditions among the Cora and Tepehuan Indians.[5] Chapter II closes with an evaluation of sound characteristics peculiar to percussion instruments in Mexico.

In Chapter III, Chamorro addresses performance technique as applied to the context of percussion in Mexico. He engages in a discussion of notational practices, especially syllabic and rhythmic inflection. In his observation of percussion instruments, the author emphasizes the common occurrence of bi-rhythms and mono-rhythms. Within the context of bi-rhythms is the aforementioned concept of sesquiáltera, often described as a type of hemiola. The author, however, cites Venezuelan ethnomusicologist Ramon y Rivera's criticism (1980:34-35) of the use of the term "hemiola" to describe sesquiáltera. Problems arise in transcribing sesquiáltera within the framework of hemiola in Western notation. Within this discussion of mono-rhythms, bi-rhythms, and hetero-rhythms, musical transcriptions are provided, clarifying Chamorro's rhythmic analysis of the patterns played by various instruments. The transcriptions excellently illustrate the various rhythmic combinations characterizing different Mexican genres and percussion performance practices.

Another important concept clarified in Chapter III is percussion as a striking action and its effect. Furthermore, bodily movement, the author asserts, is an essential element of dance that must also be considered as percussive--in effect, a gestalt condition of "stimulation and response" (Kolinski 1973:499). Chamorro concludes that three basic elements are integral to the concept of percussion: accentuation, movement, and culture. The author refers to the works of Lomax and Kurath as approaches compatible with his integrated, conceptual framework.

The balance of Chapter III, quite substantial in content, is dedicated to the notion of a symbolic taxonomy and its application to the body of percussion instruments in Chamorro's study. The author uses Hood's organogram format (Hood 1971) as the basis of a far-reaching taxonomy which provides for the schematization of performance practice in addition to socio-cultural aspects of the instrument's use. In employing Hood's organograms, Chamorro communicates in visual symbols the

morphology of the marimba, indigenous drums, the machete, the tarima, matracas, the huehuetl, the conga drum, tumbadora, harps, rattles, and a wide array of other folk and popular percussion instruments used in Mexico.

Chapter IV, the final section, examines the use, function, and contemporary context of instruments in this study. Chamorro distinguishes the multiple influences that have shaped Mexican music from pre-Hispanic contact to the present impact of imported styles and the native musical vanguard. He categorizes these continually evolving influences (on rural indigenous and mestizo music, on popular urban music, and on folklore) as elements that have been integrated into musical composition and education.

Continually present in Chamorro's conceptual perspective of Mexican musical culture is the diverse evolution of indigenous, African, and mestizo genres within the broad framework of folklore, innovation, and oral tradition. The author attests to the probability that the most characteristic feature of the use, function, and contemporary practice of percussion instruments in the rural sector is their essential role within the sacred, magico-religious time-space, that is, in ceremonial ritual. This function extends to a large degree into the urban areas. Conversely, city music has penetrated the rural sector with the transplantation of instruments and musical forms, especially identifiable among the younger generations in the "baile de salon."[6] Augmenting this diffusionary process are the various media of mass communication: television, radio, and sound recordings. It is also within the mass media context that contemporary dances are nurtured and created, and percussion instruments continue to be diffused through an enormous musical network. Chamorro mentions some of the most evident commercial media importations to Mexico within the last 50 years, including such musical styles as rock, salsa, mambo, calypso, danzón, and other dance types. Also well known in Mexico is the música tropical genre which contains influences of Afro-Antillean rhythms and percussion instruments that have been especially dynamic in the contemporary musical culture.

Chamorro proceeds to describe the use and function of various rural-based instruments, especially in dance-related and ceremonial contexts. The use of many of these instruments characterizes indigenous musical practice while the use of other instruments, such as the marimba, characterize a more popular form of folklore produced through a mestizo tradition. The

regional aspects of Mexican musical styles are described in conjunction with many genres and instruments. An assortment of drums, for example, correspond to particular regions throughout southern Mexico, which in many cases is due to the Afro-Antillean influence. The use of the tumbadora ("conga drum"), timbales, and bongós has remained very popular in the urban sectors. Interestingly, Chamorro cites the zapato ("shoe") and the guarache ("slipper") as the most common percussion instruments in Mexico. Throughout the diverse regions of Mexico, dancing to various musical forms of zapateado, especially the son and jarabe, has been a popular practice for more than 300 years.

Also surveyed in Chapter IV is the use and function of various percussion instruments in ceremonial songs of different indigenous groups in Mexico such as the Seris, the Papagos, the Tarahumaras, and the Huicholes. Chamorro includes an survey of percussion instruments used in conjuntos, or group contexts, and provides a chart outlining the use of particular percussion instruments in the various feast cycles, mostly of a religious nature, celebrated throughout Mexico. In terms of use and function within the contemporary context, Chamorro identifies at least 53 basic types of percussion instruments. Fifty percent of these are preferentially used in ceremonial contexts associated with either the Christian feast cycles or magico-religious rituals. The balance of percussion instruments are used in the festivities and functions of a more social context. A comparative table is included which enumerates instrument types according to variety and use in either ritual or social contexts. Also included are three valuable maps of Mexico which illustrate the geographical diffusion of the diverse percussion instruments surveyed in this study.

Chamorro directs some attention to percussion instruments of the urban sector. He notes that the employment of percussion in Mexican cities has developed in two contexts: in popular urban music of the educated class and in music of an academic focus which has developed separately from the nationalistic movement initiated by composers born during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Composers of this movement, including luminaries such as Manuel Ponce, Carlos Chávez, and Silvestre Revueltas, formed a school whose musical philosophy espouses the use of Mexican instruments.

Chamorro traces the development of popular urban music in Mexico, especially in terms of the media and recording

industries. One of the most dominant manifestations since the late nineteenth century porfiriato epoch of elite social dances is the still popular baile de salon, which incorporates various non-indigenous musical forms, particularly those introduced to Mexico through Cuba and other Caribbean areas. Penetrating the eastern seaboard of Veracruz, a variety of Afro-Cuban genres including son montuno, rumba, danzón, and chachachá have become part of Mexico's musical repertoire. Chamorro surveys in substantial detail the specific influential Caribbean musicians and orchestras that have become popular in Mexico within the last 50 years. Also discussed are the performance techniques and diverse repertoire of Afro-Cuban influence assimilated by Mexican musicians primarily through oral tradition, similar to the process that took place in Cuba.

Other recent developments are reviewed and include the marimba orchestra and the growing employment of United States and British percussion equipment (manifested in the use of trap sets). Important is Chamorro's insight into the political nueva canción phenomenon in Mexico which is, to a large degree, influenced by various South American and Cuban musicians who incorporate folk genres from their respective countries. Nueva canción, also known in Mexico as canción de protesta, frequently employs Afro-Cuban percussion.

The integration of percussion instruments into the ballets folklóricos (regional folk dance troupes) is examined in terms of traditional forms that have been preserved and innovatively adapted. It has often been the educational institutions teaching folk dance which have maintained the highest interest in teaching and performing the indigenous percussion instruments of Mexico.

In his quest for a national identity, Carlos Chávez has had a profound influence in pioneering the recognition of Mexican percussion instruments and orchestration within educational institutions in Mexico. As director of the Orquesta Sinfonica Nacional and through the Conservatorio Nacional, Chávez organized, during the years 1928 to 1934, workshops and research seminars that included the study and application of Mexican folk music and instruments. Chamorro makes reference to most of the major twentieth century Mexican composers who have integrated national themes, folk genres, and indigenous instrumentation into their music. He includes extensive description and documentation of specific compositions exhibiting the use of Mexican percussion instruments. Orchestration technique, structural features, and

the merging of various folk genres with appropriate indigenous and/or popular percussion instruments are outlined. Chamorro also cites the important musicological field research by Vicente T. Mendoza, Francisco Dominguez, and Carmen Sordo Sodi.

In conclusion, this is a commendable, well-executed, and insightful study by Arturo Chamorro, especially for those ethnomusicologists with an interest in organology. In addition to his comprehensive review of the pertinent literature, Chamorro continually refers to the work of musicologists involved in Mexican scholarship. He thereby both leads the Latin American reader to European/United States-based methodologies and exposes the ethnomusicologist to a wealth of musical sources related to Mexican organological studies. Furthermore, Chamorro provides an excellent model of contemporary organological method and its application.

Los instrumentos de percusión en México represents ten years of research and fieldwork. The book is an important contribution to the field of ethnomusicology and, more specifically, to the ever-growing landscape of scholastic innovation in Mexico. Perhaps even more important than the study itself and its impact on the field is the fact that this book signals the emergence of a very important ethnomusicologist. Adelante Arturo!

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NOTES

1. The author cites the musical function of the feet in dance, the clapping of hands, and the use of other parts of the body that have characterized musical practices throughout Mexico.

2. Chamarro (p. 23) notes that "debido a este descubrimiento se multiplicaron y desarrollaron los experimentos iniciados con materiales naturales, se fabricaron sonajas, raspadores, sartales, timbales de olla o de vaso" ("Because of the discovery, there was an increase and development of initial experiments in constructing rattles, rasps, clay drums, etc., from natural materials").

3. See pp. 35-39. Chamorro discusses the Conquest period in Mexico in relation to musical instruments.

4. Describing this convergence of influences in colonial Mexico as a process of acculturation, Chamorro (p. 39) emphasizes the role of musical instruments as "elementos culturales selectivamente aceptados y sincretizados o reinterpretados para ajustarlos a la estructura sociocultural de la Nueva Espana" ("cultural elements selectively accepted and syncretized or reinterpreted in order to adjust to the socio-cultural structure of New Spain").

5. Chamorro (p. 98) also describes free aerophones commonly used in traditional, indigenous dance, saying that, "cuyo uso se derivó probablemente de la ridiculización de caciques y mayordomos de las haciendas agrícolas en nuestro país, además de alguna función ritual que pueda atribuírsele" ("...its [free aerophones] use was probably derived from farces of Indian leaders and plantation officials in Mexico, in addition to some ritual function which can be attributed to the dance").

6. Baile de salon is a type of social dancing seen in nightclubs.

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BOOK REVIEW

Litweiler, John. The Freedom Principle: Jazz After 1958. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1984. 324 pp., notes, selected discography, index.

Over the past 40 years ethnomusicologists have been adapting methodologies developed to study non-Western musics to that of American communities. Studies of the musics of European immigrants in North America, for example, have shed light upon broader historical, analytical, and methodological problems (see Porter 1978). They have also delineated music in the urban environment and examined the kinds of social and contextual dynamics that affect its performance (see Such 1981 and Schramm 1982). The study of jazz has been influenced by this trend and has provided an important source of material on musical change and intergroup relations.

Richard Waterman (1952) viewed specific characteristics of West African music (compound meter, off-beat phrasing of melodic accents, dominance of percussion, "metronome sense," and overlapping call-and-response patterns) as "retentions," "syncretisms," and "reinterpretations" in New World Negro music, including jazz. Alan Merriam considered the jazz community an isolated subgroup in American society (Merriam and Mack 1960). "Jazz and Ethnomusicology," furthermore, was the title of a panel at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1984, which discussed such diverse topics as jazz style and methodological approaches. Ethnomusicologists with an interest in jazz are deepening their awareness of such basic music-making processes as improvisation, and their research may be useful in cross-cultural comparisons of this topic.

The development of improvisation in the various styles of modern jazz has been marked by a decrease in restrictions placed upon the soloist. In bebop (a style beginning in the early 1940's and continuing today in a slightly altered form, hard bop) the soloist's improvisation is strictly guided by precomposed harmonic and metric frameworks. This style afforded more opportunities and less restrictions than those guiding soloists in the swing groups of the 1920's and 1930's who were basically required to remain close to standard written arrangements. During the middle 1950's and early 1960's several

musicians began experimenting with "free-form" collective improvisation. This style (most commonly known as "free" or "avant-garde" jazz) allows the soloist to explore new ideas and emotions without the restrictions of functional harmony or metric frameworks.

For the researcher, these characteristics make it difficult to define a general avant-garde jazz musical style, for each composer has his own set of rules for harmony, rhythm, and melody. The paradox of musicians incorporating elements of bebop in their avant-garde compositions has spawned numerous interchangeable names for this music, including "free bop," "black classical music," "today music," "the new thing," and "new wave." Avant-garde jazz musicians who use bebop-derived precomposed harmonic and melodic features in their compositions and performances allow improvisational freedom to interact with form. Litweiler in his The Freedom Principle, however, fails to address the question of how these diverse approaches are tolerated within the avant-garde stylistic group.

The most comprehensive critical-historical study available, Litweiler's book pinpoints important stylistic changes or deviations in the transition from bebop to "free" jazz (around 1958) and the latter's subsequent development as a separate style. He also attempts to show how these developments have expanded the range of emotions for soloists and composers in new-found areas of improvisational freedom.

Based largely on out-of-print commercial recordings and published interviews, The Freedom Principle is intended for readers familiar with the general stylistic features of bebop and avant-garde. Litweiler proceeds with descriptive analyses of the ways in which precursors of the "free" style (including Herbie Nichols, Charles Mingus, and Lennie Tristano) began to deviate from the stylistic norms of bebop in the mid 1950's. He then assesses the musical contributions and performance style of such major innovators as Ornette Coleman, Eric Dolphy, John Coltrane, Miles Davis, Sun Ra, Albert Ayler, Cecil Taylor, Anthony Braxton, The Art Ensemble of Chicago, Ronald Shannon Jackson, and others. There are also chapters on "Pop-Jazz Fusion and Romanticism," "Free Jazz in Europe," and "Free Jazz Today."

The term "freedom" in the title of Litweiler's book is examined as an aesthetic parameter in group and solo improvisation, as a gauge for analysis of stylistic change, and as a

point of differentiation among avant-garde and other jazz styles. Litweiler includes in his sampling musicians who have deviated in various ways from the conventional stylistic norms of harmony, melody, and rhythm in bebop. However, many of the musicians mentioned in his study (e.g., Ornette Coleman, Dewey Redman, Charles Tyler) sometimes use bebop-derived, precomposed melodies and harmonic structures. Furthermore, Litweiler does not address Afro-American cultural influence upon the music, the contextual dynamics of the urban environment upon the musicians who perform avant-garde jazz, and the complete worldview of the avant-garde group.

Nonetheless, Litweiler's identification of significant stylistic innovations by "free" musicians, which he places in the overall development of this style, displays remarkable insight and careful reflection. A professional critic who has closely followed jazz for a number of years, Litweiler infers a range of emotions that may guide performers through particular parts of their improvisation and incorporates musician comments about performance style to support this belief. Ornette Coleman's treatment of pitch relationships, for example, is consistent with his observation that "A tempered note is like eating with a fork...if you don't have a fork the food isn't going to taste any different" (pp. 50-51). Though Litweiler's analysis is not supported with musical transcriptions, he successfully penetrates some of the cognitive and semiotic components of avant-garde music.

Aside from the methodological weaknesses mentioned above, scholars, collectors, and listeners of jazz will find this book a welcome addition to their library. One's appreciation of "free jazz" is enhanced by Litweiler's extensive citation of significant recordings, many of which today are out of print and nearly impossible to find.

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