Sub-Saharan Impact on Western Music (to 1800)

INTRODUCTION

John Gray's *African Music: A Bibliographical Guide to the Traditional, Popular, Art, and Liturgical Musics of Sub-Saharan Africa* (New York/Westport/London: Greenwood Press, 1991 [African Special Bibliographic Series, Number 14]) reaches a total of 5802 entries divided under such topics as "African Traditional Music," "African Popular Music," "Aftican Art Music," and "African Church Music." Rightly calling attention in his Introduction to Robert Farris Thompson's clarion call for scholarship devoted to "an alternative Atlantic tradition to the great Graeco-Roman," Gray cites as the earliest published source having anything to do with sub-Saharan music Cavazzi's *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*, translated by J.B. Labat (Paris: Charles-Jean-Baptiste Delespine, 1732). Even here (item 1912 in his bibliography), Gray claims no personal acquaintance with the translation, much less with the original. Indeed he does not know so much as the translated author's first names. Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi (1621–1678) whose *Istorica descrizione de' trè regni Congo, Matamba et Angola* was published at Bologna in 1687, far from being the earliest author to give prime first-hand data on the musics of Sub-Saharan Africans belonged to a series of informed travellers who began describing what they heard along the west coast of Sub-Saharan Africa as early as 1455.

Gray defends his nescience with the claim that he had received only "one modest grant" during the "some half-dozen years" spent preparing his bibliographical vademecum and that the limitations of time and funding therefore prevented his searching "the innumerable early accounts." However, he does believe that "this could be a fruitful area of exploration for other intrepid African researchers."

Ironically, the search had already been made, the result being "The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1800," published in *The Musical Quarterly*, LIV/4 (October 1968), 475–502. Research during a half-dozen years having not provided John Gray with access to the October 1968 issue, the editors of *The Musical Quarterly* have graciously acceded to the present author's request for permission to publish anew "The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1800." Except for the few necessary additions needed to flesh out the bibliographical data with original publishers' names (these having been omitted in 1968 because *Musical Quarterly* editorial policy then forbade citing them), the text that follows substantially duplicates an article already in print 23 years before Gray's 1991 499-page *African Music: A Bibliographical Guide*.

To have brought the 1968 article completely "up to date" would have involved changing "Afro-American," "Negro," and "Black" throughout the present reprinting to the currently politically correct expression, "African American" (changes which the reader is requested to make mentally).

The *guineo a 5* published at pages 490–495 in the *Quarterly* article was republished in *Inter-American Music Review*, VII/1 (Fall 1985) with the title *Ese rigor e repente*. The same issue included three other "black" pieces by

Gaspar Fernandes: *Dame albricia Anton (negrito a 4)*, *Tantarantaran a la guerra van (guineo a 6)*, and *Tururu farara con son (guineo a 4)*.

Abundant additional information concerning sub-Saharan impact on music in the Greater and Lesser Antilles appeared in *Inter-American Music Review*, IV/1 (Fall 1981)—this issue being entirely devoted to "Caribbean Music History: A Selective Annotated Bibliography with Musical Supplement."

I

Despite such pioneer anthropology dissertations as Richard A. Waterman's "African Patterns in Trinidad Negro Music" and Alan P. Merriam's "Songs of the Afro-Bahian Cults: An Ethnomusicological Analysis" (1943 and 1951)[1]—to say nothing of the long article "Música de Culto Afrobahiano" by Melville J. Herskovits and Waterman published in *Revista de Estudios Musicales*, I (December, 1949), pages 65–127—reference works recommended by public librarians still tend to restrict "Negro music" to that produced in the United States. Nor do such works give even that music full historical coverage. As if all that preceded 1800 were inconsequential, the more popular encyclopedias usually limit *Negermusik* in the United States to events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2]

But "Negro music," because of its geographic and temporal diffusion, deserves better of popular vademecums. In 1956 André Schaeffner, then head of the Département d'Ethnologie musicale of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, announced having found Chinese and Arabic texts dating from the eighth to fourteenth centuries which that early confirm the presence in the Far East of Negroes brought from East Africa. "One such text dated 724 alludes to Negro slaves on the island of Sumatra, some of whom were musicians,"[3] declared Schaeffner.

To return to the Americas: no later than 1505 Blacks began arriving in Hispaniola. Quoting documents assembled by José Antonio Saco (1797–1879), J. Fred Rippy published some seventy years ago "The Negro and the Spanish Pioneer in the New World," *Journal of Negro History*, VI (April, 1921). In this article Rippy showed that sub-Saharan blacks marched with Balboa to the Pacific, with Cortés to the sack of the proud Aztec capital, and with Pizarro into the mountain fastnesses of Peru. By the 1590's, Lima boasted between 12,000 and 15,000 blacks as against only 2,000 white Spaniards.[4] In the decade 1570–1580 Mexican population counts tallied 18,569 Negroes versus only 14,711 Spaniards—blacks outnumbering Spaniards in every bishopric except the sees of Yucatán, Chiapas, and Oaxaca.[5] Two centuries later, the Negro population of Lima had risen to 30,000; and at Trujillo, the largest Peruvian coastal town north of Lima, a 1763 census revealed 3,650 Negroes and mulattos out of a total population of but 9,289.[6] Montevideo, today the capital of all-white Uruguay, counted 1,040 Negroes among a

[1] See Northwestern Univ., *Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations*, XI (June–August 1943), 57–61, and XIX (June–September, 1951), 219–223. Both authors enjoyed access to field recordings made by the dean of Northwestern Africanists, M. J. Herskovits, assisted by his wife Frances at Bahia.

[2] *Grove's Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (1927), III, 612, tried to push Negro music history back to 1830, when, according to H. C. Colles, a black performer at Louisville, Kentucky, gave his name to a song that spawned "Negro minstrelsy." This article and the one on "Negro Music" by R. Nathaniel Dett (1882–1943) that survived in the Oscar Thompson *International Cyclopedia* until 1949, do not appear in current editions. The author of the article on "Negermusik" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, IX (1961), 1352–1358, discusses Negro Music in the United States, mostly of post-1900 date.

In their article, "Africa," *The New Grove* (1980), I, 144–145, Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke broke new ground when quoting Percival R. Kirby, who in 1933 had documented the stopped flute ensembles encountered by Vasco da Gama near the Cape of Good Hope in December 1497, and who in 1934 had assembled travellers' reports, one of which dated as early as 1586 alludes to the *sansa = mbira* (now popularly known as the African thumb piano). In Robert Stevenson's section, "Afro-American Music," *The New Grove*, X, 522–526, he documented its development in the colonial and early independence periods within Latin America.

[3] "Ethnologie musicale ou musicologie comparée?" in *Les Colloques de Wégimont* (Brussels: Elsevier, 1956), p. 22: (Au cours de recherches portant sur la connaissance que l'on avait, hors d'Afrique, de la musique noire, je suis tombé sur des documents qui, non seulement prêtent à une datation, mais suggèrent des relations probables avec d'autres civilisations. Ainsi trois textes, dont deux chinois et un arabe, s'échelonnant entre le VIII[e] et le XIV[e] siècle, et l'un d'eux même mentionne la date de 724, prouvent la présence ancienne d'esclaves noirs, et parmi eux de musiciens, à l'île de Sumatra; ces esclaves provenaient de la côte orientale d'Afrique (*K'ouen louen*) et avaient été amenés par des commerçants arabes."

[4] *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, ed. by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Tip. de M. G. Hernández, 1881), I, 58–59 ("Breve Relación de la Ciudad de Los Reyes ò Lima").

[5] *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, ed. by Germán Latorre (Seville: Tip. Zarzuela, 1920 [Biblioteca Colonial Americana, IV]), pp. 97–99.

total population of 4,726 in 1803. Chile played host to 30,000 Negroes at the end of the eighteenth century. At Buenos Aires there were still clustered as late as 1827 enough Negroes to sustain seven African societes, some of them like the Sociedades Angola, Bangala = Benguela, and Conga taking their names from the African areas to which their members could trace ancestry.

The copious data on these seven Buenos Aires societies that first appeared in the May 5, 1827, issue of the *Crónica Política y Literaria de Buenos Aires* lay dormant until republished in *Historia: Revista Trimestral*, II (January–March, 1957) by Ricardo Rodríguez Molas. His article, "La música y la danza del negro en el Buenos Aires de los siglos XVIII y XIX," also divulges many other documents that show how jealously Africans at Buenos Aires guarded their regional identities, each *nación* banding itself together in a *cofradía, hermandad*, or *sociedad*. On October 31, 1795, two chiefs of the *Nación Conga*, for instance, petitioned the incoming Viceroy Pedro de Portugal y Villena for permission to celebrate his formal entry with dances preserving the pure regional styles of Africa, such dances to continue thereafter every Sunday and feast day afternoon. This petition, found with others of like tenor in the Argentine Archivo General de la Nación,[7] stresses the desire not only of the Congo Nation (*Nación Conga*) at the viceroyal capital but of other African nationalities as well to "preserve stylistic authenticity and regional purity" of their dances and dance music.

II

If as late as 1795 these *naciones* at Buenos Aires still so eagerly sought to maintain their African individuality and to preserve "the purity of their styles," the question next arises: just what particular traits gave individual flavor to the music and dance of one African *nación* transported to the New World, as opposed to another? Early travelers' testimonies tend to be somewhat vague. Still it may help us to answer this question if we review what some of the first European visitors to sub-Saharan Africa wrote concerning the music of the blacks—but we should always check their statements against the findings of present-century Africanists such as Klaus Wachsmann, A. M. Jones, Percival R. Kirby, and J. Kwabena Nketia.

For one matter, the early explorers' accounts do witness to a vast variety in sub-Saharan music. What they heard on the coast of Senegal, the lower Congo, Angola, the Cape, and Mozambique, differed appreciably from one region to the other. During 1455 Alvise Da Mosto (1432–1483), the Venetian mariner contracted by Prince Henry the Navigator, skirted Senegal. He liked their moonlight dancing despite its being "molto differente dal nostro" and it amused him to see how immediately the Senegalese took to the bagpipe ("una de queste nostre pive"), which they wished to class as a heavenly being ("cossa celestial che Idio l'avea fata con le sue man"). But he decried their instruments. Familiar with the perfumed sonorities popular in the *O rosa bella* epoch, he found offensive the Senegalese *tanbache* (big drums) and their two-string plucked instruments resembling a violetta.[8]

On the other hand, native-born Portuguese voyagers with less dainty tastes found very attractive the drums, ivory trumpets, and fiddles played "in good tune with each other" at the end of March, 1491, to commemorate a deceased member of the Congo royal house. Mani-Sonho, an uncle of the Congo king, presided at the ceremony.[9] In this same year, organs arrived at the Congo capital—a gift from the Portuguese crown.[10]

[6] James F. King, "Negro History in Continental Spanish America," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (January, 1944), 11. King presents population figures for southern South America at pp. 9–10.

[7] División Colonia, Sección Gobierno, Solicitudes Civiles-S.Z., Sala 9-C. 12-A. 9-N. °10. See Rodríguez Molas, "La música y la danza del negro," p. 112, note 30.

[8] *Le navigazioni atlantiche del Veneziano Alvise Da Mosto*, ed. by Tullia Gasparrini Leporace (Rome, 1966), p. 72. A bagpipe is mentioned at p. 70. First published in 1507 (*Paesi novamente ritrovati*), Da Mosto's account survives more authoritatively at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice) in Marciano It., Cl. VI, 454 (= 10701). English tr. Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh, 1824), II, 235–236.

[9] Ruy de Pina, *Chronica d'ElRei Dom Joaõ II* [Collecçaõ de livros ineditos de historia portugueza, Tomo II] (Lisbon: Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1792), p. 152 Pina (*ca.* 1440–1521) finished his account around 1504. Ruy de Sousa took command of the 1491 Congo expedition after the death of his brother Gonçalo.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 150. The Congo capital at Mbanza (later São Salvador) served as seat of a bishopric 1597–1626. See *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, VII, 428–430, for a short history of the Congo kingdom.

After lengthy residence at the court of the Congo king Álvaro I (reigned 1568–1587[11]), the Jewish-descended Duarte Lopes[12] returned to Europe as the Congo King's ambassador to Rome,[13] there confiding his reminiscences of life in the Congo to Filippo Pigafetta. The latter's *Relatione del Reame di Congo* (Rome: B. Grassi, 1591) contains not only the first full-fledged description of Congo music, but was also the first account of Congo life to be translated into English. *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo . . . Drawen out of the writinges and discourses of Odoardo Lopez* [= Duarte Lopes] *a Portingall* (London, 1597), consisting of 220 pages, boasts maps, an index, and numerous illustrations.[14] At pages 48–49 are described their instruments of war, with one of which—shaped somewhat like an inverted bell—the advance scouts "by the note do signifie in what danger they are, and what weapons they have met." At 182–183 Lopes devotes himself to Congo instruments accompanying love songs, used at feasts, and played on other joyful occasions. "Hayres which they draw out of the *Elephantes* tayle, and are very strong and bright" and "threedes made of the woode of *Palme-Tree*" served as strings for a lute-like instrument, the belly of which consisted not of wood but of stretched skin.[15] Each string was hung with one or more thin iron or silver laminae, to make it jingle.

Those that play vppon this Instrument, doo tune the strings in good proportion, and strike them with their fingers, like a *Harpe*, but without any quill very cunningly. . . . Besides all this (which is a thing very admirable) by this instrument they doo vtter the conceites of their mindes, and doo vnderstande one another so plainely, that euery thing almost which may be explained with the tongue, they can declare with their hande in touching and striking this instrument.[16] To the sounde thereof they do dance in good measure with their feet, and follow the iust time of that musicke with clapping the palmes of their handes one against the other. They haue also in the *Court, Flutes* and *Pipes*, which they sound very artificially, and according to the sounde they daunce and moue their feet . . . with great grauity and sobrietie. The common people doe vse little *Rattles*, and *Pipes*, & other instruments, that make a more harsh and rude sound, then the Court-instruments do.

On Saturday, December 2, 1497, Vasco da Gama's party went ashore at Mossel Bay, some two hundred miles east of the Cape of Good Hope. In Chapter III of his *Historia do descobrimento & comquista da India* (Coimbra, 1551 and 1554), Fernão Lopes de Castanheda tells how the Hottentots received the Portuguese. As translated in *The first Booke of the Historie of the Discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias* (London: T. East, 1582), this tale of the first Hottentot encounter with Vasco da Gama's men reads thus (folio 9):

The Saterday next after [December 2, 1497] came to the number of two hundreth blacke men: and more, some little, some great, bringing with them twelue Oxen and foure sheepe, and as our men went on shore, they began to play vpon foure Flutes accordingly with foure sundry voyces, the Musicke whereof sounded very well, which the Generall [Vasco da Gama] hearing, commaunded the trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In this pastime and feasting, and in buying their Oxen and sheepe, that daye passed ouer, and in the self same sort, vpon the Sunday following, sundry of the same. . . .

Although the account of Castanheda, who died in 1559, varies slightly from the 1497–1498 diary of the voyage published in 1861 with the title *Roteiro da viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXCVII,*[17] the

[11] Filippo Pigafetta and Duarte Lopes, *Description du royaume de Congo*, transl. and ed. by Willy Bal (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1963), p. 203, note 295.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[13] António Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Africa Ocidental (1570–1599)* (Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1953), III, 234–235. In a deed of ten leagues property to the Holy See dated January 20, 1583, Álvaro called Lopes *gentilhuomo di nostra casa et Ambasciatore ch'inuiamo alla sua corte.*

[14] A Congo prince flanked by two musicians occupies page 78, but the buildings in the distance look European.

[15] According to *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, ed. by Anthony Baines (London: Faber, 1966), p. 165, the banjo is distinguished by its "belly not of wood but of vellum." Identifying the banjo as a West African instrument, *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (1984), I, 152, dates its arrival in Jamaica no later than 1688. However, the shape of the Congo "lutes" suggests the arched harp = bowed harp. "The bow-harp has always been the musical tool of higher civilization," according to Klaus Wachsmann, "An Approach to African Music," *Uganda Journal*, VI (January, 1939), 152.

[16] J. F. Carrington, *Talking Drums of Africa* (London, 1949), pp. 79–80, explains how the Congo musicians at Álvaro I's court may have "talked" with their lutes.

[17] *Roteiro* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1861), p. 11: "E elles começaram logo de tanger quatro ou cinquo frautas, e huuns tangiam alto e outros baixo, em maneira que concertavam muito bem"; Castanheda, *História*, 3.ª edicão conforme a *Editio princeps* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924), I, 13:

Hottentots had already in 1497 obviously passed the stage of mere monody to that of harmony. Or at least, so the later references to Hottentot reed-flute ensembles gathered by Kirby in his classic study permit one to believe.[18]

Camões (*Os Lusíadas*, Canto V, lxiii, 5–8) immortalized the Hottentot "pastoral songs" (*cantigas pastoris*) that welcomed Vasco da Gama's men ashore, calling their pastoral flutes "as sweet as those played by Tityrus" in Virgil's first eclogue. Camões's grandiose epic also refers (Canto I, xlvii, 8) to the sonorous vertical trumpets (*anafis*[18] *sonorosos*) played aboard ships sent out from Mozambique island to greet Vasco da Gama's party three months later.[20] On March 3, 1498, "seuen or eight little boates vnder saile" approached the Portuguese fleet. "And then by view of their persons it appeared they were men of a good stature and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in linnen cloth of Cotten, welted with sundry colours. . . . They have swoords and daggers as the Moores do vse them, in their boates they brought with them their instruments called Sagbuts."[21]

Upon boarding the Portuguese ships, these islanders from Mozambique immediately made themselves at home—especially upon finding a Portuguese mariner who spoke Arabic. Before quitting Mozambique Vasco da Gama even dickered for two pilots who knew the route to India. Foiled by their Moorish religion, he continued on up the east African coast to Mombaça = Mombasa (Kenya) and thence another sixty miles to Melinde = Malindi at the mouth of the Athi river, there meeting a Moslem ruler willing to supply him with a pilot.[22] On low Sunday, April 22, 1498, the Malindi sultan visited the "Captaine generall [Vasco da Gama] . . . giuing him a Pilot to carry him to Calicut" [India]. According to the 1582 translation (fol. 29ᵛ) and the 1551 Portuguese original (capitolo .xii.), this Moslem "King of Mylynde"

> . . . brought with him many Shagbuts, and two Flutes of Ivorie, which were eight spans of length each of them,[23] they were very well wrought, and vppon the same they played by a little hole that is in the midst thereof, agreeing and according well with the shagbuts.

Trazia muytos anafis, & duas bozinas de marfim de cõprimẽto doyto palmos cada hũa, & erão muyto lauradas: & tãgiãse per hũ buraco q̃ tinhão no meyo: & cõcertauão cõ os anafis.

Centuries-old contacts across the Indian Ocean perhaps gave the East Africans "their best and most musical instruments, the *ambira*"[24] [= marimba]—an instrument the origin of which Erich von Hornbostel flatly denied to Africa, awarding it instead to "Burma, Siam, or Java."[25] Nonetheless, it had become so acclimatized in southeast Africa by 1586

"& como os nossos forão a terra começarão eles de tãger quatro frautas acordadas a quatro vozes de musica."

[18] Percival R. Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1965), pp. 135–138. See also Kirby's "Some Problems of Primitive Harmony and Polyphony, with Special Reference to Bantu Practice," *South African Journal of Science*, XXIII (December, 1926), 951–970.

For A. M. Jones's discussion of African indigenous harmony see *Studies in African Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), I, 216–222; and map after p. 230. He classes all native African harmony as organum at the fourth, fifth, octave, or third. For other references to *Mehrstimmigkeit* in aboriginal Africa, see Klaus P. Wachsmann, "Ostafrika," *MGG*, X (1962), 445.

[19] anafil [P.] = añafil [Sp.] = a vertical trumpet of silver or base metal. Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengva castellana*, 1611, derives *añafil* from the Arabic *nafir*. Castanheda's 1582 translator uses "sagbut" or "shagbut" as the English equivalent of "anafil." But Covarrubias vetoes our confusing it with either a coiled or slide trumpet.

[20] See the edition of Reis Brasil (Oporto, 1960), I, 258, 271; V (1966), 298, 311.

[21] Castanheda, *The first Booke* (1582), fol. 14. In the diplomatic reprint of the Portuguese first edition (see note 17), the sentence reads, p. 17: "& quãto mais se chegauã soauão neles atabales como q̃ hião de festa." The *Roteiro* account, which must be accepted in preference to Castanheda's, specifies (1861 ed., p. 23): "chegaram a nós sete ou oyto daquelles barcos e almadias, os quaees vinham tamjendo huuns anafis que elles traziam. . . ."

[22] Concerning this pilot, Ibn Mâdjd, who "enabled the *São Gabriel* and her consorts to reach Calicut," see C. R. Boxer and Carlos de Azevedo, *Fort Jesus and the Portuguese in Mombasa* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), p. 16.

[23] From nearby Tanganyika, Wachsmann secured photos of "Mboto-Trompeten" nine feet long (Tafel 37, *MGG*, X, between cols. 480 and 481).

[24] João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* (Lisbon: Escriptorio de Empreza, 1891), p. 73: "O melhor instrumento, e mais musico de todos em que estes tangem, chama-se ambira, o qual arremeda muito aos nossos orgãos." English translation in Kirby (1965), p. 47. João dos Santos (*ca.* 1560–1622), a Dominican, published *Ethiopia Oriental* at his birthplace, Évora, in 1609.

[25] "The Ethnology of African Sound-Instruments," *Africa: Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*, VI (July, 1933), 287. See also Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940), p. 54 ("borrowed from Malaya"). A. M. Jones, *Africa*

that the Quiteve of Zimbao[h]e[26] surrounded himself with a corps of Negro marimba players. João dos Santos's detailed account of the eighteen-key marimbas being played in the 1580's at the Zimbaoe = Zimbabwe[27] court accords in every particular with the descriptions of Guatemalan marimbas furnished by Vida Chenoweth and David Vela—except that the rising scale began at the African player's right (the highest notes appearing therefore at his extreme left). The spread of the marimba into Angola and the Congo, from which regions it reached the New World no later than 1680,[28] can be documented in Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi's posthumously published *Istorica descrizione de' trè regni Congo, Matamba et Angola* (Bologna, 1687).[29] Cavazzi (1621–1678), like Santos before him, esteemed it as by far the most agreeable African instrument, much preferring it to the Congo *npungu* (ivory trumpets), *nsambi* (guitar strung with palm fiber), *longa* (small paired bells of iron, struck with a mallet), and *ngamba* (wood-frame drum, open at one end, covered with skin at the other, hand played).[30] Not only did Cavazzi find the noisiness of the *npungu* and *ngamba* painful but he also found many Angola and Congo instruments and dances morally reprehensible.

None of Cavazzi's moralistic zeal colors André Alvares d'Almada's *Relaçaõ e descripçaõ de Guiné na qual se trata das varias naçoens de negros* (Lisbon: Miguel Rodrigues, 1733); he can view even the most ethnic instrument without spiritual qualms. His is one of the earliest descriptions of the *bambalo*, "a talking drum the sound of which carries two or three leagues, and with which necessary messages can be transmitted."[31] Either because Portuguese observers lacked the musical polish of Italians, or for some other reason, Almada's *Relaçaõ . . . de Guiné* serves but to confirm the general rule: much more readily than other nationalities, the Portuguese praised sub-Saharan African musical manifestations. Much more quickly, also, they noticed the local variants in the coastline cultures of the vast continent, and much more easily did they allow their own composed music to incorporate sub-Saharan elements.[32]

The oldest dated piece of music labeled *Negro* thus far inventoried in peninsular archives comes to light in a manuscript at Coimbra, Portugal. Not without reason, the *candomblés* and *caboclos* on the American continents that best preserved their African identities into this century flourished in Brazil,[33]

and Indonesia: The Evidence of the Xylophone and Other Musical and Cultural Factors (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), examined the evidence for transoceanic borrowings at book length.

[26] Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 69: "Zimbaohe, onde mora o Quiteve."

[27] At Zimbabwe, one of the principal archaeological sites in southeast Africa, "Persian faience, Nanking porcelain, Arabian glass, and Ming celadon" have been dug up. This evidence proves how distant were the trade contacts of this region centuries before arrival of the Portuguese. Whether Santos's Zimbaohe equals the archaeoligical Zimbabwe can be disputed.

[28] Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 62–63, note 105.

[29] See *Collectanea Franciscana*, XIII (Rome: Istituto Storico Cappuccini, 1943), 176–177, for a useful Cavazzi bibliography. François-J. Nicolas, "Origine et valeur du vocabulaire désignant les xylophones africains," *Zaire: Revue congolaise*, XI/1 (January 1957), 71 quotes Cavazzi's original Italian (Milan, 1690, p. 134). The Library of Congress and British Library own the Bologna 1687 *editio princeps*.

[30] *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale . . . traduite de l'Italien du P. Cavazzi . . . par . . . J. B. Labat* (Paris, 1732), II, 48–50.

[31] *Relaçaõ e descripcaõ de Guiné*, p. 41: "hum instrumento feyto de hum pão vaõ por dentro, aberto pelas ilhargas, e serrado pelos topos, chamado Bambalo, que tocado soa a duas, e tres leguas, com o qual se entendem, e neste espaço com elle se daõ os avisos necessarios, e em poucas horas se ajuntaõ. . . . Tem outras instrumentos musicos ao modo das nossas charamelas, e aos que os tangem chamaõ Jabundanas; e assim se servem de trombetas de marfim, e de tambores, e de outros varios instrumentos. . . ."

For other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century references, see J. F. Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–10.

[32] The black characters that frequently figure in the sixteenth-century *moresca* repertory printed in Italy play lewd, base roles. According to Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton, 1949), I, 372–373, the *moresca* was "a characterization and caricature of the Negroes who, imported from North Africa, lived on the Neapolitan shore and in the outlying districts of Venice. . . . Musically speaking, it [the *moresca*] includes occasional parody of the madrigal, interspersed street-ballads, African folklore, spoken gibberish. . . . The musical treatment is largely homophonic—a harmonized single part; but the rhythm is all the richer, the more animated." *Chichilichi-Cucurucu*, attributed to Giovan Domenico da Nola (*ca.* 1510–1592), serves as Einstein's musical example (III, 83–86). Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), pp. 52–53, signals further important *moresca* bibliography. According to him, the "blacks" who figure in the *moresca* repertory include Arabs, Jews, and Greeks, as well as true *gente nigra*.

[33] In addition to the literature by Herskowits, Waterman, and Merriam citied in the first paragraph of this essay, see Roger Bastide, "Le Batuque de Porto-Alegre," in *Acculturation in the Americas. Proceedings and Selected Papers of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists*, ed. by Sol Tax (Chicago, 1952), pp. 195–206.

not in neighboring Uruguay[34] or in any other now Spanish-speaking nation. Richard A. Waterman's essay, "African Influence on the Music of the Americas" mentions the Guatemalan marimba and the Argentine *maxixe* as isolated Africanisms in Spanish-speaking areas.[35] In his opinion only Brazil, among mainland countries, provided examples of African religious music that still "persisted almost unchanged" in 1951, and still revealed the "African influence upon secular music" in full strength.[36]

III

Because the African impact on Brazil throughout the entire colonial period can be so lengthily and volubly documented, another essay by the present author[37] deals with Negro composers, theorists, and practitioners in Portuguese South America to 1800. Among the events that can be picked at random to illustrate black participation in Brazilian musical life before 1812, these can be named: the earliest music treatise extant in Europe by an American-born writer, the earliest opera to a Metastasio libretto known to have been presented in the New World, the first musical dictionary to include numerous New World composers, and the first New World court choirmaster. But because the Brazilian black evidence bulks so large, and because the present essay must not duplicate a former, the next topic for consideration will be the Negro impact in Spain and Spanish America.

Fundamental to the preservation of Negro identity in Spanish America throughout the three colonial centuries was, of course, the system of *cofradías* and *hermandades* everywhere fostered among them, as well as among the indigenes, by missioners and local clergy. The system of Negro *cofradías* sprang up all the more readily throughout Spanish America because of Andalusian precedents. Abundant data on Negro *cofradías* at Seville, the first of which with its own *capilla* was inaugurated in 1403, comes to light in Félix González de León's 205-page *Historia crítica y descriptiva de las cofradías de penitencia, sangre y luz, fundadas en la ciudad de Sevilla; con noticias del orígen, progresos y estado actual de cada una* (Seville, 1852).[38] At Cádiz a Negro *cofradía*, founded in the sixteenth century with Nuestro Señor de los Reyes for its patron, acknowledged an advocacy that was elsewhere common as well—because of the traditional identification of at least one of the Magi (Baltasar) as a Negro.[39] The Negro *cofradía* endowed at Jaén in the late sixteenth century by Juan Cobo, who was himself a black, selected for a favorite devotion the Negro born of slave parents who is now known variously as Benedict of Palermo (where he died), of San Philadelphio in Sicily (where he was born), or as Benedict the Moor (1526–1589; beatified 1743, canonized 1807). Apart from eleemosynary activities, these Andalusian black *cofradías* frequently sponsored floats, dances, pageants, and other festival entertainments. Music being the proverbial passion of blacks in Spain (as elsewhere), the *cofradías* regularly budgeted funds to pay both singers and instrumentalists. In Rafael Ortega Sagrista's provocative article, "La Cofradía de los Negros en el Jaén Siglo XVII," published in the *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, IV (April–June, 1957, pp. 125–134), several such payments are documented. In 1600, for instance, the Jaén Negro confraternity contracted singers from San Andrés church at twenty-eight reales and two *músicos de guitarra o vihuela* at six reales.[40]

[34] Nine documents bearing on "Música Negra" in Uruguay —territory disputed by the Portuguese and Spanish throughout the colonial times—are identified and summarized in Lauro Ayestarán, *Fuentes para el estudio de la música colonial uruguaya* (Montevideo: Imprensora Uruguaya, 1947), pp. 33–35. A pertinent reference not picked up by Ayestarán once again illustrates the importance of Portuguese sources, *Relaçam das festas que fez Luiz Gracia* [sic] *de Bivar . . . Governador da Nova Colonia do Sacramento* (Lisbon, 1753), fol. A2. In the procession on February 2, 1752, organized in honor of King Joseph I's ascent to the throne, the trumpeters and drummers were all blacks. The church musicians who performed the *Te Deum laudamus* in the Igreja Matriz were brought from Buenos Aires for the ceremony (fol. A2 verso: "a excellente musica, e destrissimos instrumentos, que o nosso Governador fez conduzir, de Buenos ayres").

[35] *Acculturation in the Americas* (see note 33), p. 216.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[37] "Brazilian Music History to 1800: Some Portuguese Sources for a Re-Appraisal," *Yearbook of the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, IV (1968).

[38] Concerning Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena, the first protector of Negro *cofradías* at Seville, see Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1795), II, 249–265. Also, *Universidad de San Francisco Xavier* (Sucre), Tomo XVII, Nos. 41–42 (January–December, 1952), pp. 319–321.

[39] Alfonso de Aramburu y Pachego, *La ciudad de Hercules* (Cádiz, 1945), identifies rich planters returning homeward from Cuba as the financiers who endowed this *cofradía* for their blacks.

[40] Ortega Sagrista, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Bishop Sancho Dávila

Were space available, abundant testimony of the impact of Negroes on Spanish sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, sculpture, painting, and the other arts could be assembled. One of the most beautiful pieces of Spanish sixteenth-century polychromed wood is precisely the statue of the Negro Benedict of Palermo, the black saint mentioned above as the chosen advocate of the Jaén black *cofradía*.[41] Writers responded to the black presence with Negro characters like Luis in Cervantes's *El celoso extremeño*, who loved music so violently that he was willing to risk life itself if only he could study with someone able to teach him the *guitarra, clavicímbano, órganos,* or *harpa*.[42] José Luis Lanuza in *Morenada* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1946) devotes his final chapter to blacks in Spanish literature of the Golden Age. Negro dialect of the Uncle Remus kind gained such a hold on playwrights beginning with Lope de Rueda (*ca.* 1510–1565) that Quevedo (1590–1645) could offer poets the following sarcastic recipe for becoming a master of comedy in one day: "Show your knowledge of the Guinea tongue by changing the r's into l's and the l's into r's, thus, Francisco = *Flancisco*, primo = plimo."[43] If not enough to make a dramatic genius overnight, at least the recipe confirms that the Negroes in Quevedo's Spain hailed mostly from West Africa. Frederick W. H. Migeod's *The Languages of West Africa* published in 1911, and other later linguistic manuals, all agree on the ambivalence of *r* and *l* in Twi, Fanti, Guan, Ga, and Mende. Negro-dialect Spanish of Quevedo's day also pays tribute to the West Coast languages by altering every word with the "th" sound in it ("todo" into "turo," for instance), by suppressing final sibilants, by changing "ll" to "y," and by constantly mixing genders.[44]

Not only did secular seventeenth-century Spanish theater abound in poetry imitating Negro speech, but also religious lyrics profited from the vogue. Three delightful *villancicos* in dialogue form from the pen of Góngora (1561–1627) illustrate this. The first, for singing during Corpus Christi Eve procession, 1609, in Córdova Cathedral, the second and third for Epiphany and Christmas Eve, 1615, in the same cathedral can all three be justly considered models for the cornucopia of *villancicos* called *negros* or *guineos* that were to pour forth at Corpus Christi, Epiphany, and especially Christmas everywhere in Spanish dominions throughout the rest of the century. In the Corpus Christi *guineo*, Góngora introduces two Negro girls who dance to the refrain "Zambambú, Congo brunette zambambú / Zambambú, how pretty I am becoming, zambambú" with accompaniment of a shawm (*chirimía*).[45] In the Epiphany *negro*, Melchior, King of Sheba (*Mechora rey de Sabá*), enters to adore the Christ child, preceded by a black lackey proclaiming himself a native of gold-rich Sofala, a district of Mozambique whose wealth Vasco da Gama advertised.[46] In the Christmas *negro*, two beautiful black girls approach the manger at the urging of Mary, the "rose of Gericongo."[47] They sing:

Góngora's text	*Correct Spanish*
Cosa vimo, que creeya pantará: mucha jerquía cantando con melonía a un niño que e Diosa e Reya, ma tan desnuda, que un bueya le está contino bahando.	Cosa vimos, que espantará creerla: mucha Jerarquía, cantando con melodía a un niño que es Dios y Rey; mas tan desnudo, que un buey le está contino vahando.

(ruled Jaén see 1600–1615) especially favored Negroes. The other data above presented concerning the Jaén Negro *cofradía* come from Ortega Sagrista.

[41] Now exhibited at the Valladolid Museum, this statue can be appreciated from the picture in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), II, 283.

[42] *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1917), II, 110, 116. Loaysa promised to teach him a *zarabanda a lo divino* that would send even the Portuguese into ecstasies (p. 115); see also Cervantes's reference to the *zarabanda, neuvo entonces en España* (p. 128).

[43] Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Obras completas*, ed. by Felicidad Buendía (Madrid, 1966 [6th ed.]), I, 114. "Si escribes comedias y eres poeta sabrás guineo en volviendo las RR LL, y al contrario: como Francisco, *Flancisco:* primo, *plimo*."

[44] *The Languages of West Africa* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1911), I, 62–64, 89. In most West African languages gender is wanting.

[45] *Obras completas de Don Luis de Góngora y Argote*, ed. by Juan and Isabel Millé y Giménez (Madrid, 1951 [3rd ed.]), pp. 349–350 (no. 138–1609).

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 387–389 (no. 175–1615). In the usual legend, not Melchior but Baltasar is the Negro king.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 386–387 (no. 174–1615). "Gericongo" = Jericho + Congo. Some play on "Niger sum sed formosa" seems intended here. See Góngora's *Letrillas*, ed. by Robert Jammes (Paris, 1963), pp. 255–260, 309–310, 306–308, for annotated texts of all three Góngora *negros*.

"We saw something marvellous beyond belief, many powers singing sweet melody to a babe who is God and King, but so naked that an ox keeps constantly warming him with his breath."

In New Spain numerous *negros* flowed from the pen of a poet no less gifted than Góngora, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695). Some eight of her *villancico*-cycles—those for August 15 and December 8, 1676; January 31, 1677; August 15, 1679, 1685, and 1686; Christmas 1680; and March 19, 1690—include a *negrillo* or *negro*.[48] As in Góngora's exemplars, several of her *negros* rely on dialogue to vivify the action. In the *negro* for January 31, 1677, a black sings to the accompaniment of his calabash a *puerto rico* beginning "Tumba, la-lá-la; tumba, la-lé-le; / wherever Peter enters, no one remains a slave!" In that for March 19, 1690, the soloist claims that St. Joseph may well have been a Negro: for, was not one of Joseph's avowed ancestors the Queen of Sheba?—all of this in dialect, of course. To enhance the flavor, Sor Juana not only resorts to every artifice of dialect but also introduces into her *negros* onomatopoeic tags like "gulungú, gulungú," and "he, he, he, cambulé."[49] Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, who has studied Sor Juana's total *villancico* output with magisterial authority, cites only one other Mexican poet of her century who approaches her felicity in the *negro*—Gabriel de Santillana.

Now the more relevant question for musical history arises: who composed the music? Many of the *negros* still surviving in such colonial archives as those of Bogotá, Cuzco, Guatemala, and Sucre lack ascriptions. Usually these *anónimos* are the cruder exemplars, and perhaps therefore come closer to untutored music-making. However, among the composers of the *negros* catalogued in the 1649 *Primeira parte do Index da livraria de musica* of King John IV of Portugal, illustrious names are the rule.

The earliest composers of *negros* listed in this catalogue, Philippe Rogier (1560/61–1596) and his favorite pupil Géry de Ghersem (1572/75–1630), claimed for their birthplaces Artois and Tournai—towns now in northern France and southern Belgium but then part of Spanish territory. Both composers while still adolescents joined the *capilla flamenca* at Madrid, and it was for Madrid that each wrote his three *negros*.[50] But the most prolific composer of *negros* was the Portuguese Francisco de Santiago,[51] with eighteen to his credit; next comes Gabriel Dias with sixteen. Another Rogier pupil, Juan de Castro y Melagaray, makes a weak third, with only four *negros* catalogued. Among the remaining Portuguese composers can be named: Estevão Brito, João de Escobar, Manoel Machado, Manoel Rabello, and Manoel de Tavares.[52] A solo or duo followed by a group reply involving anywhere from a quartet to a double choir is the musical rule. Such texts as those beginning *Fasico de Manicongo* and *A negliyo de Mandinga*[53] identify the singing characters as West Africa or Congo natives.

Apart from the total of fifty-six *negros* in the John IV catalogue, numerous *calendas* = calemdas[54] and an occasional *mourisco*[55] enter the list of vernacular pieces. Jean-Baptiste Labat's *Nouveau Voyage aux isles de l'Amérique* (Paris: T. Le Gras, 1722), IV, 154, would have one believe that, if not in 1649, the date of John IV's *Primeira parte*, surely by 1698, the *calenda* rated among the commonest dances in the Americas, where it was widely recognized as having originated on the Guinea coast.[56]

[48] *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (México-Buenos Aires, 1952), II, 15–16, 39–40, 72–73, 96–97, 143, 247–248, 276–277, 315–316. See also the editor's indispensable notes at pp. 363–364, 373–374, 395–396, 425, 475, 487–488, 505–506.

[49] Manuel de León Marchante (1631–1680), prebendary at Alcalá de Henares during the years Andrés Lorente served as maestro there, wrote *negros* with "gulumpé" and "gurugú" for refrains. See Mendez Plancarte ed., pp. xxiv–xxv and 506.

[50] See facsimile publication of the *Primeira parte do Index* (Lisbon, 1967), pp. 379 and 425 (*Cantaremo la Nacimento, a 5; Manani manana, solo, & a 6; Turo lo neglo, qui aqui sa, solo, & a 4*) for Rogier's *negros*. Ghersem's are listed at pp. 228, 230, and 231 (second of these, *Aunque yora con razon, solo com 3. instrumentos*).

[51] Concerning Santiago (died 1644), King John IV's favorite composer of *villancicos*, see Stevenson, *Portuguese Music and Musicians Abroad (to 1650)* (Lima: Pacific Press, 1966), pp. 10–13, 23–26.

[52] *Primeira parte*, pp. 247, 225, 224, 262, 264.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–212.

[54] Cf. pp. 173, 192, 204, 207.

[55] See pp. 196, 304.

[56] "Celle qui leur plait davantage, & qui leur est plus ordinaire est la calenda, elle vient de la Côte de Guinée, & suivant toutes les apparences du Royaume d'Arda. Les Espagnols l'ont apprise de Nègres, & la dansent dans toute l'Amérique de la même manière que les Nègres. . . ." Some conflation may be involved here. Cf. Sebastián de Covarrubias's definition of Calenda in *Tesoro de la lengva castellana* (Madrid, 1611 [Barcelona: S. A. Horta, 1943, p. 269]). The Kalenda by the eighteenth-century Puebla maestro José Laso, in the Newberry Library collection, conforms with Covarrubias's definition.

The Spaniards took it from the Negroes, and dance it everywhere in the Americas after the true Negro fashion. Two drums of different sizes, both open at one end and covered with sheepskin or scraped goatskin at the other, serve as accompaniment. The larger drum, two to four feet long and 15 to 16 inches in diameter is called *baboula*. Inserted between his legs or placed on the ground before the seated player, the drums are struck with four flat fingers of each hand. The larger drum keeps a steady dance beat, but the smaller runs along much faster, in unsynchronized beats.

Labat decries the *calenda*, while in the next breath exalting it as "the best part of the Spanish creoles' diversions." However, he does express suitable shock when he recalls its being nearly always danced Christmas Eve on a stage constructed inside the choir grille of even the most respected Spanish American cathedrals, "so that the people can take joy in the Saviour's birth."[57]

If Rogier and Ghersem take pride of place as the first *negro* composers in Spain, a Portuguese composer enjoys priority in the Americas—Gaspar Fernandes, who, unless the American Gaspar Fernandes later proves to be a homonym, may have first reaped printed mention so long ago as António Francisco Barata's *Évora Antiga. Noticias colhidas com afanosa diligencia* (Évora, 1909). At page 47, Barata quoted an Évora cathedral list of 1590 to show that Gaspar Fernandes and the nonpareil Filipe de Magalhães shared identical music stipends of 3$000 in that year. Two shawmers enter the same 1590 list at 3$000 each, but a pair of sackbuts earned more—4$000 annually.

Like many another Portuguese composer during the 1580–1640 "Babylonian Captivity," our Gaspar Fernandes—if he be the same as the Évora Gaspar Fernandes—found it advantageous to roam widely. On July 16, 1599, he accepted employment in Antigua Guatemala,[58] where he remained as maestro of the cathedral for six years, until beckoned by a better paying post at Puebla, the second most important cultural center in Mexico. On September 15, 1606, his term began at Puebla Cathedral,[59] the appointment permitting him to serve for several years as maestro and organist concurrently. But sickness in 1621 at last prompted the Puebla cathedral chapter to engage as his aide and eventual successor in the choirmastership Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (*ca.* 1590–1664), a native of Málaga who had already won considerable renown as maestro de capilla of the *colegiata* at Jérez de la Frontera and at Cádiz Cathedral before accepting a call to the New World.[60] Fernandes died shortly before September 18, 1629.[61]

Fernandes's Latin works in the Guatemala Cathedral archive scarcely hint at the immense vitality and sparkle of the *guineos, portuguesas*, and *tlaxcalteca* dialect pieces transcribed by him year after year in a bulky book of festival pieces while serving Puebla Cathedral. Soon after his death this book was carried off by a pupil hired as a musician in Oaxaca Cathedral (where it was discovered by the present author in February 1966 as one of the principal jewels in the splendid Oaxaca Cathedral music archive[62]). The accompanying *guineo a 5*, transcribed from fols. 243ᵛ–244 of his festival *opera omnia* book at Oaxaca,

[57] *Nouveau Voyage*, IV, 157: "& les Religieuses ne manquent guère de la danser la nuit de Noël sur un theâtre élevé dans leur Choeur, vis-à-vis de leur grille, qui est ouverte, afin que le Peuple ait sa part de la joye que ces bonnes âmes témoignent pour la naissance du Sauveur." For references to 1763 and 1806 plagiarisms of Labat's *calenda* description, see Lauro Ayestarán, *Fuentes*, p. 33.

[58] Guatemala Cathedral, *Libro de el IIIᶠ cabido de Sanctiago de Guatemala delos aquerdos . . ., que se acen desde el Año de 1599: en adelante*, fol. 16ᵛ: ". . . el padre Gaspar Fernandes es diestro en la musica y terna cuydado de tañer el organo en esta cathedral." At Guatemala, as at Puebla, his organ playing proved one of his principal assets. In *Anuario Musical*, XX-1965 (Barcelona, 1967), David Pujol's "Polifonía española desconocida conservada en el Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Guatemala" lists the contents of a *Libro de misas copiado de el que escribió el P. Gasper Fernandes el año 1602* recopied in the 1760's (p. 4). Fernandes's organ responses *a 4* to hymns occupies fol. 79 of a second polyphonic book, first part; other Fernandes's works enter the *segunda parte* at fols. 33, 47, 72, 92, 106, 113, 139, 159, and 179. Hernando Franco, Gaspar Fernandes's most illustrious predecessor in the Guatemala choirmastership, enters the same *segunda parte* with a *Benedicamus Domino a 5* at fol. 181.

[59] Puebla Cathedral, *Libro de los decretᵒˢ . . . [Actas Capitulares*, VI, 1606–1612], fol. 23ᵛ. He left Guatemala July 12, 1606. The Guatemala Cathedral act of January 16, 1607 (at fol. 62 in the *Libro* mentioned in note 58) names Luys Rodríguez as Fernandes's successor there.

[60] His will found by the present author at the notarial archive in Puebla, together with extracts from Málaga and Cádiz cathedral *actas capitulares*, was extracted for publication in an article by the present author reporting new biographical data on him, Hernando Franco, Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo, and Estacio de la Serna.

[61] Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, IX, 1627–1633, fol. 117ᵛ.

[62] Preliminary details concerning the discovery of this important source, together with photographs of two openings and a picture of the present archivist guarding the book, P. Fernando Vázquez, were published in *Excelsior: Magazine Dominical*

Eso rigor e repente

Guineo a5

RBMSA, 203 (Oaxaca Cathedral)

Gaspar Fernandes

Tiple — Fol. 243 v — Sarabanda
Alto 1° — Fol. 244 — Canta
Alto 2° — Fol. 244 — tenle
Tenor — Fol. 243 v — eso
Bajo — Fol. 244 — Sarabanda

E-so ri-gor e re-pen-te ju - ro a - qui se ni yo si - qui-to que aun-que

Ten - le pri-mo

na-ce po - co bran-qui-to tu - ru so-mo no - so pa - ren-te no te - me-mo-bran - co gran-de

ten - le cal-je to - ca ne-gri-yo to - ca ne-gri-yo tam - bor - i - ti - yo

hu - si - he hu - si - ha pa - ra - çia

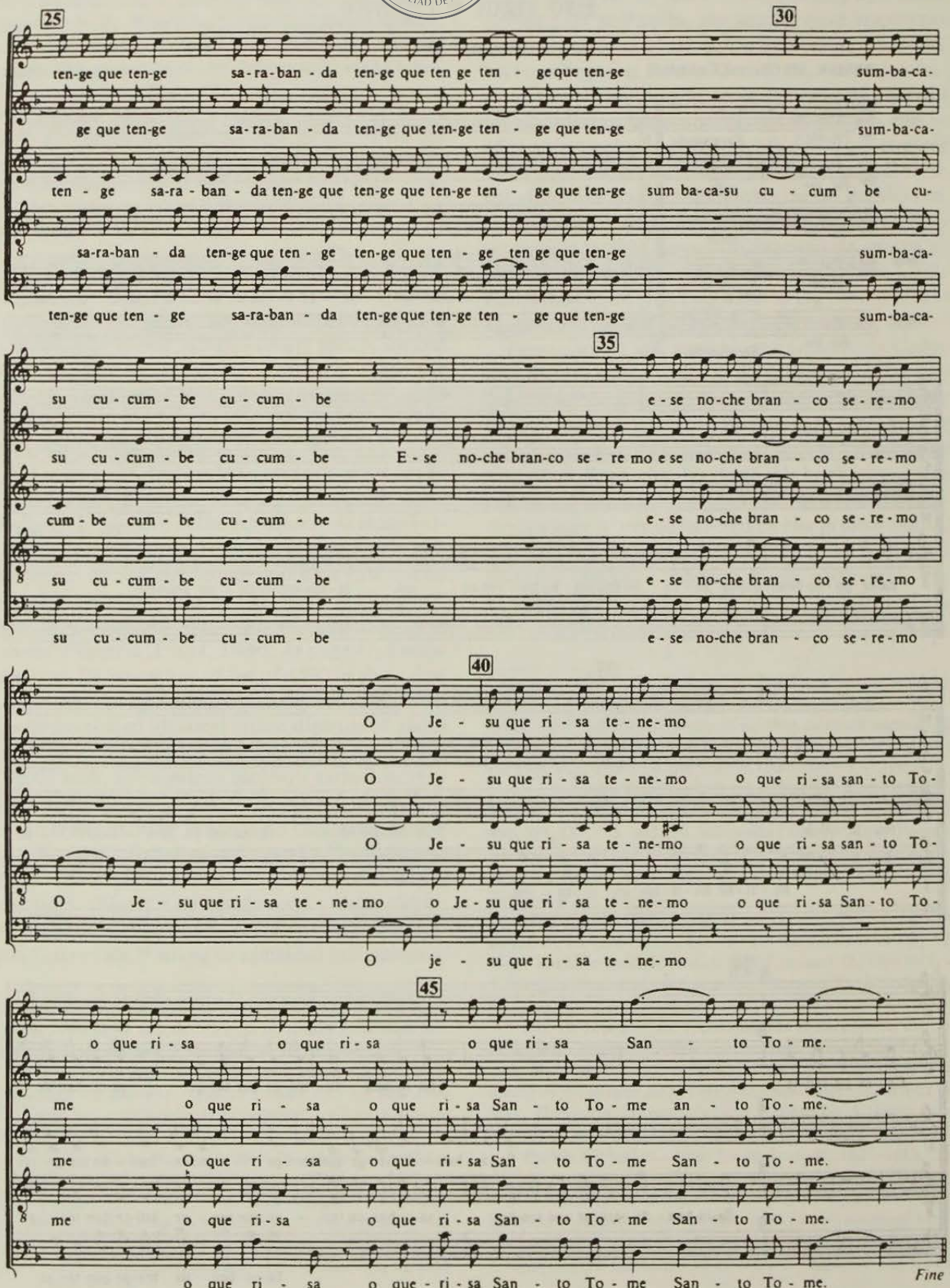
Sa-ra-ban - da

Can-ta pa-ren-te Sa-ra-ban - da ten-ge que ten-ge sa-ra-ban-da ten

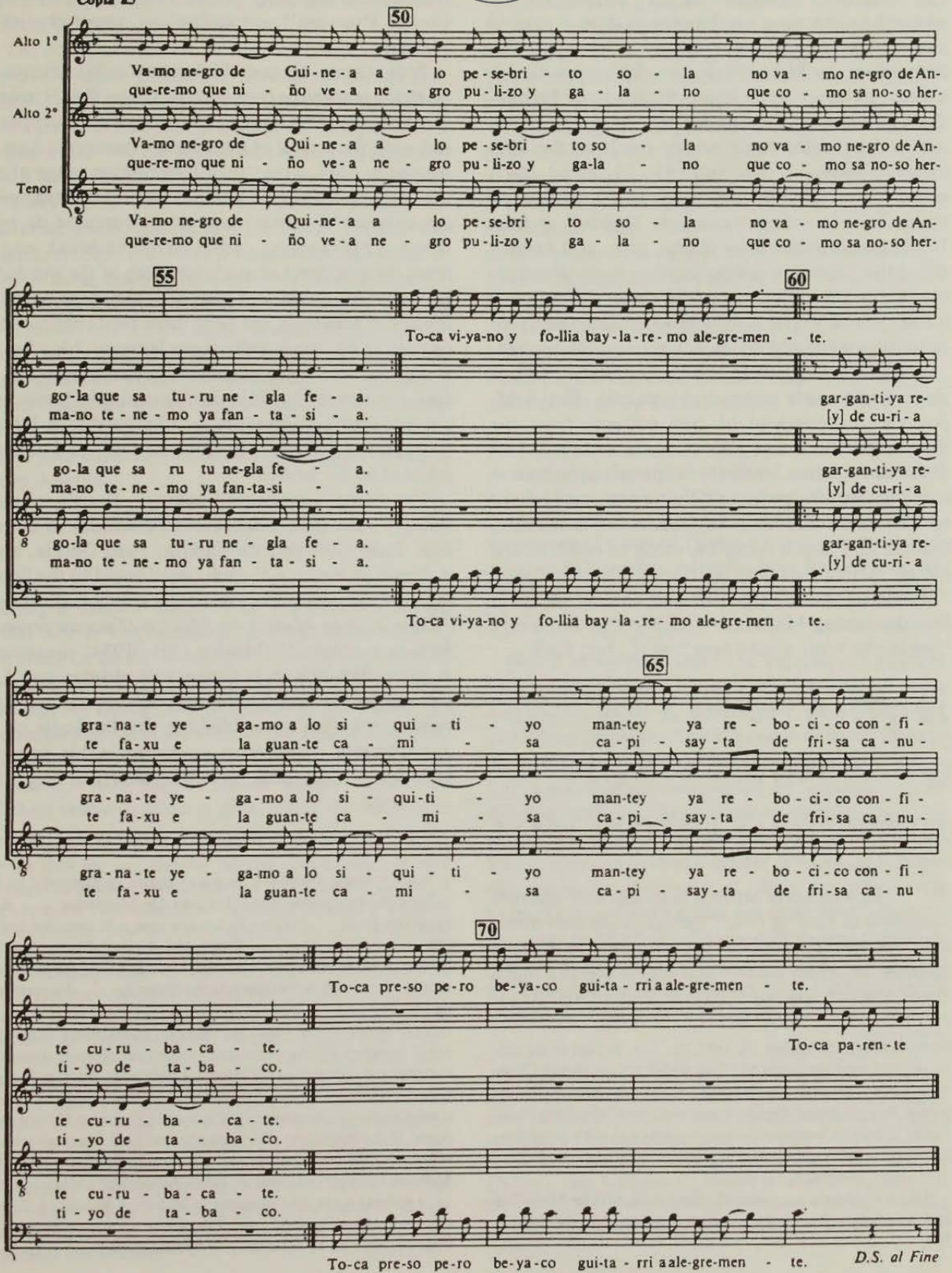
Sa-ra - ban - da ten-ge que ten-ge sa-ra - ban - da ten-ge que

Sa-ra-ban - da ten-ge que ten-ge sa-ra-ban-da ten - ge que ten - ge ten-ge que ten - ge

Sa-ra- ban - da ten-ge que ten-ge

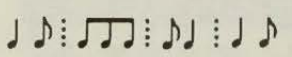


Copla a3

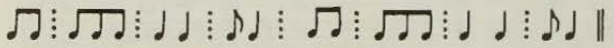


can serve both as an earnest of "negro" style—adapted to the sung sarabande—and as a control item to compare with the *negros* by stay-at-home Portuguese in M.M 50 at the Biblioteca Geral, Coimbra University. Judging from any of Fernandes's *guineos* or, for that matter, from any of the *negros* in the Coimbra source (such as the 127-measure *Negro A 8* at fols. 18ᵛ–23, dated 1647, commencing "Sã aqui turo zente pleta, turo zente de Guine," or the sung "dança de Negros" at fols. 16ᵛ–18, accompanied by *flauta, pito,* and *tamborilito*) the following generalizations seem inescapable. Vivid 6/8 with constant hemiolia shifts in 3/4 are the rule; F major is the almost uniform key; solo or soloists answered by chorus governs the texture.

"Negro" spirituals in the United States, fast or slow, avoid triple meter and hemiolia. But A.M. Jones's transcriptions of clap patterns from the Yoruba, Bemba, and Lala tribes at I, 212–213 of *Studies in African Music* (1959) permit us to believe that the vigorous *guineo* rhythmic patterns favored by Fernandes and his many successors in Mexico, Central and South America, catch as much of the native African as any spiritual. The *Gankogui* "Standard Pattern" repeated over and over again in Ewe drumming[63] falls into a scheme that Jones says "we in the West would hear" as (I, 54): 12/8



but that is beard by the African as (I, 53)



In whichever sense it is taken, and whether conceived as 12/8 or 6/4,[64] the fast triple movement with recurring hemiolia everywhere the rule in Spanish-American *guineos* and *negros* seems a much closer echo of Jones's Standard Pattern and its affiliates than anything of the "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen" or "Swing low, sweet chariot" variety.

True, Gomes Eannes de Azurara in his *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné* [1453] insists that the very first Negro songs heard on European soil upon the arrival of Lançarote's captives at Lagos August 8, 1444, were "their lamentations sung after the manner of their homeland" (*suas lamentaçooẽs em maneira de canto, segundo o costume de sua terra*). This, he says, was enough to break one's heart, even without an understanding of the words.[65] But what both Old and New World *negros* were to imitate throughout the next three centuries turned out not to be "their indigenous laments." Rather it was the brave Negro dance music that made such a figure October 31, 1451, during triumphs honoring the imperial ambassadors sent by Frederick III to fetch from Lisbon the Portuguese princess Leonor, selected as his bride.[66]

The three seventeenth-century Puebla choirmasters who followed Gaspar Fernandes in direct line, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan García, and Antonio de Salazar,[67] each contributed to the literature of the *negro*. Gabriel Saldívar [y Silva], whose *Historia de la Música en Mexico* (*Épocas precortesiana y colonial*) (Mexico City, 1934) contained at pages 219–229 an indispensable chapter on "La influencia africana," extended the scope of his African researches by publishing the facsimile of a Juan García manuscript *guaracha* in his private collection—thus demonstrating that this negroid

(Mexico City), December 10, 1967, pp. 2–3, as part of an article entitled "Arqueología Musical: Música Zapoteca del Siglo XVI." [Without authorization from either the discoverer or the present-day owners of the Oaxaca source, the Gulbenkian Foundation at Lisbon trespassed upon property rights by publishing in 1990 a volume containing Fernandes's Latin music.]

[63] Jones, *Studies*, I, 53.

[64] Alan P. Merriam, review of "Studies in African Music" in *Journal of American Folklore*, LXXIII (January–March 1960), p. 75.

[65] See the Visconde de Santarem's edition (Paris, 1841), p. 133.

[66] An African "mascara com huã figura de Dragaõ" highlighted the reception. See "Tratado De Memorias . . . dos Despozorios da . . . Infanta D. Leonor com o Emperador Federico 3°," at fols. 29–35ᵛ of Évora MS. CIII/2–25 (the Cunha Rivara catalogue lists this manuscript [III, 202]). At the same triumphs "varios homens silvestres das Canarias . . . dançaraõ ao seu modo."

[67] [A *negro* by Antonio de Salazar, transcribed from the Jesús Sánchez Garza collection, enters the present author's copyrighted *Seventeenth-Century Villancicos from a Puebla Convent Archive* (Lima: Ediciones "Cvltvra" 1974; 123 pp.), a volume for the *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México* prepared at the invitation of Carmen Sordo Sodi (through whose efforts in 1967 was acquired this distinguished collection for the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes). The contents of my 1974 volume were later plagiarized by Felipe Ramírez y Ramírez who was unaware of my Library of Congress copyright registry, entered to forestall anticipated theft.]

dance of supposedly Cuban provenance was already current in Puebla before 1670.[68]

The colonial masters of the *negro* in Guatemala include Manuel Quiroz and his nephew Rafael Antonio Castellanos. *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, 1960) included at pages 236–249 the first South American *negro* to reach print, Juan de Araujo's *Los negritos (Los coflades de la estleya)*. Successively maestro at Panama, Lima, and inland La Plata (present-day Sucre), Araujo (d. 1712) also achieved the distinction of being the first Spanish-American to have his *negro* recorded (Angel S36008) and sung on a transcontinental tour by the Roger Wagner Chorale. Any reader of the present essay will at once recognize that the "gulumbé gulumbá" refrain tag in Araujo's *negro* conforms with a long tradition. "Molenio de Safala" refers to *morenicos* of Sofala, the Mozambique gold capital.[69] Baltasar's gifts include presents from Angola.

IV

During a visit to Jamaica in 1688, Hans Sloane (1660–1753),[70] physician to the Duke of Albemarle, did what he could to preserve for posterity several specimens of tribal melody being sung on that island by Negroes newly arrived from Africa. In the introduction to his *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers, and Jamaica* (London, 1707), page 1, Sloane wrote: "Upon one of their festivals when a great many of the Negro Musicians were gathered together, I desired Mr. *Baptiste*, the best Musician there, to take the Words they sung and set them to Musick; which follows. You must clap your Hands when the Base is plaid and cry, *Alla, Alla*."

Reprintings of Angolan and Dahomean[71] songs collected by Sloane can be seen in Walter Jekyll's *Jamaican Song and Story*, Folk-Lore Society Publication LV [1904], page 281. The first of Sloane's Koromanti[72] songs lack words, but the second—shown below as a sample of Sloane's collecting—joins a text reading *Meri Bonbo mich langa meri wá langa*. Sloane's Plate III (after page cliv) illustrates the African musical instruments still in vogue in 1688. Already at page xlviii, he has described them. These include survivals of the Congo "lutes" previously admired by Duarte Lopes.

> They [Jamaican Negroes] have several sorts of Instruments in imitation of Lutes made of small Gourds fitted with Necks, strung with Horse hairs, or the picked stalks of climbing Plants or Withs. These instruments are sometimes made of hollow'd Timber covered with Parchment or other Skin wetted, having a Bow for its Neck, the Strings tied longer or shorter, as they would alter their sounds.

Negro drummers lined the reception route for Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza when he entered Lima August 31, 1551. A dozen years later, the vast popularity of Negro dancing and drumming in public streets made many of them impassable at times. The Lima *cabildo* responded by confining such dancing, and the Negro music accompanying it, to either the public plaza or the plaza of Nicolás de Ribero *el mozo*. Numerous later ordinances bespeak the continuing popularity of Negro dance and song in the Viceroyal capital, but not until the 1780's were paintings of Negro musicians in Peru, and transcriptions of Negro songs, gathered in the second volume of a manuscript now housed at the Biblioteca de Palacio at Madrid, with "Trujillo del Perú 1794" on

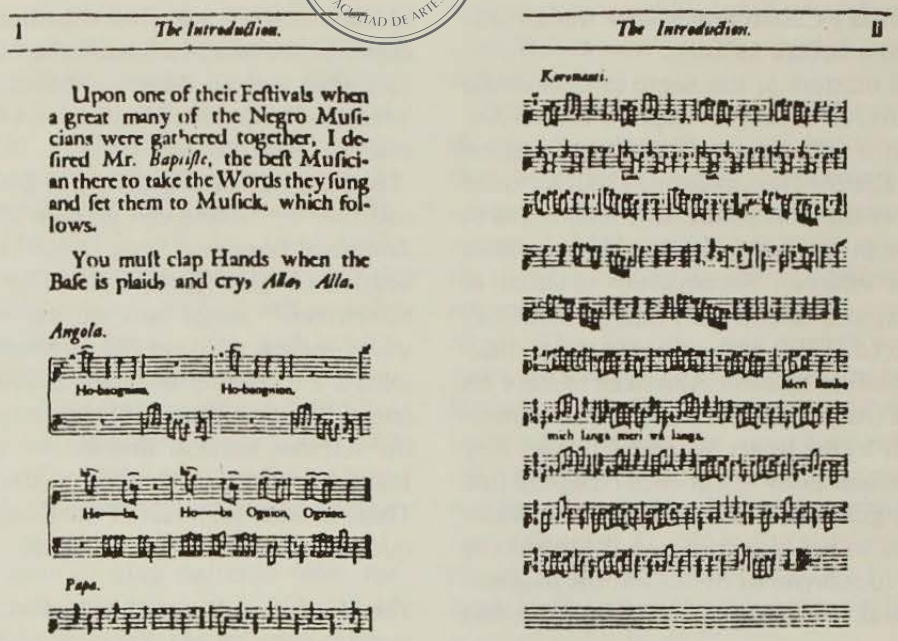
[68] In 1967 his son, Gabriel Saldívar Osorio, took on tour throughout South America the fast triple-meter *cumbees*, a Guinea dance intabulated in an eighteenth-century Guanajuato guitar tablature now known to have been written by Santiago de Murcia (Craig Russell made this discovery).

[69] *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central 1497–1840* (Lisbon, 1962), I (1497–1506), p. 44, quotes a letter from Manuel I dated March 8, 1500, alluding to the "ouro infinito" that passed through Sofala. Among numerous other references to Sofala's wealth, see p. 390 (letter from Diogo de Alcáçova to Manuel I dated November 20, 1506).

[70] His collections later formed the nucleus of the newly founded British Museum (*Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 379–380). Apart from Sloane, the most diffuse pre-1800 account of African music in the island comes in Edward Long's *The History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), II, 423–424. When he wrote, the blacks were still speaking their native languages and playing the merry-wang, goombah, and other African-descended instruments.

[71] Papa[h] = "the name given to the natives of Popo," according to John Clarke, *Specimens of Dialects . . . and Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa* (London, 1849), p. 94. Clarke distinguishes between Great [Dahomey] and Little Popo. C.S. Myers' music transcriptions, *Jamaican Song and Story*, belie the 1707 originals. For example, Meyers reverses strong and weak parts of the beat in the two-sharp Koromanti song, pp. 282–283.

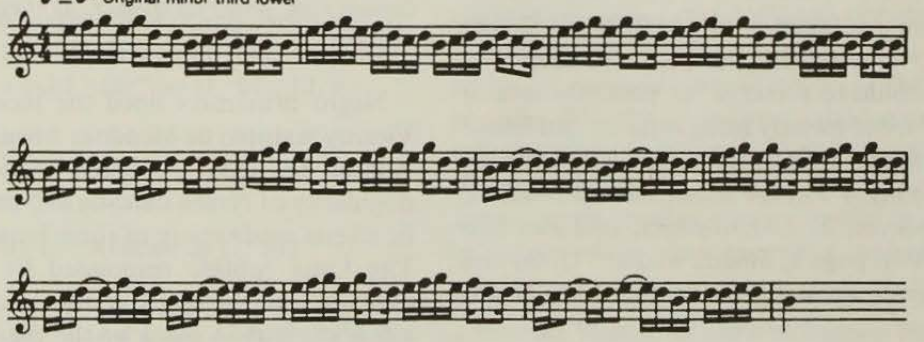
[72] Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 89: "Koromanti, On the Gold Coast" (Ghana).



A Voyage. [1707], p. li.

Meri Bonbo

♪ = ♪ Original minor third lower



*missing in original.

the spine.[73] At folio E 142 two Negroes play a diatonic marimba (so named in the manuscript) while a quartet of blacks dance to its strains. At E 140 a Negro pair do a handkercbief dance to the tune of a black drum-and-fife player.

An article in *Mercurio Peruano* dated Jnne 19, 1791, by José Rossi y Rubí, vice-president of the Sociedad de Amantes del País, expatiates at length on the Negro marimbas, African drums, jawbone clackers, and other Negro instruments popular in colonial Peru. As late as the *Correo Peruano* of November 6, 1845, a prominent Negro Troubadour of the late colonial period, named Galindo (who died *ca.* 1800), remembered as a player of the bandurria, reaps the reward of an admiring "Anécdota histórica."

In Mexico, Negroes as early as 1572 made a habit of gathering around the famous Aztec calendar stone (carved before 1481 for King Axayacatl) to play, dance, sing and divert themselves every Sunday afternoon. By the end of the century (1598) Negro drums were so much better known in Mexico than the preconquest *tlalpanhuehuetl* that even an Indian historian, Alvarado Tezozomoc, felt obliged to explain the dread Aztec death drum of his ances-

[73] Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, the collector, forwarded the material to Charles IV.

tors by likening it to *un atambor de los negros que hoy bailan en las plazas* ("a drum of the Negroes who nowadays dance in the plazas").

In 1624 a Negro named Lucas Olola led a cult in the province of Pánuco (north of Veracruz), the ritual of which freely mixed Aztec *teponaztlis* with African *bambalos*. In 1669 and 1684 Negroes at Puebla and in the Cuernavaca area directed "oratorios"—nighttime musical parties ostensibly honoring the Cross, Our Lady, or some saint, but actually occasions for African entertainment. By 1746 the Guadalajara Negroes who were in the habit of making the afternoon rounds of the local taverns to advertise their nighttime musical comedies no longer even pretended to be offering sacred "oratorios."

Joseph Chamorro, a guitar teacher at Oaxaca in 1682, boasted African descent.[74] Two Mexican tablatures, one dated *ca.* 1650, the other *ca.* 1740, contain Negro dances and dance-songs, the first tablature including a *portorrico de los Negros*, the second a *cumbees* (fols. 43–44) and a *zarambeque* (fol. 45). Both the first tablature (credited to Sebastián de Aguirre, a resident of Puebla) and the second (Códice Saldívar No. 4) were obtained by Gabriel Saldívar [y Silva] and now belong to his widow Elisa Osorio Bolio de Saldívar, dwelling at Silvestre Revueltas 20, Colonia Guadalupe Inn, Mexico, D.F.

The complete contents of the latter were transcribed by the illustrious professor at California Polytechnic University, San Luis Obispo, Craig Russell, who determined Santiago de Murcia to be the author of the tablature. With his gracious permission, his transcription of *Cumbees* is shown below.

In North America, a Negro singing school master in 1786 had already displaced Andrew Law in the affections of the famous man's erstwhile New York disciples, and Law therefore ruefully wrote his brother on October 1 that "Frank the Negro who lived with me . . . takes the bread out of my mouth."

At least as early as 1693 the blacks of Boston were assembling every Sunday evening for the singing of "a Psalm" and other acts of worship. In 1753 the Jewish-descended Joseph Ottolenghe was teaching his Negro pupils in Georgia to sing psalms, which they took to with no less gusto than the Negroes who flocked to Samuel Davies in Hanover, Virginia, for the same musical instruction in 1755–1756. At Charleston, South Carolina, Negroes were singing psalms so lustily in a private house that their assemblies were complained of to the magistrate. The Russian traveler Paul Svinin visited a Philadelphia Negro church and published at St. Petersburg in 1815 an account of the music heard there; it overreaches the terminal date set for our present survey.[75] But enough evidence has now been adduced to establish the richness and variety of African American musical currents in both North and South America before 1800. Long before political independence was thought of, Negroes played a major role in shaping musical traditions of both continents.

In Europe, the Guadeloupe-born composer of *symphonies concertantes* and of an extensive violin literature, Joseph-Boulogne, Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1739–1799), vied successfully with the leading French-born symphonists of his time—despite the fact that his mother had been a full-blooded sub-Saharan African. Volume III of Barry S. Brook's dissertation, *La Symphonie française dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1962), includes Saint-Georges's two-movement *Symphonie concertante* in G, Op. XIII, first issued in 1782. His violin repertory inspired La Laurencie's researches and his storybook life stimulated a novel by Roger de Beauvoir, but it was Saint-Georges's *symphonies concertantes* that moved Brook to write his life (I, 375–386) and to provide a catalogue of works (II, 641–649). The only pre-1800 "musician" in W. S. Robinson's *Historical Negro Biographies* (New York, 1967), Saint-Georges obviously deserves his place in musical history, without reference to any accident of color. The same can be said of such members of the colonial school of Brazilian composers as José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767–1830), whose *Te Deum*, Requiem Mass, *Missa Pastoril*, and other choral masterpieces recorded in his natal city, Rio de Janeiro, under the direction of Cleofe Person de Mattos, amply testify to his genius.

[74] Documentation for the historical data in this and the previous two paragraphs was published in Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*: see indexed entries under "Negroes." Further useful data on pre-1800 black music can be found in Francisco Curt Lange's many articles discussing Minas Gerais music, in Miguel Bernal Jiménez, *Morelia Colonial: El Archivo Musical del Colegio de Santa Rosa de Valladolid* (Mexico, 1939), pp. 17, 19, 21–22, and in Julia Elena Fortún's Univ. of Madrid doctoral thesis, especially the parts published in *Cuaderno de la Sociedad Folklórica de Bolivia*, I (Sucre, 1952), pp. 13–23, and in *Universidad de San Francisco Xavier*, XVII (1952), 318–322, and XVIII (1953), 234–235.

[75] Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (New York, 1966), pp. 93–96, traces Negro musical precedents in colonial English America.

[Santiago de Murcia]

Cumbees