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LA MÚSICA ENTRE ÁFRICA Y AMÉRICA

A MÚSICA ENTRE ÁFRICA E AMÉRICA
MUSIC BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS

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Anthony Seeger

A HEMISPHERIC PERSPECTIVE ON MUSICAL TRADITIONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT IN THE AMERICAS

Introduction

This paper was written to serve as a kind of overview of the topics the conference would address during the four days the participants spent together in Montevideo.¹ I step back from the details of many of the specific cases presented by the others in order to consider some of the general features of the Western Hemisphere and the peoples whose often tragic encounters here during the past 500 years have had a profound impact on the music, dance, and language of the entire world. Any attempt to deal with a subject this large in an article format by necessity selects only a few of the threads of, and a very small portion of the published literature on, the topic. I apologize to those whose excellent work I do not mention, and hope this article is of some help in thinking through the issues.

At the conference, I introduced my topic by asking the audience to sing along with me on a song written by my uncle Pete Seeger, “All Mixed Up.” By the end of the song most of them were enthusiastically singing the chorus, even though the lyrics were in English. This device does not work in a written paper, of course, but you can easily find a

1 I am very grateful to the organizers for the invitation to participate in the symposium, which was one of the most enjoyable of my career, and for asking me to try my hand at this subject matter, which I have only occasionally written about. I am deeply indebted to the other participants, the audience, and the chefs at the restaurants at which we ate for all of their contributions to this paper – but none are responsible for what I have written herein.

recording of it on the Internet. Here are the first two verses, one about language and the other about food:

You know this language that we speak,
Is part German, part Latin and part Greek,
With a little Celtic and Arabic all in a heap,
Well amended by the people in the street.
The Choctaw gave us the word “okay,”
“Vamoose” is a word from Mexico way.
And all of this is a hint, I suspect, of what comes next.

[Chorus:]

*I think that this whole world
Soon mama my whole wide world
Soon mama my whole world
Soon gonna be get' mixed up.*

I like Polish sausage, I like Spanish rice,
And pizza pie is also nice.
Corn and beans from the Indians here
All washed down with some German beer.
Marco Polo traveled by camel and pony,
He brought to Italy the first macaroni
And you and I, as well as we're able,
Put it all on the table.

“All Mixed Up” (Words and Music Pete Seeger 1960, ©1965 (renewed) Stormking Music, Inc., BMI)

I choose to begin by citing this song because it highlights the ways people today have learned from others around the globe and use what they like from many different sources. The sum of what our own ancestors taught us and what we have adopted from others reveals a good deal of the world's history. But most people today don't think much about the history of what eat, speak, and play – most of us are creators of mixtures. We learn to cook with elements from many different and formerly regional cuisines, and we make up or borrow

new words to make our language more useful, poetic, or beautiful. Our music today is a creative mix-up too, whether we are participating in a Candombe parade, creating a new piece with sampling, or performing “authentic” 17th Century Spanish music on guitar and violin (both instruments probably were introduced to Spain from North Africa). We are all actors in mixing many things up, but sometimes we also go to great lengths keep some things separate, and celebrate some as being uniquely “ours.”

Missing from the song, of course, are the often violent historical processes that resulted in this diversity – but every great song is also probably a simplification. It is precisely this simplification that allows us all to sing them together. But this song relates to our conference topic, since Pete Seeger thinks the melody he wrote was probably influenced by the singing of “Women Tawry Lang” by a Jamaican folklorist of African descent, Louise Bennett ² that he had heard decades earlier. ³

The first general point I want to make is that we need to expand our definition of our subject matter. Even though the title of the colloquium is “La música entre África y América,” I will be talking about music, dance, and language. In most musical traditions, and certainly many of those from African and Amerindian traditions, the sounds of music are rarely separated from dance. Song, which combines both musical and linguistic features, is the preeminent form of Amerindian music, and certainly quite prevalent in Africa and Europe. Language has been a very important factor in many traditions – musical, religious, and narrative – preserved in the Americas by people of African descent.

2 Louise Bennett recorded two albums for Folkways Records in the 1950s, but not that song. Her Folkways recordings may be visited online at www.folkways.si.edu (then search for Louise Bennett). Short samples of the songs and the complete liner notes are available without charge there.

3 Pete Seeger first heard Calypso in the early 1930s. In 1952 the Jamaican folklorist, Louise Bennett, sang a number of Jamaican folk songs to him, including “Women Tawry Law.” He wrote “All Mixed Up” in 1960, and reported that he only discovered the similarity of the two tunes in 1991 (Pete Seeger 1993:15). Scholars have traced aspects of Calypso to African influences in Trinidad, and thus the song is appropriate to my paper both through its text and through its musical sound.

A hemispheric view 1500-1850

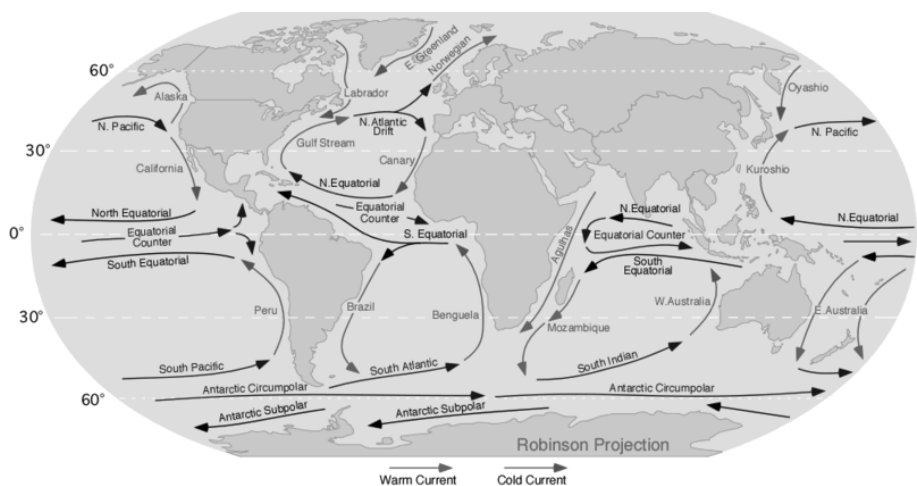


Figure 1. Map of the world and ocean currents (from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Corrientes-oceanicas.gif>)

Much of the literature on the influence of the music of Africans and their descendents in the Americas has been local – focusing on a particular musical genre, an historical period, or a country.⁴ But it is also worthwhile to look at some of the hemispheric processes of which the local cases are specific examples shaped by general processes. The Americas are not simply separated from the rest of the globe by oceans but are also connected to the other continents by ocean currents and winds. For people with boats, the seas are not a barrier but a highway – for better or worse.

One of the interesting things about the hemispheric processes I will describe is that some of them occur in different places at different times. For example, the Indigenous peoples in the Caribbean encountered Europeans and succumbed to European diseases in the 16th century; relatively isolated groups in the Amazon are still making contact and dying of them in the 21st. Similarly, the recording industry began in North America, then Argentina became the music producer for many of the other countries

4 For example Burnim and Maultsby (2006) for the United States, Guanche (2009) for Cuba, Loza (2011) and Pérez Fernández (1990) for Mexico. Gerard Béhague organized an international conference that resulted in an important collection of essays covering the Caribbean and South America, though most of them were case studies about a particular area (Béhague 1994).

in Latin America. They only later began to produce their own recordings. Radio and television did not appear instantly in all parts of the region; their spread and impact took decades, and varied from country to country.

In the following pages I will address climate, labor requirements, and religious affiliation. Following that I make some generalizations about the Amerindian Americas and their encounter with Europeans and Africans, as well as some about Africans and their encounters with Amerindians.

Geography

There are some important geographic and climatic features that are worth commenting on because they extend far beyond the borders of any given country and shaped the populations who would occupy them, perform and create music there, and thus identify certain places with certain musical styles. In a large section of the East coasts, from Brazil to the Northern USA, plantation economies were established that required large amounts of inexpensive labor. The geography, soil, and climate of the Americas influenced where large concentrations of Africans would first live, due to the inhumane institution of slavery that was employed to ensure labor power to the plantations.

The eastern side of the Americas was much more accessible from both Europe and Africa than the western side. Furthermore, the movement of the continental plates to the West resulted in high mountain ranges along the western edge of the land mass and older mountains along the East coast. The mountain ranges had a profound impact on the climate of the western side of the Hemisphere, which in many places is quite dry and less suitable for extensive agriculture unless supported by irrigation. The East coast and most of the Caribbean had older soils and were originally forested. Access to the Atlantic ocean provided easy transport of heavy exports to Europe. It is here that the plantation economies arose focused on sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other crops that became central to the economics of colonialism.

The plantation economy and the need for labor

Before mechanization transformed them, plantations required very large amounts of manual labor because certain tasks had to be done over a large

area at the same time. Manual labor was also required in the mines that provided precious stones, gold, silver, and other minerals to Europe. Except in the Caribbean, most of the plantations were located along the Atlantic coast, only occasionally extending far inland where water transportation allowed for the movement of crops. Where there were suitable conditions on the Pacific side, however, enslaved labor was used as well.⁵

Amerindian laborers

For at least 30,000 years the only inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere were probably Indigenous peoples, most of whom came in waves of migration from North Asia. Through their hunting, agricultural practices, and use of fire they substantially shaped the ecosystems of the Americas. Through their remarkable domestication of plants they created crops that would eventually feed much of the rest of the world (maize, manioc, and potatoes are only the beginning of a long list), or alter its minds (tobacco, coca, chocolate, and ayahuasca are among the best known).

Estimates of the Pre-Colombian (pre-1492) indigenous population of the Americas vary widely and are difficult to verify. Scholarly estimates range from about 50 million to as high as 100 million. Recent archaeological discoveries in the Amazon region indicate a population densities previously thought impossible. Who knows how many more discoveries are yet to be made about the history of the Amerindian peoples? Anything I write here may be modified by future discoveries.

As successive waves of Indigenous peoples moved into and through the Americas they certainly encountered one another. There was probably a lot of inter-group exchange, including exchange of music and dance forms. But we know very little about this before the arrival of the Europeans.

While the arrival of the Europeans brought with it plunder and violence, it was the diseases the Europeans brought with them that were responsible for the massive depopulation of the Hemisphere. This began in the Caribbean with the arrival of Columbus and continues into this century.

5 I restrict myself to discussing the Eastern side of the Americas here, where most of the enslaved Africans lived and worked – the Andes and Western coastal areas are socially and musically fascinating, but that remains for another paper.

The isolation of the Amerindians from the rest of the world meant that they had developed little resistance to diseases that had circulated around Europe, Asia, and Africa for many centuries. The indigenous population plunged quickly by as much as 80% or more in places where we have records. And many diseases advanced quickly beyond the frontier and infected communities that had never seen Europeans, and thus it is difficult to estimate how many lives were lost.

At first, Amerindians were exported as curiosities and as slaves to Europe (Forbes 1993:29).⁶ Their arrival in France had an impact on European music, according to an interesting book by Olivia Bloechel, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (2008). So great was the desire for Amerindian labor in the Americas that large expeditions were sent deep into the interior of the continent to capture Amerindians to work on plantations.

The enslavement of Africans for labor in the Americas

In the Caribbean and the East coast of the Americas, plantation labor requirements soon exceeded the rapidly diminishing population of Amerindians, and they were replaced by the large-scale importation of enslaved laborers from Africa, the extensive use of indentured labor from Asia, and the waves of migration from Europe and Africa to the hemisphere, all of which contributed to the expropriation of land from the Amerindians.

The reason the climate and the history of Amerindians is important for music, dance and language is that the Amerindian susceptibility to European diseases led fairly quickly to their replacement as enslaved labor by large numbers of enslaved people brought from Africa (and to a lesser degree from other parts of the world) to replace them. The influence of African musical traditions in the Americas might have been much less if the indigenous peoples had not died in such large numbers from contact

6 . According to Jack Forbes' detailed descriptions in *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black People*, Indigenous people from Newfoundland, in what is now Canada, appeared on the slave markets in Spain and Portugal as early as 1502 (Forbes 1993:29). Forbes also describes Christopher Columbus as the major supplier of Amerindian slaves to Europe prior to 1500, after which many other Spanish and Portuguese traders began to enslave Indigenous peoples.

with the European conquerors. And the influence of Amerindian music might instead have been much larger. Population size is important – the only national popular music based on a recognizably Amerindian musical form was probably the Peruvian Huayno (Wayno), whose dual form and vocal techniques are quite distinctive.

In the regions of the Americas dominated by the plantation economy, the number of enslaved laborers vastly exceeded that of the Europeans. Although they were brought with no possessions, the Africans carried with them a large and varied repertory of music, dance, religious ideas, oral traditions, languages, and foodways in their minds. These were systematically suppressed in most regions, but some aspects of them certainly survived. The musical life in the areas of the plantation economies, in some of the mining districts like Minas Gerais in Brazil, and in isolated Maroon communities, have been extensively studied, and were covered in very interesting ways by Kenneth Bilby, Kazadi wa Mukuna, Apollinaire Anakesa, among others. Even where the populations were not as large, recent studies in Argentina and Uruguay reveal a considerable influence of peoples of African descent on aspects of the music of those countries, as demonstrated in the presentations at this colloquium. Instead, I want to examine a little the three continental traditions that came together in the Western Hemisphere.

Religion

Religion was another variable that had important implications for the music that emerged between African and the Americas. Most of Latin America was under the control of Catholic religious orders and most of North America (especially what became the United States and Canada) contained a number of different religious dominations. Religious organizations were important for people of African descent in both areas. Musical performance was important in both of them but the kinds of music performed varied. In Latin America, religious “brotherhoods” were an important institution for people of African descent. Music and dance were among the primary public activities of these groups, often related to Saints’ day celebrations. In the United States, protestant churches also occupied an important place in the social and aesthetic life of many afro-descended people, and they soon established their own churches, with their own hymnbooks. African American religious music is one of the forms that “went global” in the 20th century. In addition to the official

religions, people of African descent in some regions maintained or created new religions based on African religions that featured direct contact with gods or spirits – the best-known examples being Voodoo in Haiti, Santería in Cuba, and Candomblé in Brazil.

Three continents, many traditions

As a result of the processes I briefly outlined above, peoples from three continents – each heterogeneous within itself – came together in the Americas under specific conditions of power, economic relations, medical challenges, and religious organizations that had profound impacts on their music, dance, and language. One of the most important things to stress in addressing the musical results of the continental encounters is that the backgrounds of those who encountered one another were heterogeneous. While we talk about “Amerindian,” “African,” and “European,” none of the three continents was homogenous – indeed in places they were quite cosmopolitan. Here I make a few observations on the music on the continents as described by a few important scholars.

Pre-Colombian Amerindian music

While there appears to have been considerable diversity in Pre-Colombian Amerindian music from Tierra del Fuego to North of the Arctic Circle, it is widely noted by specialists that there are also a number of common features. Music is very important for members of many Amerindian societies and often associated with religious activities and rites of passage. Music is often used to make things happen – whether on a cosmological scale or on a social one. Music was largely vocal with fairly regular beats that accompanied the singing and dancing. Most music was danced as well. Rattles and wind instruments were very significant in some areas, but stringed instruments were virtually absent. Wind instruments were often played to maximize the overtones and to create a “thick” or “dirty” sound. Music was almost everywhere said to originate in dreams, through direct contact with spirits, or in special individual experiences. Harmony was rare, but intensification through microtonal rising, slowly increasing tempo, and a kind of polyphony created by a number of simultaneous performances was fairly common. Amerindian dance movements were preponderantly vertical, the body held relatively erect but leaning slightly forward, the feet

generally being lifted vertically, and with relatively little lateral movement of hips and shoulders. American Indian music was deeply affected by population loss and later by missionary conversion (Mann 2010). But in areas of dense Indigenous population – the Andes, Mexico, and parts of Central America, this music remained the strongest of the traditions in the interior of the countries. Interesting borrowings and encounters certainly occurred with both European and African musical traditions. Some Brazilian Indigenous groups, like the Suyá/Kisêdjê can sing the songs of over six different musical traditions, in the native language of each (Seeger 2004:58-59). Although they live in fairly isolated villages they probably perform more musical traditions than most of the readers of this paper.

Pre-Colombian Europe

By 1500, European music varied according to social class, religious belief, and geographic region. In many parts of Europe, nobles employed professional musicians to provide entertainment in their courts. Outside the courts, the Catholic Church calendar provided an important cycle of popular festivities that included musical performance – many of these were transported directly by immigrants to the Americas. But violent conflicts among practitioners of different religions led to varying attitudes toward music in different parts of Europe. These attitudes, too, were transported to different parts of the Americas. Different parts of the Americas were settled by people from different parts of Europe, and this affected the musical environment and influences on the other musical traditions in the region.

While one might imagine that the conflict between Christians and Moors in Spain would have been accompanied by a rigid separation of musical traditions, this does not appear to have been the case on the Iberian peninsula prior to 1492. In two forthcoming articles, Dwight Reynolds presents ample historical documentation to argue that both the Christian and Moorish courts were cosmopolitan ones where Christian, Jewish, and Muslim musicians were employed simultaneously. “The image that emerges from the historical evidence is one of hybridization, multiple levels of interaction, and of ‘complex genealogies’” for particular musicians and musical styles (Reynolds, manuscript: 28). The situation was even more complex in some courts. He reports that a study by María del

Carmen Gómez Muntané (1979), on the courts of Aragon and Catalonia in the 14th and 15th centuries, demonstrates “that Muslim and Jewish singers, musicians, and dancers from the South were but a minor part of an impressively eclectic mixture of performers that also included minstrels from Provence, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands” (Reynolds *in press*: 28).⁷

Over a period of nine centuries from 711 to 1610 there is evidence of professional musicians from a variety of different ethnic, religious, and regional origins performing diverse musical traditions before patrons and audiences of diverse backgrounds. There is also good evidence for understanding the music itself (and not just the music-makers) as a very cosmopolitan tradition that incorporated influences from multiple sources and developed innovative new forms by combining and hybridizing traditions (Reynolds *in press*: 30).

Reynolds concludes by writing “master narratives of unidirectional [musical] influence are more often than not the product of political or ideological agendas rather than of careful analysis of historical evidence” (Reynolds *in press* 28). In this I believe there is also a message for our own reflections on the relative separation or mixing of musical traditions in the Americas.

In later centuries (I am not aware of the evidence for the 15th century) many rural villagers in Europe employed Jews or Rom (also called Gypsies) as musicians in their weddings, restaurants, and secular ceremonies. In Europe, music was quite often performed for local audiences by outside people and members of minority groups that were otherwise held in low esteem – a custom that continues to today in areas where Rom and Travelers are widely present (Jewish musicians are quite rare in many parts of contemporary Europe). This may have had an influence on the appreciation of musicians of African descent in the Americas.

According to Reynolds, for centuries prior to 1492, music in the courts of southern Europe was notably “all mixed up.” In discussions of the musical processes in the Americas it is important to keep in mind that

7 Maybe the Brazilian Indians are not so unusual in their appreciation for multiple musical sources. Many places may have been more cosmopolitan before 1500 than they were in the 19th century.

Europe was in many places a cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic place. In the courts and in the countryside members of minority groups were often employed as musicians. At other times, these same minority groups were persecuted in terrible ways. This bit of European history may be relevant for thinking about the enthusiasm of people of European descent in the Americas for musical traditions with an African heritage and also their persistent discrimination against people of African descent.

Pre-Colombian African music

Professor Nketia has played an immensely important role in presenting the complexity of African music to a general and also to scholarly audiences. The opening sentence of his 1974 book, *The Music of Africa*, reads: “it is now common knowledge that the continent of Africa is not as culturally homogeneous as has been generally assumed” (Nketia 1974:3). But in 1975 that still had to be written, and it probably still needs repeating. The much larger and more recent volume on Africa of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* illustrates some of the great musical variety and the complexity of the interaction of musical traditions and peoples. It also features a fine review of the scholarly study of African music by Prof. Nketia (Nketia 1998). For the details of the music of the particular African groups brought to the Americas, and the musical impact of their arrival, I defer to the expertise of the others at this conference. Among the general traits often referred to in the literature are interlocking percussion, call and response singing, improvisation, the preference for certain timbres, certain dance movements, and the continued use of certain languages, especially in rituals. It is dangerous to make too many generalizations, as the diversity was also great at the continental level.

The musical encounter of Amerindians and peoples of African descent⁸

Most of the literature about the interaction of people of African descent with other groups in the Americas has dealt with their relationship with

8 I am greatly indebted to several of my students and former students for their assistance with bibliography and ideas for this section of the paper. I thank especially (in alphabetical order), Logan Clark for Guatemala, Ronald Connor for Brazil, and T. Christopher Aplin for general bibliography and observations on his own research area.

“Whites” of largely European descent. It is almost assumed that music between Africa and the Americas is about the interaction of the music of European and African origins in the imagined “musical vacuum” of the western hemisphere. There is not much literature on the relationship between people of African descent and Amerindians, and it is both less detailed and rarely touches on music. I found one really comprehensive review of the literature (Jones 2001) that included both North and South America, as well as a detailed discussion of the language of race and red-black peoples (Forbes 1993). The book by Forbes goes into considerable detail on the early documents about the enslavement of Amerindians and the difficulty of establishing which historical figures were indigenous and which were of African descent because of the shifting and complex use of terminology. Jones also comments on this. Neither of them says much about music (see also Miles and Holland 2006).

The most important, if dated, article on music I found was a 1944 paper by George Herzog, “African Influences in North American Indian Music.” Herzog begins by stating that few if any aspects of African music are to be found in African American folk music in the United States beyond “vague subtleties and barely distinguishable flavor.” Then he argues that certain stylistic features of African musical traditions have survived among the music of American Indians in the Southeastern states of the United States “owing to contacts and even a certain amount of intermixture” (Herzog 1944:130-131).

Various stages of mutual adjustment and change may be observed in this material. Because of the fundamentally different nature of the musical elements – African and Indian – it provides for an unusually rewarding study of stylistic hybridization. Detailed results are in preparation for publication... (Herzog 1944:131).

Although many scholars today would take issue with Herzog’s statement about the absence of African musical elements in African American music, no one has followed up in a systematic way on his second point about the survival of African elements in the music of the Indians of the Southeastern United States. He never completed the longer study, and the principal example he gives in the article has not been widely accepted.

The incorporation of musical instruments, however, has been observed and debated, and they are some of the clearest examples of the mutual influence of communities of African and Indigenous descent on each other's music. Here are three cases, from Colombia, Guatemala, and Brazil.

An example of peoples of African descent using an Amerindian instrument is found in the playing of *gaitas* in San Jacinto, Colombia (featured on a recording SFW 40531, <http://www.folkways.si.edu/albumdetails.aspx?itemid=3128>).⁹ The *Gaitas* are long end-blown flutes. The instruments are said to be indigenous – and their size, shape, and timbre tend to support that claim. But the rhythms played on the maracas and drums are not Pre-Colombian indigenous at all. Ochoa writes:

The long *gaitas* are played in pairs, called female (*hembra*) and male (*macho*). The female *gaita* has six holes; the male *gaita* has two, and these instruments engage in a dialogue by reiterating short, repetitive motives. Play with harmonics, ornamentation, and motivic repetition and improvisation is the key to *gaita* interpretation, especially in the instrumental genres, where *gaitas* are the carriers of the melody. The *gaitas* are probably prehispanic and indigenous in origin. The performer of the female *gaita* is known as *hembrero*, and the performer of the male *gaita* is known as *machero*. The preferred timbre is a breathy, “dirty” sound, which gives the *gaita* much of its allure. The *maraca* is made of a *totumo* (a type of calabash), filled with seeds of *achuira*. The calabash usually has small holes. *Gaita larga* ensembles have a single maraca played by the *maruquero* in his left hand. Its main function is to mark the offbeats, but it is sometimes used for brief improvisations (Ochoa 2006:6).

In Guatemala the instrument borrowing probably moved in the opposite direction, from people of African descent to Indigenous ones. The marimba is claimed by some of the indigenous peoples in Guatemala to be a pre-hispanic instrument, not one borrowed from any other group. This became, for a time, an issue of national pride and identity. The Indigenous Guatemalans have been playing the marimba for a long time. Regardless of where the instrument came from, Tzutuzil marimba playing (FW04212,

⁹ I played this example during my presentation, and referred to the two others below.

<http://www.folkways.si.edu/albumdetails.aspx?itemid=701>) sounds very different from the marimba playing in Africa, and also from that of the people of African descent who play marimbas on Colombia's West coast (SFW 40514, <http://www.folkways.si.edu/albumdetails.aspx?itemid=3113>)

In Brazil, the longest contact between Brazilian Indians and peoples of African descent has been in the Northeast part of the country, and it is there that the intermixture of musical and dance features is most obvious. Perhaps the best-known example of this is the dance of the “*Caboclinhos*,” which is now part of Carnaval celebrations in Recife, Ceará, but has been found widely in the Zona da Mata of Pernambuco. *Caboclo* is the word in Portuguese sometimes used to designate the offspring of marriages between people of African and Indigenous descent; *caboclinho* literally means “little caboclo”. Many of the performers also practice a kind of religion that includes drinking an infusion made from the bark of the *jurema* plant that is said to be of indigenous origins. Caboclinho performances are quite different from many other Afro-Brazilian traditions. On February 29, 1929, Brazilian researcher Mario de Andrade wrote in his diary after seeing a *caboclinho* group in Paraíba that the performance had “African, Amerindian, Inca, and Russian features” (“[c]oisas africanas, ameríndias, incáicas e russas” (Alvarenga 1959: 180) . You can see a Carnaval example at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ySGI5Mx9Pvc>. As with the case of Guatemala, there is considerable disagreement among the researchers about which parts of the *caboclinho* came from which tradition. The Indigenous Toré ritual of the Northeast, which is thought to be one of the sole remaining Indigenous rituals in that region, also exhibits some African influences, at least as it is performed among the Pitaguary. Ethnomusicologist Ronald Conner writes: “Although I know of no published work about this yet, the Toré of the Pitaguary Indians that I observed in July/August 2010 in Maracanaú, Ceará, had a solo *atabaque* drummer in the middle of the dance circle and the leader (*cacique*), Daniel Pitaguary, sang and played the rattle (*maracá*)” (Ronald Conner personal communication 092311; see also Brazeal 2003 and Pereira 2005).

In the United States there was probably a good deal of contact between the Indigenous peoples of the Southeast and escaped enslaved people who set up maroon communities in the interior or sometimes lived for a time with Indigenous groups, as noted by Herzog in the article cited above. As

with the Brazilian *caboclinhos*, the activities and music of the Mardi Gras Indians of New Orleans are sometimes attributed to an Indigenous source or influence. The relationship between Indigenous peoples and people of African descent is quite complex in North America, however, since some Indigenous groups like the Cherokee owned slaves and still consider the descendants of the “Freedmen” to be less than fully Cherokee (Johnson 2011). Outside the Southeast, some individuals and families of combined Indigenous and African descent are active in the intertribal Powwows found throughout North America. At a more general level, some Indigenous people have claimed an inherited affinity for the blues and jazz that comes from their shared heritage with African Americans. Certainly some of the songs written by Apache prisoners when they were imprisoned in the South in the late 1800s sounds “bluesy” (Aplin 2011).

Chris Aplin writes:

My argument is that Oklahoma [a state with many Indigenous groups as well as an African American population] was an important link in modern African American arts – Ralph Ellison was from Oklahoma, [as were] Andy Kirk, Claude Williams, and John Franklin. Oklahoma fed into what they called the “jazz territories,” or the plains region surrounding Kansas City where jazz musicians would tour dancehalls throughout the countryside. Charlie Parker’s mother was part Choctaw, from Oklahoma, relocated to Kansas City. There are substantial connections that need to be fleshed out (Aplin, personal communication 101911).

In sum, the history and impact of the interaction of musicians of African and Indigenous descent is still to be written. What can be demonstrated so far is the borrowing of instruments, body ornaments (especially feathers), herbal infusions, and to a certain degree dance styles between the two groups.

Returning to a hemispheric view: 1800-2100

Returning to a hemispheric view, I would like to make a few more observations on general features of music between Africa and the Americas during the past two hundred years.

Independence movements and nationalism through music

After almost 300 years of classic colonial rule, during which the colonies provided the raw materials for the wealth and industrialization of Europe, a series of independence movements led to the establishment of nation-states throughout the Americas. Starting with the United States and Haiti, most of the colonies in the hemisphere became relatively independent states by the third decade of the 19th century, with the exception of some Caribbean colonies or protectorates of certain European and North American countries.

Besides the political and economic aspects of independence, most nations faced the quandary of how they differed culturally from their former colonizers and from one another and how they could establish their cultural independence from the former colonial power. In a number of countries in both North and South America this led to Indigenist cultural movements. In these movements, Europeans imagined what Amerindian music and literature were like and used their imaginings to create a “national” music and literature. In a similar form, but I believe somewhat later, imagined or actual African-descended forms were used (or adopted) to highlight national singularities.

The date of the formal emancipation of the enslaved peoples varied from country to country. After emancipation the economic and political status of people of African descent in many parts of the hemisphere remained very low and they faced considerable discrimination within the nations of which they were now proclaimed citizens. This did not, however, prevent their imagined musical cultures from being claimed as an important part of the national heritage of many nation states. Music was often one of the professional activities in which they were encouraged to participate.

A new era of ships and travel

In the mid-19th century and extending well into the 20th there was a growth of travel and musical exchange going both ways between Africa and the Americas, and also among the nations in the Americas. After the end of the trade in enslaved Africans, people in the Americas, Europe, and Africa renewed ties under different circumstances than before. It may

have taken a few more weeks for ideas to travel across the oceans than to send Internet files today, but globalization and cultural influences are not a new phenomenon. Kenneth Bilby's paper at the conference revealed an important introduction of a new instrument from Haiti to Africa (this volume) while musicians, and later recordings, moved back and forth among the continents. New scandalous dances and rhythms from Europe like the Waltz and the Polka influenced musicians in the Americas and were modified there.

All along the Atlantic, port cities became centers of musical innovation that seem to emerge at about the same time, often performed by musicians of African descent. This was famously the case in New Orleans Jazz, the Habanera and other rhythms of Cuba, the Choro and Samba of Rio de Janeiro, and the Tango in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. All appeared in the late 19th or early 20th centuries in seaports. This period is marked by new kinds of dances, new rhythms and instrumentation, and the intense interaction of musicians from different backgrounds encountering each other in ocean or river-port cities.

Not all kinds of musical travel was done by ship – when my wife was collecting versions of old Portuguese ballads (*romances*) in Espirito Santo, Brazil, one of her best singers was a woman of African descent whose uncle had been a traveling salesman. Traveling salesmen spent a lot of time socializing with people they met, and this woman learned the old Portuguese ballads from her uncle because she liked the stories. And she also had a good memory for songs – she was also a *mãe de santo* in the local Candomblé center (Judith Seeger 1980). Traveling entertainers visited small towns and brought new musical ideas – some interesting work on this process in Brazil and Argentina is to be found in recent dissertations by Julius Carlson (2011) and Coelho (2009).

In the 19th and 20th centuries Europe played a new role in the music of the Americas. In addition to continuing to supply musical compositions and musicians to the new world, Europeans began to consume and idolize musicians and musical forms of mixed origins from their former colonies. An essential part of the process of legitimating an emerging music in the Americas was through European tours and training. When I teach courses on the music of the Americas, I typically include Paris and West

Africa on the maps of the region to be discussed in the course. Successful musicians of African descent from the Americas were welcomed in Paris and other European cities while they faced discrimination at home. Emile Gottschalk's "vernacular" compositions were encouraged in Paris in the mid 19th Century. In the early 20th Century Tango, Jazz, and Samba were all enthusiastically received in Europe, and especially Paris. Marta Savigliano, writing about the Tango, writes of the "colonial gaze" that exoticized both the musicians and their music (Savigliano 1995). The enthusiasm of some Parisians for tango, samba, and jazz fueled the enthusiasm for the genres among the wealthy urban dwellers back in Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, for the national popularization of those genres followed their appearance in Paris – Rafael Bastos has written an interesting piece on the importance of a trip to Paris for the 7 Batutas (Menezes Bastos 2008). In another way, Paul Gilroy, in his discussion of modernity and double consciousness in what he terms the "Black Atlantic" stresses the importance of Europe in the experience of African American writers and musicians (Gilroy 1993:18).

I believe that it was during this same period – 1850 to the present – that the concern over determining the nature and significance of the specifically "African" contribution to the music of the Americas emerged. It emerged partly through abolitionist movements and ethnicity-based political movements (Gilroy 1993). Many musicians felt the weight of discrimination and added their own voices to the debates. Folklorists, Anthropologists, and Ethnomusicologists also contributed to the identification of and praise for specific musical, dance, and language traits that had been maintained through the centuries.

The music industry – media, creativity, and copyright

It is impossible to write about the music of the 19th and 20th centuries without recognizing the role and influence of the music industry and mass media. Traveling musicians and theater groups took shows to small towns almost everywhere long before mass media were available. The spread of the piano spurred the growth of the sheet music industry. In the late 19th century sheet music sold millions of copies. The establishment of the Berne Convention for copyright in 1885 highlighted another aspect of the industry – control over compositions and their performance. Copyright law

privileged the literate, urban, market-oriented musicians and composers, and ignored most of the rights of the illiterate, rural, and “traditional” musicians. The invention of audio recording had a profound impact on music, the lives of musicians, and the fortunes of many people involved in the industry. In 1907 Enrico Caruso sold more than a million copies of a recorded song. The Casa Edison in Rio de Janeiro was an important source of early recordings of Brazilian music (Fransceschi 2002), and early record labels played very important roles in the establishment of a “canon” of Argentinean music as well (Coelho 2009; Carlson 2011). Recordings moved back and forth among the continents and influenced local performance styles everywhere. While the industry took the music to places where the performers might not be welcome and made fortunes, members of minority groups rarely made those fortunes. Since its very beginning there has been a tendency toward monopoly and the exploitation of musicians – especially musicians of African descent without legal assistance – and this has been the source of considerable bitterness over the decades.

Recordings had an immense impact on the music of the 20th century as well as on the way music was conceived and imagined. Sounds were separated from the performers and their performance, and could be consumed and imitated by people who never saw the originals. In some cases this led to fairly simple imitation. In it led others to the development of entirely new genres and styles. For example 78 RPM Jazz records became popular in many parts of Africa and influenced the emergence of a number of new musical genres that in turn became popular in the Western Hemisphere. This was the period in which things really were getting “all mixed up.”

The discovery of “intangible cultural heritage”

The last general process I will comment on in this paper is the spread of interest in, and often governmental concern about and intervention in, something called “intangible cultural heritage.” This is another late 20th and early 21st Century process that is almost hemisphere wide (although the U.S.A. and Canada, have not signed the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage). International conventions and national cultural policies affect the lives of many local musicians, dancers, and speakers of “endangered” languages as well as the

livelihoods of many anthropologists, musicologists and folklorists who are employed to undertake surveys and enact “safeguarding” projects funded by government agencies.

UNESCO policies in the area of “intangible cultural heritage” have increased since the 1990s. Many nations submitted nominations to the UNESCO program “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” that mobilized nations to examine and highlight aspects of their music, dance, and other traditions by nominating them for recognition. In 2003 UNESCO passed a “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” that many nations have ratified. The more than 137 nations that have signed the convention are expected to conduct inventories of intangible heritage, create action plans for safeguarding some of it, modify intellectual property legislation to protect it, and make information about it available. In addition to achieving a few of those ends, the interest in intangible heritage has also reinforced cultural nationalism and encouraged the celebration of “cultural hybridity” through the identification of the multiple contributions of different groups to the nation (Seeger 2008). The impact of these initiatives on the lives of local musicians has been quite uneven, and the proclamation of masterpieces has often resulted in disagreements and unhappiness for some. But many ministries of culture in this hemisphere – and around the world – are now addressing intangible as well as tangible (buildings and monuments and natural areas) heritage, including Uruguay.

Participants in the symposium had an opportunity to learn quite a lot about the Uruguayan intangible heritage of the Candombe, to meet some of its consecrated musicians, to see a street procession of Candombe groups, and to learn about the Candombe tradition from scholars. This was certainly the highlight of the visit to Uruguay for many of the foreign participants and the subject of greatest interest to many of the Uruguayan ones. “The Candombe and its Socio-Cultural Space: A Community Practice” was inscribed in the UNESCO list of Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2009 (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?RL=00182>). The pride of many of the people in the symposium – both musicians and compatriots – was palpable and illustrative of how important the UNESCO lists can be.

Whatever the manifestations of “intangible cultural heritage” are today, they continue to change with what seems to be increasing rapidity. They cannot be “preserved” in a frozen form. Nor should they be, since most of what seems “traditional” today was itself once innovative and hybrid. If steamships and later airlines brought musicians and recordings from place to place in the past (Varig Airlines pilots used to bring the latest dance music from New York to DJs in Rio de Janeiro [Vianna 1988]), the Internet enables even more rapid exchange. Sampling and creation by collage mix things up even more. Rap, once associated with New York City, has become – like jazz before it – a world phenomenon. What do we make of this, and how does it differ (if it does differ) from the processes of previous centuries? We face many challenging questions as we confront issues of “intangible heritage” and national distinctiveness in an era of Internet and exchange.

Conclusion

At one point in our e-mail discussions of this conference, the organizer Coriún Aharonián compared a colloquium he organized two years ago on colonialism with this one on “Music Between Africa and America.” He said this one was “much more complicated.” He is right; this one is more complicated – colonialism is only one of its parts. Colonialism is an economic process and set of relationships between countries with somewhat predictable effects, although multiple effects on musical processes, as is evident in the outstanding volume derived from that conference (Aharonián 2011). What happens when people with different ways of making music, of dancing, and of speaking are brought together under the large variety of regional circumstances in the Americas is very complex and affected by other processes that are simultaneously occurring, among them colonialism, technological changes, nationalism, and the actions of international organizations.

I was asked to address some of the general issues of the musical and social processes of the Americas as a whole in this paper. In doing so I observed the following:

1. Geography, soil, and climate have been very important in the history of the musical traditions of the Americas. They were the backbone of processes that have often been discussed on a national or regional

level only but are actually coterminous with certain geographic and climatological features.

2. The colonial regimes were also important in influencing the way music developed between different parts of the America and different parts of Africa. This included the history of the trade in enslaved Africans, the nation ruling the colony, the religion practiced by the colonizers and taken up in various ways by people of Indigenous and African descent, and other factors.
3. The high death rate of the indigenous peoples from European diseases and also the violence of the colonial encounter opened a demand for labor from outside the Americas that had profound implications for the music and language of the Americas – and for many other things as well. Amerindian music had less influence than it might otherwise have had, and the music of the Africans who were enslaved and brought to labor in the Americas consequently had a much greater one.
4. The study of the influence of Indigenous musical traditions on the music of the Americas, as distinct from the study of their music separate from other traditions, is little developed, especially the interaction of Indigenous and African-descended peoples and their musical forms. We can see and hear instruments, but delving into the significance of musical exchange is far more difficult and made complicated by tendencies toward essentialism by scholars, governments, and musicians.
5. The music of Africa, the Americas, and Indigenous peoples was never unitary and homogeneous. Each continent's music could be characterized by its heterogeneity and in some places on each continent for its cosmopolitan nature, and the willingness of musicians to learn or create new sounds. Nketia has written about this for Africa. I referred to studies showing that European courts and peasantry both seemed to enjoy the music of minority groups that they otherwise denigrated and to which they often refused equal rights of citizenship – a process that seems to have continued in the Americas.

6. I noted that the emphasis given to identifying which continental cultures contributed what features to which hybrid musical forms has been of particular importance at certain times and less salient at others. One result of this is the observation that musicology is also a political act. We need more diverse voices of scholars and musicians, in writing and in spoken and musical forms, to better understand the contested processes of hybridity and the search for origins.
7. Finally, I have argued that the influences on the music in the Americas have come not just from the musical backgrounds of the populations that encountered one another in this hemisphere, but also by travel and trade, the development of the music industry and copyright law, and cultural policies such as UNESCO and projects created by national ministries of culture

Given the long history of the “mixing up” of the music of the Americas, the role of archives and documentation centers is of great importance. Our discoveries about the musical history of the Americas cannot just come from books – still largely written by the educated and wealthy. They must come through the voices and performances of people who did not write but spoke out, and from the music that was not necessarily made to sell, but made because it satisfied performers and their audiences. Many of these are precariously preserved in archives like that Centro Nacional de Documentación Musical Lauro Ayestarán. The actual voices and performances of the past can be very important for creating the ideas and music of the future. It is true that the musical processes between Africa and the Americas are complex. But it is also clear that we will only be able to understand them by adding more voices and perspectives, and by responding not only to words, but to sounds, to movements, and to the soundscapes of the Americas, of Africa, and of Europe.

I will end this paper with a final verse that I wrote to return to participatory music at the end of the talk, in which the audience joined me for a final chorus of “all mixed up.” The lyrics are mine, Pete Seeger should not be held responsible for them.

I dance the samba and I sing the blues
I like cool jazz and Candombe too.

Musicians groove on each other's sounds
And may adapt whatever's around.
This is history, but it's modern too
We'll talk a lot about it before we're through
But for now I've said enough
About how this music is all mixed up

[Chorus]

*I think that this whole world
Soon mama my whole wide world
Soon mama my whole world
Soon gonna be get' mixed up.*

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