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The "Cronistas de Indias" Revisited: Historical Reports, Archeological Evidence, and Literary and Artistic Traces of Indigenous Music and Dance in the Greater Antilles at the Time of the "Conquista"

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Donald Thompson

**The *Cronistas de Indias*
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of Indigenous Music and
Dance in the Greater Antilles
at the Time of the *Conquista***

The islands of the West Indies or Antilles were first seen by Europeans during the first voyages of Cristoforo Colombo or Cristóbal Colón, Admiral and Viceroy Christopher Columbus, at the end of the fifteenth century. At the time of Columbus' exploratory voyages the Antilles were inhabited by several identifiable groups of human beings. It would not be surprising to find a number of different populations occupying this region in the fifteenth century, for the island chain, doubling back upon itself in the south, extends more than two thousand miles from one end to the other. Although the distances are not great from one island to the next, geographical or maritime factors could have tended to favor the preservation of more or less homogeneous groups along parts of the Antillean Archipelago. In addition, connections might be expected to have existed between island populations and populations occupying nearby mainland regions, as has indeed been suggested.¹

That a diversity of indigenous ethnic groups existed in the Antilles at the time of the *Conquista* is accepted by anthropologists. It is believed that the Greater Antilles (Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico) were mainly populated by descendants of groups of Arawaks who had moved northward along the island chain from the lowlands of the Orinoco. It is also generally believed that fierce Caribs, mainly settled in the islands to the southeast, were moving northward and intimidating the Arawaks of the Greater Antilles, known as Tainos. This belief regarding the threat of fierce Caribs derives from information given to Columbus by indigenes during his first voyage, and formed the basis for a durable dichotomy: the mild and pacific Tainos contrasted to the savage and bestial Caribs. It should be pointed out that the existence of cannibalistic Antillean indigenes has from time to time been convincingly challenged.² In any case, in addition to having their name perpetuated geographically, the

Caribs, or Canibs, provided the origin of a fearful word, “cannibal,” and the basis for a rich European literature of anthropophagy.

The population that interests us is a group of some half-million to a million or more Tainos, populating the islands of the Greater Antilles at the end of the fifteenth century in tribal groups ruled by regional chiefs and believed to have been highly ritualized in customs and behavior. This population was virtually exterminated within sixty years of the first contact, but not before providing Europeans with a vision of indigenous life that at first nicely confirmed the pre-existing literary and mythological image of the Noble Savage: an image of healthy, unspoiled man, untrammelled by possessions and happily attuned to life in bountiful nature. European readers found the confirmation of ancient legends as Columbus relived through observation the lore that he had absorbed concerning distant lands and ancient peoples. Beginning with Columbus himself, Europeans “invented America” as they went along, and the first harvest of invention was generally idyllic, idealistic, and pastoral.³

As Pedro Henriquez Ureña has suggested, idyllic images of man in nature were probably held and circulated only by a handful of humanists. “The common man in Europe, like the many simple-minded explorers who saw the Indians and wrote about them, conceived them as little better than wild animals, harmless or dangerous as the case might be.”⁴

At this point a longer quotation from Henriquez Ureña may help set the conceptual stage for our brief examination of the reports of early chroniclers and later historians regarding music and dance among the Tainos.

In the Americas the Spanish and Portuguese settlers soon accustomed themselves to deal with [the natives] as either friends or enemies, but in any case as neighbors; they became a normal part of the common life of the colonies. But in Europe thinkers and writers found in them an absorbing problem, related to one of the great questions that the mind of the Renaissance was debating, the age-old contrast between nature and culture. Deeper still lay another problem, the very concept of nature, taken over from antiquity and remodelled. Was man naturally good? Was the Indian “the natural man”? Did he live in a state of innocence? Was his a happy life? Were its blessings higher than the doubtful blessings of European civilization? Were even the worst habits of Cannibals more criminal than the practices of Christians, who did not eat their fellows, but tortured, mutilated and burned them?⁵

The extraordinary writer and sometime political figure Mario Vargas Llosa has recently referred to the early chroniclers as the first Magical Realists. Their writings, providing “a rich literature at once fantastical and true,”⁶ were compounded of credulity, surprise, fear, and hatred: conceived, we might add, within a conceptual framework of unquestioning religious faith and composed according to the prevailing conventions, including the repetition, elaboration, and glossing of previous writings.

Historical Reports

Knowledge of the life and customs of the Tainos, the first American indigenes to be encountered by Europeans, is based on the work of a handful of writers, some of whom had actually lived and served in the lands whose inhabitants they were describing, and some of whom had not. The first writer to whom we are indebted for information regarding the customs of the Tainos is Ramón Pané, a religious who accompanied Columbus' second voyage to the New World in 1493. Extremely little is known of Pané's life, except that he was most probably a member of the Order of St. Jerome and that he was commissioned by the Admiral himself to report on the "ceremonies and antiquities" of the aborigines of Hispaniola. The *Relación de Fray Ramón* is not only our most authentic description of the life and customs of the Antillean indigenes but also must be recognized as the first essay in the field of American anthropology generally.

Unfortunately, we have the Pané document only at third hand and seen through several layers of translation and interpretation. First, Pané was a Catalán and his report was written in Castilian, not his principal language. In addition he was a well-intentioned but rather simple-minded man, according to Padre Las Casas, who claimed that much of what Pané wrote was of little substance. Furthermore, while some of Pané's reporting was from first-hand observation, much of it repeated what he was told by tribal leaders in a language he may not have fully understood, most probably including the extremely important passage which interests us directly.

Pané's original report, now lost for centuries, was included in Fernando Colón's biography of his father, the Admiral of the Ocean Sea. However, Fernando's biography was also lost, and is known today only in a translation to Italian published toward the end of the sixteenth century.⁷ There are numerous modern editions and translations of this 1571 publication, with valuable explanations of variant readings;⁸ in addition, a paraphrase of an earlier version of Pané's report survives, imbedded in Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World*, one of the first histories of the Conquest and a work which we shall consider later in the present study.⁹ What all of this means, however, is that our contact with this indescribably valuable source is, so to speak, as if wearing heavy mittens or peering at it through a thick fog.

Of the greatest interest is what has come down to us as Pané's description of a musical instrument that he said was used to accompany the singing or recitation of ancient tribal laws.¹⁰ The instrument, named *maiohauau* in Alfonso Ulloa's 1571 translation, is described as made of wood and hollow, strongly made and very thin, something over a meter long, and half as wide. The part which was played was made in the shape of a blacksmith's tongs, and the other end was like a club. According to Pané as transcribed by Fernando Colón and translated first by Alfonso Ulloa into Italian and

thence by the present writer into English for the present study, the instrument was so loud that it could be heard a league and a half away, or say for a distance of some three to five miles. Very good, but what was this device? Some later writers have seen in it a drum, and others have added layers of conjecture to Pané's description. One respected historian has even called it a clarinet.¹¹ But at this late date and at this great distance from the source, who is to say?

As our survey of early Antillean information proceeds, the reader might wish to keep in mind Pané's words regarding the use of the *maiohauau* in accompanying the recitation or singing of ancient texts; this can probably be taken as the first known reference to the practice which was later to be given the name *areíto* by other writers.

Bartolomé de Las Casas, a contemporary of Christopher Columbus, spent a total of some thirty years in the New World, frequently returning to Spain to advance his very particular cause. Entering the Dominican Order while in Hispaniola, Las Casas became a tireless defender of the American indigenes against the cruelty of the Spaniards' treatment of them. For this reason Padre Las Casas was probably one of the most hated men in early colonial America.¹² Las Casas' extensive writings drew heavily on Columbus' own writings, on descriptions provided by missionary friars, and in the case of Hispaniola, on Pané's *Relación*. He also knew, utilized, and criticized the writings of Oviedo, Peter Martyr, and other early writers. Las Casas' *Apologética Historia de las Indias*¹³ describes the Tainos of Hispaniola dancing in large groups while singing to the accompaniment of hoarse wooden drums; the texts of their songs sometimes related "ancient things" and sometimes, when sung by women, childish sayings. This description, at least partly drawn from Pané, is a reference to the *areíto*, so designated by Las Casas and other writers. In the same work can be seen a description of dances, festivals, and other activities of Indians at the Central American isthmus including the use of flutes and drums, mainly at second hand; this passage has often been extrapolated and elaborated as an eyewitness account of the activities of Antillean Tainos.¹⁴

Evidence for the use of maracas by Tainos is perhaps found in a passage of Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*. Here, Indians offer to trade gold for a Spanish *cascabel*, for the Spanish *cascabeles* were shinier and louder than the native ones, which were very cleverly made of wood and contained small stones.¹⁵ *Cascabel* in Spanish means a small closed bell or jingle rather than anything as large as a modern hand-held maraca, but this passage has often been cited in support of the belief that the maraca was known in the Antilles at the time of the *Conquista*.

Insofar as Antillean reporting is concerned, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478–1557) was already more a historian than a chronicler, having arrived in the New World only in 1514 at the age of 36; by this time

the tide of conquest was passing on from the Antilles to the Central and South American mainlands. Oviedo occupied various official posts, mainly on the mainland of South America but also at Hispaniola in the 1530s.

Oviedo was acquainted with Las Casas, although as a loyal courtier and colonial administrator he held some of the Dominican's more polemical thought in scorn. It is difficult to determine how much of Oviedo's writing is based on observation, how much on the first- or second-hand reports of the many persons whom he interviewed, and how much on Pané's *Relación* and other sources. Las Casas himself sharply and repeatedly criticized Oviedo, claiming that only fifty Indians remained in Hispaniola when Oviedo arrived there, and that in any case the historian had his information only at second hand and from an unreliable source, at that.¹⁶

Of interest to us is Oviedo's generalized description of the *areíto*, here identified as "another way of recalling past and ancient things."¹⁷ This description may have been based on Oviedo's own observations in Hispaniola; on the other hand, it could have come from Pané or from some other source. Oviedo describes a large wooden drum of unpleasant sound, used occasionally in accompanying the *areíto*. As described and as depicted in Oviedo's own drawing, the instrument consisted of a hollowed tree trunk pierced by a narrow opening in the shape of the letter "H."¹⁸ In the same Oviedo work is to be found the first appearance of the *Areíto de Anacaona* account, which was to provide a strand in Antillean historical lore some four centuries later.¹⁹ Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural y general historia de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526) describes an activity identified as an *areíto* which clearly took place in Central America, although its description has been freely generalized to include Antillean Tainos as well.²⁰

Another writer who is usually included among the early chroniclers was Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (c. 1455-1526). A priestly courtier and sometime tutor to the children of the royal Ferdinand and Isabella, Peter Martyr (as the name is given in English) was personally acquainted with Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Cortés, Magellan, Cabot, Vespucci, and many other travelers and explorers. He was also a member of the Council for the Indies, giving him access to fresh reports arriving from America. Although named to an ecclesiastical post in Jamaica toward the end of his life, Peter Martyr never visited the lands about which he wrote. This drew the scorn of Oviedo, who claimed that Peter Martyr's descriptions of the New World were as far from the truth as the sky from the earth. Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World* were composed as letters over a period of 32 years and represent an accumulation of material compiled at different times and addressed to different persons for different purposes. Using information provided by returning *conquistadores* and by the earlier writings of others, including Pané directly, he described *areítos* performed presumably on the island of Hispaniola with the dancers wearing belts, bracelets, anklets, and

necklaces of small shells which produced a pleasant sound as they struck together. A chief greeted the dancers while hitting a small drum with a stick.²¹ Peter Martyr's description of martial sound producing implements seen at Chiribichi on the South American mainland includes large sea shells across which strings were stretched, flutes made of stag bones and also of river rushes, and small drums made of gourds or of hardwood. These descriptions have often been taken as valid for the Antilles as well and have formed part of a rich but not completely convincing Antillean instrumentarium.²²

The *Historia de los reyes católicos* of Andrés Bernáldez was first published in 1856, almost three and a half centuries after its composition, and is now known mainly through an 1870 Seville edition. Bernáldez' work was based partly on documents left with him by Columbus following the second voyage. Bernáldez describes Columbus' reception at the Bahía de las Vacas in Jamaica in August 1494 by the chief of the region. The chief's retinue of guards and standard bearers included two persons who held carved wooden trumpets ("dos trompetas de palo muy labradas de pájaros y otras sutilezas"); two other colorfully dressed men held objects described as toys or trinkets (*juguetes*) with which they produced sounds.²³

When Francisco López de Gómara's *Hispania victrix* was published at Zaragoza in 1552, the age of direct observation of the aboriginal Tainos had passed. Gómara, who like Peter Martyr never visited the New World, utilized older information, frequently glossing or elaborating it. The *areíto* now becomes, in an elaboration of Pané's account, "like a festival of Moors, who dance while singing *romances* in praise of their kings and idols and to commemorate victories and notable events of old. Multitudes of people dance in these *areítos*, sometimes for a day and a night. They end drunk on a certain native wine." Gómara repeats Peter Martyr's description of small shells worn as jingles or rattles.²⁴

And by the time of Antonio de Herrera's *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (Madrid, 1601-1615), direct contact with eyewitnesses and with original reports for the Antillean Tainos was a thing of the past. The process of historical and literary generalization, synthesis, expansion, extrapolation, and surmise was in full flow. Herrera repeats Pané's description of the hollow wooden instrument, without giving it a name.²⁵

One final historical source must be mentioned, as it is occasionally cited by the unwary although it is afforded little credibility by specialists. This is Nicolo Scillacio's (Nicolaus Syllacius) *De Insulis Meridiani atque Indici maris nuper inventis*, as published probably in Pavia, ca. 1494. A fantastic assemblage of early accounts of Columbus' second voyage, this collection of "secondhand information and gross blunders"²⁶ describes Columbus' successful arrival in the Indian Ocean and the establishment there of the town of Isabella after circumnavigating Africa. Among other prodigies are

described turbaned women wearing plates of metal attached to their fingers. The tinkling sound produced by striking them together accompanied singing “not wanting in sweetness” and gracefully voluptuous dancing with multiform involutions.²⁷

Historical evidence for the music and dance of the Antillean aborigines at the time of the Conquest, then, is limited to Pané’s extremely problematical report, Bernáldez’ summaries, and the observations and elaborations of Las Casas and Oviedo, perhaps extending through the reports of returning Spaniards utilized by Peter Martyr, as well as his own paraphrase of Pané’s report. These sources, as we have seen, are no less problematical than Pané himself. There is no doubt that Pané’s observations were made on the island of Hispaniola; Fray Ramón specifically disclaimed all knowledge of other islands. But with Las Casas and Oviedo we are presented with a geographical and ethnological problem. For them and for another century and more of writers, “The Indies” meant wherever the Conquest led in America; to writers seeking order and reason in the constantly unfolding wonders of a New World, locally specific observations very easily became part of broad generalizations. In this way, for example, the word *areíto*, originally of Antillean significance only, became applied as a handy label—a sixteenth-century buzzword—to phenomena observed or reported in Central America and on the South American continent as the tide of conquest swept south and westward.²⁸ As a result it has been believed, without supporting evidence of any kind, that precisely the same kind of activity, the *areíto*, was practiced throughout the entire region. Nor do we know how much of the reported Antillean instrumentarium was really Antillean and how much continental; or to what extent Oviedo’s and Peter Martyr’s wooden drums and drunken *areítos* are simply embroidered versions of the reports of Pané or Las Casas, with the latter derived at least partly from the former.

Historically, then, we have the following evidence: First, we have the *areíto* described as ritual, as celebration, as narration, as work song, as a vehicle for teaching a value system, as funeral observance, as social dance, as history lesson, as fertility rite, or as simply a drunken party. A condensation of Pané’s report, incorporated almost unnoticed in Peter Martyr’s *Decades* but fully attributed to the humble friar, describes the *areíto* in a way which contradicts all of the conventionally accepted interpretations and elaborations. Here, in what might be closer to the Ur-Pané than Ulloa’s 1571 translation of Fernando Colón, the *areíto* is indeed a history lesson, but with the instruction limited to the sons of tribal nobles.²⁹

Recent examination of the earliest historical sources leads one to suspect that a rigorous ethnolinguistic study of the Antillean branch of the Arawakan language group (were such a project possible today) might reveal that *areíto* was all of these and none of these: a word that may have simply

meant “group,” or “activity,” or perhaps something like “plenum.” On the other hand, it might have had a very specific meaning when heard for the first time in Hispaniola, such as “history lesson,” soon becoming generalized by Spanish soldiers in the field to include other kinds of observed but perhaps poorly understood group activity. In other words, at the present time *areíto* is a word rich in associations accumulated during five centuries of surmise and elaboration but signifying very little in particular.

Secondly, we have a list of musical instruments or sound producers reported as seen in the region around 1500, comprised of the following ten items:

1. The *maiohauau* of Ramón Pané. Through further translation, re-translation, and retrotranslation of the 1571 translation of Alfonso Ulloa, to say nothing of simple misprints and copyists' errors preserved and transmitted, this word also appears as *maiohavau*, *mayohabao*, *baiohabao*, *baichabao*, *mayohuacán*, *mayouán*, *maiouauan* and in other versions as well.³⁰ Peter Martyr's paraphrase of Pané describes the device quite differently from the Ulloa version. Identified as the only musical instrument used by the Tainos, the instrument is described as wooden, hollow, noisy, and struck like a drum, but with nothing at all to suggest blacksmith's tongs or long-necked gourds.³¹ A modern writer, with the Ulloa version of 1571 as his source, has confidently identified this instrument as a monstrous two-handled maraca,³² and as we have seen, an historian has seen it as a clarinet.³³

2. The hoarse wooden drum of Padre Las Casas, which might simply have been his interpretation of Pané's *maiohauau* as given in a now unknown text, or of Oviedo's wooden drum, or perhaps of Peter Martyr's hollow wooden instrument, itself known to be an interpretation of Pané.

3. The unpleasant hollow wooden drum (“aquel mal instrumento”) of Oviedo, which again might have come from a now unknown version of Pané's *Relación*, or from some other unidentified source. One modern writer assumed that this was the same instrument described by Pané, blacksmith's tongs and all, and criticized the widely known engraving of a slit drum, originating in the 1851–1855 edition of Oviedo's *Historia general* as a variant of his own drawing from the 1535 and 1547 editions, as not accurately depicting Pané's bifurcated instrument.³⁴

4. The small wooden drum that a chief struck with a stick in Book X of Peter Martyr's Seventh Decade. This is found in no other early source.

5. Small shells rattling pleasantly together as worn on belts, bracelets, necklaces, and anklets, presumably at Hispaniola as first described by Peter Martyr. These are described in no other early source.

6. Las Casas' wooden *cascabeles*, reported at Hispaniola.

7. The trinkets or toys, perhaps maracas, made to sound by two members of the chief's entourage which met Columbus at Bahía de las Vacas in Jamaica, reported by Bernáldez.

8. The two carved wooden trumpets seen but not heard on the same occasion. These were quite possibly something else entirely, perhaps ceremonial objects. A Jamaican writer, taking them indeed for trumpets, believed them to have been the leaves and leaf stems of the trumpet tree or *yagrumo hembra*, known throughout the region but hardly a material that could sustain much carving, painting, or even handling.³⁵

9. Of probably no Antillean application at all, the stringed sea shells (if such a device ever existed), the small drums and the bone or reed flutes described by Peter Martyr as seen at Chiribichi on the South American mainland.

10. The finger cymbals of Scillacio's turbaned dancers.

Archeological Evidence

If historical documentation for music and dance in the Greater Antilles five hundred years ago is thin, archeological evidence is not a great deal better. In such a hot and humid climate as that enjoyed by Antilleans both ancient and modern, few wooden objects could be expected to survive for five hundred years. What have survived well are objects made of stone, clay, shell, and bone. Stone objects are plentiful. These include practical and ceremonial hatchets, stone collars of undetermined but perhaps ceremonial purpose, small amulets, and *cemies* or idols. There are also *dujos*, or low stools which are believed to have had ceremonial use, made of stone, fired clay, and wood. Ceramic items include plates and bowls, amulets, and many other objects.

Evidence of bone flutes is existent, but not plentiful. Although such instruments are not mentioned by early writers, a specimen was found in a Taino midden on the island of St. Thomas, just east of Puerto Rico; it is recognized that the instrument might have arrived in a Taino village by trade or by other means.³⁶ A bone flute has been unearthed in the Oriente province of Cuba.³⁷ Recent excavations in Puerto Rico have revealed at least one flute-like object made of human bone as well as ocarinas made of fired clay³⁸ that closely resemble specimens found on the neighboring island of Hispaniola.³⁹

Although there was no historical mention of such objects, conch-shell trumpets may have been used in the Greater Antilles, as has been indicated in connection with Caribs if not with Tainos. In Taino territory on the island of Cuba a single shell trumpet has been identified, described as a rarity.⁴⁰

Several small hollow spherical objects, but too small to serve as hand-held maracas in the modern sense, have been found on the island of Hispaniola: some of carved and hollowed wood, some of bone, and some of the hard shell of the corozo plant.⁴¹

Also described in the Dominican Republic are three wooden spatulas of the type that was reported by Peter Martyr, repeated by Gómara, as used in inducing ritual cleansing of the upper digestive tract by vomiting. The intricately carved handles of these particular spatulas are hollow, with slits through which small objects might be introduced. Two of the handles contain balls made of earth, sand, and resin, that rattle when the spatula is shaken.⁴² A deteriorated fragment of what is probably a similar piece has been found in Puerto Rico.⁴³ And finally, wooden objects which might be 500-year-old maracas of a more familiar type have been unearthed at sites in Puerto Rico and Hispaniola.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the objects found at Hispaniola contain not the familiar rattling stones or seeds but rather a single loose and rattling piece of wood left free inside the piece after it has been hollowed out through long slits.

At the present time, the archeological evidence consists of bone flutes and a shell trumpet not mentioned in historical sources for the Antilles, small jingles made of wood, bone or plant material, and probably maracas. The jingles and the maracas, assuming that these objects are indeed maracas, are the only sound producers which find mention in the historical sources: specifically in Las Casas and perhaps in Bernáldez, who shared the same sources of information.

No source prior to the early nineteenth century has appeared for the *baó*, *habao*, or *jabao*, confidently described by some modern writers as a three-stringed bowed chordophone cultivated by Antillean aborigenes.⁴⁵ I believe that this item may have resulted from a misreading of Pané, coupled with a geographical relocation of Peter Martyr's stringed seashells. Furthermore, I believe that it can be safely dropped from the Taino instrumentarium along with Scillacio's finger cymbals. Nor has any early source appeared for the *güiro* or *guayo*, the familiar scraped gourd, as an Antillean instrument at the time of the Conquest. Although the *güiro* is certainly an Antillean instrument today, it was quite possibly introduced by blacks from West Africa in the slave traffic that began early in the sixteenth century.⁴⁶

Literary and Artistic Traces

History, description, poetry, and fable: early sixteenth-century Europeans made little distinction among these modes of communication, especially regarding the New World. In fact, the more fabulous the history and the more poetic the description, the more enthusiastically it was received and circulated by European utopians and humanists, to say nothing of French and English Protestants grateful for evidence with which to castigate the Spanish as the subjugated American indigenes rapidly disappeared. With Columbus' first idyllic commentaries began the interweaving of observation

and fantasy that was to illuminate at least the first part of the Conquista and established a tradition of New World literary and artistic nativism which is still being cultivated today.

It is not the intention of the present study to explore the incredibly rich contributions of the New World to the literary and musical traditions of the old.⁴⁷ However, I should like to point out a few traces of Antillean Taino music and dance that have contributed to a literary and artistic tradition beginning with the impressions of Columbus himself.

Of musical instruments there is little to be said, except that the maraca, perhaps of Antillean origin, along with the *güiro*, which is most probably not of Antillean origin, has found an important place in musical evocations of native life at the time of the Conquest. These evocations have mainly occurred in symphonic poems, operas, and ballets in a stream of New World nativistic works beginning toward the end of the nineteenth century as nationalistic sentiments arose in the Spanish and formerly Spanish lands of the Greater Antilles. Composers, poets, novelists, and choreographers have been especially susceptible to romantic images of the Tainos as a peaceful and loving people caught between the cruel Caribs and the equally cruel Spaniards as their possession of this earthly paradise came to a tragic end.

European writers welcomed the Antillean *areíto* as a ready-made set piece useful as a device for plot development and for also characterizing a tragically doomed people. Cases of specific *areítos* were cited as early as Las Casas' *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552), his polemical text directed against the destruction wrought by the Conquest. Here, using the *areíto* as a preacher's parable, the Dominican describes how Chief Hatuey and his group find themselves in Cuba, having fled the Spaniards in Hispaniola. Learning that Spaniards are approaching, Hatuey calls his people together. "You know that one of the reasons why the Spaniards kill us is that they have a god whom they worship, and they work us and kill us so that we may provide them with their god." "This is their god," he says, showing them a basket full of gold. "If we perform an *areíto* for their god perhaps he will tell the Christians not to harm us." In this hope, Hatuey and his group dance before the basket until they are exhausted. Nevertheless, Hatuey points out that if the Spaniards find them with the gold they will kill them anyway, so they throw it into the river.⁴⁸ At least one modern literary work has been based on this account: the dramatic poem "Hatuey," by the Cuban writer Francisco Sellén.⁴⁹

Another early reference to a specific *areíto* perhaps appears in the epic poem *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* by Juan de Castellanos (1522-1607), the first part of which was published in Madrid in 1589. The *Elegía VI* recounts the conquest of Puerto Rico and the accomplishments and death of the island's first governor, Juan Ponce de León. At *canto segundo* is to be

found a passage, based on Oviedo, which has been interpreted by some modern writers as an *areíto* performed during preparations for an uprising by oppressed Tainos in 1511. An earlier edition of Castellanos' text, however, suggests simply drunken singing.⁵⁰

An appealing case of incipient religious syncretism, as well as an example of mutual quotation among the early chroniclers and historians, is given by Herrera. Herrera copied this account almost verbatim from Las Casas, who credited Peter Martyr with it.⁵¹ According to the story, a sailor is left behind with a group of friendly Tainos because of illness as his companions go on a journey. He teaches the Tainos some of the basic elements of Christian worship, especially the veneration of the Virgin Mary. He draws an image of the Virgin, reciting "Ave María, Ave María." The Indians are persuaded to construct a church with an altar dedicated to the Virgin, before which offerings of food and water are placed, in case she should become hungry. The chief and his people enter, kneel, and show great devotion to the Virgin, in whose honor they then compose songs and dances, repeating the words "Ave María."

José Juan Arrom has pointed out that this would have been an extremely superficial case of Christian conversion, as the Tainos of the story were taught nothing of Christian doctrine and nothing of the language except for the words "Ave María." For them, the Virgin Mary was just another *ceñi* to be added to the list and to be offered food and drink.⁵²

The *areíto* soon found a place in Spanish dramatic literature, along with references to other American curiosities such as canoes, tobacco, chocolate, and the short aprons worn by Taino women, to say nothing of the word "Indias" as a symbol of untold riches and of plumed Indians on stage as allegorical symbols of America. Lope de Vega wrote four plays on American subjects, one with specific reference to the Antilles. His *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Colón* has Indians dancing and singing *areítos* in call-and-response fashion taken directly from Oviedo, and features the gullible Indians captivated by *cascabeles* and mirrors in faithfully stereotypical fashion as distilled from the writings of the *Cronistas de Indias*.⁵³

By far the most persistent reference to a specific *areíto* to reach us is the *Areíto de Anacaona*, first reported in Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*.⁵⁴ In Oviedo's account, which takes place in Hispaniola during the governorship of Nicolás de Ovando (1502–1509), the great lady Anacaona, widow of the chief Caonabo, staged a grand *areíto* with more than 300 of her serving maidens. Las Casas places the episode in 1494 when Spanish forces led by Bartolomé Colón arrive at Jaragua and are met with great ceremony by King Behechio and his queen-sister Anacaona. Thirty of Behechio's wives, nude but for short aprons, precede the column of Tainos bearing boughs of greenery, singing and dancing and leaping about in moderation, as, says Padre Las Casas, becomes women. They are followed by vast numbers of Tainos (*infinitas gentes*) who revel greatly.⁵⁵

At the middle of the nineteenth century, eight measures of a very European tune in the key of G major became attached to the Anacaona story as the purported melody of the *Areíto de Anacaona* itself. The tune's first publication, by Henry R. Schoolcraft in 1852, was accompanied by a warning regarding its questionable authenticity,⁵⁶ and the subject has been viewed skeptically by most literary historians and by some general historians in the region.⁵⁷ However, the warning was not universally heeded. By the end of the nineteenth century, the piece occupied a central place in historical writing about music, indigenous culture, and related subjects in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, at times becoming intertwined with a supposed war chant, itself sometimes associated with Queen Anacaona.⁵⁸ Fernando Ortiz' writings in the 1940s finally put the entire subject of the *Areíto de Anacaona* to rest.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, however, Ortiz' brief writings are not widely known while the regional music histories are on the shelves of many libraries throughout the world, perpetuating the spurious *Areíto de Anacaona* account.

A flowering of literary and artistic indigenism has taken place in the Greater Antilles as well as in all of Latin America since the mid-nineteenth century. The lore of the Taino, as derived from Oviedo, Peter Martyr, and Las Casas, has found an honored place in indigenist fiction, poetry, theater, ballet, opera, and instrumental concert music. These artistic evocations of a remote and dimly understood past have done no harm and indeed have contributed to regional pride while greatly enriching the Antillean repertoires of these fields. However, the same indigenist fever that influenced the arts also seized many of the region's historians, and it is here where considerable mischief may have been done.

Some authors, accepting the words of the *Cronistas de Indias* as holy writ, have woven the *Cronistas'* preserved, generalized, and elaborated accounts of music, musical instruments, and dance into general histories of Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico; their writing has then found its way into regional and general histories as well as into an occasional ethnological study.⁶⁰ Only too eagerly have writers dealing with the region's music and dance continued to spin out a few somewhat questionable descriptions of wooden drums and dancing maidens into complete ethnologies of aboriginal artistic life. It is not at all uncommon to find such expressions as "All of the old chroniclers and modern historians agree that," completed by elaborate and generalized descriptions of Oviedo's unpleasant drum, Peter Martyr's drumming chieftain, Hatuey's *Areíto del dios de oro*, or Anacaona's reception committee. Especially numerous are elaborate and fanciful descriptions of the musical instruments used by Tainos in accompanying the *areíto*.⁶¹ The authors of such accounts have failed to recognize that their own sources, elaborated during more than four centuries of writing, are all based on the words of two or three commentators, magical realists all, and in some details, which are of great interest to the history of music, only one source.

Conclusion

Almost nothing is known about the music and dance of the Antillean indigenes at the time of the Conquest, although some strong beliefs about this subject have been elaborated over the centuries, especially during the past century and a half, and then cast in concrete. Anyone interested in this subject should view with extreme caution everything that has been written about it, beginning with the earliest sources themselves. It may be that at this late date the subject can be clarified, if at all, only through archeological and ethnological research accompanied by the critical reexamination of the earliest texts. Not a great deal of help will be found in literary or musical works based on supposed Taino themes, nor in the existing historical writing. Especially suspect in this regard are histories—and music histories particularly—written in the Antilles or which incorporate Antillean reporting. And finally, a reminder may be in order that a great deal of what we do read in accounts of Taino music and related matters in regional histories may have been spun out over the centuries from what are offered at third hand as the words of a single writer: Fray Ramón Pané, “founder of American anthropology.”⁶²

Notes

1. Osvaldo García Goyco, *Influencias mayas y aztecas en los tainos de las Antillas Mayores* (San Juan: Ediciones Xilbalbey, 1984). García Goyco's work has since expanded greatly, extending to mythological and iconographic correspondences across a vast region of continental and insular America, in his “Comparisons between the Basic Vocabulary of Macro-Arawak and Macro-Maya,” X Symposium of the Latin American Indigenous Literature Association, San Juan, January 7, 1992. For a useful summary of earlier studies, see Eugenio Fernández Méndez, *Art and Mythology of the Taino Indians of the Greater West Indies* (San Juan: Ediciones “El Cemí,” 1972).
2. For recent treatments and useful summaries, see Jalil Sued Badillo, *Los Caribes, realidad o fábula* (Río Piedras: Editorial Antillana, 1978) and his “Another Version of the Carib Affair, and Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Caribs and the Problem of Ethnic Identification,” *Homines* 6/2 (July 1982–January 1983), 199–208; 8/1 (January–June 1984), 21–30. Also see Roberto Fernández Retamar, *Calibán* (Maracaibo: Universidad de Zulia, 1973), which traces some of the ideological ramifications of this dichotomy through history.

3. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America*. 1961. Reprint. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972).
4. Pedro Henríquez Ureña. *Literary Currents in Hispanic America*. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1945), 14.
5. Ibid.
6. Mario Vargas Llosa, "Questions of Conquest: What Columbus Wrought and What He Did Not," *Harpers* 281/1687 (December 1990), 45-53.
7. Fernando Colón, *Historie del S.D. Fernando Colombo: Nelle quali s'ha particolare, & vera relatione della vita, & de'fatti dell'Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo sua padre*. Translated by Alfonso Ulloa (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1571).
8. For example, see Edward G. Bourne, "Columbus, Ramón Pané and the Beginnings of American Anthropology," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. 17 (1905-1906), 310-348, and Fray Ramón Pané, "Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los indios," ed. José Juan Arrom (México: Siglo Veinte Editores, [1924]), 4th ed., 1980.
9. Pedro Mártir de Anglería, *De rebus oceanis et orbe novo* (Alcalá, 1530), transl. and ed. Joaquín Torres Asencio *As Décadas del Nuevo Mundo* in *Fuentes históricas sobre Colón y las Américas* (Madrid, 1892); reprint, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, 1944), 99-100 (decade 1, book 9, chaps. 4-7).
10. Colón, op. cit., fol. 133 verso. The cited passage may be seen on p. 34 of the Arrom edition and on pp. 326-327 of Bourne.
11. Gustavo Adolfo Mejía Ricart, *Historia de Santo Domingo*, 7[?] vols. (Ciudad Trujillo: Editores Pol Hnos., 1948), 1, 147.
12. Francis A. MacNutt, *Bartholemew de Las Casas: His Life, His Apostolate and His Writings* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), xxii.
13. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologética historia de las Indias. Historiadores de Indias*, ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, vol. 1 (Madrid: Bailly, Ballière e Hijos, 1909). *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, ed. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, vol. 13, 537-538 (chap. 204).
14. Ibid., 636-637 (chap. 243).
15. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols., prologue by Gonzalo de Reparaz (1927) (Madrid: M. Aguilar, n.d.), 1, 281 (book 1, chap. 60).
16. Ibid., 1, 302 (book 3, chap. 143).
17. "Tenían otra manera estas gentes de memorar las cosas passadas y antiguas." Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar océano* (Seville, Juan Cromberger, 1525), fol. xlv verso (book 5, chap. 1). The second edition, entitled *Coronicas de las Indias. La historia general de las Indias ahora nuevamente impressa corregida y enmendada y con la conquista del Peru* (Salamanca:

- Juan de Junta, 1547), retains this language on fol. xlv verso. However, modern editions incorporate the phrase used in the first complete edition of the *Historia general y natural*, 3 vols. in 4, ed. José Amador de los Ríos (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851–1855), 1, 127: “a good and gracious way” (“tenian estas gentes una buena é gentil manera”).
18. Op. cit., Seville and Salamanca eds., fol. xlvi verso.
 19. Ibid., fol. xlvi recto.
 20. *Sumario de la natural y general historia de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526), in *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, ed. Enrique de Vedia. Vol. 20, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1887; reprint, Madrid, 1949), 484.
 21. *Décadas*, 555–557 (decade 7, book 10, chap. 1).
 22. Ibid., 610–611 (decade 8, book 8, chaps. 1–11).
 23. Andrés Bernaldez, *Historia de los reyes católicos D. Fernando y Da. Isabel*, 2 vols. (Seville: Imprenta que fue de D. José María Geofrin, 1870), 2, 74.
 24. Francisco López de Gómara, *Hispania victrix. Primera y segunda parte de la Historia general de las Indias, con todo el descubrimiento, y cosas notables que han acaecido desde que se ganaron hasta el año de 1551; Con la conquista de México y de la Nueva España* (Zaragoza, 1552), ed. Enrique de Vedia. *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, vol. 20, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1887; reprint, Madrid, 1946), 173.
 25. Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los Hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar océano*, 4 vols. (Madrid: 1601–1615), 1, 87 (decade 1, book 4).
 26. Antonello Gerbi, *La natura delle Indie Nove: Da Cristoforo Colombo a Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo* (Milan, 1975), transl. by Jeremy Moyle as *Nature in the New World From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 27–28.
 27. Scillacio, op. cit., transl. and ed. by John Mulligan (New York, n.p., 1859), 88 (Latin), 89 (English).
 28. An opinion advanced by Fernando Ortiz, “La música y los areítos de los indios de Cuba,” *Revista de arqueología y etnología* 6–7 (1948), 127 n44. Also see Robert Stevenson, “Written Sources for Indian Music Until 1882,” *Ethnomusicology* 17/1 (January 1973), 1–2.
 29. *Décadas*, 88–100 (decade 1, book 9).
 30. Bourne, op. cit., 316, points out that some variant spellings of names and terms in Pané have resulted from the use of different alphabets through translation. With regard to Spanish and Italian, for example, confusion could be expected to arise between the “b” and “v” in Spanish, and then between the Spanish “v” and the Italian “u.” In addition, Pané wrote in Castillian Spanish the sounds that he heard;

- Ferdinand, unfamiliar with the sounds, then copied the words as he saw them. Ulloa, equally unfamiliar with the sounds, then translated or transliterated the words into Italian.
31. Pedro Mártir de Anglería, loc. cit.
 32. Sven Lovén, *Origins of the Tainan Culture, West Indies*, rev. 2d ed. (Goteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Atkiebolag, 1935), 494.
 33. Supra., n11.
 34. Fernando Ortiz, *Los instrumentos de la música afrocubana*, 5 vols. (Habana: Dirección de Cultura del Ministerio de Educación, 1951-1955), 3, 128.
 35. Ashley Clerk, "Arawak Musical Instruments: Extract from a Lecture Given in 1913," *Jamaica Journal* 11/1-2 (August 1977), 21-24.
 36. Lovén, op cit., 496.
 37. Ernesto Tabío and Estrella Rey, *Prehistoria de Cuba* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1979), 232; pl. 15, following p. 234.
 38. Personal communication, Jalil Sued Badillo, University of Puerto Rico, March 1992.
 39. Emile de Boyrie Moya, "Tres flautas-ocarinas de manufacturera alfarera de los indígenas de la isla de Santo Domingo," *Revista dominicana de arqueología y antropología* 1/1 (1971), 13-17.
 40. Lovén, loc. cit.
 41. Fradique Lizardo, *Instrumentos musicales folklóricos dominicanos*. Vol. 1, *Idiófonos y membranófonos* (Santo Domingo: Editorial Santo Domingo, 1988), 65-67. A more detailed description of the same pieces can be seen in Manuel García Arévalo and Luis Chanlatte Baik, "Aparición de cascabeles de madera y hueso aporta valiosos datos sobre musicología aborigen," *El Caribe* (Santo Domingo), 9 June 1979. Suplemento sabatino, 3.
 42. Manuel A García Arévalo, "Las espátulas vómicas sonajeras de la cultura taína," in Lizardo, op. cit., 39-51.
 43. Marcio Veloz Maggiolo and Mao Ramos Ramírez, "Informe sobre una nueva maraca monoxila indígena hallada en Puerto Rico," *Boletín, Museo del Hombre Dominicano* No. 15 (1980), 11-16.
 44. Luis de la Rosa, *Vega Baja: Notas para su historia* (San Juan: Oficina Estatal de Preservación Histórica, 1983), 12; Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, "Dos maracas monoxilas de la isla Española," *Boletín, Museo del hombre Dominicano*, No. 5 (1974), 7-9.
 45. Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, *Influencia de los ritmos africanos en nuestro cancionero* (Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1927), 13, as well as in "La música cubana y sus orígenes," *Boletín latino-americano de música* 4 (1938), 178, and in other writings, provided a source for many of his Antillean contemporaries and successors by describing the *habao* as a kind of *rael* in the form of a *guzla*. Fernando Ortiz, "La música y los

areítos de los indios de Cuba,” *Revista de arqueología y etnología* 6–7 (January–December 1948), effectively refutes this belief. As for this unexpected appearance of the word *guzla*, Ortiz, *Instrumentos de la música afrocubana*, V, p. 28, suggests that this application may have resulted from its use by Spaniards for a type of musical bow seen in Argentina. The earliest source that I have been able to identify for the *bao*, *habao*, or *jabao* is Constantine S. Rafinesque, *The American Nations; Or Outlines of Their General History, Ancient and Modern . . .* (Philadelphia: C. S. Rafinesque, 1836), 191, 236, 238, 243. Rafinesque was then interpreted by Antonio Bachiller y Morales, *Cuba primitiva*, 2d ed. (Habana, 1883), 215 et passim, providing a link with Sánchez de Fuentes and other modern writers. The relation of the words *bao*, *habao*, and *jabao* to several forms of the name of the instrument described by Ramón Pané invites exploration.

46. Ortiz, *Instrumentos de la música afrocubana*, 2, 172–173.
47. For some far-reaching literary aspects of this subject see such works as Concha Meléndez, *La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid, 1934), 3d ed., San Juan: University of Puerto Rico, 1970 and Mercedes López-Baralt, “Los pasos encontrados de Levi-Straus y Alejo Carpentier: literatura y antropología en el siglo veinte,” *Revista del Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe*, no. 7 (July–December 1988), 81–92. Some specifically operatic aspects of the subject have been explored by Malena Kuss, *Nativistic Strains in Argentine Operas Premiered at the Teatro Colón (1908–1972)*, Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1976, and recently expanded and summarized by the same author in an introductory presentation, “Round Table II: Contributions of the New World to the Music of the Old World,” *Fifteenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Madrid, 3–10 April, 1992* (Basel: Baerenreiter, 1991), 3–11. Offprint from *Acta musicologica* 63/1 (January–April 1991). Malena Kuss in “The ‘Invention’ of America: Encounter Settings on the Latin American Lyric Stage,” presented at the same session, explores the “constant reinvention of operatic America by American composers, functioning as inventors within an invention, as it were.”
48. Las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Seville, 1552), ed. André Saint-Lu (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1982), 3d ed., 1987, 91. A longer version of the same account appears in *Historia de las Indias*, II, 453–54 (book 3, chap. 21), attributed to information provided by Indians, and in Herrera, op. cit., 1, 292–293 (decade 1, book 9, chap. 2), where Hatuey’s dancers number some 50,000 men and women. This account has entered European literature as “El areíto del dios de oro.”
49. New York: A. de Costa Gómez, 1891.

50. Juan de Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*. (Part 1, Madrid, 1589. Parts 2, 3, 4, Madrid, 1847; Madrid: Rivadeneira, 1850. Vol. 4, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*), 55. The lines under discussion read "La cual muerte cantaron en un canto/de cierta borrachera que hacía." For the *areíto* interpretation see *Boletín histórico de Puerto Rico* 2 (1915), 303-375 and Cesáreo Rosa Nieves, "El areyto taino en Puerto Rico: historia, esotería y festival de la autoctonía indígena," *Boletín de la Academia de Artes y Ciencias de Puerto Rico* 4/2 (1968), 511-524. Here the lines read "La cual muerte cantaron en un canto/mientras la danza de guerrear se hacía." Castellanos' source was Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, book 16, chap. 5.
51. Herrera, op. cit., 1, 306 (decade 1, book 9, chap. 7; Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 2, 466 (book 3, chap. 24); Peter Martyr, 161-163 (decade 2, book 6, chap. 2).
52. José Juan Arrom, "Las letras en Cuba antes de 1608," *Revista cubana* 18 (1944), repr. in his *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana* (Habana, 1950), 14, n6.
53. Lope de Vega Carpio, *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Colón*, in *Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: La Real Academia Española, 1900). Vol. 11, *Crónicas y leyendas dramáticas de España*, 341-380.
54. *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Seville and Salamanca eds., fol. xlv recto.
55. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I, 455-456 (libro 1, chap. 114). The same account is given in Herrera, 1, 91 (decade 1, book 3, chap. 7).
56. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Conditions and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1852-1857), 2: 309-312.
57. See, for example, Emile Nau, *Histoire des caciques d'Haiti* (1854), 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris: G. Guérin et Cie., 1894), 1, 329-330) and Apolinar Tejera, *Literatura dominicana: comentarios crítico-históricos* (Santo Domingo, 1922), 9-11.
58. See, for example, Pablo Morales Cabrera, *Puerto Rico indígena: Pre-historia y protohistoria de Puerto Rico* (1914; reprint, San Juan: Imprenta Venezuela, 1932), 297; Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, *Influencia de los ritmos africanos en nuestro cancionero* (Habana: Impr. "El Siglo XX", 1927), 13; María Cadilla de Martínez, *La poesía popular de Puerto Rico* (Madrid, 1933; reprint, San Juan: Edit. Coquí, 1971), 19-20.
59. Fernando Ortiz, *Los factores humanos de la cubanidad* (Habana: Molina y Cía, 1940), 19; "Preludios étnicos de la música afro-cubana," *Revista bimestre cubana* 59 (1947), 5-194, especially 94-112; "La música y los areítos de los indios de Cuba," 159.
60. Jesse W. Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands; Extract From the Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*

(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 69, invoked the *Areíto de Anacaona* as “one of the aboriginal West Indian dances,” also noting that “each stanza of the Borinquen or national song of the Porto Ricans has in some versions the refrain *Aye, Aye, Aye*, a survival of some old *areíto*.” Fewkes also saw a continuation of the Taino *areíto* in Fr. Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra’s description of a rural dancing party (*Historia geográfica, civil y política de la isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico*, Madrid, 1788, 279–280) as well as in the bomba dance, cultivated in Puerto Rico by the descendants of black slaves imported from West Africa beginning in the early sixteenth century.

61. See, for example, Constantine S. Rafinesque, *The American Nations; Or Outlines of Their General History, Ancient and Modern . . .* (Philadelphia: C. S. Rafinesque, 1836), 191, 236, 238, 243; Javier Angulo y Guridi, *Elementos de geografía físico-histórica antigua y moderne de la isla de Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Impr. de García Hs., 1866), 40; Antonio Bachiller y Morales, *Cuba primitiva*, 2d ed. (Habana, 1883); José Gabriel García, *Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo* (1867), 3d ed. enl. and corr., 3 vols. (Santo Domingo: Impr. de García Hnos., 1893–1906), 1, 16; Enrique Dumont, *Investigaciones acerca de las antigüedades de la isla de Puerto Rico* (Habana: Impr. “La Antilla” de N. Cacho-Negrete, 1876), 13; Waldo Jiménez de la Romería, *España: sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia. Cuba, Puerto Rico y Filipinas* (Barcelona: Est. Tipo. Edit. de Daniel Cortezo y Cía., 1887), 405; Cayetano Coll y Toste, *Prehistoria de Puerto Rico* (1907), 4th [2d] ed., ed. Isabel Cuchí Coll (Cataño, P.R.: Lito. Metropolitano, ©Isabel Cuchí Coll, 1979), 96; Pablo Morales Cabrera, *Puerto Rico indígena: prehistoria y protohistoria de Puerto Rico* (1914; reprint, San Juan: Impr. Venezuela, 1932), 296; Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, *Influencia de los ritmos africanos en nuestro cancionero* (Habana: Impr. “El Siglo XX,” 1927), 13; María Cadilla de Martínez, *La poesía popular de Puerto Rico* (1933; reprint, San Juan: Edit. Coquí, 1971), 20; Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, “La música cubana y sus orígenes,” *Boletín latino-americano de Música* 4 (1938), 178; J. M. Coopersmith, “Music and Musicians of the Dominican Republic: A Survey,” *The Musical Quarterly* 31/1, 2 (January 1945, April 1945), transl. by María Hezera and Elizabeth M. Tylor as *Música y músicos de la República Dominicana* (Washington, 1949), 2d ed. (Santo Domingo: Dirección General de la Cultura de la República Dominicana, 1974), 16; Gustavo Mejía Ricart, *Historia de Santo Domingo*, 7 [?] vols. (Ciudad Trujillo: Editores Pol Hnos., 1948), I, 147–148 et passim; Felipe Pichardo Moya, *Los aborígenes de las Antillas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), 109–110; María Luisa Muñoz, *La música en Puerto Rico, panorama histórico-cultural* (Sharon, Connecticut: Troutman Press, 1966),

- 10-12; Héctor Campos Parsi, *Música*, vol. 7 of *La gran enciclopedia de Puerto Rico*, 15 vols., ed. Vicente Báez (Madrid: Ediciones R, 1976), 4-9; Manuel Ballesteros and Labor Gómez, "Los indios de Puerto Rico," in *Historia*, vol. 1, *ibid.*, 78; Aníbal Rodríguez Vera, "Instrumentos musicales indígenas," *Boletín Artes Populares* (Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña) 1/3 (1977), 18-19; Joaquín A. Priego, *Cultura Taína* (1967), 3d ed. (Santo Domingo: Publicaciones Américas, 1977), 198-199; Labor Gómez Acevedo and Manuel Ballesteros Gabrois, *Vida y cultura precolombinas de Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Edit. Cultural, 1980), 107-108; Argentina de Sturla, *Notas sobre la historia de la música en la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Taller Santo Domingo, 1983), 13-14.
62. Bourne, *op. cit.*, 310.