



Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

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# HAVANA & MATANZAS, CUBA ca.1957:

BATÁ, BEMBÉ, AND PALO SONGS



*from the historic recordings of*

**LYDIA CABRERA and JOSEFINA TARAFÁ**

# HAVANA&MATANZAS, CUBA, ca.1957:

## BATÁ, BEMBÉ, AND PALO SONGS

### BATÁ SALUTE (GUARACHITA)

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### ORÚ CANTADO WITH BATÁ DRUMS

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from the historic recordings of **LYDIA CABRERA** and **JOSEFINA TARAFÁ**

13. *Babá Fururú oloré ré ó*  
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### GÜIRO SONG

17. *Iyámi ilé oro [odo]* (Praise song or oriki for Oshún) 3:25

### ITUTU SONGS

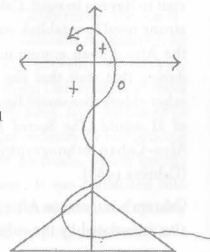
18. *Okonilé ré rá é okó mi lo é milé bewá é* 1:57
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## INTRODUCTION

Lydia Cabrera once said that she had discovered Cuba on the banks of the Seine. She was born in 1900 into a prominent Havana family, her father a writer and publisher who had been active in the Cuban independence movement. She went to Paris in 1927 to study painting. Taking up residence in Montmartre, near the painter Utrillo's studio, she enrolled at the École des Beaux Arts. Besides her painting, Cabrera began to study the art and religions of India and Japan, whose myths she later said reawakened her interest in Afro-Cuban studies. They reminded her of the stories she had heard from Black servants in her childhood. She lived in Europe until 1938, and during those eleven years she traveled extensively on the continent and made several trips back to Cuba. On a visit to Havana in 1928, Cabrera felt a strong need to establish contact with the Afro-Cuban community. It was during that visit that she befriended Omi-Tomi and other elders who would figure prominently in the pages of *El monte* (*The Sacred Forest*), her masterwork of Afro-Cuban ethnography, first published in 1954 (Cabrera 1983).

Cabrera's interest in Afro-Cuban studies was probably also stimulated by the cultural currents of Paris in the

1920s. Interest in *négritude* was very strong, and African art had been in vogue since the days of the Cubists, during the previous decade. In 1927, the year that Cabrera arrived in France, pioneering African-American dancer and actress Josephine Baker was at the height of her popularity in Europe. This heady period incubated Cabrera's first published work, *Cuentos Negros de Cuba* (*Black Tales of Cuba*). Cabrera had originally written these stories for Teresa de la Parra, a Venezuelan novelist, while de la Parra was convalescing in a Swiss sanitarium, where the two lived from 1932 to 1934 (shades of Thomas Mann and *The Magic Mountain*). The stories were first published in 1936 by Gallimard in a French translation.

In 1938, with warclouds gathering in Europe, Cabrera returned to Havana. In 1940, she and María Teresa de Rojas began to restore an abandoned

18th-century mansion, la Quinta San José, owned by Rojas. They hoped to turn it into a museum that would document the evolution of the Cuban colonial house, and they filled it with antique furniture and art. It was in Marianao, on the edge of the mostly Black Pogolotti district, which Cabrera had often visited on previous trips to Havana, and which she continued to frequent.



Lydia Cabrera in Paris, 1935

In 1942, she traveled to other parts of Cuba, continuing her studies of Afro-Cuban religions and folklore, which ultimately focused on the Havana area and Matanzas. This was the beginning of the years of research that culminated in her masterwork, *El monte*.

Cabrera and Rojas were still living at the Quinta San José when these recordings were made in the late 1950s. With Josefina Tarafa, a photographer who often accompanied Cabrera in her research and who took many of the photographs that appear in *El monte*, Cabrera set out to record Afro-Cuban ritual music. In her prodigious investigations of Afro-Cuban traditions,

Cabrera never used a tape recorder. She relied instead on her phenomenal memory and on index cards. Her contributions as a musicologist are perhaps the least-known part of her output, and the recordings she and Tarafa made are often not cited in her bibliographies. It may have been her friend's fascination with technology that persuaded Cabrera to venture into this kind of research. With Tarafa's portable Ampex tape recorder

and the help of two sound engineers who later transferred the tapes to discs, the team managed to record a set of fourteen LPs, *Música de los cultos africanos en Cuba* (*Music of the African Cults in Cuba*). Some of the music was recorded in Havana, but most of it was collected

in rural and semirural areas of Matanzas, where Tarafa's family owned a sugar mill (*central*) that became the base of operations for the team's research.

In 1954, Tarafa, like her father before her, published a reedition of a classic work about the Cuban sugar industry, *Ensayo sobre el cultivo de la caña de azúcar* (*Essay Concerning the Cultivation of Sugarcane*), by

Alvaro Reynoso. Born in the province of Havana, Reynoso was educated at the Royal University of Havana and the University of Paris. His book, first published in 1862, revolutionized the sugar industry by introducing scientific yield-management methods, which greatly increased sugar yield per acre. It was translated into French, Dutch, English, and Portuguese, and quickly spread throughout the world, helping transform Cuba



La Quinta San José, Marianao, Havana, in the 1950s

into a center of scientific agronomy. The book immortalized the native-born Reynoso, and today Cuba still celebrates "Sugarcane Day" on his birthday. It is ironic that soon after republishing a book that had led to the intensification of the sugar industry and of slavery, Tarafa would be involved in the documentation of the religion and music of the descendants of the sugar-mill slaves in the area surrounding her family's *central* (Cabrera 1973).

In Matanzas, Cabrera and Tarafa focused on Lukumí music as performed in rural areas (*ará oko*) by priests (*olorishas*), many of whom were descendants of the Yoruba slaves who had worked at the local sugar mills. They also collected Arará (Dahomean) and Kongo material, some of which is heard in this collection (tracks 21–22). Their recordings open new horizons in the study of rural Afro-Cuban culture, and give glimpses of late 19th-century life in the slave quarters (*barracones*). Much of this music is in an old *bembé lukumí* style, unfamiliar even to those well versed in Afro-Cuban drumming, but powerfully illustrated by the master drumming in the song that accompanies an offering for Oshún at the *iroko* tree (Matanzas, Cuba ca. 1957: *Afro-Cuban Sacred Music from the Countryside* (SFW CD 40490), "Yeyé," track 21).

If the music on *Havana, Cuba ca. 1957: Rhythms and Songs for the Orishas* (SFW CD 40489) sounds more familiar, it may be because it is the parent style of what is now heard outside of Cuba in the *orisha* worship of

San Juan, Miami, and New York, and on the U.S. west coast. Havana *batá* drumming has been analyzed in *The Music of Santería* (Amira and Cornelius 1999). It is the song and drum style analyzed in detail decades ago by Fernando Ortiz. Cabrera's contemporary and her brother-in-law. Many of the rhythms in the *orí de igbodú* cycle recorded by Cabrera and heard in its entirety on the Havana volume of these recordings (SFW CD 40489) can be found transcribed in several of Ortiz's works, including *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* and *Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba* (Ortiz 1981; Ortiz 1998).

This music can serve as a soundtrack to portions of Cabrera's own writings. Cases in point are the songs to Osain, *orisha* of medicinal and liturgical plants, heard in the Havana CD (SFW CD 40489, track 35). A passage in *El monte* details the setting for these songs, which accompany the preparation of the *omiero*, the sacred water that is used to "wash and to make Santo," to purify the neophytes (*iyawós*) during the first days of their ordination into *Santería*: "Sometimes the *iyaré* (principal godmother) and *oyibona* (second godmother or godfather) leave the room as the *santeras* begin simultaneously to tear up the plants and squeeze the juice from their leaves. As they proceed, a person called the *oriaté* begins the songs that accompany this rite, and the *santeras* answer in chorus. There are sixteen, seventeen, or twenty-one prayers for Osain. That is, with these songs and prayers the *santeros* make *orí*

or summon the *orishas*" (Cabrera 1983).

The fourth song in the Osain series ("*Osain güere güeni to bleo*"), heard in this collection accompanied by *batá* drums (track 5), also connects Cabrera to the work of two important researchers in her generation: Harold Courlander and Melville Herskovits. Calling it a "Lukumí song," Courlander had collected the same melody near Havana in 1940, and it appears on his 1951 Folkways record, *Cult Music of Cuba* (F-4410, track 2). In Courlander's notes to his recordings (1951), he in turn recognized its similarity to a Brazilian song. One can sense his excitement here, as field recordings began to reveal the outlines of the interconnectedness and transnational nature of the music of the Yoruba diaspora in the Americas: "Probably one of the most interesting points in connection with this ['Lukumí song'] is that almost the identical melody was recorded by Dr. Melville J. and Frances Herskovits in [Bahia,] Brazil [in

the early 1940s]. The Brazilian variant, from the repertoire of one of the Yoruba cults, is somewhat richer in its form and presentation, but the identity of the two songs is immediately apparent" (Courlander 1951).

Besides echoing Courlander's research in Havana and Herskovits's in Brazil, a song recorded by Cabrera and Tarafa in Matanzas suggests another link in the Yoruba diaspora, this time between Cuba and Trinidad. In the late 1930s and at the opposite end of the Caribbean, Melville Herskovits had found in the Trinidadian village of Toco a "Yariba" song, "Oshún Talade" ("Oshún is worthy of queenship"), that was being sung simultaneously in Matanzas, Cuba. The song may have come with the Yoruba who



Lydia Cabrera at Central Cuba, Matanzas, 1950s

were arriving on both islands at around the same time, in the mid 1800s. They had come while slavery was still in force, but in Trinidad they kept arriving as indentured workers after slavery had ended there in 1838. The formats of the songs differ, but the melodies are

identical. Both versions may be found on the CD *The Yoruba / Dahomean Collection: Orishas across the Ocean* (Rykodisc RCD 10405), as "Ochún Talade" (track 15), and "Yariba-Oshun," (track 21).

The Cabrera-Tarafa recordings can thus serve as a hub of Afro-Atlantic music, connecting Cuba not only to New York and Trinidad, but to Bahia, Brazil. Awareness that branches of the Yoruba diaspora have musical links goes back to the early 1940s or before. Recent musical experiments have made the Cuba-Bahia connection even more explicit. A recent CD, *Bata Ketu: a Musical Interplay of Cuba and Brazil* (Bembé CD 201102), brings together the musics of Havana-style *orisha* worship and Brazilian Candomblé, even within the same song. Using the same melody and text, singers and percussionists shift seamlessly between Cuban and Brazilian performance styles, as in the song for Eleguá / Exú (track 2.1–2.3). The Osain song collected by Cabrera and Courlander in



Shangó with his batá drum

Cuba and by Herskovits in Brazil is also performed by Bata Ketu, who place the melody and Cuban and Brazilian singers over a contemporary samba-reggae rhythm ("Kuru Kuru Reggae" tracks 3.2, 3.5). The intuition Courlander had in 1951 thus comes to life for contemporary audiences through a musical experiment, largely made possible by advances in recording technology—the same technology that has given new life to, and restored the sound of, recordings collected almost fifty years ago by Lydia Cabrera and Josefina Tarafa, recordings that give a glimpse of Afro-Cuban culture in Havana and the Matanzas countryside just a few years before Fidel Castro came to power.

In 1960, Lydia Cabrera and María Teresa de Rojas settled in Miami. The same year, the Quinta San José was destroyed by fire. In 1970, Cabrera started a new writing career and published extensively well into her 80s. Lydia Cabrera died in Miami in 1991.

## THE MUSIC

### HAVANA

Cabrera and Tarafa made most of their recordings in Matanzas, but they recorded several song cycles and a sequence of batá rhythms called the *orí seco*, heard in its entirety on *Havana, Cuba ca. 1957: Rhythms and Songs for the Orishas* (SFW CD 40489), in Havana. The batá orchestra consists of a master drum (*iyá*, "mother"), a middle support drum (*itítele*), and a small support drum (*okónkolo*). Strands of brass bells (*chaworó*) are strung around the heads of the master drum. The predominance of batá drums in Havana and the preeminence of their owner, Shangó, are indicative of the predominance of Oyo Yoruba culture in the capital (Ramos 2000).

### BATÁ SALUTE (GUARACHITA)

Performed by Miguel Santa Cruz, Gustavo Díaz, and Juan González

#### 1. *Tuí-Tuí* for Shangó

During a ceremony, batá drummers may play certain rhythms, which Cabrera calls *guarachitas*, to mark the presence of an *orisha* and to enliven the ceremony. This one, *tuí-tuí*, is for Shangó, owner of the batá drums. Cabrera calls it "a *toque* [drum salute] characterized by its accelerated rhythm, like the *ahuyá* [another of Shangó's *toques*], intended to 'call' or bring on trance among the children of Shangó" (Cabrera 1970:312). Ortiz says the name *tuí-tuí* in Yoruba refers to the

"talking" of the batá drums, which have preserved the outlines of the speech melody of Nigerian Yoruba (Ortiz 1998:59 and note to track 6).

### ORÚ CANTADO WITH BATÁ DRUMS

Tracks 2–5 performed by Cándido Martínez or Antonio Alberiche, song leaders (akpwón), chorus (ankorí), and batá trio led by Miguel Santa Cruz and Juan González

#### 2. *Idé werewere ní'ta Oshún idé werewere* (Song for Oshún)

"Brass, Oshún's small child, is out in the open."

In Nigeria, Oshún is *orisha* of the river that bears her name and flows past her principal shrine, in Oshogbo. Her major symbols are river-worn stones and small brass rods, which distinguish her from other river deities (Bascom 1969:90). She is the owner of brass, and her worshippers wear bracelets of this metal as her insignia. In Cuba, Oshún is also associated with copper and brass, which, as in Nigeria, are an important attribute of this *orisha*. The title of this song alludes to Oshún's "small child," brass (*idé*), which she never leaves "out in the open," or abandoned. *Werewere* also means "small children." The song is based on a cowry divination (*dilogun*) verse, called *Osa* in Cuba (Bascom, 1952), in which Oshún buried her first child, brass, in order to protect it from an imminent windstorm. Obatalá buried his lead, and Ogún buried his

iron. When the windstorm abated and they dug up the metals, only Oshún's "child" and the lead had survived the ordeal, while iron had rusted or wasted away. This divination verse explains why iron rusts, and also tells us that we should take care of our firstborn (Bascom 1993; Willie Ramos, personal communication).

In Cuba, Oshún was syncretized with La Caridad del Cobre, an image of the Virgin Mary that was found in the sea in the early 17th century. Her shrine is located in the town of Cobre (Copper), in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, near the city of Santiago in eastern Cuba. La Caridad del Cobre is the patron of Cuba.

### 3. *Okú ó Sholá Kinibá ó* (Praise Song [*oriki*] for Aganjú)

A possible translation of the opening lines might be:

Okú ó (honorific salutation), / Owner of great honor, / may nothing affect you, our great king.

Praise songs, *rezos* in Spanish and *oriki* in Lukumí, are different from chants (*súyeres*). They are used to call an *orisha* to "mount" an initiate (*omó*), especially when the possession is taking a long time to happen.

Aganjú is the *orisha* of volcanoes and the wilderness and in Cuba is considered to be the father of Shangó. He is syncretized with Saint Christopher, patron of Havana, whose colonial cathedral bears his name. It is probably because of this association with the saint, whose chromolithograph shows him bearing the infant Jesus on his shoulders, that Aganjú is also the *orisha* of porters, stevedores, and boatmen.

### 4. *Babá Fururú oloré ré ó* (Song for Obatalá)

The oldest and most important *orisha*, Obatalá was the first to be created by Olodumare, the Yoruba Supreme Being, and he represents him on earth. Obatalá shaped the human body, and Babá Fururú is a road of Obatalá credited with the creation of humankind, the same as Alamoréré, the sculptor. He is sometimes syncretized with Jesus the Nazarene, and Cabrera says that according to Lukumí elders, Babá Fururú is a name for the Obatalá identified with the Christ of Calvary (Cabrera 1970:74). The interplay among the three drums, or the *batá* "conversation," is particularly well executed here.

### 5. *Kurukuru bede / Osain adádará mádá ó* (Song for Osain)

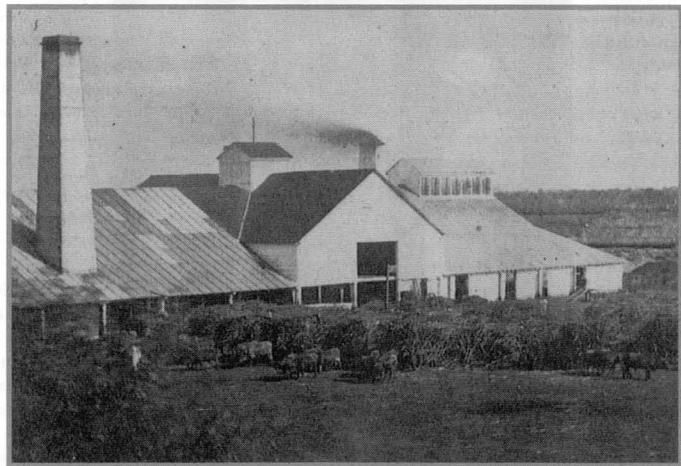
*Kurukuru bede / ariwó Osayín / mariwó rére*

"The small one arrives; / hear the sound of Osayín; / [the sound of his] palm fronds is good."

Osain is the owner of *ewe*, the liturgical and medicinal plants that are fundamental for *orisha* worship. His *batá* rhythm, called *kurukuru bede*, is heard accompanying this song, which was collected in several versions by Cabrera, and is cited in the introduction to this collection.



Herbalist, Havana



Sugar mill, western Cuba, circa 1860

## MATANZAS

### LUKUMÍ PRAYERS

*Performed by Domingo Hernández and unknown companion*

#### 6. *Mojuba Olodumare*

To Olodumare, the *orishas* and the ancestors

Yoruba religion on both sides of the Atlantic has been described as a mixture of monotheism and polytheism. Besides its multiplicity of *orishas*, it also stresses a belief in a Supreme Being, who is transcendent and personal at the same time, and is known variously as Olodumare, Olorún, and Olofi. Unlike the *orishas*, he has no special worshipers or cult; prayers are addressed to him, but no sacrifices are offered directly to him, and he has no shrines (Bascom 1969:79). Olodumare/Olorún/Olofi created the *orishas*, and then gave them practical control over the forces that govern worldly reality. Despite being distant and hidden (*jubilado* or "retired," in the words of an elderly *Lukumí*), Olodumare is invoked in rites, and the faithful seek his protection every day (Castellanos and Castellanos 1992:20).

These prayers are in *Lukumí*, the Yoruba language of Cuba. Today, *Lukumí* is mostly a liturgical language, and is studied as part of the initiation process into *Regla de Ocha*, or *Santería* as it is popularly known. But as recently as 1951, William Bascom was able to converse in Yoruba in certain parts of Cuba (Bascom 1951), and Alfred Métraux was amazed when he visited the town of El Perico in Matanzas with Lydia Cabrera in the 1950s and heard elders conversing fluently in *Lukumí* (Castellanos and Castellanos 1992).

Lydia Cabrera had commented that going from Havana to Matanzas was like passing back to the 19th century, so it is not surprising that the area would be linguistically conservative as well. These prayers may be another example of that conservatism. Unlike Cuban *Lukumí*, Nigerian Yoruba is a tone language, which means that changes in pitch are used to distinguish meaning between otherwise identical combinations of vowels and consonants: *aro* (cymbal), *aró* (indigo dye), *arò* (lamentation), and *àró* (granary) [where ´ is high tone, unmarked is mid tone, and ` is low tone] (Bascom 1969:99). Under the influence of Cuban Spanish, the sound system of Nigerian Yoruba changed somewhat in its transition to Cuban *Lukumí*, and the tonal features were lost. But here, in what may be a more archaic variety of *Lukumí* and hence closer to its Nigerian sources, the intonation pattern of the prayers suggests the rise and fall of a tone language. It would be interesting to compare this passage to Nigerian Yoruba; perhaps prayers, like songs and *batá*-drumming patterns (see note to track 1), have preserved the speech melody or tone patterns of Nigerian Yoruba.

### BEMBÉ LUKUMÍ

*Tracks 7–10 performed by Alberto Jenkins and group.*

#### 7. *Agó agó 'Iona mojuba / Ibarabo agó mojuba* (Songs for Eshú)

Alberto Jenkins, known as Yin, was one of the most traditional singers (*olorín*) in Matanzas. Elderly *Lukumí* worshippers (*aborissás*) from Jovellanos and other



towns in the province said he sang "old style," the way people had sung in slavery times.

The first song, not well known in Havana, asks for the road's, and therefore Eleguá's, permission (*agó* means permission, and *agó lona*, permission of the road). The second, *Ibarabo agó mojuba*, is more familiar, perhaps one of the most widely dispersed in the Yoruba diaspora, and heard in several versions in the companion volumes to this collection (SFW CD 40489 and 40490). Here, it is performed in an old, "country" *bembé lukumí* style.

#### 8. *Oyá o owó kodé*

*Oyá bé wá ló*

(Song for Oyá)

Possible translation: Oyá who brings money and other benefits from abroad / Oyá go and bring us more.

In Nigeria, Oyá is the *orisha* of the Niger River. In Cuba, she is considered the second wife of Shangó, Obá being his first and principal wife (see note to track 15 below). Closely allied to Shangó, she manifests as the strong wind that precedes a thunderstorm, and is associated with whirlwinds (her name means "she tore" in Yoruba). She also has a fiery aspect, celebrated in another song from Matanzas (SFW CD 40489, track



*The sacred lagoon of el Socorro*

12). In the version heard here, Yin sings the same middle section of that song. His spoken Lukumí includes Oyá's other Cuban name, Yansá, which means mother of nine and is the name by which she is commonly known in Brazil (but spelled *Iansá*). The salute that Yin shouts, "*Jekúá Herí Oyá!*" resembles Oyá's salute in Brazilian Yoruba religion: "*Hepa Heyi Oíá!*" (What a goddess!) (Gleason 1992 and Verger 1981).

#### 9. *Obé ré obé Ayanakú Naná lewá*

(*Arará* song for Naná Burukú)

Yin shouts "*Arará!*" near the beginning of this song, and although most of his repertoire was Lukumí (Cuban Yoruba), he probably also knew many other Dahomean songs. In Cuba, *Arará* is the name applied to the peoples who came from Dahomey (today called

Benin), including the Fon, the Mahi, and others. The Mahi people were from northern Dahomey and their capital was Savalu, which was conquered by the Fon. Although overshadowed by the Yoruba, the *Arará* had a considerable presence in the part of Matanzas where these recordings were made, and the Lukumí and *Arará* religions practiced there shared some common elements.

When Yin shouts "*Okiti kata!*" he is saluting Naná Burukú, whose cult is widely diffused across West Africa. In the Americas, she is considered the mother of Babaluyié. Naná Burukú is the oldest of the water *orishas*, and is associated with the still water of lakes and swamps. In Cuba, she is believed to take the form of a *majá* snake and to live in stands of bamboo, sacred to Naná Burukú. Her salute, "*Okiti kata*," is said while touching the ground with one's left hand and then bringing it up quickly to touch the right shoulder (Cabrera 1973:59). In Matanzas, initiates into both Regla Lukumí and Regla *Arará* (Cuban Yoruba and Dahomean religions) receive Naná Burukú together with Babaluyié (Cabrera 1973).

#### 10. *Ibeji otá esé aremú 'beji otá esé*

(Song for the divine twins)

This song is for the Ibeji, the divine twins, who are given special honor in Cuba as they are among the Nigerian Yoruba, who have one of the highest rates of twin births in the world. When a twin died, the Yoruba in Cuba continued the West African practice of making a memorial figure that represented the deceased. In Cuba, the statuette is called *eré ibeji*, and "it is baptized, washed with herbs, and fed" (Cabrera 1970:147). The Cuban Ibeji receive the same names as in Nigeria: Taiwó (from *Taiwo*) for the first-born twin and Káinde (from *Kehinde*) for the second, who is considered the senior of the pair, since he sent the firstborn to inspect the world for him (Bascom 1969:55). The word *aremú* in this song title refers to the senior twin.

### ORÚ CANTADO

Tracks 11–16 performed by Marcus Portillo Domínguez and group

Writing not long before these recordings were made, Fernando Ortiz described the ritual music of rural Matanzas as *bembé lukumí*, sung in Cuban Yoruba and in a non-Europeanized scale (Ortiz 1996, vol. 2). *Batá* drums are played in Matanzas (Marks 1994), but the typical drums of the countryside are of the *bembé* variety. These can be single-headed, of cylindrical, conical or barrel shape, or they may be double-headed and played horizontally. In parts of Cuba, *bembé* drumming has been deritualized, but in the *bembé lukumí* style of central Matanzas, around the towns of Jovellanos, Pedro Betancourt, and Agramonte, *bembé* functioned in much the same way as the consecrated *batá*, and can even be seen as substituting for them. In parts of Matanzas, the entire set of *bembé* drums has Yoruba names: *iyá* for the master drum, as in the *batá* ensemble heard in tracks 1–5; *obbatá* for the middle drum; and *erím* for the smallest support drum (Sáenz Coopat 1997:305). An unaccompanied trio of *bembé* drums could perform an *orú de igbodú*, a cycle of rhythms for the individual *orishas* (see SFW CD 40489 for the *batá orú de igbodú*), or they could accompany songs in the *orú cantado*, portions of which are heard here.

The master drum is played with a stick (*bagueta* or *palito*) and a hand, with the drummer sometimes hitting the stick against the body of the drum or against the rim, and striking the center of the drum with his fist. The support drums are played with sticks, and it is difficult



to tell from these recordings if one or two support drums are present. The function of the master drum (*iyá*) is similar to that of the master drum in Brazilian Candomblé or Haitian Vodun: its patterns are closely related to the dancing, and the intention of the drummer's variations is to bring on possession. As can be heard in the following tracks, the master drummer plays off-accents under the singing, in much the same way as in Candomblé. He also plays against the hoe blade (*guataca*), which another musician strikes to keep the basic timeline. The *bembé* drums are also accompanied by a single-headed gourd rattle (*ágbe*, *chekeré*). The result is a highly structured and intricate set of cross-rhythms, which in some cases, as in tracks 14–16 below, can achieve an almost architectural majesty. Whoever thinks that *bembé* is a minor style should listen to this *orú cantado*, and we should be thankful to Cabrera and Tarafa for preserving it.

**11. Kiri nya kiri nya agó / Eshu o Elegbara e**  
(Song for Eleguá)

"He wanders about separating, make way / Elegua I pay homage, Elegba make way."

As the threshold and crossroads *orisha*, Eshú / Élegua / Elegbara is always honored first in the Yoruba and Dahomean-influenced areas of the Americas, and every *orú* and *xiré* (drum or song cycle) will open with a rhythm or song to him. In the complete Matanzas *orú cantado* as originally recorded by Cabrera and Tarafa, this song is used to close the song cycle.

**12. Kolelé kolé ó iyá ó wó miyá kolelé**  
(Song for Ogún)

This song alludes to the lack of a home: it means my mother has no home or the homebuilder's mother has no home. It puns on *kó'lé* ("I have no home") and *ikolé* ("housebuilder"), a function of Ogún.

If Shangó is king (*alafin*) in Havana, then Ogún rules in Matanzas, where he was the major *orisha* of the countryside (Montejo 1968). Warrior and blacksmith, Ogún, always toiling at his anvil and forge, represents slavery in *el campo*, the rural areas. Other symbols of Ogún, including the machete and the *mayordomo*'s whip, reinforced the connection between this *orisha* and rural slavery (Ramos 2000: 106–107).

**13. Babá Fururú oloré ré ó** (Song for Obatalá)

This is a rural version of the Havana song heard with a *batá* conversation on track 4 in this collection. It is in an additive 3+3+2 rhythm, in contrast with the usual 6/8 time signature, heard on the other tracks.

**14. Moforibale oba [k]oso / Moforibale fú[n] Shangó** (Song for Shangó)

"I salute you, king of Koso [the king did not hang] / My salutations I offer you."

"According to a [Nigerian] myth, it was a defeat in a magical contest that led Shangó to leave Oyo and hang himself, although when lightning flashes, his worshippers shout 'The king did not hang himself' (*'Oba ko so'*)" (Bascom 1969). Shangó was a king of the Oyo Yoruba, and his cult was an institutionalized state religion

throughout the Oyo Empire (Warner-Lewis 1991). His people, many of whom became captives in wars with the Fulani, were prominently represented in the Yoruba diaspora, and in some parts of the Americas his name has come to epitomize *orisha* worship, whether as Shangó in Trinidad and Grenada, or as Xangô in Recife, Brazil.

**15. Kayobá Oba ó omó lowó Oba lere mí / Oba elekó ayá osí**  
(Song for Obá)

Obá is the *orisha* of the Nigerian river that bears her name. The legitimate wife of Shangó, she was anxious to keep her husband by her side, and was tricked into cutting off one of her ears to serve to her husband in one of his favorite dishes. Obá does not come down in Cuba, but she does so in Brazilian Candomblé, and when she possesses a worshipper, a turban is tied around her head to cover her mutilated ear. Obá has warrior aspects, and one of her symbols is a sword, which identifies her with Shangó. Like Ogún,

she is said to work at a forge, and this aspect is symbolized by an anvil.

The second song here is the better-known one, although sung in a somewhat different style than in Havana.

**16. Awoyó, Yemayá ó omo du kwe [modup]úé ó lowó mí**  
(Song for Yemayá)

"Awoyó (a title of Yemayá), / I thank you for my money [I thank you for what you have provided me]."

According to Cabrera, *Awoyó* is the name of the oldest Yemayá, who in Cuba has seven roads or avatars (Cabrera 1970:67). In the words of one elder, Yemayá *Awoyó* is the road "born of *Olokun*, the eldest and richest and most elaborately dressed. When she wages war and defends her children, she girds herself with seven skirts. When she goes out walking, she adorns herself with *Olokun*'s

ornaments and crowns herself with the rainbow, *Oshumaré*" (Cabrera 1974:28).



Lukumi priestesses at sacred lagoon

## GÜIRO SONG

### 17. *Iyámi ilé oro [odo]*

(Praise song or *oríkí* for Oshún)

Performed by Marcos Portillo Domínguez, with *ágbe* trio, hoe blade, and *bembé* drum

"My mother's house is in the river." In Havana and Matanzas, *odo*, the Lukumí word for river, is frequently pronounced *oro*.

The *ágbe*, also called *chekeré* and *güiro*, is a large, hollow, dried gourd, covered with a network of beads, seeds, or cowries. The gourds can be shaken or struck to produce effects, and this song emphasizes the tremolo, instead of the percussive, side of the *güiro* orchestra. An ensemble of three such rattles, a hoe blade, and a single drum play a Lukumí sub-style called *güiro*. Ortiz has observed that *güiro* trios are found more in the countryside, where they substituted for drums, than in Havana. For Matanzas, Cabrera gives the names for the trio as follows: *caja* or *mayor* (largest), *segundo* (second) or *golpeador* (beater), and *salidor* ("one who goes out"). The smallest gourd is perhaps so named because it is shaken outside the main rhythm to produce a tremolo effect, said to attract the saints.

Marcos Portillo Domínguez, the song leader, was a member of the work gang at the Mariategui sugar mill in Corral Falso (Pedro Betancourt), not far from the *Central Cuba*, the mill owned by Tarafa's family. His African name was *Atéborá*, given to Shangó initiates, and he learned this and other *güiro* songs from the old Oyo Yoruba at the Mariategui *central*.

## ITUTU SONGS

Tracks 18–20 performed by Fernando Hernández and group.

### 18. *Okonilé ré rá é okó mi lo é milé bewá é*

### 19. *Omodé t'orisa de ké awaó omodé funmi rawaó*

### 20. *É bé oró, be mode loró*

Some of the most remarkable recordings made by Cabrera and Tarafa in Matanzas are of funerary rites, known as *itutu* (coolness), which are performed to fulfill the wishes of the deceased Lukumí priest, priestess, or diviner and of their *orishas* prior to burial. These rites are performed so that their spirits can enter the next world *tutu*, "cool," or at peace. These three songs are from an *orú* or song cycle to the *egún* (spirits of the dead), and are part of a ceremony known as *levantamiento del plato* (raising of the plate). In this rite, a dinner plate belonging to the deceased is broken on a street corner, which is meant to free the *egún* of earthly needs (Cabrera and Tarafa 1958).

Fernando Hernández, the song leader, was a member of the group led by Inés Sotomayor, heard on the Matanzas companion volume to this collection (SFW CD 40490). Sotomayor was an elderly and respected song leader (*akpwón*) from the town of Jovellanos, and was a descendant of Yorubas who had been slaves at the Arrati sugar mill. She organized and led the well-attended annual festival that honored their ancestors and the "saints of the barracoons" (Marks 2001). Hernández was also a descendant of Yorubas who

worked the same sugar mill, and he shared spiritual ties with Inés Sotomayor.

The first song in this series, *Okonilé ré rá é okó mi lo é milé bewá é* (track 18), is still in use as the opening song in the *honras* ritual of the *Iyesá* society of Jovellanos.

*Honras* is a ceremony for an initiate (*olorisha*) after the third month of the person's death. *Honras* is celebrated differently throughout Cuba, and in the *Iyesá* ceremony, an elaborate table is set up with a number of food offerings (*adimú*) for the deceased. The ritual begins at midnight and lasts until sunrise (Willie Ramos, personal communication).

## PALO SONGS – MAYIMBE

(Turkey culture or turkey buzzard)

Just as some sugar mills in Matanzas were known as cen-

ters of Lukumí or Arará culture, others were hubs of Kongo religion. Kongo-Angolan peoples were among the largest Afro-Cuban groups in rural Matanzas, after the Lukumí and the Carabali. Of all the collective terms used to specify African origins, *Kongo* encompasses the

greatest diversity of peoples brought to Cuba during the years of the slave trade. In her Spanish-Congo vocabulary, Cabrera lists over seventy different Afro-Cuban designations bearing the name *Congo* (Cabrera 1984:52–54). As was the case for the Lukumí and the

Arará, Kongo cultures were preserved in urban settings in *cabildos*, societies of free and enslaved Blacks from the same African nation, which later included their Cuban descendants. The names of the myriad Cuban Kongo *cabildos* reflect the geography of the slave trade or else include African ethnic designations. Sometimes they bore the names of slaving ports (Loango, Benguela, and Cabinda, the last also very important for Brazil), and sometimes they specified clan origins, such as the Nsobo (Bazombo) and Mayombe (Yombe), who also gave their name to a Cuban-Kongo religion (Thompson and Cornet 1981:149).



Kongo cabildo drummers, Havana, circa 1860

At the sugar mills of rural Matanzas, Cabrera mentions the presence of many Kongo peoples, including Musundes, Mbakas, Benguelas, and Ngolas (Cabrera 1983:163). Among the sugar mills known for their Kongo religion, Cabrera mentions in particular one

called *Asturias*, near the town of Agramonte, which was home to a ritual specialist (*palero* or *mayombero*) named Pio Congo. Agramonte is in exactly the area where she and Tarafa recorded (Cabrera 1979:137). Cabrera notes the secretive nature of Kongo rites in Matanzas, as opposed to Lukumí ceremonies, which were often held out in the open (Cabrera 1983).

Cabrera investigated urban and rural Kongo religions extensively, and her findings can be found in both *El monte* and in her *Reglas de Congo: Palo Monte-Mayombe*. A central feature of all Cuban Kongo ritual, whose variants also include *Briyumba* and *Kimbisa*, is the *nkisi* or *prenda*, a three-legged iron kettle or cooking pot in which are concentrated various ingredients that embody natural forces, and the spirit of a dead person. Some *palo* songs are directed at the *nkisi*, stimulating the forces within, or else are meant to accelerate spirit possession among participants. *Palo* rhythms are not as differentiated as the Lukumí and Arará *toques* for the *orishas*. They are usually played on three *ngoma* drums, accompanied by a hoe blade called an *ngongui*, and sometimes by metal or gourd wrist rattles called *nkembi*. The song leader is called a *gallo* in Spanish and *insunsu* in Kongo, and the chorus is called *vasallo* or *muana*. Song texts are in a mixture of *bozal*, a creolized Spanish, and Cuban Kongo, which is largely derived from the Ki-Kongo language, spoken in what is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) and northern Angola.

The following two songs might be unique in that they place an important Kongo ritual element in a rural sugar-mill context.

Tracks 21 and 22 performed by Silvino Baró, Martín Catalá, Sergio Rodríguez, and Rodolfo Viart.

## 21. *Ndudu dale vuelta al ingenio* (The spirit is circling the sugar mill)

The vulture is a religious symbol in a number of different traditions, both Old World and New. The turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura*) is the variety found in the Americas, and is a common sight in rural Cuba. The bird's Afro-Cuban name, *mayimbe*, comes from the Ki-kongo word *ma-yimbi* (Castellanos 1988), and the bird is called *aura tiñosa* in Spanish. In Cuba, it has been prized by *paleros* for its "knowledge of the unknown, keen vision, and mighty wings" (Cabrera 1983:131), which can attain a span of up to 6 feet. Its head or dried body is often an ingredient in the *palero's* iron kettle (*nkisi*).

It has been described as the most graceful soaring bird in the world, and is an expert at following thermals and updrafts. When soaring, it holds its wings in a dihedral or "V" shape and rocks from side to side, instead of holding them straight out and flapping. In Caribbean Spanish, the word *mayimbe* has come to mean one who flies the highest, or is the best at anything. It is a term known to any Dominican, since *El Mayimbe* is the nickname of Fernandito Villalona, a popular merengue singer.

## 22. *Vola volando nsaura* (The turkey vulture is flying around)

The turkey vulture, whose scientific name *Cathartes aura* means pacifier or cleanser, occupies a significant place in the belief systems of Cuban Kongo religions.

Because it feeds on carrion, Cuban Kongos identified the bird with the dead and as a messenger of death, and they invoked it in songs that accompanied meals offered to a deceased *palero*:

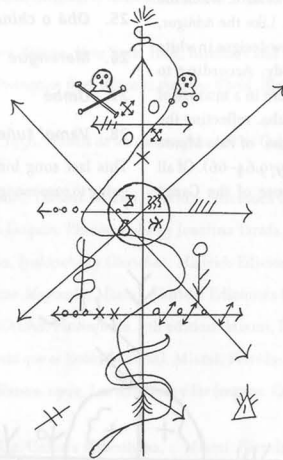
Vamos lo convite Sauro  
Vamo a lo convite Saurero  
Nvamo lo convite Saura

(Let's share this meal with the departed, let's share it with the turkey vulture) (Cabrera 1979:177).

In the American South, as in other parts of the country, *Cathartes aura* is also called a buzzard, technically a distinct species. In the Kongo-influenced area of coastal Georgia and the Carolinas, the bird's name has entered folklore and even popular music. The city of Charleston, South Carolina, was the entry port for many slaves of Kongo-Angolan origin. Just between the years 1735 and 1740, for example, 70 percent of all slaves arriving at Charleston

were from Angola (Thompson and Cornet 1981). The turkey vulture's special powers and connections to Kongo-based practices like root work (folk medicine) and charms live on in the name Dr. Buzzard, a famous

root doctor of St. Helens Island, off the coast of South Carolina, who was especially famous for his work involving court cases (and getting people out of jail). The name passed into the title of the 1970s disco band Dr. Buzzard's Original Savannah Band.



Kongo firma, or spirit signature, for Siete Rayos

## CONGO AND GANGÁ SONGS

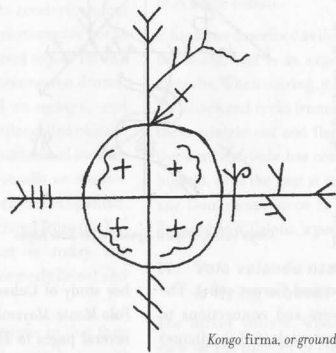
Besides the general "congo" appellation, these songs bear the name of another Afro-Cuban ethnic group, the Gangá Nyongobá, a Bantu speaking people identified as the Nyong, a subgroup of the Puku, from the Nigerian plateau north of the Bight of Biafra (Castellanos and Castellanos 1988). They are also known in Cuba as the Congo Nyongobá.

As was mentioned in the introduction to these notes, Cabrera's recordings sometimes function as a soundtrack to her writings, in this case to

her study of Cuban Kongo religions, *Reglas de Congo: Palo Monte-Mayombe* (1979). In this book, she devotes several pages to Florinda Pastor and her family, who lived in the town of El Perico. Pastor was the head of a



closely knit extended family of a hundred people of Gangá-Ñyongobá origin, dedicated to honoring their ancestors. During wakes, they sang and danced around the corpse, which was wrapped in a sheet and laid out on the ground. They reminded it of the attention it had received from its brethren when it was alive. When the songs began, so did the possessions. Like the *ñánigos*, from the Calabar coast, the Gangá drew designs in white chalk on the ground near the body. According to Cabrera, the Pastor family's songs were in a mixture of old Castilian words, Bantú, and Yoruba, reflecting the mixed nature of their religion, a "cross" of Palo Monte and *ocha* (orisha worship) (Cabrera 1979:64-66). Of all the Afro-Cuban funerary songs, those of the Gangá were considered the most beautiful.



Kongo firma, or ground drawing, for San Juan

Tracks 23-28 performed by Florinda Pastor, Agustín Diago, and chorus

### 23. *Shanigó*

### 24. *Oyayá obé*

### 25. *Obá o china*

### 26. *Marengue*

### 27. *Umbé*

### 28. *Vamo' tuñe tuñe tuñe a casa mangoya*

This last song bids farewell to the deceased, who is going to *casa mangoya*, the cemetery.

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## CREDITS

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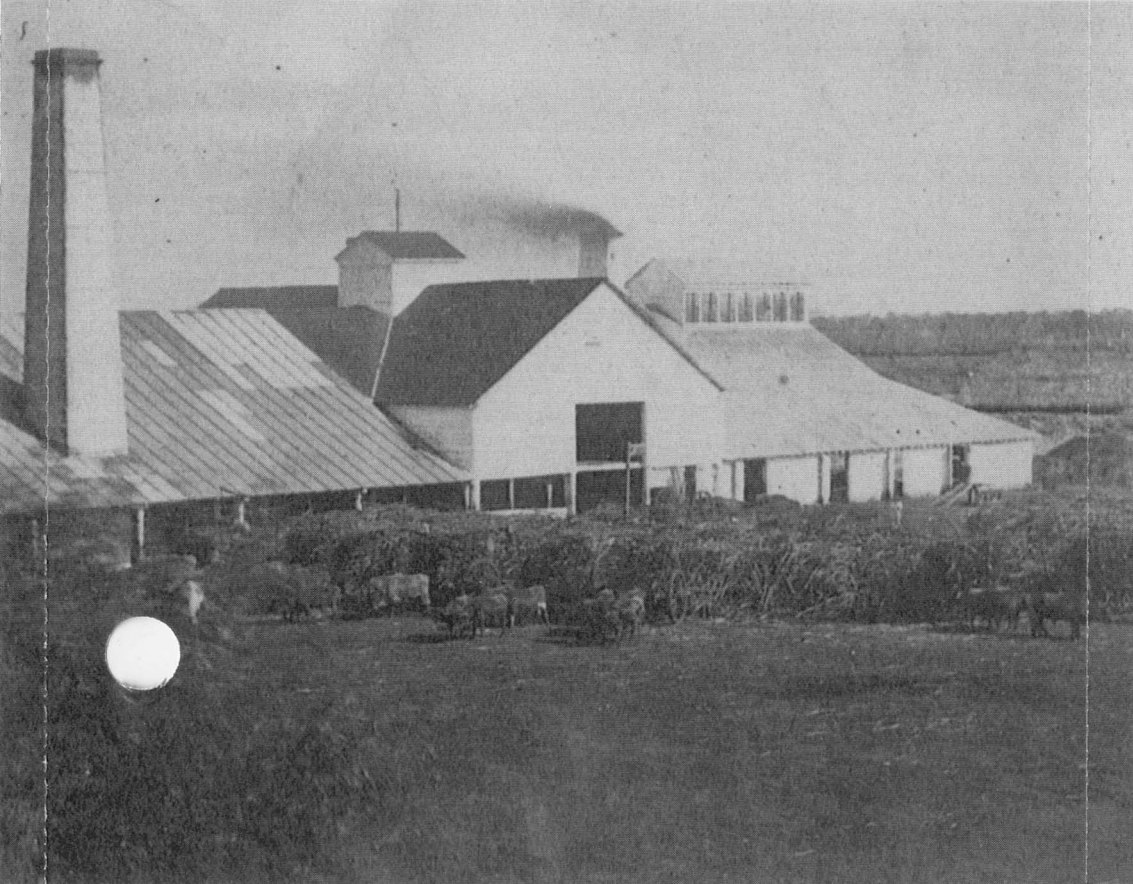
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# HAVANA & MATANZAS, CUBA, ca.1957:

## BATÁ, BEMBÉ, AND PALO SONGS



from the historic recordings of  
**LYDIA CABRERA and JOSEFINA TARAFÁ**

These recordings, made just prior to Fidel Castro's rise to power, reflect Afro-Cuban musical and spiritual life in Havana and around the sugarcane mills of Matanzas. Lydia Cabrera and Josefina Tarafa captured a fascinating snapshot of African slave-descendant communities performing their religious songs and ceremonies. In the Cuban countryside, Yoruba, Dahomean, and Kongo-Angolan religions had been faithfully preserved, and linguistic, symbolic, and musical elements were blended to produce new religious expressions. These recordings are a soundtrack to Cabrera's writings on Afro-Cuban religions. **28-page booklet, extensive notes, photos, 74 minutes**

### BATÁ SALUTE (GUARACHITA)

- 1 *Tui-Tui for Shangó* 1:38

### ORÚ CANTADO WITH BATÁ DRUMS

- 2 *Idé werewere ni'ta Oshún idé werewere* (Song for Oshún) 3:07  
3 *Okú ó Sholá Kinibá ó* (Praise song [oriki] for Aganjú) 1:46  
4 *Babá Fururú oloré ré ó* (Song for Obatalá) 3:34  
5 *Kurukuru bede / Osain adádará mādá ó* (Song for Osain) 1:26

### LUKUMÍ PRAYERS

- 6 *Mojuba Olodumare* To Olodumare, the orishas, and the ancestors 1:30

### BEMBÉ LUKUMÍ

- 7 *Agó agó 'lona mojuba / Ibarabo agó mojuba* (Songs for Eshú) 4:21  
8 *Oyá ó owó kodé Oyá bé wá ló* (Song for Oyá) 1:44  
9 *Obé ré obé Ayanakú Naná lewá* (Arará song for Naná Burukú) 3:49  
10 *Ibeji otá esé aremú 'beji otá esé* (Song for the divine twins) 3:11

### ORÚ CANTADO

- 11 *Kiri nya kiri nya agó / Eshu o Elegbara e* (Song for Eleguá) 2:35  
12 *Kolelé kolé ó iyá ó wó miyá kolelé* (Song for Ogún) 3:21  
13 *Babá Fururú oloré ré ó* (Song for Obatalá) 5:01

- 14 *Moforibale oba [k]oso / Moforibale fú'n] Shangó* (Song for Shangó) 4:42  
15 *Kayobá Oba ó omó lowó Oba lere mi / Oba elekó ayá osi* (Song for Obá) 4:12  
16 *Awoyó, Yemayá ó omo du kwe [modup]ujé ó] lowó mi* (Song for Yemayá) 5:13

### GIÚRO SONG

- 17 *Iyámí ilé oro [odo]* (Praise song or oriki for Oshún) 3:25

### ITUTU SONGS

- 18 *Okonilé ré rá é okó mi lo é milé bewá é* 1:57  
19 *Omodé t'orisa de kè awaó omodé funmí rawaó* 1:35  
20 *É bé oró, be mode loró* 1:58

### PALO SONGS—MAYIMBE

(Turkey vulture or turkey buzzard)

- 21 *Ndudu dale vuelta al ingenio* (The spirit is circling the sugar mill) 4:37  
22 *Vola volando nsaura* (The turkey vulture is flying around) 4:24

### CONGO AND GANGÁ SONGS

- 23 *Shanigó* 1:34  
24 *Oyayá obé* 1:15  
25 *Obá ó china* 1:09  
26 *Marengue* 0:41  
27 *Umbé* 1:14  
28 *Vamo' tuñe tuñe tuñe a casa mangoya* 0:51



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