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Ko'oten boox, an example of Cuban musical genres' adaptation into the musical tradition of Yucatán (1880-1910)

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Abstract
Around 1880 and 1910, Cuba and Yucatán suffered significant social and economic changes. During this period, the cultural relations between these two regions became a constant. This dynamic was very noticeable in the tours that Cuban theatrical and Bufo companies did across South-East Mexico and the increasing impact of Cuban popular music alongside these artistic movements from the island to the continent. Once these musical styles were used and modified by musicians from Yucatán, the Cuban musical genres started to refer to a new regional Yucatán identity. Therefore, this research analyzes how much reinvention and resignification are present in the Yucatán composer Cirilo Baqueiro "Chan Cil's" (1848-1910) guaracha: *Ko'oten boox*. The musical and semiotic analysis allows the evaluation of the late XIX century and the early XX century's musical taste in Yucatán. At the same time, it assesses how music in the Caribbean became a vehicle for multiple identities with contrasting significations.

Keywords
Guaracha; Mayan culture; Yucatán; Cuba; resignification; musical symbols; Caribbean; cultural circulation

Resumen
Entre 1880 y 1910, Cuba y Yucatán sufrieron cambios sociales y económicos importantes; la relación cultural cubano-yucateca se establece como una constante. Esta dinámica se vio ampliamente reflejada en las giras de compañías teatrales y de bufos cubanos en la región del sureste mexicano y en la importación de las músicas cubanas de moda en el momento. Al ser utilizados y modificados por los músicos yucatecos, los géneros cubanos comenzaron a referir a una nueva identidad regional yucateca. El propósito de este trabajo es analizar cómo es que dicha reinvención y resignificación se manifiesta en la guaracha *Ko'oten boox* del compositor yucateco Cirilo Baqueiro "Chan Cil" (1848-1910). El análisis musical y semiótico permite valorar gustos musicales a finales del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX en Yucatán. Igualmente, permite analizar cómo las músicas se convierten en vehículos de identidades múltiples y con significados variados en el Caribe.

Palabras clave
Guaracha; cultura maya; Yucatán; Cuba; resignificación; símbolos musicales; Caribe; circulación cultural.

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***Ko'oten boox*, an example of Cuban musical genres' adaptation into the musical tradition of Yucatán (1880-1910)**

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Introduction

The musical tradition in Yucatán has characteristics that set it apart from the rest of the musical traditions of Mexico. The relative isolation of the Peninsula from the rest of the country (before the 20th century) provoked a great deal of cultural and commercial interchanges in the region, of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, with the Caribbean, Europe, and the United States. Cuban relations were of great importance during this period. Although those interchanges existed since the colonial period, they became more relevant from 1880 onward. As this research presents, the influence of Cuban music and Bufo-Cubano theater companies was of such importance in the urban music scene of Yucatán (with its center in the city of Mérida) that it separated even further from other Mexican musical repertories, such as the Mexican "sones."

Therefore, the main objective of this research is to analyze "how" this Cuban scenic and musical influence occurred in Yucatán. The object of analysis is the Guaracha *Ko'oten boox*, preserved by oral tradition, and composed in Yucatán by Cirilo Baqueiro Preve "Chan Cil", probably between 1890 and 1910. At the same time, this research tries to explain how the regional identities and narratives in the late 19th century, alongside the local ethnic and political conflicts (like the Guerra de Castas), reshaped foreign influences, such as Cuban music, into new Yucatán cultural products.

A section about the historical Cuba-Yucatán relations regarding music and culture in the 19th and early 20th centuries inaugurates this article. It emphasizes the influence of the comic and Bufo-Cubano theatrical companies and how these troupes were used to musicalize their acts. The dissertation of Mario Quijano about the Zarzuela phenomenon in Yucatán (2016) becomes interesting for this part of the research. This source faces contrast with other authors, like Elisabeth Cunin, who has studied the direct influence of some Bufo-Cubano characters in Yucatán theaters (2009). At the same time, Luis Pérez's research (2021) regarding the musicians and composers from Yucatán is a relevant source of information.

Up next, the research focuses on how the complex ethnic and cultural relations in Yucatán influenced theater and regional music content. One example is how local war conflicts provoked certain cultural elements emphasized (like the Mayan language) between the belligerent parts. Another example was the configuration of the Mestizo Yucateco's popular character, even if it was an early stage. This new cultural mediator figure in the region was, at the same time, a protest symbol and a solid referent for a new *status quo*. Consequently, Guadalupe Reyes centers her anthropological study on the Carnival in Mérida (2003). This reference facilitates the comprehension of ethno-cultural dialogues and their products in Yucatán. In addition, the present research considers Antonio Prieto's work about the singer and actress from Yucatán: Ofelia Zapata "Petrona" (2007). Significant portions of Yucatán's population speak or understand Mayan or at least know some words, not only the local indigenous communities. Because of it, this article uses Briceño and Lewin's research that indicates the importance of the Mayan language as a symbol of regional identity (2016), regardless of the socioeconomic or ethnic origin of the Mayan speakers. This language became a symbol of local signification that differentiates the artistic production of Yucatán

from the rest of the country. One example is Cirilo Baqueiro Preve's Guaracha: *Ko'oten boox*.

Lastly, to analyze the selected Guaracha, this research presents a methodology that intertwines two perspectives: 1) a semiotic analysis of music. This process understands the musical phenomenon with all its components: issuer-content-receptor-replicator, etc. This process and the elements within have symbolic and semantic charges, meaning: Music has significations that are understood in one or different ways and, after that, replicated in a polysemous manner. For this section, this article centers on the analytic proposals of Leonard B. Meyer (2001); Pablo Vila (1996); Josep Martí (1996); Gonzalo Camacho (2007). 2) These theoretical perspectives are interlaced with a formal musical analysis of *Ko'oten boox*'s edition for voice and piano. The editor of this version, included in the 2007 *Cancionero* volume, coordinated by Álvaro Vega and edited by Enrique Martín, is Pedro Carlos Herrera. This second section of the analysis focuses on evaluating the different melodic and rhythmic patterns, alongside specific aesthetics and formal elements, of Cuban genres from the late 19th century, such as Habanera, Danzón, and Guaracha, among others.

Yucatán and Cuba, a symbiotic musical tradition

Since its origins, the movement known as Canción Yucateca was a popular artistic phenomenon (Martínez 2014: 39) differentiable from the rest of Mexico. The proposal of Elisabeth Cunin can be found in the art expressions from the Peninsula, like theater and music (2009: 34): "Yucatán is known in Mexico for its autonomous waywardness, both political and cultural. In daily life and institutional discourses, the reference to a specific "Yucatán Identity" is omnipresent." Alongside these inquietudes, the state capital, Mérida, was handsomely favored. The city population grew up from 36,634 habitants to 96,660 (Quintal-Medina 2016: 53). The economic growth from local Henequén production also provoked the arrival of migrants from different parts of the country and abroad (such as Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese people), all of them trying to invest in the increasing local economy (Quintal–Medina 2016: 54). Unfortunately, this expansion was a consequence of the exploitation of Mayan population in the region.

Image 1. Former Hacienda in Yaxcopoil (Yucatán). Author's photograph.

An important number of urban poets and musicians, professionals, and dabblers, per equal, came from the local upper class. The aristocratic cultural uptake promoted the importation and local production of music: zarzuela, musical theater, songs, and dances (Martín 2002: 57-75). The most

prominent Trovador at the time was Cirilo Baqueiro Preve "Chan Cil[1]." He also was a relevant figure at Merida's Carnaval festivities (Martín 2014: 71) since the 1880's. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the rest of the population was not involved in this artistic revolution. According to Enrique Martín (2002: 59-61): "…there was an alternative culture of music uptake enjoyed by all the social classes in Mérida (all together, and not mixed) –alongside the military band performances–, which was the Theater." Following Mario Quijano, several factors and agents influenced the musical uptake in Mérida from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th (Quijano 2016: 205). Punctually, he refers to the music scene in the city: serenades, military music, private recitals, and also the Estudiantinas repertoire, which included selections of Opera and Zarzuela, and the foreign troops:

> Foreign troops brought dances to the Peninsula that consolidated a musical taste that would create different manifestations of popular amusements. If the Bufos Cubano's eventual arrival, with their Congas and Guarachas, is being considered alongside the Spanish dances (in the 19th century, Cuba was a Spanish colony), then they shaped the musical folklore in the Peninsula (Quijano 2016: 205).

Mérida handsomely welcomed theater and circus troops: Circo Orrin, for instance, stood out in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th (Quijano 2016: 206-208). Mario Quijano highlighted Teatro Peón Contreras and Circo-Teatro Yucateco above the local theatrical spaces at that time[2]. According to Elisabeth Cunin, Teatro Peón Contreras specialized in European, or with European influence, artwork. On the contrary, other theatres, alongside Circo-Teatro Yucateco, had a more open repertoire. Some examples were the theatres: Mérida, Olimpia, Apolo, and Colonial (Cunin 2009: 38). On the other hand, Juan José Cervera indicates that the Cuban theatrical companies and troops in Merida performed in both the Peón Contreras and Circo-Teatro Yucateco (Cervera 2007: 89). This means that Teatro Peón Contreras was open to ampler programming.

[1] The *Diccionario de la Canción yucateca* includes a long, more complete, bio. The present article presents an abstract of it (Pérez 2021: 70-71): "Trovador and composer. He was born in the Guadalupe neighborhood, where he was baptized on January 3rd, 1849. He was known by the nickname "Chan Chil," which in Mayan means "Little Cirilo," to differentiate him from his father, Colonel and military commander in the city of Campeche, who was removed from such charge in May 1858. For that reason, he relocated to Mérida […] in the late 60s, he began performing in some modest scenarios across the city […] he organized a string ensemble ("Concierto" as it was called back then) that became very well known in Mérida and other towns of the state. After 1880, he musicalized some poems from José Peón Contreras. Amongst them the canción-danza "Despedida […] " [Farewell] […] In 1877, the Conservatorio Yucateco de Música y Declamación accepted him as a member […] he also conducted estudiantinas in Mérida Carnival festivities […] In 1892, he was a collaborator for the musical section of the newspaper *El Recreo Artístico*, directed by Arturo Cosgaya. The *Semanario J. Jacinto Cuevas* (1888 and 1894)published some of his compositions, such as the barcarole "Amelia", and the Danzón "Pedrito." At the end of 1895, in the *Gaceta Musical*, Cosgaya published the music for the Guaracha *La mestizo*, which was part of the "unpublished revue entitled Mérida al vuelo." Sometime before, in June, Amadita Morales, a very cheerful comic singer, premiered the song in Teatro Peón Contreras. […] Compositions of his entire authorship are the g Guaracha "Ko'oten Boox" and the waltz "Las Delicias." The last one, published in *La Gaceta Musical*, was dedicated, during the 1895 Carnaval, to the Club Anarquista. […] Because of his work, he is considered the "Father of Canción Yucateca. *El Ruiseñor Yucateco* included several song lyrics for his compositions (1902-1906). In the *Cancionero*, also referred to as " Cancionero de Chan Chil" (1909), are included 8 of his most popular songs. He died at 61 years old."

[2] "The variety of shows presented in Mérida in Teatro Peón Contreras, Circo Teatro Yucateco, and the rest of the entertainment places, was far-reached. New musical genres arrived and competed between them to attract the audience. After Zarzuela, other Spanish manifestations captivated the population…" (Quijano 2016: 210).

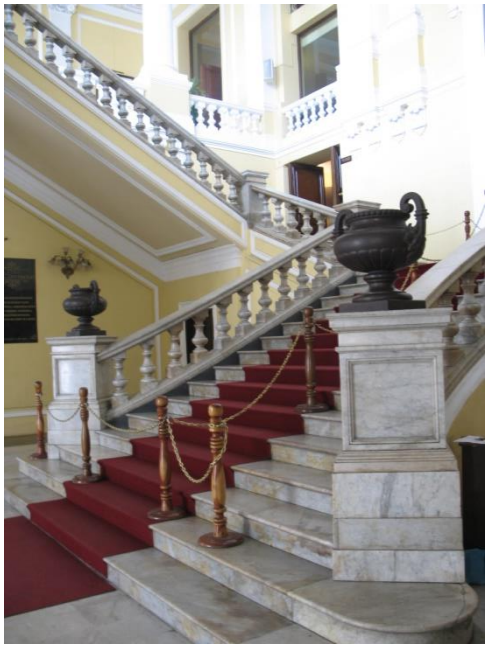


Image 2. Teatro Peón Contreras main staircase (Mérida, Yucatán). Author's photograph.

Therefore, theater and stage shows were one of the first encounter points between Zarzuela (Martínez 2014: 38) and popular Cuban songs and dances in Mérida: Guaracha or Danzón. Although it is true that the Cuban musical influence increased and had an important development in the Peninsula in the 1880's (Quijano 2016: 98), these relations have older precedents. One example is *La Guirnalda*, a literary newspaper from Mérida issued from April 1860 to February 1861. This newspaper published sheet music. Among those publications, some with Cuban influence, are Juan B. Ayala's *El dos de Junio* or Crescencia Correa's *La Paquita*, among others (Pérez 2021: 392-393).

At the same time, Elisabeth Cunin proposes specific precedents, in the years of 1831 and 1845, which seem to confirm the relations between the Cuban and Yucatán artistic troops and theaters (Cunin 2009: 39). Specifically, she indicates that in 1831 a theater in Mérida wrote to Havana to confirm its inauguration by a Cuban troop, and in 1845 Méndez Sierra, a businessman from Mérida, traveled to Havana to bring back with him several Cuban actors and actresses (Cunin 2009: 39). Also, another precedent that confirms this symbiosis between Cuba and Yucatán is the Cuevas Family dynasty. Álvaro Vega points out that Mariano Cuevas, a Cuban hired by Mérida's Cathedral at the beginning of the 19th century, was the founder of the dynasty in Mexico (Vega 2010: 255). According to Mario Quijano's research, this musician from Havana transferred himself to Mérida to become the Cathedral's choirmaster (Quijano 2016: 412).

Later on, José Jacinto Cuevas (1832-1878), identified by Luis Pérez Sabido as Mariano Cuevas' foundling son[3], was the "most important promoter of Mérida's musical life in the second half of the 19th century" (Pérez 2021: 246). José Jacinto is not only remembered as the *Himno Patriótico Yucateco*'s composer (1867) but also as the first Conservatorio de Música de Yucatán's (1873) founder and director (Vega 2010: 255). That institution closed its doors in 1882 (Cervera 2007: 90-91)[4]. After his death, the Cuevas family continued his legacy by founding the *Semanario J. Jacinto*

[3] "He was baptized in the Cathedral's Sanctuary on August 20th, 1832, five days after having been found outside Don Mariano's house (Book number 50, page 60 and the following page from the Archiepiscopal Archive)." (Pérez 2021: 246).

[4] The previous institution was Mérida's Philharmonic Society –also founded by José Jacinto– (Pérez 2021: 247).

Cuevas: composiciones musicales para piano forte por varios autores yucatecos in 1888. This publication, edited by Juan D. Cuevas, stopped being published six years later in 1894 (Vega 2010: 254).

In those years, as the musical editions with Cuban influence increased, also the presence of Cuban migrants began to be noticed. A significant number were refugees from the Cuban independence wars which began in the first half of the 19th century (Pérez Montfort 2007: 237) [5]. These migration groups took their musical taste and traditions with them. The Bufos-Cubanos were one of these expressions. They traced some of their most successful tours between the ports of Havana, Veracruz, Campeche, and Progreso, and the Mexican cities of the southeast such as Mérida and San Juan Bautista de Tabasco, nowadays known as Villahermosa (Flores-Dueñas 2010: 244). Mario Quijano, focusing on Mérida and Yucatán, refers to the relation between the Bufo-Cubano's international tours and the island's political instability as follows:

> The 80's, with the visit of troops coming from Cuba and the Republic's interior, was the decade that consolidated the taste for Zarzuela. Bufo-Cubano troops started arriving in Yucatán capital from the Caribbean. They appeared with a specific comical character that would find a special reception in the local idiosyncrasy. The contact with Cuban theater, inside this dynamic, is traced as a predecessor of the regional Yucateco theater […] In response to the political situation on the island, the artist of this genre decided to change their repertoire or seek other geographies (Quijano 2016: 412).

These types of Cuban artistic troops increased their tours in Yucatán by the 1880's. One example can be Miguel Salas' Compañía de Bufos-Habaneros. They performed in April 1885 at Teatro Peón Contreras (Quijano 2016: 412). Their show, aside from Danzones in Havana's style, presented "comic reliefs" such as *El Chiflado, El Dr. Garrido, Tanto le dan al buey y manso, Ataques de nervios, El Caneca* and the following Guarachas: *El saludo de Anáhuac*[6]*, Aguanta hasta que te mueras, La Angelita, y La risa de la vieja* (Flores 1993: 8)[7]. The year before, this company had its debut in Mexico City's Teatro Principal on Saturday June 28th (Quijano 2016: 99), and their presentations continued up to August 3rd.

The program performed in the Bufos' debut, as described by Mario Quijano (2016: 99), was: "Danzón performed by the Habanera Orchestra; a *género catedrático* one-act piece entitled *Retórica y Poética;* the Guaracha *Dame tu amor*, sung by Ramírez, Calle, Prado, Ramírez and Valdés; the Salas' playful one-act piece *Artistas para Palos*; the Guaracha *La callejera*, and the piece *Un baile por fuera*." Although the theatrical pieces and jokes were not well accepted, according to Quijano, a different thing happened with the music presented by the troop. The

[5] One example was Amalia Simoni de Agramonte. She was the widow of General Major Ignacio Agramonte, who fought and died in the first Cuban independent war (1868-1878), and a Cuban singing professor in the Conservatorio Yucateco until 1875. Throughout her life, she contributed to the Cuban independence effort against Spain (Quijano 2016: 412).

[6] Presented here are the Guaracha lyrics by Miguel Salas (Quijano 2016: 99): "A la patria de Anáhuac/ el saludo le damos; / con tierno amor, con cariño/ y con fe le cantamos./ Oh, patria de Guatimoc / que aquí los bufos están, / para celebrar tus galas / y tus bellezas cantar. / Es esta tierra un nido de primores / que el mundo tiene que admirar; / en sus entrañas se halla puro el oro / y hay en sus mujeres gracia angelical." [To the Anáhuac Motherland/ we offer it salutations; / with pure love and endearment / and with faith we sing to it. / Oh Guatimoc's Motherland / the Bufos are here, / to celebrate your finery / and to sing your beauty. / This land is a nest for delicacies / that the world needs to admire; / in its loins lies pure gold / and its women have angelical grace].

[7] Mario Quijano confirms this same repertoire, but with different names (Quijano 2016: 100): *El chiflado*, *El doctor Garrido*, *Tanto dan al buey y al manso, Ataque de nervios*, *Caneca* (parodia de *El Trovador*) y las guarachas *El saludo del Anáhuac*, *Aguanta hasta que te mueras*, *La angelina* y *La risa de la vieja*.

Guarachas and Danzas were very well accepted and welcomed (Quijano 2016: 99). In 1889, *El voto público* announced the "Bufos de Salas" performance in Puerto Progreso and that the troop's "artworks" deserved to be seen (Quijano 2016: 100). Also, in the same year, a "Cuadro de Bufos" from Havana performed small pieces, opera parodies, Guarachas and Habaneras (Quijano 2016: 100). To Mario Quijano, this Bufos from Havana were Miguel Salas' troop (Quinajo 2016: 100).

The adaptation of Cuban musical genres in Yucatán was not limited to the music itself (like Danzón, for instance)[8]. The orchestral format and the way to dance Danzón had characteristics adapted to the Peninsula's environment. One example was the adaptation of the Danzón orchestra's ensemble to the Yucatán Jarana's context (Flores 1993: 10). This Cuban musical genre had a significant acceptance in the Peninsula thanks to its insertion in the Carnaval festivities from 1899 to 1904 (Quijano 2016: 100). Therefore, the composers from Yucatán, between the 19th and 20th centuries, had more links with Caribbean musical styles and traditions than the other regions of Mexico (Pérez Montfort 2007: 257). Victoria Novelo (Quijano 2016: 412) indicates that: "The poets in Yucatán gave their lyrics to the local song repertoire of the early 20th century. These poems would have been sung as Guarachas and with other Caribbean rhythms. Alongside the Cuban Décimas, popularized by the Bufo-Cubanos' performances in Mérida, the local songs started to build the Mayab's romantic song tradition."

Slowly but surely, the Yucatán musicians modified the Cuban musical genres and readapted them to their cultural context (Évora 2001: 203): "…the elements of this influence, such as the Cuban Contradanza, Habanera, and Danzón, were transformed in local Mestizo urban dances…" Thanks to the popularity and influence of Caribbean music in the Peninsula, the seed of new Yucatán musical styles with Cuban impact started to be shaped. In Mario Quijano's words, popular and cultured spheres were even more separated (2016: 215):

> Canción Yucateca, an active genre up to the present day, began to be outlined at the beginning of the 20th century. This cultural expression developed around the figure of Cirilo Baqueiro Preve "Chan Chil" and the publication of more accessible musical repertoire to the massified public, such as "El Ruiseñor Yucateco" organized between 1902 and 1906 in two volumes, and the one known as "Cancionero de Chan Cil" printed by Luis Rosado Vega in 1909, made a more profound gap between popular and academic preferences. Also, with these publications, the separation of musical taste based on social classes began to increase, despite the distribution of printed music by specialized stores since the 19th century.

It is interesting to see how the Peninsula's popular music was closely related to the Caribbean. Since the middle of the 19th century, musicians, printed music, and Cuban artistic troops and bands tours began to influence the local composers' production: from genres like Habanera, Danzón, and Canción Oriental to the posterior Cuban-Yucatán symbiosis of the Clave/Criolla. Therefore, the statement (Quijano 2016: 99) that the comical theater from Cuba was not as successful as expected and that Bufo-Cubanos social criticism consolidation in the regional-comical Yucatán theater would have to wait for the Mexican Revolution (Quijano 2016: 99) cannot be entirely correct.

With the latter, I mean that, since the late 19th century, Yucatán composers (both

[8] Danzón arrived on the Peninsula in the second half of the 19th century. However, there is no consensus among experts regarding the exact date.

professional and dilettante) began to compose local Danzón, Danza, and Guaracha[9]. As this paper asserts, the predominant Cuban influence manifested itself firstly in music, rather than the comic and social theatrical plots. This last element, alongside other Cuban influences, certainly had a more significant repercussion in the Post-revolutionary Yucatán's regional theater. Pablo Vila (1996) indicates how simple it is to use music to portray different identities simultaneously:

> The multiple codes operating in a musical event (some of them might not be strictly musical: elements from theater, dance, linguistics, etc.) would explain the importance and complexity of music as an identity interpellator. This characteristic would distinguish music from other less polysemic manifestations of popular culture. Also, the sound, being a multi-level system, makes the strictly musical codes variable (Middleton 1990: 173). Therefore, the same music can interpellate different social agents, especially if we understand that these codes, far from reinforcing each other, usually can be highly conflicting.

The use of Cuban music in local compositions and artistic production planted the seed for the later development of Yucatán's theater. This dynamic began to shape certain Yucatán characters and daily life plots in the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Two examples of this dynamic are Chan Cil's Guarachas *La Mestiza* –in Habanera's style– (Ramírez 2020) and *Ko'oten boox (*analyzed in this paper). Thus, one can identify that Bufo-Cubanos influenced the popular comic plots (although they would consolidate more complex theatrical arguments at that time).

Image 3. Mérida's Cathedral and Ateneo Peninsular. Author's photograph.

[9] The following sources can be studied for additional references: Vega, Álvaro. 2010. "Danzas y danzones de la familia Cuevas". In …*y la música se volvió mexicana*, ed. Juan Guillermo López, Testimonio musical de México No. 51, pp. 252-257. Mexico City: CENIDIM-INBA-CONCAULTA-INAH, 2010; Orquesta de Cámara de Mérida. 2017. *Música de salón de autores yucatecos del siglo XIX*. Escuela Superior de Artes de Yucatán-Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión Musicales "Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster"; AA. VV. 1994. *Danzones del Porfiriato y la Revolución.* BMG Entretainment Mexico, S.A. de C. V. –AMEF T-44-03, RCA-PECD-367.

Mayan and Mestizo Representation in Yucatán's Theater and Music

By the arguments presented, Yucatán regional theater is part of the Caribbean circulations (both from the Peninsula and the islands). Yucatán's regional cultural and identity frame used a more expanded cultural reference since its development. Therefore, the Spaniard/Indigenous binomial, "desired" by the Mexican cultural policies, is surpassed by other geographical and ethnocultural influences, like the Afro-Caribbean one (Cunin 2009: 36). Its main characters usually were extracted from the local popular and middle classes. These theatrical types were constantly questioning their social complex. All these narratives had a significant push during and after the Mexican Revolution (Cunin 2009: 37-38):

> The history of the regional theater is simple because it can be understood mainly as "the people's spirit in Yucatán": it is one of the folk's children […] Its language is Spanish mixed with Mayan words, expression, and tonalities (Echánove 1944: 287), and is a portrait of the fusion between European and Indigenous cultures. This amalgam would be typical in Yucatán, and, at the same time, it was not unnoticed by the regional theater specialized researchers.

Antonio Prieto indicates the background of the Yucatán theater with "Mestizo" characters in 1847 and 1874. To Prieto, this style of making theater in Yucatán and its characters, "extracted from Mérida's streets ad squares and its surroundings" (Prieto 2007: 50), has an important link with the Bufos-Cubanos.

It is relevant to mention the social conflict that set the tone for the 19th century Yucatán sociocultural landscape: the Guerra de Castas. Not only Mayan and white people faced each other in this clash. It was a conflict between oppressed social classes against their oppressors. There was a difference between the "Indigenous rebel" (*Indioso'b*) and the "Ladino" (Vecino or Mestizo), a non-rebelled low-class peasant from the west and the north of the Peninsula. Mayans named themselves *Macehuales*[10]. At the same time, they identified the Spanish Mestizo in Mayan as *sits' k'ak* or *xak'aan winik* (Prieto 2007: 49).

The need to "include" Mayan references in the artistic and popular narratives is closely related to the cultural and linguistic reality of the region's capital and not only to the rural areas of Yucatán. Just as a considerable number of Mayan speakers had existed in Yucatán (and still does)[11], this language marked terms for the imposition of Spanish as an official language (Briceño-Lewuin 2016: 68):

> …Mayan is not only a language that the Mayan speakers use in the city of Mérida. It is also a language that has influenced how Spanish is spoken […] by both the Mayan speakers and the Spanish monolingual population […] because of the significant originative linguistic contribution. It has become a sign of regional identity. Many people speak this language, and also some speakers write it too.

[10] Wolfgang Gabbert explains these local terms and, at the same time, indicates that even today, within Mayan speakers Campesino's imagery, from the North and West areas of the Yucatán Peninsula, the *Indios* or *Indioso'b* were the ones that ruthlessly burned villages. Also, he explains how terms such as *Masewal* (or *Macehual*) and *Indio* still have discriminative and pejorative meanings in Yucatán (Gabbert 2001: 481-482).

[11] "…many people speak it, and some others consider themselves as Mayan. The latter is noticeable by walking the streets, by interacting with the population, and by listening to men and women's conversation in different parts of the city." (Briceño-Lewin 2016: 66).

The previous elements are present in the Guarachas *La Mestiza* and *Ko'oten boox*. The last example provides a group of symbols and references: 1) the Mayan language; 2) the woman's "blackness" in the lyrical context (as a term of endearment and belonging); 3) the Cuban music. All these references in the composition make local allusions and link them with the Caribbean. At the same time, they can represent a different *status quo* from Guerra de Castas. This new narrative tries to find common ground in a heterogenic, racialized, and uneven society. A new "Mestizo" identity that binds together different social elements is emerging in Yucatán[12]:

> The Indigenous "Mestizo" identity is associated in Yucatán's imagery with a set of symbolic elements. Amongst them are the language, the physical aspect, and the dressing […] what existed were different levels of sociocultural mixing. The fact that the Mayan language was not only the legal Indigenous people's language but also the native language of a large part of the population reflected this dynamic. Some of them were even white people raised by Mayan nurses. The same thing happened with the regional dressing. These clothes were used by indigenous people and poor mestizos ("Vecinos") […] as time went by, the outfit became a symbol of Yucatán identity and tradition. The time came when traditional dance performances, especially Jaranas, and theatrical pieces that included Mestizo characters adopted the Mayan language. We are witnessing a regional and cultural "folklorization" process that tries to build its own identity… (Prieto 2007: 49)

Prieto's proposal may be an outline in a very early Guaracha, like *Ko'oten boox*. Later on, at the end of the Mexican Revolution, this dynamic developed until becoming a State policy in the 20th century. "Mestizo" reference in this Guaracha is not only in the use of a Mayan-Spanish lyric but for the "Cuban-Caribbean" musical content and the allusion to the local theater at that time as well. These references reargue a symbol of unity amongst the Yucatán population (Reyes 2003: 108). According to Antonio Prieto, in 1907, Fermín Irabién Rosado, Paco Fuentes, and Antonina Arévalo's Company performed for the first time the play *La Mestiza*[13] in Circo-Teatro Yucateco (Prieto 2007: 50).

The plot for this play is very similar to Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés*. This piece portrays the Cuban ethnical plurality of the early 19th century and also tries to represent the racialized society's social conflicts that difficult the romance between the two main characters: a white slave-holder aristocrat and a mulatto woman. Later on, this last character was a cornerstone of Cuban theater. Concretely, the Yucatán theatrical piece tells a "tragic" love story of a high-class young man that falls in love with a "Mestizo" woman. But, at the same time, he is engaged with a woman of his social condition. The "Mestizo" character not only comes from the lowest social class. She has ethno-cultural peculiarities that might be undesirable for local "white" elite (Prieto 2007: 50). Antonio Prieto describes the representation of different sociocultural groups in Yucatán and the Cuban-Yucatán theatrical interchanges in the 19th and 20th centuries:

> In the regional context of a highly hierarchical society that combines deep racism with classism, this has particular importance. Since the Yucatán regional theater represented customary comedies with profiled characters, it did not escape these prejudices. On the contrary, it contributed to the development of

[12] "The physical and ethnic differences exist in wealth distribution and social conditions in Mérida up to the present day. The popular social groups are mainly Mayan-looking people. On the contrary, the upper classes have white skin and descend from the wealthy families of the 19th century, foreigners (like Syrians and Lebanese), and migrants from different Mexican states. At the same time, the Mayan last names are more common among people that live in the southern part of the city, the poorest neighborhoods. On the other hand, these types of last names are practically nonexistent in the wealthiest neighborhoods." (Reyes 2003: 46-47).

[13] This should not be confused with the homonymous Guaracha composed a decade earlier by "Chan Chil".

> stereotypes […] the cultural links between Cuba and Yucatán were significant in the first half of the previous century, and they contributed to a healthy talent interchange. (Prieto: 2007: 48)

Again, Prieto depicts the necessity of differencing the "Mestizo" symbolism in the Peninsula (Prieto 2007: 49): "…the term "Mestizo/a" in Yucatán has a different connotation to the rest of Mexico, as a result of the so-called Guerra de Castas. The ethnic-racial identity processes that emerged from this social conflict produced a specific classification in the region." On the other hand, Pablo Vila explains the process of power struggles to label and use the terms that generate identity:

> … social identity and subjectivity are always precarious, contradictory, and constantly in process. At the same time, individuals are always the fighting ground of conflictive subjectivity forms […] The different subject placements are discursive cultural constructions that converge to shape what it is seen, at first sight, as a unique and unified individual […] People usually find narratives that aid them in generating their identities in different cultural constructions of a determined epoch, and society […] Power determines what is said and who talks […] The goal of the struggles for a social position is as complex as the changing process described before. Sometimes, the social agents that question the hegemonic appearances choose to modify the content of the label that portrays them. Nonetheless, they do not argue with either the classificatory system that frames them or the taxonomy (Hall 1982: 80). Also, such agents struggle to change the name imposed by the classificatory system. By discovering that their name has a large amount of hegemonic content, they cannot change the sign without drastically changing the name. Finally, other groups are even more radical. They propose a new classificatory system and, by it, they are changing the content of the group's image. (Vila 1996)

Being "Mestizo," which has ethical and polysemic characteristics, comes from a hegemonic ideology imposition amongst the Indigenous and mixed (mostly between Indigenous, Europeans, and Africans) population in the Peninsula. This last population sector keeps using the term as an identity reference, as a social reaffirmation symbol, and, lastly, as a figure that consolidates social and cultural protest (despite that, formerly, it was a term imposed by the opposed hegemonic sphere). Again, this is a very early moment. A future genre with a profound and hegemonic symbolic and semantic charge is the *Evocación Maya* (with songs like *El caminante del Mayab* o *Yucalpetén*) from the 1920's. Another example is the events that take place in specific cultural spaces and moments, such as Mérida Carnaval's "Mestizas' Parade":

> …the accent is not in the differences within the population but the difference between Yucatán and outside. The objective is to underline the ideal of a culturally proud society that constitutes a unique, particular, and special community aspect (despite its real inter heterogeneity) that is different from the rest of Mexico. The regional identity, reinforced with symbolic means, is handsomely in Yucatán's population. Also, by this identification, the regionalist feeling is nourished as well… (Reyes 2003: 107)

Meanings, interactions and appropriations: analyzing Yucatán's Guaracha *Ko'oten boox*

By using the concepts in Leonard Meyer's book *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, the Cuban rhythmic patterns, in fashion in Yucatán at the end of the 19th century, can be understood as "symbolic codes". These codes have a defined and consolidated meaning within their musical context, and, by consensus, also have determined expectations among musicians and audiences in their context. Meyer proposes that audiences have different ways and capabilities to designate value/s to determined musical events (Meyer 2002: 42). The different capabilities are designated by custom and tradition. Therefore, "Designative Behavior", labeled by Meyer, is cultural. This is so because it

is taught and learned (Meyer 2001: 42). Expectancy, at the same time, is learned using the psychological models of perception, cognition, and response (Meyer 2001: 50).

Gonzalo Camacho has proposed that commercial impact alongside the globalization of determined musical genre, outside its culture of origins and appropriated by another, provokes the extrapolation of a number of musical elements to generate a successful impact in the aspired market. The stereotypes generated in this process modify certain characteristics within the genre that can be considered originals. In the words of Camacho: "… this manifestation, as being introduced in the different semiotic systems in the world, suffered meaning changes. This implied the conformation of a new distinction" (2007: 167).

Camacho's and Meyer's proposals are related to the present research on the use of Cuban music in Yucatán. The music from the Caribbean island was a popular success in practically all the social urban groups in Mérida. However, Cuban musical symbols and their uses in Yucatán, in which they represented a ludic importation. In this different context their uses started to be modified from their Cuban origins. Composers and musicians within this Caribbean plural semiosphere used these Cuban musical genres, with their structures and rhythmic patterns, to signify Yucatán's contexts and symbols. The Teatro Bufo-Cubano's "negrito" became Yucatán's "boxito[14]" and "mestizo.[15]" At the same time, the musical elements from the largest of the Antilles, such as rhythmic cells and metro-rhythmic patterns used in Danzón, Habanera or the Cuban "tresillo," were absorbed and modified by the Peninsular composers. Gonzalo Camacho describes this process as follows:

> …to understand the relationship between global and local cultures […] It establishes a relationship between two semiotic entities. Such relation creates a border, meaning a bilingual "translators filter" set […] throughout which a text is translated to another language, or languages, that dwell outside the given semiosphere […] The contact of the semiotic entities results in the previously mentioned border, making it possible that different cultural translation strategies influence one code to another. They establish a dialogistic deployment of a mechanism that generates an information exchange (Camacho 2007: 167).

In this adaptation process of Cuban music in Yucatán, the first element loses basic characteristics in its tradition of origin in favor of being a different semem in Yucatán. It is no longer Cuban, but from Yucatán or an interpretation of what is understood as Cuban by Yucatán cultural agents. As they are transmitted into the local context, the Cuban musical codes and systems[16] are reinterpreted and transformed into a new semiotic meaning more aligned with the Peninsular "taste." In this train of thoughts, and from Josep Martí ethno-musical parameters[17], the musical production in which this Guaracha is inserted becomes polysemic. They are still Cuban musical elements, and the genre's name is still "Guaracha," but the use, function, and modification that Yucatán's musicians made of

[14] *Box* in the Mayan language means "black."

[15] Black and Mestizo characters were commonly performed by black-face white actors in costumes (Cunin 2009: 35).

[16] Gonzalo Camacho's "Musical system" definition is: "a set of musical events, within a structure, that allows incorporating codified information, by the interaction of similarity and difference. Characteristic contrast grants that the disparate elements gain meaning. From this point of view, sounds, musical structure, genres, musical settings, and *performance* events are deployed and aligned with certain codes and grammar forms that work as organizers of the sound phenomenon. These elements constitute bonds with other social dimensions and the foundation of a large communicative system" (2007: 167).

[17] "Musical productions are polysemic and, therefore, they are also going to be polyvalent. […] Not all music is "ethnic," but all music can, potentially, provide a sense of ethnicity: this means that it can express ethnic values, although that does not represent its prime element. All depends on seeing music in a given moment as an ethnicity referent" (Martí, 1996).

all these components marked a difference between both musical traditions, creating in the process different meanings and expectations.

Ko'oten boox has all these Cuban musical influences (Vega 2007: 136-139). This Guaracha from Yucatán probably was written around 1890 and 1910 –the *Diccionario de la canción yucateca* only indicates that it was composed in the late 19th century– (Pérez 2021: 391) by Cirilo Baqueiro Preve "Chan Cil" (2010: 48)[18]. In this Guaracha[19] it is possible to assess the interactions of musical components, external from the Peninsula, with local popular and cultural elements and situations. The local component, in this case, is represented by the lyric, which is a five verse stanza (with the repetition of the verse Jach a'alten ba'axten ka bin/ Pero dime por qué te vas) in Mayan. Following there is the repetition of the stanza that "translates" Mayan to Spanish (Vega 2007: 139):

Ko´oten, boox, ko'oten, ko'olel, ko'oten tin xáax.	Ven y siéntate a mi lado, negra, ven.
Atia'al, atia'al in puksik'al.	Tuyo es, tuyo es mi corazón.
Jach a'alten ba'axten ka bin,	Pero dime por qué te vas,
jach a'alten ba'axten ka bin,	pero dime por qué te vas,
tumen u cha'anil a k'aajal	porque la fiesta del pueblo
ma'tu páajtal u muyajtal[20].	no se puede aguantar más[21].

[18] The adoption of nicknames in Mayan by "cult" authors becomes relevant. Maybe by doing so, they tried to evoke Mayan "ancestry" or "belonging" in Yucatán as a declaration of regional originality. On the one hand, there was the previously mentioned "Chan Chil." On the other hand, there was Fermín Pastrana *H'uay cuuc* [bewitched squirrel] (1853-1925) (Martín 2016: 72). In the *Diccionario de la canción yucateca, Luis* Pérez Sabido includes his biography. An abstract of it is as follows (2021: 606-607): "Guitar player and composer. He was born in the neighborhood of La Mejorada. His nickname: "H'uay Cuuc" means, in Mayan, "bewitched squirrel" […] During the 1890's, he became a member of "Chan Cil" conjunto […] Later on, he received permanent employment at the State Congress until he retired. […] His song *!Qué importa!*, with lyrics of Fernando Juanes G. Gutiérrez Milk, was published in 1909's *Cancionero*. He also composed the *song Playera*, with lyrics of Justo Sierra Méndez […] In the second decade of the 20th century, he traveled to Cuba and established relationships with some Antillean composers. He wrote the song *Si hay algún césped blando* (*Flor dormida*), with lyrics from Manuel Acuña, and *Ya surge la luna*, with lyrics of his own. These songs are kept in Orquesta Típica Yucalpetén's archives […] It seems like his song *Ausencia* is the same one identified, in Cuba, as a composition of Jaime Prats, who takes authorship of Fernando Celada's lyrics. They both meet during Fermín's visit to Havana. He died at 72 years.

[19] The *Diccionario de la canción yucateca*'s entry describes the term Guaracha as follows (Sabido 2021: 389): "Musical genre of Cuban origin. As a popular song, later adopted by the Cuban theatre, it appeared in early 19th century Havana. It arrived in Yucatán in the second decade of that century alongside Teatro-Bufo companies. In Mérida, during the last decade of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, "Chan Cil" used this musical genre to compose several festive songs, such as *La mujer y la casa* and *Los tres besos* that his estudiantinas performed during the carnaval celebrations. He wrote some Guarachas in Mayan and Spanish, like *Ko'oten boox* (Come, my Black woman), and other entirely in Mayan. Some other Guarachas allowed him to create a satire for political situations, such as *La rafaelita* and *A los señores diputados del Congreso*."

[20] Another version of this Guaracha's text, included in the *Diccionario de la canción yucateca,* is presented up next (Pérez 2021: 391): "Ko'oten, boox, ko'oten, ko'olel, ko'oten tin xáax./Atia'al, atia'al in puksik'al./Jach a'alten ba'axten ka bin,/jach a'alten ba'axten ka bin,/tumen u cha'anil a ka'ajal/ma'tu páajtal u mayajtal./Ven y siéntate a mi lado, negra, ven./Tuyo es, tuyo es mi corazón./Pero dime por qué te vas,/pero dime por qué te vas,/porque la fiesta del pueblo/no se puede aguantar más"

[21] "Come and sit down next to my, my Black lady, come. / My heart is yours, it is yours. / But tell me why are you leaving, / but tell me why are you leaving / because the party in your town / cannot be hold no more."

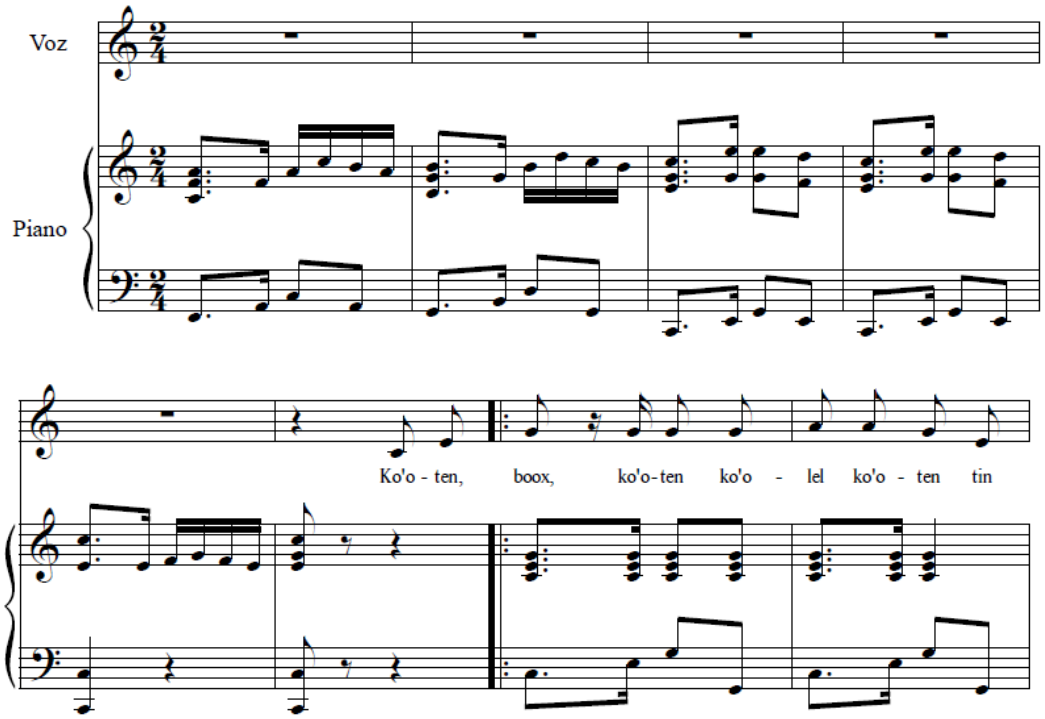
Image 4. Excerpt of *Cancionero*'s cover. This volume of printed music for voice and piano accompaniment was edited in 1909 in Mérida, Yucatán, by Luis Rosado Vega and Filiberto Romero. Since the photograph of Cirilo Baqueiro Preve is on the cover, and also because his compositions occupy an important portion of the volume, it is also known as *Cancionero de Chan Cil.*

According to the editor's notes, Pedro Carlos Herrera realized the edition used for the present analysis. He took as reference an audiocassette recording dated *ca.* 1970. The source, entitled *Canciones de Chan Cil*, signalizes the name of Julia Baqueiro García-Rejón. Secondly, Enrique Martín indicates a later source that refers to Rondalla Yucatán of 2002; however, he does not specify the type of recording (Martín 2007: 41). This Guaracha, in accordance with Martín, is preserved by oral tradition, which agrees with the editor's note for Pedro Carlos Herrera's voice and piano edition:

> The lyric is taken from this publication recording, made by Los Decanos trio. Trio's first voice, Alfredo Gamboa Rosales, learned it from the trovador Demetrio Várquez (1905-1974) in the middle of the last century. In Julia Baqueiro García Rejón's version, the first verse is (*sic.*) "Tu'ux ka bin, niña hermosa, tu'ux ka bin?" and the seventh corresponds to its translation: "¿Dónde vas, niña hermosa, dónde vas?" (Martín 2007: 41)

Therefore, the edition analyzed in this article originated in oral tradition. This remark indicates that the studied edition is not definitive; thus, it is possible to find different versions of this Guaracha. However, this characteristic is a testimony, registered in the analyzed sheet edition, of the continuity and transmission of oral tradition in Yucatán's region. Specifically, this edition, for voice and piano, is composed in C major and uses a 2/4 meter. Its extension is 22 bars divided into six for the introduction, eight for part A, and eight for part B, both parts with their repetitions. At the end of part B, the six bars of the introduction also work as a musical intermission that leads to the song's beginning (*Da Capo*). The purpose is to repeat the lyric, first sung in Mayan, in its Spanish translation (Figs. 1a and 1b).[22]

[22] Thus, this work analyses the Mayan part of the Guaracha since the Spanish part is the exact musical form but with translated lyrics.



Figures 1a and 1b. Six bars of the introduction. IV (F major)-V (G major)-I (C major) harmonic progression is appreciated (Vega 2007: 136-139).

The introduction has the harmonic particularity of beginning with the IV degree (F major) on the first bar. Subsequently, the ditto rhythmic and melodic figure goes an upper tone, the V degree dominant (G major), to conclude in the third bar with the song's tonality (C major). Therefore, the introduction presents an IV-V-I cadence that remarks the tonality of C major.

This introduction holds similarities with the formal musical resource of the 19th century Cuban's *Pasacalle*. This resource consisted of an introduction, also used as an instrumental intermission for both parts of a song (Ruiz 2003: 235). What is clear is that the introduction in *Ko'oten boox* does not have similarities with the traditional estribillo used in Danzón. This element is based on eight bars and uses Danzón metro-rhythmic pattern or cell. This pattern consists of two bars, in this case in 2/4 meter, with a metro-rhythmic structure of a bar with the rhythmic figure of a Cuban cinquillo (Fig. 2) and a second one with four quavers (Fig. 3).

Figure 2. the two ways of writing Cuban cinquillo.

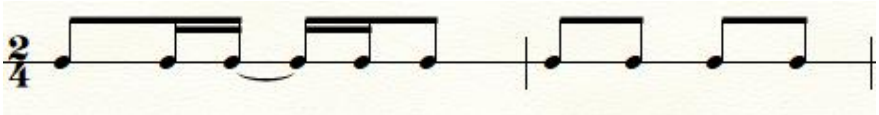


Figure 3. Danzón's rhythmic pattern or cell.

Continuing with how the metro-rhythmic patterns appear in the composition, this Guaracha can be considered a hybrid. It uses, many times simultaneously, different popular Cuban metro-rhythmic cells in Yucatán at the end of the 19th century. During part A, the piano accompaniment has the characteristic of the Habanera musical genre (Fig. 4): based on the Tango cell (Roy 2003: 90) or Habanera pattern (Fig. 5).

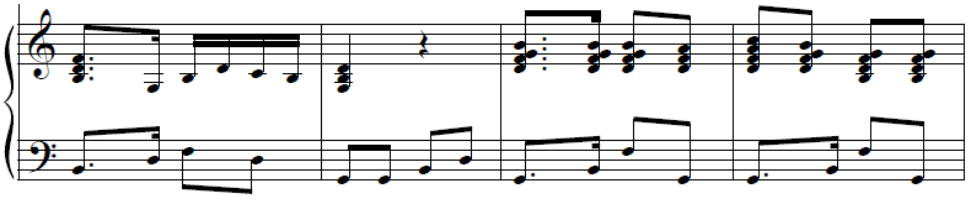


Figure 4. Bars 9th to 12th correspond to the Guaracha piano accompaniment during part A. The piano accompaniment almost permanently uses the Tango cell in this part.

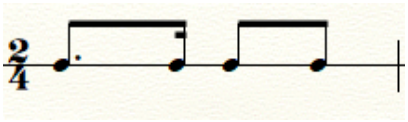


Figure 5. Tango cell, Habanera's basic pattern.

The metro-rhythmic structure prevailing in part B (Fig. 6) is the Danzón. This part is organized in the metro-rhythmic cell that structures this genre, with the reservation that the bar of four quavers, or rhythmic stability (that contrast with the syncopation of the first part of the cell, that has the Cuban cinquillo), has a melodic-rhythmic figure of a dotted quarter note-quaver in the 16th bar and a quarter note-quaver's silence-quaver in the 18th bar. Only the 20th bar presents the group of four quavers.

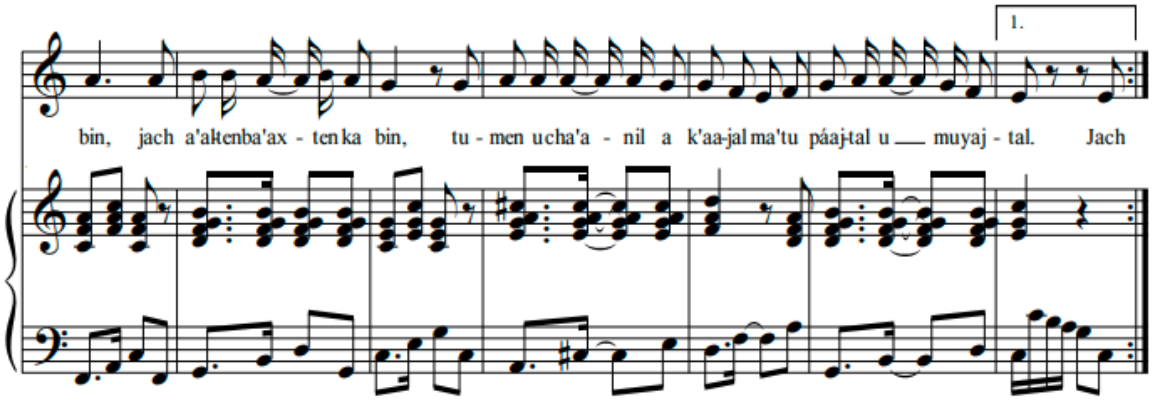


Figure 6. Part B of the Guaracha: bars 16 to 22a[23]. The rhythmic patterns of the Habanera and the Cuban tresillo in the accompaniment do not coincide with the melody built with the Danzón cell.

[23] Clarifying note regarding the analyzed edition: the way of numbering bars seems to have an error. It looks like the second set of endings are taken as actual bars in Pedro Carlos Herrera's edition.

Within the piano's left hand (bass), in the accompaniment for part B, there is an alternation between the Tango cell (bars 16th, 17th, and 18th) and the rhythmic pattern known as Cuban tresillo (in which the tie between the sixteenth note and the first quaver of the weak beat produces syncopation). This pattern can be considered a variation of the Habanera rhythmic pattern (bars 19th, 20th, and 21st) (Fig. 7). In bars 19 and 21, this pattern also appears in the piano's right hand. The harmonic movement in the Guaracha, in bars 19, 20, and 21 (V/ii-ii-V7-I), might motivate this variation of rhythmic figures. Finally, as a sort of this Guaracha apotheosis finale, a rhythmic figure of Cuban cinquillo appears in bar 22b (Fig. 8).

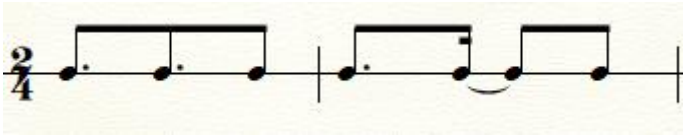


Figure 7. Representation of two ways of writing Cuban tresillo.

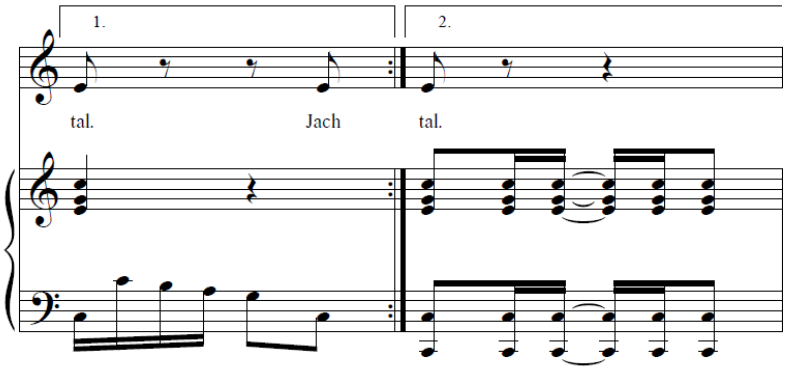
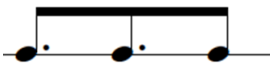
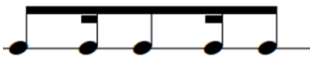
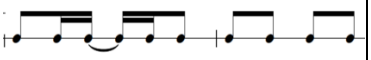


Figure 8. Bars 22a and 22b.

Noticeably, the piano accompaniment in part B, based on Tango's cell and the "Cuban tresillo," contrasts with part A's stylistic stability, which is based entirely on Habanera's pattern. On the contrary, part B's accompaniment does not respect Danzón's metro-rhythmic cell that is simultaneously present in the melody. This dynamic creates a restless succession of rhythmic tension that does not have the correspondent four quavers' second bar within Danzón's metro-rhythmic cell, which is not common to the Cuban tradition of the genre. The following table presents all Cuban musical and semiotic elements (patterns and rhythmic cells) studied in the present analysis. It also specifies the place in which they appear inside the composition and if they have modifications in the levels of rhythmic coincidence with the Cuban genres. By checking this table, it is possible to appreciate how Cuban music, better said, Cuban musical elements, represent a specific ethnic identity and, at the same time, "they are inserted in global and cultural interconnecting dynamics between different cultures" (Martí 1996).

Cuban rhythmic cell or pattern	**Musical notation**	**Use in *Ko'oten boox***	**Mixing between cells and rhythmic patterns**	**Precise use of rhythmic patterns or cells**
Tango cell/Habanera pattern		1. Introduction (bars 1 to 6). 2. In all part A's accompaniment (bars 7 to 14). 3. Bar 7's melody. 4. As a section of part B's accompaniment (bars 15 to 18).	It appears in the accompaniment of part B's first bars. At the same time as the Danzón cell is in the melody (bars 15 to 18).	1.It is used for all of part A. 2.It does not happen in the same way in part B because it needs a second bar of "rhythmic stability" (four quavers with no syncopation) to match Danzón's rhythmic structure.
Cuban tresillo		It appears in a section of the accompaniment for part B (bars 19 to 21).	It happens inside the accompaniment for part B simultaneously with the Danzón cell in the melody (bars. 19 to 21).	It is not precise. To match the Danzón cell, it needs to alternate a bar with "rhythmic tension" (Cuban tresillo, in this case) with one of "rhythmic stability".
Cuban cinquillo		It does it in an isolated way, as a rhythmic gesture to end the Guaracha, without being part of the Danzón cell (bar 22b).	It does not when it appear isolated, but it does when it is inside the Danzón cell.	It does it as a rhythmic gesture at end of the Guaracha, and not as part of the Danzón cell.
Danzón cell or metro-rhythmic pattern		It appears in part B's melody (bars 15 to 22).	It does as it interacts with the Habanera pattern of the accompaniment (bars 15 to 18) and the Cuban tresillo (bars 19 to 21).	It only happens "horizontally" in the melodic construction. It does not "vertically" as it interacts with the accompaniment's cells or patterns.

The above table shows how different Cuban musical cells and patterns in the island's genres developed during the 19th century: Danzón, Guaracha, Habanera, and Bolero, amongst others, were assimilated and developed by musicians and composers in Yucatán. By imitating and "translating" Cuban music, these musicians from Yucatán created a "new product." A musical product that is different from its Cuban precedents and reflects Yucatán's social context. Essentially, Cuban musical genres do not change. However, as they get inserted into particular cultural codes in Yucatán, their meaning changes; these new meanings create contrasting references from the "original" Cuban product (but it is still recognizable). Pablo Vila gives the following comment (1996):

> …many times, a determined musical core "allows" the articulation of a determined configuration of sense; this occurs when the followers of such cultural basis feel that it "adjusts" (after a complex process of coming and going between interpellation and argument) to the notions that organize their identity narratives.

Therefore, it is possible to think that all these "cultural interchanges" are a cultural process of transculturation developed in the Mexican South-East[24]. Local elites sustained this process, and, little by little, that process matured the foundation of a new identity in Yucatán, in which the "Mestizo" and "Mayan" identities gained more importance (especially after the Mexican Revolution). Alongside, the Caribbean cultural and musical influence (from Cuba and Colombia, also) increased during this process. Following Josep Martí notions, the early 20th century saw the gestation of one type of "Yucatán's ethnic music." The Canción Yucateca development bestowed cohesion to the Peninsula's urban music and ideological and cultural support around its regional identity[25].

Conclusions

By assimilating Cuban musical genres, musicians in Yucatán did not limit themselves to reproducing them, but slowly, they appropriated them. In this process, these musicians reinvented those musical genres and related them to the cultural reality of their time and space: late 19th century-early 20th century Mexico and Yucatán during the Henequén era. In this epoch, the local, oppressive, powerful, enriched oligarchy had sufficient capital to sustain the presentations of foreign artists in the region. There was a particular interest in Zarzuela and Teatro Bufo-Cubano companies, which were able to establish, since the second half of the 19th century, a dynamic and profitable artistic network across the Mexican South-East.

Slowly but surely, local composers developed an expanded repertoire with regional characteristics. One case is Cirilo Baqueiro's "Chan Cil" Guaracha *Ko'oten boox*. Habanera, Cuban cinquillo, and Danzón (this one in the melody of part B) rhythmic patterns and cells interact in this composition. However, its piano accompaniment does not use the rhythmic formula of tension-stability, which is fundamental for the Cuban Danzón. Piano accompaniment in this song uses the Tango cell and Cuban tresillo rhythmic pattern. The seed for a new regional identity was starting to be noticeable inside this small Guaracha. In this identity, previous to the beginning of the Mexican Revolution (1910), a Mayan discourse started to be taken by local elites. The composition of Cirilo Baqueiro not only reflected the local urban musical taste but also included, by being partially in Mayan, the Mexican South-East indigenous-mestizo majority, Mayan speakers.

By analyzing the insertion of *Ko'oten boox* in the late 19th century-early 20th-century Mérida artistic life, an early configuration of the post-revolutionary Mayan-Indigenous intellectual construct of the late 1910s and the 20s, by the local hegemonic-intellectual groups, is noticeable. Therefore,

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[24] According to Fernando Ortiz's concept of transculturation, there is a loss and a gain when two or more cultural entities interact in the same space. The consequence is the creation of a new product. This concept considers the unbalanced relations of power in many of these interchanges (1983: 89-90). In such cases, Yucatán's new urban identity is not entirely Mayan, white, Cuban, or Mexican.

[25] To Martí, different ethnic music is: "those with whom we give ethnic value. A value that is defined by: a romantic myth of collective creation; by a myth dedicated to cultural parenthood of a group; by the historical myth that gives ontological continuity to ethnic groups throughout time […] They are natural because these music ethnicities, sustained by the previous myths and by their pretended "a-historicity", fulfill ethnic requirements of "naturalness" (and also of unquestionability), and validate their ideology in the best way…" (Martí 1996).

an early stage of a cultural "proto-regionalism" in Yucatán that configures a local identity with foreign musical influences is appreciable, as well. In Yucatán, the conformation of local identity symbols is a product of regional, national, and international relations intertwining.

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