

Being a Composer in the Andes during the Age of Revolutions

Choices and Appropriations in the Music of
José Bernardo Alzedo and Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado

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DECLARATION

The dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration with others, except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text itself. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

José Manuel Izquierdo König

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the choices involved in being a composer in Latin America during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. My primary interest is to understand how composers adapted - or not- their aesthetics, ideas and careers amid the rapid changes brought to this region between the 1790s and 1850s, a period often described as an “Age of Revolutions” and that saw the end of colonial rule and the foundation of modern independent nations. Composers in the region worked within European forms and styles, and with Europe as a cosmopolitan cultural model; but they also learned, composed and performed in a specific set of historical conditions that differed from those in contemporary Europe. In that sense, my interest is in the specific agency composers -as literate urban citizens- had in appropriating and shaping transatlantic cultural transfers during this period.

My study focuses on two musicians working in the Andean region, today’s Bolivia, Peru and Chile, during this period: José Bernardo Alzedo (Lima, 1788-1878) and Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado (Arequipa, 1784 - Sucre, 1856). Born in late-colonial times, both composers adapted themselves and their musical styles to the new expectations created by the post-independence period. Through five chapters I explore their specific role as composers, and how their decisions and choices impacted their careers and music, both personally and in context. Some key problems discussed in the dissertation include the definitions of local, personal and national “schools” and styles of composition; the notion of the composer as a post-colonial *letrado*; the ways in which specific European influences (like printed scores and Italian opera) shaped local musical scenes; and the complexities of adapting colonial musical models to the new “republican” period and its changing values, perspectives and ideals.

Acknowledgments

I could not have done this research without the support and love of my wife, Camila Miranda, and our family in Chile. Our experience in Cambridge has been a real journey. I'm enormously grateful of the support of my supervisor, Benjamin Walton, who has reshaped my work in many ways, and I have learned enormously from him over these last four years. This dissertation has been possible thanks to the generous economic support of the Gates Cambridge Scholarship programme, and I am not only grateful to them as a funding body, but also to those who, working there, have helped me many times. Similarly, Clare Hall has been enormously supportive, and I want to give my thanks to Irene and my tutor Rosie Luff for their help. The many friends who helped me in multiple ways are too many to mention here, but I would like to single out those that helped me with documents, information, readings and advice: Víctor Rondón, Zoila Vega Salvatierra (and her friend María Eugenia Tomasio), William (Bill) Lofstrom, Armando Sánchez Málaga, Fernanda Vera, Mauricio Valdebenito, Eillen Karmy, Lucas Robatto, Laura Jordán, Susan Rutherford, Andrés Orías Blüchner, Juan Francisco Sans, Juan Conrado Quinquivi Morón, Paola Revilla Orías, Sachiko Sakuma, Harold Beizaga Tapia, Alexander-Sergei Ramírez, Lucas Robatto, Igor de Gandarias, Leonardo Waisman, Bernardo Illari, Elisabeth Le Guin, Norberto Broggin, Marcelo Campos Hazan, Paulo Kühn, Giorgio Monari, Alejandro Vera, Gilbert Cuthbertson, and my examiners over the years: Nicholas Cook, Martin Ennis, Marina Frolova-Walker, James Webster, Rogério Budasz and Katharine Ellis.

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This dissertation was written thanks to the support of a Gates Cambridge Scholarship.



A preliminary note on the Archival Sources

I prefer to use through the dissertation a series of *sigla* to help the reader in finding the archival documents. Here is a list of those archives, and their addresses. Newspapers were consulted on the national libraries of their country of publication, except for *El Iris de la Paz* and *El Investigador* (seen in the British Library).

- AAA: Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa
Psj. Catedral S/N, Arequipa
- AAS: Archivo Arzobispal de Santiago de Chile
Av. Walker Martínez 2020, La Florida, Santiago
- AAL: Archivo Arzobispal de Lima
Luis Espejo 1064, Santa Catalina, Lima
- ABNB: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia
Dalence, SN, Sucre
- ACS: Archivo Catedral de Santiago de Chile
Plaza de Armas, SN, Santiago (inside the Cathedral itself)
- ABAS: Archivo-Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos Monseñor Miguel de los Santos Taborga
Sucre (Bolivia) - Nicolás Ortiz N°91, Sucre, Bolivia
- BNC: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile
Av. Libertador B. O'Higgins 651, Santiago de Chile
- BNP: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú
Av. De la Poesía 160, San Borja, Lima, Perú
- BPRD: Biblioteca Patrimonial Recoleta Dominica Santiago de Chile
Avenida Recoleta 683, Recoleta, Santiago de Chile
- CAOB: Colección Andrés Orías Blüchner
Private Collection - Geneva, Switzerland
- CDSFJ: Centro de Documentación Universidad San Francisco Xavier [Javier] de Chuquisaca - Casa Argandoña, Aniceto Arce, Sucre, Bolivia
- SPM: Biblioteca Seminario Pontificio Mayor de los Santos Ángeles Custodios de Santiago de Chile - Av. Walker Martínez 2020, La Florida, Santiago

A note on translations

When citing longer snippets from documents that are not easily available, as is the case of (for example) newspapers, nineteenth-century books or archival sources, the original in Spanish is given in the footnotes and, unless stated otherwise, the translations are mine. In the case of short, incomplete sentences, sometimes no translation is given, since I believe the meaning is straightforward, but when deemed necessary a single word is translated with the use of square brackets and italics. The original orthography has been maintained when possible.

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A NOTE ON THE WRITING PROCESS

I believe in writing as a process, and this dissertation is a reflection of my own process of writing in a new language. As Jhumpa Lahiri says in her beautiful book *Altre Parole*, when writing in a different language one has to be aware of the impossibility of reaching the heights of the mountains, and find the pleasure that comes with accepting that reality. Accordingly, this text has been revised and checked only by myself, my supervisor, and those who were kind enough to read bits and parts of it at different times, from the first-year drafts to the present version.

A month after I had finished my book, in February 1861, I got my hands on M. Fétis's excellent work [*Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*]. If we take a closer look at this book, with its eight volumes, it is notable the abundance of artists mentioned there who, without judging their talents, remind us of the many others that have been excluded and are certainly worthy of being remembered. [For example,] one can realise that the wise biographer did not look towards the Americas. One would think that after three centuries of civilization, at least there would be one name that could have occupied the last place in that long series: as the proverb says, *beauty and discretion are found in every nation*. Even if we restrict ourselves to our Peru, I have been acquainted with good masters like Toribio del Campo, composer, man of letters and excellent organ builder; or presbyter Melchor Tapia, composer and organist in our cathedral in Lima; or my contemporary José María Filomeno; or friar Cipriano Aguilar, composer and chapelmaster in the church of the Augustinians; and, particularly, the Arequipenian Pedro Jimenez Abril (well known as Pedro Tirado), who beyond his Masses and other interesting pieces, has been admired for his symphonies and two violin concertos [...] Nevertheless, considering how much Fétis has done in his long life, he deserves our eternal gratitude, as well as our sincere forgiveness.

José Bernardo Alzedo

Lima, 1868-69

Filosofía elemental de la música, p.214

1. Introduction

This dissertation is about the choices involved in being a composer in Latin America¹ during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, a period often described as an “age of revolutions”.² My primary interest is to understand how composers adapted -or not- their aesthetics, ideas and careers amid the rapid changes brought to this region between the 1790s and 1850s, the end of colonial rule and the foundation of the new republics. These composers worked within European forms and styles, and with Europe as a cosmopolitan cultural model; but they also learned, composed, thought and performed in a specific set of historical conditions that differed from those in contemporary Europe. Importantly, most professional music-making in Latin America happened during this period inside Catholic temples, there was no music-printing, almost no public concerts, and until the 1820s the region was technically closed to foreigners, including musicians. How did these conditions shape their music-making and their choices as artists and craftsmen?

Western art music moved across the Atlantic but, given colonial structures,

¹ The concept of Latin America, conceived only in the 1850s, is used in this dissertation retrospectively to define a broad geopolitical region comprised of the former colonies of Spain and Portugal in America that became independent, Spanish or Portuguese speaking countries. The concept, however, is not used to the exception of all others. Another concept for the same region is that of Ibero-America, but is not as well-known in English parlance and thus not used here as often. During the early nineteenth century “America” was often used to describe the region, but today this can be easily confused with the United States, and thus I use it mostly when considering the entire geographical region, considering also the anglophone colonies. I would argue that the concept of Europe is similarly difficult to apply, since in this period it was used to describe peoples and attitudes that could be conceptualised as being modern European, even if they came from other regions. I have therefore decided to use these concepts (Europe and Latin America) largely for the sake of clarity, being easily understood by modern readers to denote geographies, even if I must accept their potential colonialist implications, which are in no way intended on my part. For a longer explanation of the problem, see Peter Beardsell’s *Europe and Latin America: Returning the Gaze* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 1-4.

² This period roughly coincides with what Hobsbawm called in 1962 the “Age of Revolution”, from 1789 to 1848 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2012). Silke Hensel has argued, following a review of an important number of books on the subject and period, that it can equally be applied -with certain caveats- to Latin America (“Review: Was there an Age of Revolution in Latin America? New Literature on Latin American Independence”. In *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 38/3 (2003), 237-249). While the original concept by Hobsbawm was in the singular (“Revolution”), the incorporation of broader parallel revolutions might conform to the global use in the plural, as in the definition of “Atlantic revolutions” proposed, among others, by Gabriel Paquette: *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c.1770-1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Importantly, the period was already being discussed in the nineteenth century as a unity. This is clear, for example, in Miguel Lerdo’s 1853 book on Mexican economic history *Comercio exterior de México desde la conquista hasta hoy* (México: BCCE, 1967).

mostly in one direction: from Europe to the Americas. As with any other form of cultural transfer, it changed in that transit, and had to be appropriated and translated for the various new contexts of the so-called “New World”. Styles, manners, ideologies, categories and scores themselves were adapted by specific people in specific regions at different times, and literate music became an object that, travelling from afar, had to dialogue with other forms of art. As in all forms of colonial rapprochement, there was explicit cultural imposition, but there was also engagement, appropriation and active acceptance. “European” music became “Latin American” music too, through the agency of performers, audiences and composers.

While the music scenes of the region could be discussed from multiple perspectives, and through multiple voices, my focus for this dissertation is on composers, and their own conscious agency, and it is through them that I want to discuss problems of style, meaning and the various dichotomies involved in dealing with such musics in the urban contexts of Latin America in the early nineteenth century. My study focuses on two musicians working in the Andean region, taking into account that the region had been transformed from the Inca empire into the Viceroyalty of Peru, and during their lifetimes became the countries of Bolivia, Peru and Chile.³ Their names are José Bernardo Alzedo (Lima, 1788 - 1878) and Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado (Arequipa, 1784 - Sucre, 1856). Born in colonial times, they adapted themselves and their musical styles to the new expectations created by the early republican period and its many social, economic, cultural and political issues. I consider them as urban literate musicians, and citizens with a creative voice. While comparisons with other musicians will be used, the focus will be on the ways in which Alzedo and Ximénez interacted with the cultural interests of elites, the collective traditions of the colonial past, and their own personal backgrounds and aspirations.

³ The Andean region is here defined as the area administratively shaped by the Inca Empire and, later, by the Viceroyalty of Peru, and was largely a single structure (with its own borderlines) until the late eighteenth century. It consists of today’s Peru, Bolivia, the north of Argentina, the south of Ecuador and Chile down to the city of Concepción. For the purposes of this dissertation, the mention of an Andean area connotes mainly the cities of Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco, La Paz, Sucre and Santiago.

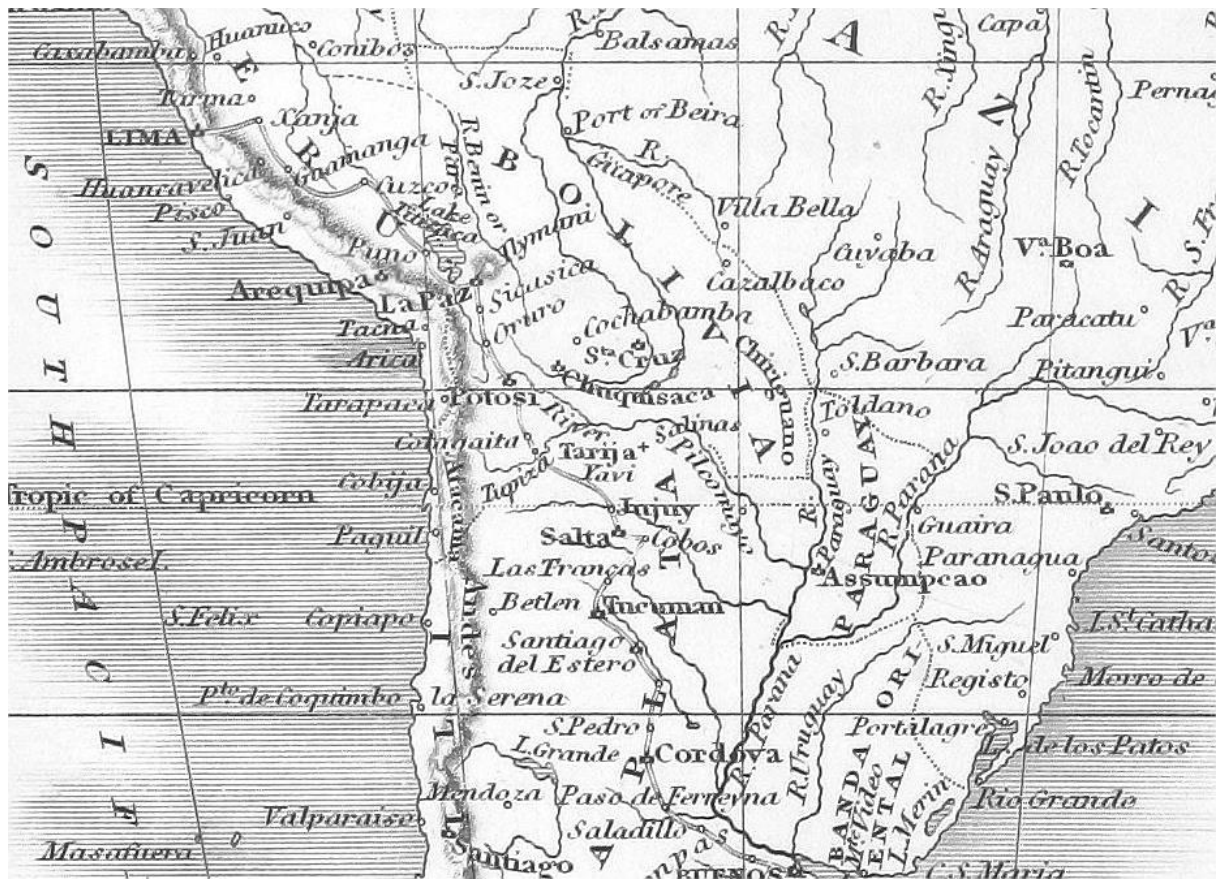


Figure 1, Map of South America engraved by Sid. Hall, 1830. British Library, Public Domain.

There have been many considerations involved in my choice of working with a pair of Peruvian composers as my main focus. Perhaps the most important involves my access to sources, particularly musical ones, which allows me to go beyond the purely biographical aspects of their careers into discussions of aesthetic interests, appropriations and choices that are rarely present in musicological discourses of music in this period and from this region.⁴ Since 2007 I have been working in nineteenth-century musical archives in the Andean region, at times creating, developing and/or

⁴ These sources have been gathered from archives in Chile, Peru, Bolivia, England and Switzerland, including the National Archives of Chile (BNC) and Bolivia (ABNB), the Cathedral archive in Santiago (ACS), the Dominican archive in Santiago (BPRD), the National Library of Peru (BNP), the Archbishop's archive in Sucre (ABAS), the archive of the San Francisco Javier University in Sucre (CDUSFJ), the archive of the Universidad de Chile (AAB) and private collections, particularly that of Andrés Orías Blüthner (CAOB). When pictures of the documents appear, I have either been granted their use in this dissertation by their owners, or they are freely available, or their copyright has expired. For scores transcribed into modern notation, all music by Alzedo and Ximénez -as well as for any other scores used here- is without copyright and has been consulted from the originals with authorization of the manuscripts' owners, and transcribed by myself. When other transcriptions of these scores were available, they were compared and consulted (see the Appendix).

cataloguing some of their collections. This has given me a broad picture of what is, or is not, available through public sources today. Work done just before or during the period of my doctorate in Cambridge has meant that the music of Alzedo and Ximénez can today be accessed not only by the one writing these lines, but also by other scholars who might be interested in doing so in the future.⁵ The creation of catalogues, the transcriptions of scores and the multiple conversations with those in charge of the archival sources has been the firm structure on which this dissertation has been built.

But beyond practical aspects, there are important historical reasons that have inspired me to focus my attention on the music of José Bernardo Alzedo and Pedro Ximénez Abrill. There is a good degree of both similarities and differences between them.⁶ To begin with, both were born in Peru, only four years apart, but in two different cities (the two most important and influential cities of that nation): Lima and Arequipa. They came from opposite ends of the spectrum of late-colonial society: while Alzedo was a *pardo*⁷ in highly stratified Lima, Ximénez was born a *criollo*⁸ in one of the most prominent Arequipenian families at that time, the Tirado y Abrill. They both learned their craft during colonial times, and later were involved in the process of creating music for the promotion of independence during the wars against Spain and the early republican period. They both had to leave Peru in search of new

⁵ A joint project with Víctor Rondón, from the Universidad de Chile, and Armando Sánchez Málaga, from the Universidad Católica del Perú, allowed us to help the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP) to catalogue their Alzedo sources. Those held in Peru have now been digitised and can be found in the Biblioteca Virtual of the BNP (bvirtual.bnp.gob.pe). I also catalogued the works of Ximénez in the ABAS (Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos de Sucre) in 2014, and wrote a joint inventory of his music in the public archives of Bolivia for the use of scholars. There are printed versions of this inventory in each archive, and a digital version can be found here:

https://www.academia.edu/9032607/Cat%C3%A1logo_Cr%C3%ADtico_de_la_Obra_de_Pedro_Xim%C3%A9nez_Abrill_Tirado (Accessed 5 September, 2016).

⁶ Appendix A1 offers a chronology that situates some of the “milestones” of the lives of Alzedo and Ximénez in relation to contemporary events in the Andean Region and the Americas more generally.

⁷ *Pardo* was term commonly used in the Spanish colonies, particularly in the eighteenth century, to refer to those with African origins but mixed with other groups. It was thus largely determined by differences in colour, as was the term *mulatto*. However, in the late eighteenth century the social rise of *pardos* begun to transform the use of the word to describe Black urban citizens, or families of freed slaves, rather than referring to any particular mixture.

⁸ *Criollos* are Spaniards, or people with Spanish cultural or family background, born on American soil. Sometimes the French version of the word, *creole*, is used in English scholarship, but I would argue that it conveys something different from the notion of *casta* implied in the Spanish concept.

opportunities, and they eventually became chapelmasters in the two most important cathedrals in neighbouring new-born countries: Santiago and Sucre.

Alzedo's mother was a freed slave [*esclava libre*], and would have been identified as a member of the *pardos*, black urban free citizens of the colonies.⁹ It was exciting to be a *pardo* in Lima around 1800, when they were becoming the most "upwardly mobile" of all social classes.¹⁰ A good number of Afro-Limenians were gaining well-deserved reputations in their respective fields, participating in political and literary discussions, and finding a voice in the late-colonial society that had been only rarely open to their forebears.¹¹ Their ideas were even being printed, contributions to a change in status that would have increasingly more complex -and fruitful- implications for Alzedo's generation.¹² Nevertheless, as a group constantly suffering discrimination, *pardos* knew of the possibilities independence could bring, even if in practice "citizenship for everyone remained more theoretical than real for many decades".¹³

But to be a literate member of Limenian society, Alzedo first had to learn and practice a craft, which was particularly difficult for someone not only of black origin, but also not recognised by his father.¹⁴ His mother, Rosa Retuerto, decided to hand him to a local monastery, probably to give him better chances in life. He stayed there,

⁹ The system of classification of social, racial and cultural differences in the Spanish colonies was known as *castas*. It is important to note that *casta* classifications were almost never homogeneous. *Mulattos* are usually described as those of mixed Spanish and black background, while *pardos* could, for example, add to the imagined "pool" indigenous blood (or looks, or social background).

¹⁰ John Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18.

¹¹ While mulattos and pardos did perform in the Cathedral sometimes, it would have been extremely difficult to become chapelmaster, and there were explicit regulations against the official hiring of "negroes or those of mixed race" as musicians around 1800. See Andrés Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el virreinato* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1970), I/85-89.

¹² For example, the medical doctor José Pastor de Larrinaga, of Afro-Peruvian origin, published in 1791 his *Apología de los Cirujanos del Perú*, in which he discussed, among other subjects, the rights of blacks to serve as surgeons. See Jouve Martín's *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima. Science, Race, and Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

¹³ Chasteen, *Americanos*, 3.

¹⁴ *Hijo natural*, or *niño expósito*, was the concept used for sons not recognised by their fathers when baptised. It was a legal concept, and until 1794 anyone in that condition could not enter an educational establishment, and had many other rights curtailed. This was overridden by a new royal decree published in 1794 in the *Mercurio de España*, February 1794, 301.

living as a monk, until the revolutionary armies arrived in Lima in 1821, disrupting the local political and social scene.¹⁵ As was common at the time, music education was essentially a matter of the Catholic church, and some monasteries were better known for their music scholars than others. Alzedo learned from many of the best-known masters of his time, first living with the Augustinians and later with the Dominicans, with whom he professed.¹⁶ A photo that survives of him, from 1862, shows us a man who, while perhaps seeming tired, appears also to have an unmistakable confidence, augmented by his suit and posture (Figure 2):



Figure 2: José Bernardo Alzedo, 1862. Courtesy of Rodrigo Torres.
Original picture is now kept in Archivo Andrés Bello, Universidad de Chile, in Isidora Zegers's Album.

¹⁵ Alzedo himself remembered in his *Filosofía elemental de la música: ó sea, la exegesis de las doctrinas conducentes á su major inteligencia* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1869), the “inexhaustible energy of the *Maestros* in the orders of the Augustinians, Dominican and Mercedarians in Lima who received and fed all the children, teaching them to sing [and] to learn the instruments they preferred” [gracias al laudable comedimiento e incansable diligencia de los Maestros de Capilla de las órdenes regulares de Agustinos, Domínicos y Mercedarios, que recibiendo y aun alimentando desinteresadamente niños, los enseñaban a cantar para el servicio del culto divino, destinándolos despues al aprendizaje de los instrumentos que los mismos alumnos elegían], xx. Of course, Alzedo could have been here trying to protect or praise a group from which he was part, and the description might be more rose-tinted than the actual practice, but he seems to be remembering them with honest gratitude.

¹⁶ The largest Limenian monasteries appear to have sustained continued musical life and orchestras sometimes as large as the one in the Cathedral, or even surpassing it, but more research would be necessary to address how they differed. Certainly, monasteries had chapelmasters too, who would have composed music for the services, but much less is known about these musical scenes than what happened in Lima cathedral.

Sadly, no portrait survives of Pedro Ximénez Abrill. Our only approach to him, as a person beyond his music, is through a handful of public letters. His early life was, in many ways, very different from that of Alzedo. Born Pedro Tirado, the surname of his godfather,¹⁷ he was a white citizen in a city famous for having one of the highest proportions of noble Spaniards in colonial America.¹⁸ Because of this, Arequipenians' "preoccupation with lineage and their schemes to secure elite status for their children were major elements in the formation of a closely integrated regional elite group that was the basis of Arequipa's regional cohesion".¹⁹ Ximénez was, like Alzedo, a "natural" son -baptised without recognised father-, but his family had enough power to give him a proper education, most probably in the local Seminary or at his home. Perhaps he participated in the *tertulia literaria* -or literary salon that was organised in the house of his godfather, the *Quinta de Tirado*, and where the most famous Peruvian poet of the period, Mariano Melgar, explicitly promoted the cause of independence and liberty in his writings and discourses around 1800.²⁰ Ximénez and Melgar might even have composed a Patriotic March together in the 1810s.²¹

Ximénez, however, was never as involved in patriotic fervour, or least not like Alzedo, who joined the army as a combatant and, later, a bandmaster, participating in some battles during 1822. Alzedo also wrote some important patriotic songs, of which

¹⁷ Ximénez acknowledged in various documents that he was born in 1784 and there is a Pedro baptised that year by his godparents Pío Tirado y Abrill and María Manuela Tirado, which might explain why he used the surname Tirado for a long time before changing to the Ximénez of his father -Buenaventura Ximénez- and the Abrill of his mother, but keeping the Tirado as a rare third surname. See the "Libro de bautismos El Sagrario", AAA, no.42 folio 36v (I thank Zoila Vega for this information). This issue has led to much confusion over how his name should be spelt and normalised. The option adopted in the dissertation is the one that appears most often in his surviving signatures from the end of his life: Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado.

¹⁸ Further information in English on the context of Arequipa in this period can be found in Sarah Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1840* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ See John Frederick Wibel, "The Evolution of a Regional Community within Spanish Empire and Peruvian Nation; Arequipa, 1780-1845" (PhD diss. Stanford University, 1975), 14.

²⁰ Mariano Melgar (1791-1815) was born in Arequipa, and was sent to study law in Lima. His poetry, published in newspapers, became widely known in the region only after he was killed by a firing squad when he was only 25. He had been participating in revolutionary battles, and was taken prisoner after the defeat of the patriot army in the Battle of Umachiri.

²¹ On the *Marcha Patriótica*, including a reconstruction of the music from oral sources, see Darío González: "El arte al servicio de la patria", *Human Sciences Review* 8 (1995), 85-117.

La Chicha became a huge success and was still popular fifty years later, while his *Somos Libres* became the Peruvian National Anthem in 1821 after winning a contest organised by General José de San Martín.²² A few years later Alzedo travelled to Chile with the army -Battalion no.4 to be precise- and decided to stay there. He worked in Santiago Cathedral from 1835 to 1863, returning afterwards to Peru, where he would live for another fifteen years enjoying a constant stream of honours and celebrations as the composer of the national anthem.

Ximénez, on the other hand, appears in multiple Arequipenian sources during the 1820s as a member of the literary, professional and intellectual movements in that city, being elected a member of the local *Academia Lauretana* and the first public independent school, the *Colegio de la Independencia*.²³ He organised a series of semi-private concerts in his home, and was praised in newspapers across the region around 1830 as a composer of particular merits. In 1833 he went into professional “exile”, after being invited by Andrés de Santa Cruz -then president of Bolivia- to serve as chapelmaster and professor of music in the capital, Sucre. There he would compose most of his sacred music, and gain enormous prestige,²⁴ at least until Santa Cruz lost the war with Chile and Peru in 1839, and thus stopped his direct support of the composer. With less influence and income, Ximénez would nevertheless stay in Sucre until his death.

The most important contrast between these two composers, however, might not be in their biographies, but in their reception history. On the one hand, Alzedo, as composer of the national anthem, has been acknowledged in Peru by having streets,

²² See p.164 for an extended discussion of this event.

²³ Both institutions will be discussed further in chapter 3.

²⁴ Ximénez was recognised in newspapers and in his obituary as a “genius” [*genio*], as I will discuss in later chapters, and even Alzedo wrote that Ximénez was admired in a special way (Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 212). Foreigners also praised him: Hugh de Bonelli wrote in his travel account of the 1840s that Ximénez was “one of the most refined and polished composers of the old sonata and rondo school, and, at the same time, a first-rate performer on the violoncello. His power in execution is as great as his taste as a composer, and this is evidenced by the exquisite melodies which he draws forth from that elegant instrument, the Spanish guitar. The musical gems to which his genius has given birth, are sufficient to immortalise his name”. See Hugh de Bonelli, *Travels in Bolivia: With a Tour Across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1854), 78.

theatres and parks named after him, and his body is interred in the national Pantheon [*Panteón de los Héroes*] in Lima, as a recognised national hero. Accordingly, subsequent discussions about him have been mostly of a pseudo-hagiographic character, where nationalism has dominated. The most influential of these accounts is certainly the one that Félix Coronel Zegarra wrote based on interviews with the composer himself, and that was published at the beginning of Alzedo's *Filosofía Elemental*. Most other biographies have been based on this account. A more critical approach was offered by Carlos Raygada in his massive two-volume study of the Peruvian anthem published in 1951.²⁵ Beyond Peru, in 1971 Robert Stevenson wrote a long tribute to Alzedo that, perhaps for the first time, offered a perspective on him from outside Peruvian nationalism. Stevenson nonetheless was highly admiring of Alzedo, and commented - among other things- that Alzedo's "compositions [...] worthily compete with any contemporary church music accompanied by orchestra being written in Europe", offering a view that inspired research on the composer over the following decades.²⁶ There has been more interest in Lima too in reading Alzedo as a black composer, a perspective that was largely absent from previous nationalist discourses on him.

Ximénez, on the other hand, after many years of being almost completely forgotten by Peruvian and Bolivian music historiography alike,²⁷ has more recently

²⁵ Carlos Raygada, *Historia crítica del Himno Nacional* (Lima: J. Mejía Baca, 1954).

²⁶ Robert Stevenson, *Tribute to José Bernardo Alzedo, 1788-1878* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1971), 2. This article, edited only in a mechanical typographic copy, circulated widely in Latin America and was central in generating more interest in the composer. Samuel Claro, following Stevenson, suggested that Alzedo's presence in Santiago "marked the artistic culmination of cathedral music in Chile during the 19th century and, probably, during its whole history". See his entry on Alzedo in Emilio Casares (ed.), *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana...* (Madrid: Grupo Anaya Comercial, 2002), vol.1, 387. Following this trend, Denise Sargent wrote a dissertation on Alzedo's life in Santiago in 1984, with some transcriptions: "Aportes de José Bernardo Alzedo a la música religiosa en Chile", 2 vols (BA Diss. Universidad de Chile, 1984). I also recently published a book on Alzedo's work as *Maestro de Capilla* in Santiago, focused on the arrival on the English organ for the Cathedral in 1849: *El gran órgano de la catedral de Santiago: Música y modernidad en una ciudad republicana (1840-1860)* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones UC, 2013), as well as a modern biographical account written together with Víctor Rondón for the Libraries and Museums Central Direction of Chile, which can be found also in the following link: http://www.bibliotecadominica.cl/678/articles-9836_archivo_05.pdf (Accessed 6 September 2016).

²⁷ Ximénez is specifically mentioned as an important Peruvian composer by Carlos Seoane in his entry on Bolivia for Robert Günther's *Die Musikkulturen Lateinamerikas im 19. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 1982) and there is an entry for Casares' *Diccionario de la música española...* vol.X, 304, which was

been granted national importance in both countries after the discovery of a large cache of his music in an old chest in a house in Chuquisaca in the early 2000s.²⁸ However, unscrupulous agents sold the music to various bidders, scattering the documents among private collectors before public archives acquired what was left (which, luckily, still included most of the scores). This has meant that to reconstruct some pieces, one has to compare parts dispersed among multiple public archives and individual collections. The two biggest sets of documents are those of the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia and, one street away, the Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos de Sucre. Following the cataloguing of the collection in the National Archive in 2010, interest in Ximénez started to increase exponentially, with a few recordings, various performances, and multiple articles.²⁹ Ximénez's "myth" is thus being shaped during the writing of this dissertation, mostly grounded on the fact that his symphonies and instrumental works grant him a certain "European" aura: a South American "great composer" image that has been difficult to resist for those interested in his music.³⁰

We don't know if the composers ever met, but there are indications that this

written by Juan Carlos Estenssoro. Both appeared before the scores were found.

²⁸ This collection of newly discovered scores was first commented on in 2006 by William Lofstrom, who published a simple -but enormously significant- review of Ximénez's life and an adventurous survey of his music, while acknowledging that research on the composer was still in its infancy. A few months later Beatriz Rossells -an historian like Lofstrom- wrote on the relation of Ximénez to the city of Chuquisaca and for the first time raising some aesthetic issues. Both articles were published in the *Revista Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia*, respectively on numbers 40 and 42 (see my Bibliography).

²⁹ In 2012 Eduardo Vargas wrote his PhD dissertation on Ximénez's 11th Symphony: "Pedro Ximénez Abrill's Symphony no.11: Editorial Research and Performance Considerations for Modern Premiere" (PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2012), with an analysis and editorial research towards a modern performance of the work. Perhaps he followed Lofstrom, who wrote that this symphony was a "representative example" of Ximénez's style ("Rescate de una valiosa", 49), having been previously transcribed by Carlos Seoane and played in Arequipa under the baton of Zoila Vega, who has also been discovering hitherto unknown information on the composer. Arequipenian Marcela Cornejo recognises Ximénez in her book *Música popular...*; Carlos Seoane published a catalogue of Ximénez's music in the National Archive of Bolivia with María Soledad Cuiza in 2010: *Catálogo analítico de las obras de la Colección Pedro Ximénez de Abrill Tirado del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia* (Sucre, Bolivia: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales, 2010). The catalogue, while being of enormous interest, has significant problems that seriously undermine the effort, including works with more than one catalogue number, no concordance with Ximénez's own catalogue of music and a lack of homogeneity in the terms and criteria used.

³⁰ An essay calling him "The Rossini of the Americas" written by Darío Montiel (*Asociación Argentina de Laúdes y Guitarras*, 2012) and another one about his guitar music written by Harold Beizaga can be seen as part of this trend. See Beizaga, "Riscoprendo Pedro Ximenez Abrill y Tirado (1780-1856) a 155 anni della morte". *Il Fronimo, Revista de chitarra*, No156 (2011), 24-36.

might have been the case. It is interesting that in those collections of Ximénez's own music, there are traces of works by José Bernardo Alzedo, and that in collections of music closely associated to Alzedo's life, music by Ximénez's also has a presence.³¹ Those material aspects will play a large role in this dissertation, and they direct us to the fact that, as part of a generation of Latin American composers in a cultural transit,³² Ximénez and Alzedo shared common elements and, as Peruvian citizens and musicians, they acknowledged each other. The similarities and differences in Alzedo and Ximénez's life trajectories and musical output show some of the multiple social, professional and aesthetic possibilities opened up to composers after Independence across Ibero-America. Their music, as well as professional and personal choices, can show how this process of reception, cultural translation and creation occurred in a period marked by political and social changes accompanied by the force of an asymmetric cosmopolitan perspective.

I believe that a comparative analysis of their careers and music can give us a better understanding of the possibilities of musical life, cultural exchanges, foreign influences and local tendencies in the territories that had previously been part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, and in the context of the broader Latin American region, during the first half of the nineteenth century.³³ This does not mean that this dissertation will give out a full account of either Alzedo's or Ximénez's lives, since this is not a

³¹ For example, a *Salve Regina* from Ximénez that is found in Sucre with the code ABNB1338 is also found in the Recoleta Dominica of Santiago under the code BPRD SMC_08, this time with the name of Alzedo on the cover. Also, a villancico by Alzedo, *De la Casa de David* was found amongst Ximénez's papers, being attributed to him by Seoane, with the code ABNB 1431. Three masses by Ximénez were copied and used in Santiago Cathedral, the ones coded in the archive with numbers ACS 322, 146 and 129. The Biblioteca Nacional del Perú has also recognised this connection when situating the music of Alzedo and Ximénez in a recital of their works conserved there (alongside other composers), which can be found on YouTube here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w-r7sL4485w> (Accessed 6 September 2016).

³² The concept of generation here is used in the manner of Karl Mannheim's 1923 theory of generations. I wrote a chapter on this problem and its relation to Latin America titled "*Cosmopolitas y Patriotas: ser Compositor en Iberoamérica en Tiempos de Independencia (1790-1840)*", which will appear in the forthcoming book edited by Javier Marín, entitled *Sones de Ida y Vuelta*, to be published by the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales (Madrid, probably in late 2017).

³³ Even if by 1776 an important part of the Viceroyalty had passed to Buenos Aires and the *Rio de la Plata*, the political, cultural, and military influence of Lima was central for the whole South-Andean region, including today's Bolivia, Chile, Argentina and part of Ecuador.

biography of either figure.³⁴ But “biography” has an important role in this dissertation as an historiographical tool, in the terms used by Miles Ogborn: “the benefit of understanding global processes through the lens of biography, and of understanding individual lives in the context of [...] history, is the focus it provides on the role of human action in the making of the world”.³⁵

In the same vein, Jolanta Pekacz, looking at the role of biography in contemporary musicology, has stated recently that there is a need for “incorporating the biographical into the contextualizing discourse; a prospect particularly challenging for musicologists in view of the ambiguous place biography has thus far occupied in academic musicology”.³⁶ I consider that in an era of post-“New Musicology” debates, a focus on individual lives, even if only in a fragmentary way, can help us consider the roles of active agents in effecting processes of cultural transformation and appropriation. Furthermore, I deem such an approach essential not only for research interested in the agency and choices of individuals, but specifically important for a period and a region in which not much music historical research has been previously carried out. While much has been written in Anglophone musicology about the use and abuse of biographies of composers and of musical analysis, I would argue that there is an urgent need for such approaches, done in imaginative and novel ways, in relation to the study of Latin American historical repertoires.³⁷

³⁴ I worked on a short modern biography of Alzedo with Víctor Rondón, titled “José Bernardo Alzedo (1788-1878) o la Apoteosis de un Músico Pardo”, which was published for and by the DIBAM of Chile and can be found at the following link:

http://www.bibliotecadominica.cl/678/articles-9836_archivo_05.pdf (Accessed 6 September 2016).

In relation to Ximénez, we have worked alongside Zoila Vega from Arequipa in a new biographical account, which has been accepted already by the *Revista Musical Chilena* and should be published in late 2017, or early 2018, titled: “Nuevos Aportes sobre la Vida del Compositor Peruano-Boliviano Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado (1784-1856)”. In the case of both articles, my decision to work with other scholars responded to my belief that a detailed biographical account gained with the use of various insights and more information gained by projects that differed from mine, like Rondón’s work on Afro-American musicians in Chile, and Vega’s work on music in the Cathedral of Arequipa.

³⁵ Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 11.

³⁶ Jolanta Pekacz, *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 8.

³⁷ In fact, the critique of the traditional “life and works” model over recent decades in Anglo-American musicology has had only a tenuous impact on Latin American historical musicology. Juan Francisco Sans has recently observed in his review of Giles Hooper’s *The Discourse of Musicology*, “we are not sure that the [debate] on postmodern musicology has been of real interest to the discipline written in the

Perhaps the most important aspect discussed in this context is the hypothesis - which I will try to prove in following chapters- that both Alzedo and Ximénez took an active part as agents in the transformation of the role of the composer in Latin America during this time, and that their musical aesthetics were transformed as part of the same process.³⁸ Coming from a colonial background, their ideas changed, and were changed, by their involvement in different music scenes (such as theatres, churches and military bands) and sociopolitical processes. They were public voices, in their music and through newspapers, and their ideas were heard by archbishops, presidents and all of those involved in building the “new” republican Andean nations. A *pardo* and a *criollo*, respectively, they both had much to gain from the new ideas of liberty, equality and independence, and created a literate musical soundscape to accompany those important times. Through their music, and their choices, they tried to reinvent their world and themselves.

1.1. Some historical context

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, Latin America -with around twenty million inhabitants and a handful of cities worthy of that name³⁹ was shaken by the different movements for or against political independence from the Portuguese and Spanish colonial powers. Civic turmoil and war raged across the Spanish empire from roughly 1790 to 1830, affecting the old viceroyalties in different and unexpected

Spanish language” (in *Trans. Revista transcultural de música* 13, 2009, np). The validity of the “life and works” approach, nourished by modern epistemologies and discourses, has been explored, for example, in studies like Bernardo Illari’s recent biography of Domenico Zipoli, *Para una genealogía de la música latinoamericana* (Habana: Casa de las Américas, 2011).

³⁸ I understand here the description of composer as someone mainly portrayed and understood (and/or who portrays and understands himself) as someone who writes music. The idea of “professional composer”, therefore, implies that the person makes a living from the act of writing music created by him/herself, or activities strongly related to this process (as chapelmasters do). Naturally, they were not always writing music to make a living, but in the large scheme of their lives, one can see that this is, indeed, a trend, and that creating music fulfils an important role in both their professional lives and contemporary and posthumous reception.

³⁹ Jorge Brea states that by 1850 the population of the region had grown by another 10 million. The population of 17 million for the end of the eighteenth century is usually accepted, of which only 3.2 million were white citizens and, of those, 150.000 were Spanish. See Brea, “Population Dynamics in Latin America”, *Population Bulletin* 58 (2013), 10.

ways. While areas like the Río de la Plata and Buenos Aires gained, and maintained, independence from early on, other regions, like Caracas, had to fight for it over a long period, with thousands of human casualties. Brazil, on the other hand, was transformed to a local autonomous monarchy, while Mexico changed from monarchy to republic on more than one occasion.⁴⁰

From an economic and social point of view, current historiographical ideas about the period have shifted from earlier nationalistic notions of a complete break with the colonial past, to what today is considered a much subtler process of change. Some authors would even deny that there was any change at all; in the words of James Mahoney, “[despite] the collapse of the colonial fiscal system, the disruption of the mineral economies, and the elimination of the colonial political order, [the Ibero-American Wars of Independence] are remarkable in that over the long run, they actually changed little besides political institutions”.⁴¹ Certainly, most institutions and social structures and elites were renamed or regrouped, but not abruptly transformed. Independence, in this light, forms part of a lengthier transition from Iberian colonial-mercantilist rule to the consolidation of liberal models of economy and politics, with all that implies.

However, from a cultural point of view I believe that shifts in meanings, opportunities, symbolic ideas and approaches to censorship served to produce a radical generational shift of which composers like Ximénez and Alzedo were conscious, and to which they actively contributed. Important chances were given to new groups in society, and, both *criollos* -like Ximénez- and *pardos* -like Alzedo- could be now considered for jobs and institutions that were previously largely only open to colonizers. This was not something that only happened to musicians, but also to many other artists, and indeed to the larger intellectual and literate local scenes.

⁴⁰ Cuba and Puerto Rico gained “independence” in 1898, under control of the United States. Panama was part of Colombia until 1903 and the Dominican Republic had a complex process of independence that only really ended in 1863. Even so, they were all conclusively affected by the wars in the early nineteenth century.

⁴¹ James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development. Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 191.

Nevertheless, independence was certainly not something that happened overnight, and we must appreciate such changes in a broader perspective that involves many decades of upheaval. The process towards American independence began in the late eighteenth century, marked by the early revolutions in the USA and Haiti, both of which certainly influenced developments to the south. The French revolution also had an impact on the local *americanos* and songs like the *Carmagnole* and the *Marseillaise* were rapidly translated, as were the *Rights of Man*.⁴² Other influences were internal: citizens in places like Caracas and Arequipa saw with dejection how reforms devised in Iberia -the Bourbon reforms- opened the road for both more control of the markets, as well as of the transit of peoples in the Americas.⁴³

Bourbon reforms were a pragmatic mixture of contemporary ideologies including free-trade ideals, French enlightenment models and Habsburg conservative political thought. They were carried out to bring new liberal economic ideas to the colonial and peninsular world, and to strengthen control over the continent. The reign of Charles IV saw Spain being transformed from a world-class empire to a fragile economy, marked by Spain's humiliating defeat in the Seven Years War two decades earlier, and this led to a tighter grip of the colonies, including the expulsion of the influential Jesuit order.⁴⁴ In the rest of Europe, the balance of power between the Peninsula and the colonies was increasingly questioned, with Montesquieu famously and publicly stating that: "The Indies and Spain are two powers under the same

⁴² See Lía Bugliani's article "La Carmañola Americana (1797) entre la Carmagnole Francesa (1792) y el Canto de las Sabanas de Barinas (1817-1818)", *Núcleo* 16 (1999), 3-26. The French *Rights of Man* were published clandestinely by Antonio Nariño for the first time in Latin American soil in Bogotá, 1793. A digitised version of the manuscript and printed edition of Nariño's translation can be seen in the webpage of the Digital Library of the Ministry of Culture of Colombia:

<http://www.bibliotecanacional.gov.co/content/declaraci%C3%B3n-de-los-derechos-del-hombre-y-del-ciudadano> (Accessed 10 January 2017).

⁴³ On the specific effect of these reforms in Peru see John Robert Fisher's book *Bourbon Peru: 1750-1824* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003). On the process as it unfolded across Latin America, see Clara García, ed., *Las reformas borbónicas, 1750-1808*. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010).

⁴⁴ For anglophone accounts of the influence of Jesuits and their importance for colonial culture and economy, see Nicholas Cushner, *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America 1565-1767*. (Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002) and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

master; but the Indies are the principal, while Spain is only an accessory".⁴⁵ Despite strong censorship, Latin Americans could not miss the spirit of their times. Unparalleled upheavals happened in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, which in Peru included the movement against taxes that paralysed Arequipa in 1780 and the mostly indigenous revolution led by Túpac Amaru in the following years.

In this period, the balance of power in the continent was changed and, with it, the allegiances and identities that marked the very different regions of Latin America. In Peru, the reforms served to control the "quasi-autonomous sub-metropolitan economy" that had developed there.⁴⁶ As the centre of Spanish colonial power in South America, Lima had been the most important city to the south of Mexico for centuries, commanding the silver mines of the High Andes -including the famous one in Potosí, near Chuquisaca (later called Sucre)- and offering access to the Pacific. As part of the reforms, in 1776 Peru was divided and the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata was founded in the crucial year of 1776, with almost the whole area of what is today's Bolivia transferred to the government of Buenos Aires: a strategic movement to reorient Latin America to the Atlantic coast. Lima, on the Pacific, lost its hegemonic role, but still maintained an enormous political and military power. The importance gained by Buenos Aires and Caracas for the trade across the Atlantic would be central in the following decades, igniting the desire for economic independence in both cities.

From a cultural point of view, changes were also dramatic during this period, particularly with the 1778 "Decree of Free Trade". This decree permitted limited commerce between ports of America and between thirteen ports in Spain (instead of only Cádiz) for the first time in 250 years.⁴⁷ Latin Americans born in the decades surrounding Independence understood the importance of this change: an early Mexican historian, Miguel Lerdo, writing in the 1850s and 60s, believed that the decree was the single most important event in America in the decades prior to Independence.

⁴⁵ Charles Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (New York, Cosimo Edition, 2011), 372.

⁴⁶ Patricia Marks, *Deconstructing Legitimacy: Viceroy, Merchants, and the Military in Late Colonial Peru* (New York: Penn State Press, 2007), 55-57.

⁴⁷ See Andrew Bush, *The Routes of Modernity: Spanish American Poetry from the Early Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 48.

In fact, as Cristina Gómez Álvarez has found, from the 1780s the number of books arriving to Spanish America doubled in comparison with the previous decades, as a direct result of the new agreements.⁴⁸ Thus what could be seen as an economic reform also created a period in which secular books started to arrive in larger quantities than ever before, breaking the overwhelming dominion of the clergy over the book trade.⁴⁹

With the development of new local and transatlantic networks, the Spanish Peninsula's role as filter of intellectual processes and cultural goods was reduced.⁵⁰ The reforms were central in generating a separation between the public and the private sphere, fostering the creation of proto-bourgeois academies and political discussions, forming a modern public sphere that would be central in future ideological developments. In the words of Víctor Uribe, "this moment saw the emergence of a reading and thinking public engaged in intellectual exchange and at least incipient debate and critique".⁵¹ An important increase in printing meant that liberal ideas from Europe circulated rapidly through black and informal markets to Latin American urban citizens, alongside with modern concepts like "nation", "people" and "liberty".⁵² In the years surrounding 1810 newspapers were printed for the first time in various cities, such as *La Gazeta de Caracas* (1808), *La Gazeta de Buenos Aires* (1810) and *La Aurora de Chile* (1812).⁵³

The actual process of political independence began around the same time, with the exile of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil and the abdication of Charles IV from

⁴⁸ Cristina Gómez Álvarez, *Navegar con libros. El comercio de libros entre España y Nueva España (1750-1820)*, (Madrid: UNAM/Trama, 2011), 55 and 130.

⁴⁹ See Cristina Gómez, *Navegar con libros*, 13.

⁵⁰ See Natalia Sobrevilla Perea's article "Mid Nineteenth-Century Ideological Radicalization in Peru: The French Post-Revolutionary Influence" in *Imported Modernity in Post-Colonial State Formation: The Appropriation of Political, Educational, and Cultural Models in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* ed. Eugenia Roldán and Marcelo Caruso (Pieterlen: Peter Lang, 2007), 129.

⁵¹ Víctor Uribe-Uran, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42/2 (2000), 445.

⁵² For more on this topic, I highly recommend the *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano*, by Javier Fernández Sebastián, ed., (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009), which has dedicated chapters on many of these concepts.

⁵³ Many different newspapers were consulted for the dissertation, but it is important to note that explicit information on music and musical life is usually an exception in these, at least until the 1840s and 1850s, when stable opera companies created a desire for musical news.

the Spanish throne in 1807 and 1808, events caused by the French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula during the Napoleonic wars. The far-reaching consequence of the political and military turmoil in Europe was that after 300 years of colonial power there was a full administrative separation between the old Peninsula and America, especially among the Spanish colonies. Across the continent, *cabildos* were called by prestigious citizens to organise local management and political forces in the absence of the King. Opinions were divided, but the general idea initially was to wait for the return of the promised successor to the crown, Fernando VII, on whom so many hopes were placed.

However, a succession of political conflicts during the following years generated more radical ideas about real independence, particularly in the economic sphere. The cities of Buenos Aires and Caracas were central in this process, through the leadership of generals Simón Bolívar on the north and José de San Martín in the south. Both knew the importance of their relation to other Atlantic powers and that the only way to take control of South America, either as a single political structure or as a multiple set of nations, was to invade Peru and take control of the city of Lima, the symbolic centre of royalist power. After proclaiming the independence of Chile in 1818, San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins organised a naval force to free Peru. While Lima fell in July 1821, complete political independence of the region was secured only much later, with the victories of Junín and Ayacucho in 1824.⁵⁴

In the aftermath of these upheavals, Latin America was divided into more than twenty new independent republics with different ideals, internal problems and attitudes to modernity, culture and tradition.⁵⁵ The Andean area of the old Viceroyalty

⁵⁴ Apart from the books of Leslie Bethell on Latin American history, to read primary sources on the independence, I suggest Sarah C. Chambers and John C. Chasteen's, eds., *Latin American Struggles for Independence: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2010).

⁵⁵ Brian Hamnett, in his chapter "Themes and Tensions in a Contradictory Decade: Ibero-America as a Multiplicity of States", is keen to underline an interesting idea, that "it is best to speak of 'successor states' to the two great empires, rather than of new 'nation-states' since they came into being after a chain of political and military circumstances rather than as the result of any common national consciousness on the part of their ethnically and culturally diverse peoples". In Matthew Brown and Gabrielle Paquette, eds., *Connections after Colonialism: Europe and Latin America in the 1820s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 34.

of Peru, already partitioned in 1776, was divided mostly among the new nations of Peru, Chile and Bolivia (the former *Alto Perú*). For most of the countries in the area, the years between the 1820s and 1850s would subsequently be marked by political disorder and *caudillismo*, a tendency to leave the military and political power in the hands of charismatic leaders with propensities to different forms of dictatorship. These were decades of reconfiguration, the building of -sometimes forced- national ideals, the delimitation of frontiers and the construction of strong local economic powers to overcome the debts raised by the wars marked the decades after independence. Tendencies to group countries together, in a Bolivarian ideal, failed overwhelmingly during the same period: president Andrés de Santa Cruz's union between Peru and Bolivia in the 1830s or Bolívar's Gran Colombia could not sustain the forces of dissolution. Peru only gained some stability with the government of Ramón Castilla in 1845 and Bolivia with that of José Ballivián around the same time, while Argentina only started to organise itself as today's republic with the constitution of 1853. Chile, with an authoritarian constitution, still had internal fragmentations in the 1850s.

The revolutionary spirit of independent times was not easily transferred to these new nations. As Matthew Brown and Gabriel Paquette have stated, "historians have established the tenacious persistence of independent Latin America's colonial heritage [...] Continuities with the colonial past abounded, and the trope of disjuncture, so fundamental to the age of revolution narrative, [...] appears to have been exaggerated".⁵⁶ However, it could be that this view of continuities over transformation, which has marked contemporary historiographical discourses on the period in the region, might have been also exaggerated. In the cultural field, there are many important changes, and new perceptions on the role of culture itself. In the words of Doris Sommer, the "heroic militarism that expelled Spain from most of America was now a threat to her development. What America needed now were civilizers".⁵⁷ The early nineteenth-century Latin American nations, as Arnold Bauer

⁵⁶ Brown and Paquette, *Connections after Colonialism*, 9.

⁵⁷ Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 14-15.

has suggested, were maintained by a “liberal creole elite that looked not inward, towards its own people, not back to its own *madre patria* of Spain for inspiration, but rather toward the Atlantic powers of France and England for both its culture and its goods”.⁵⁸ There was a symbiotic relationship between the discourse of political separation from Europe and the intention of being “modern” and, therefore, culturally connected to the Old World. In the words of Lander, for many literate citizens, Independence was “motivated by the sense of being, in the last stance, Europeans from the margins; non-Europeans who in their hearts wanted to be Europeans”.⁵⁹

Culture was seen as important in turning the new American nations into modern societies, and the acquisition of books (and music scores) was a central part of that cultural transformation. In the *Aurora de Chile*, the first newspaper printed in that country, this recognition was explicitly made in an article of 1812, when it is stated that the acquisition of printed books “is the only way to elevate these obscure provinces to the dignity of nations”.⁶⁰ The new republican rulers took notice, and helped in promoting the acquisition of European documents, including music. For example, in 1820, Bernardo O’Higgins, then Supreme Director of Chile, decreed that “since music is not only included among the sciences, but also has the precious object of sweetening our traditions; musical scores and instruments shall be exempt of *alcábala* [import taxes]”.⁶¹ Not much later, the 1826 *Reglamento de Comercio* of Peru also decreed that no taxes would be payable on “printed and manuscript music”.⁶²

Cultural imports are of course never neutral: they come, in the words of Roldán

⁵⁸ Arnold Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America’s Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 127.

⁵⁹ Edgardo Lander and Santiago Castro-Gómez, eds., *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales: perspectivas latinoamericanas* (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2000), 70.

⁶⁰ “Este es el único medio de elevar provincias oscuras a la dignidad de naciones” (*Aurora de Chile*, 3 September 1812). In Isabel Torres’ article on “Nación” in Chile in *Diccionario político y social del mundo Iberoamericano: la era de las revoluciones, 1750-1850*, ed. Javier Fernández (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009), 898.

⁶¹ “Como los libros e instrumentos de las ciencias son libres de derecho, y la música no sólo está comprendida en éstas, sino que tiene el precioso objeto de dulcificar las costumbres, sus papeles e instrumentos no pagarán en adelante a su entrada más que el de Alcabala conforme a los artículos 106 y 107”. *Gazeta Ministerial Extraordinaria de Chile*, 9 October 1820.

⁶² *El Republicano*, Arequipa, 15 July 1826: “Artículo 16/11: Toda música impresa o escrita”.

and Caruso, with “a certain package of meanings and associations and [suffer] an inevitable transformation during their dissemination and appropriation”.⁶³ Because of this, the music written by early nineteenth-century composers in Latin America is neither European “classical music” nor simply an art form marked by visible “otherness” in relation to and in difference with Europe. Instead, it is part of a complex process of cultural reception, transfer and transformation of European music styles and models from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in an equally complex society in the process of realising both political independence and cultural transformation.

1.2. “Classical” music on the borderlines

One of the main conceptual and historiographical problems that appears when we try to describe the music written by composers in Latin America around the times of independence concerns the words we use to label it (and them). It is music that takes part in the contemporary cosmopolitan style that was expected from art music in most European capitals at the turn of the eighteenth century, and in this way fits within broader patterns defining the international production of the decades after the 1790s. While usually defined in terms of stylistic periodization (“classical”, “baroque”, “romantic”); however, it easily detaches from those denominators and their chronological framework. As Leslie Bethell has pointed out, we must consider such concepts in a transatlantic perspective, and that becomes a problem when concepts like classicism or romanticism “at times appear to become completely disembodied [in the Latin American context], losing all direct concrete relation to historical determinants”.⁶⁴

During the process of writing this dissertation, the idea of describing these

⁶³ Roldán and Caruso, *Imported Modernity*, 9.

⁶⁴ Bethell, *A Cultural History of Latin America*, 3. The same commentary was made by Jorge Klor de Alva about current postcolonial concepts of identity, that cannot be applied outside “isolated or at least rural” indigenous groups. See Klor de Alva, “The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of ‘Colonialism’” in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 245 and 268.

repertoires in terms of a “cosmopolitan style” has increasingly made sense, but there are enormous complications in such a description. On the one hand, I understand here cosmopolitanism in terms of the ideology of Enlightenment, that “purposefully overrode not only social but also national and language boundaries [...] guided by cosmopolitan and universalist interests [and that] inherently possessed a dimension of transfer”.⁶⁵ While the level of achievement of such an ideology can be discussed, it is important to denote here the difference between the terms “international” and “cosmopolitan”. Following William Weber, the first one implies in music “repertoires performed in multiple regions”, while the second comprises more layers of meaning, including the fact that it “carries greater conceptual weight by indicating that such music exerted cultural authority”.⁶⁶ Accordingly, the description of a “Cosmopolitan style” includes not only aesthetic, but also political and ideological problems.

The music created by composers in Latin America was certainly developed under the influence of international repertoires, that crossed national and continental borders to be accepted in a transatlantic perspective, and that were projected under the aegis of that “cultural authority” described by Weber. For an easier comparison with European standards of classification, it can mostly be said that in the period studied here the two closest models to local composers are what we usually term “the classical style”, and *bel canto* opera, especially Rossini. These were styles that were developed in parallel to the transit from the old regimes to liberal politics, as well as from mercantilism to free trade. These styles were arguably permitted by the increased commerce of cheaper printed music scores, among other more general changes affecting Europe in those decades.⁶⁷ In the words of Ivo Supicic, literate music from the 1770s on developed into an early form of “mass” culture, at least for certain

⁶⁵ Stefanie Stockhorst, *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 24.

⁶⁶ William Weber, “Cosmopolitan, regional and national identities in 18th-century European musical life”, in *Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), 211.

⁶⁷ Robert Laudon, *The Era after the Baroque: Music and the Fine Arts 1750-1900* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2008), 6.

communities in Europe and abroad.⁶⁸ Printing and commercial relations meant that a dialectic of publishing centres and their peripheries was key to music not only in the main European cities, but also outside them.

The idea of this repertoire as “cosmopolitan”, however, also implies something extra. On the one hand, in Europe, by the late eighteenth century, Central-European composers largely dominated the scene of instrumental music genres, while in terms of vocal music Italy reigned supreme. But in terms of style, while differences existed, there was a growing unification of genres and musical discourses. As Hertz and Brown put it in their *New Grove* article on “classical”: “The interpenetration of French, Italian and German music during the last part of the 18th century [...] is indisputable”.⁶⁹ Even Haydn said that “my language is understood throughout the whole world”,⁷⁰ and indeed he became a symbol of that new age of music-making for Latin American composers, as is discussed more deeply in Chapter Three. Music created under these models was perceived in some ways as both “global” and “modern”, but always in dialogue with the multiple possibilities afforded and negated by the local contexts. To speak about cosmopolitanism, then, is to understand such divisions as active negotiations under aesthetic and political weights.

If we follow Haydn’s self-recognised globality, and accept the general notion of the “classical” style -and early romantic opera- as cosmopolitan, we could easily accept Neal Zaslaw’s theory that, if we took away the “presence of musical genius [...] in theory, at least, one may learn as much about musical culture from discussion of provincial Stockholm or Philadelphia as from discussions of cosmopolitan Vienna, Paris or London”.⁷¹ However, there is a bit of wishful thinking there. Styles might have been similar, but musical culture as determined by the actual practice, context and

⁶⁸ See Supicic’s article “Early forms of Mass Culture” in *Music in the Classical Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook*, ed. Barry S. Brook and Allan W. Atlas (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985), 255.

⁶⁹ Daniel Hertz and Bruce Alan Brown. “Classical”. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press:
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05889> (accessed March 18, 2014).

⁷⁰ Matthew Head, “Haydn’s Exoticisms: ‘Difference’ and the Enlightenment”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 80.

⁷¹ Neil Zaslaw, ed., *The Classical Era. From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century* (London: MacMillan Press, 1989), 3.

listening of music differed widely from region to region. As Tom Moore has stated, this also meant that priorities have been given to certain repertoires and scenes over others, and that the conventions “of music study and music history [have] meant that only a narrowly circumscribed portion of the music created in the Western European tradition has been considered worthy of study”.⁷²

While I am not going to argue directly for or against the inclusion of Latin American music in general music histories in this dissertation (certain comments on the issue can be found on the conclusions), I nevertheless need to address here the role prejudice has played in considering Latin American repertoires unworthy of being studied in parallel to European ones in the existing literature. For example, William Newman wrote in his famous book on sonata form that “those [works] by residents in Latin-American countries are too few, too obscure, too often unpublished and too inconsequential to justify much more than passing mention in one approximately chronological order”.⁷³ In similar lines, Charles Seeger wrote in 1961 that “the factor of individuality [...] which has conventionally engaged the attention of musicologists in both Europe and America finds no counterpart in the New World where, during the four centuries 1500 to 1900, even the few outstanding written compositions lie far below the run-of-the-mill contemporary European production”.⁷⁴ Both of them follow, probably, in the steps of Nicholas Slominsky and his views inherited from Otto Mayer-

⁷² See Tom Moore, “Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A Historical Survey (Review)”, *Luso-Brasilean Review*, IV/1 (2002), 214. An interesting review of this phenomenon was written by Peter Burkholder, explaining his work in rewriting *A History of Western Music* in the article “Music of the Americas and Historical Narratives”, *American Music* 27 (2009), 401. There he criticizes the lack of information in American -and specifically Latin America- music in Grout’s 1960 edition of the same book and also in Paul Henry Lang’s *Music in the Western Civilization*. Gary Tomlinson wrote a critique on the same point in response to Taruskin’s recent *Oxford History of Western Music*, see his “Review article: Monumental Musicology”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007), especially 365. A different approach to music history was pursued by Uruguayan Coriún Aharonián in his *Introducción a la música*, a short history of music written from a Latin American perspective (Montevideo: Tacuabé, 2002), that more evidently addresses these postcolonial problems. Also, it is noteworthy that in a recent *Anthology for Music in the Eighteenth Century* edited by John Rice (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012), a piece by Ignacio de Jerusalem written in Mexico is included among the “twenty-nine carefully chosen works”. As in Burkholder’s work, however, I do wonder whether this is a form of tokenism, positive discrimination, or a sign of real change.

⁷³ William Newman, *A History of the Sonata Idea*, vol.3: *The Sonata since Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983), 774.

⁷⁴ Charles Seeger, *Studies in Musicology. 1935-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 196.

Serra, who thought that less than 10% of Latin American art-music deserved any attention.⁷⁵ How all these opinions were given, when most of this music is neither edited nor recorded, escapes me, and I can only consider them prejudiced.

Perhaps our histories of music are just too narrowly defined to accept any other inputs or possibilities beyond the framework of “mastery”, whatever the criteria for this might be. In particular, this is problematic in regard to the “classical” style, which has been and remains defined as essentially Viennese, and mostly circumscribed to the music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.⁷⁶ Certainly, however, today there is trend to a broader recognition of the complex and multiple ways a contemporary cosmopolitan style developed during those decades, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the first decades of the nineteenth, with a bigger array of composers and cultural differences taken into account across the European landscape. As Sterling E. Murray mentions in his biography of Rosetti: “Although defined today almost exclusively by the works of Haydn and Mozart, [the classical period] in music developed and was shaped through the contributions of many composers [...] with the works of the Viennese masters constituting only a small portion of the total. The remainder was the product of dozens of capable composers working throughout Europe”.⁷⁷

However, even in recent research the “classical” style and the “classical” period are still sometimes discussed in terms of their “Viennese” geography, thereby referring to compositions by a trio of authors, and not to the meaningful contexts of reception, appropriation and commercialisation that, in many cases, made those compositions possible in the first place.⁷⁸ As a period that has been central to historical musicology

⁷⁵ See Nicholas Slominsky, *Music of Latin America* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1945), 9-11.

⁷⁶ See Charles Rosen’s *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), xvi. The same path was taken by John Baron, for whom the “classical period” exists because these composers wrote their mature works, “their classics”, during this time (roughly 1781 to 1827, in his periodization). He even argues that “other composers from Dittersdorf and Cambini to Schubert” should be included on the period *only because* they were creating music at the same time; see Baron, *Intimate Music: A History of the Idea of Chamber Music* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998), 211.

⁷⁷ Sterling E. Murray, *The Career of an Eighteenth-Century Kapellmeister: The Life and Music of Antonio Rosetti* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014), xiii.

⁷⁸ For example, James Webster has proposed the idea of a “First Viennese Modernism” in recent years, still centring the former “classical style” in Vienna, despite its recognised international profile and the relevance of distribution and exchange for its existence. See James Webster, “Between Enlightenment

through the centuries, the transition between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is still very much read only in the light of these “three geniuses”, understood in a detached creative perspective. Even Charles Rosen recognised the epistemological problem in his preface to the 1997 re-edition of his famous book on the classical style, pondering on the reproach that he has “erred in leaving out all the minor figures [...], fully justified in certain aspects”.⁷⁹

A history of the “inclusion” of Latin American composers working during this period would be, from this perspective, only a lateral consideration of “minor” composers: a footnote to major European histories and artists, a consideration of music from the most radical and explicit of Western peripheries. In fact, those histories that have made an effort in incorporating Latin America to the larger debates, have done so mostly from a conceptualised periphery⁸⁰. As Roldán and Caruso point out, for most scholars “the identity of Latin American post-colonial modernity is essentially a ‘peripheral’ identity [...] a continuation of processes formulated outside the region”.⁸¹ The concept of periphery, however, is fixed in a binary description of the world, and thus dislocates knowledge towards centres of power, rejecting possibilities that go beyond that asymmetry. We tend to understand nineteenth-century European-influenced “cultural artefacts, architecture, and music as [nothing] more than impoverished imitations, or [...] cultural texts that tell tales of power enforcement and/or instigate local resistance”, as Cristina Magaldi concisely described.⁸²

This attitude is embedded in any effort to describe this music as written “on the periphery”. This is, for example, the approach taken by Bertil van Boer in his chapter “The Periphery”, for a recent book on the eighteenth-century symphony,⁸³ in which he

and Romanticism in Music History: ‘First Viennese Modernism’ and the delayed Nineteenth Century”, in *19th-Century Music*, 25:2-3 (2001-2), 108-126.

⁷⁹ Rosen, *The Classical Style*, xv.

⁸⁰ An important question here is how much Latin American music’s reception in musicological studies has been shaped by the way Spanish and Portuguese music is studied. Is Latin America a different periphery or an extension of the Iberian one (in nineteenth- and twentieth-century terms)?

⁸¹ Roldán and Caruso, *Imported Modernity*, 21.

⁸² Cristina Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro: European Culture in a Tropical Milieu* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2004), xi.

⁸³ Bertil van Boer, “The Periphery” in *The Symphonic Repertoire, Volume I: The Eighteenth-Century*

considers together music from places as disparate as Belgium, Scandinavia, Mexico, Malta and Australia. We can accept that all these countries (or regions), for the sake of the argument, could be regarded as peripheral, but grouping them in a single cultural category only shows the lack of research on -or recognition of- music from such different places and the hegemonic perspective given to the survey, justified or not.⁸⁴ Van Boer himself acknowledges that “it is difficult to find any single commonality among the variety of symphonies composed on the periphery”, and thus one has to accept that the category brings nothing to our understanding of these musics. Lucas Robatto had already realised this problem, when studying the instrumental works of late-colonial Brazilian composer Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia, noticing that the sheer variety of possibilities reflected both by European models and Nunes’ own work, showed that “many of his aesthetic choices cannot be attributed to [peripheral] ‘isolation’, but should be considered as choices.”⁸⁵

That last word encapsulates, in many ways, the central difference between my approach and the literature previously commented here. Choices, as Gabriela Ramos has discussed, can be central to help us abandon our usual -colonial- way of understanding America only as a vessel of European culture, appropriated or translated without agency of any kind.⁸⁶ When we assume that knowledge -musical knowledge in particular- was defined directly in and by the colonies, and increasingly in a public sphere since the 1800s, we begin to understand why the dichotomy of centre and periphery fails to explain the ways in which composers worked and thought in Latin America in this period, as well as the repertoires they created. Their creation is a form of conscious agency -of choices-, sometimes even shading into “patriotic” epistemologies, or modes of thought developed as a response to the European

Symphony, eds. Mary Sue Morrow and Bathia Churgin (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2012), 687-778.

⁸⁴ Boer, “The Periphery” in Morrow and Churgin, 726.

⁸⁵ Lucas Robatto, “Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia’s Orchestral Works: Style and Models” (D.Mus diss. University of Washington, 2001), 124.

⁸⁶ See the introduction to Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), and also Gabriela Ramos’ chapter “Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities” in the same book, 21-38.

assumptions of centrality but not necessarily marked by independent stylistical devices, consciously separate from European models.⁸⁷

Perhaps a better way to understand the Latin American urban cultural situation in the early nineteenth century is in terms of a borderline, a space that can, in the words of Marcello Sorce Keller, illuminate the cracks in hegemonic cultural references: “[Cultural] borderlines matter, precisely because while they help define people’s identity, they also escape exact definitions and remain ambiguous -unless made to coincide with political frontiers, which themselves are often hard to draw”.⁸⁸ Latin American music written in European -cosmopolitan- styles, shows not only how Latin American music itself works, but also reflects on various fissures of the discourse of what we mean when we say things like “European music”, or “Classical music”, and how such denominations are confronted by their own territorial, temporal, stylistic and ideological limits.

The different ways in which the reception of European styles differed from the accepted “old world” uses of those same styles in the early decades of the nineteenth century -those “cracks” on the borderline- will be explored in the different chapters of this dissertation, being central to my discussion of the particularities of being a composer in Latin America in this period. However, I believe it is better if some general aspects of the discussion are addressed here first.⁸⁹ To start with, we must take into

⁸⁷ “Patriotic epistemologies” is a concept that was first proposed by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra in *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

⁸⁸ Marcello Sorce, *What Makes Music European: Looking Beyond the Sound* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2012), xviii.

⁸⁹ While similarities can be found with the contemporary reception and appropriation of European music in the United States, I believe differences in context between the two are too significant for useful discussion of the process in parallel with Latin America. Beyond political differences, while philharmonic societies and symphonic creation was a phenomenon developed in Latin America only sparingly and mainly in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, in the USA in later decades, symphonic creation only increased, with the strong influence of German intellectual ideas and German migrants. Even the whole “Beethoven problem”, the idea of considering Beethoven as an unsurpassable model, did not take off in the south until the twentieth century, while becoming extremely relevant in USA concert life by the second half of the nineteenth. With an abundance of chapelmasters as the central model of composer in Latin America, almost no presence of immigrant musicians (who played such an important role in North American musical life during the period), lack of public festivals and entrepreneurs, and absence of paid concerts, Latin American musical developments were largely different from the Americas north of the Río Grande. For interesting views on contemporary matters

account that the process of transfer of this broadly-defined “classical” style to the Americas was not a smooth, equally distributed transliteration of cultural objects and ideas, and its influence lasted well beyond its commonly accepted European timeframe (c.1780 - 1820).⁹⁰ In fact, some composers in Latin America were still writing music in the style of the cosmopolitan European music of the 1780s in the late 1840s, a problem that has been usually explained in terms of “lag” in the reception.⁹¹ However, it can be easily proved that if a lag existed in the material reception it was never of more than a few years, and this problem has therefore to be explained in other terms. Instead of a lag, I believe, there was a different need in relation to these forms, which, as I said, were being read in terms of a “cosmopolitan” -transnational- style and a local notion of Enlightenment.

The relevant prolongation of the Enlightenment in Latin America, either as a proper ideology or as a buzzword of multiple significations, has been puzzling to many scholars.⁹² Anyone who has read local newspapers from the 1790s to the 1840s, knows that the word *ilustrado* comes so often that attempt to define it would look narrow. Given the late appearance of newspapers and public discussions, there was a certain difference in the periodization of the use of the word and its related concepts, as Owen Alridge has proposed.⁹³ One of the most appreciated *ilustrado* elements in Latin America was the cosmopolitan character of ideologies that “rested on the belief

about professional composers in the United States (and on which I based this summary of the differences) I would guide the reader to: Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Nicholas E. Tawa, *From Psalm to Symphony: A History of Music in New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001) and John Ogaspián *American Music through History: Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004).

⁹⁰ I take this timeframe, as a reference, from Douglas Seaton’s *Ideas and Styles in the Western Musical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁹¹ See for example Daniel Mendoza, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A Historical Survey* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 18; or Roldán and Caruso, *Imported Modernity*, 8.

⁹² Abraham M. Smith, “Latin America” in Alan Charles Kors (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Online Version:

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195104301.001.0001/acref-9780195104301> (Accessed on 12 April 2014).

⁹³ Owen Alridge, *The Ibero-American Enlightenment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 10.

[that] human nature was fundamentally the same in all times and places”.⁹⁴ It was an ideology that allowed one to combine Europe and America beyond the simple unilateral transfers from the east to the west of the Atlantic mandated by colonial structures. Cosmopolitanism was, at the same time, a way to accept the cultural importance of Europe for Latin America, while setting the terms of the reception of European culture in Latin American terms.

In the view of, for example, Andrés Bello -the famous Venezuelan intellectual of the period, who later founded the *Universidad de Chile*- European culture could now be accepted not as an imposition, but as an invitation. In Bello’s influential “Alocución a la Poesía”, poetry is invited to the new forests and mountains of America: “It is time now for you to leave the cultured Europe/[...] and fly to the new, the great stage/that the world of Columbus opens for you”.⁹⁵ The Argentinian poet Esteban Echeverría (Buenos Aires, 1805 - Montevideo, 1851), whose poetry was set to music by Pedro Ximénez, among others, thought that the Muse, disguised as liberty, had no other possibility in modern times than to escape from the old Europe (“How could it sing/In the midst of degraded thrones?”), and exile herself into the new territories of America.⁹⁶ Art, according to these new influential views,⁹⁷ was not meant to be born within the new countries, but to gain a new -dislocated- life in exile from the political despotisms of its time, Latin America supposedly offering new spaces for its development. But -and this is key- those new spaces were offered now theoretically by way of invitation -as a choice-, and not of imposition.

The Muse of Bello and Echeverría was certainly represented in music through a broad “cosmopolitan” repertoire and style in which Alzedo and Ximénez took part.

⁹⁴ Isaiah Berlin, “The Counter-Enlightenment” in *The Proper Study of Mankind* (Pimlico: New Edition, 1998), 243-269.

⁹⁵ “Tiempo es que dejes ya la culta Europa, que tu nativa rustiquez desama, y dirijas el vuelo adonde te abre el mundo de Colón su grande escena”. The plan for the *Biblioteca Americana* was to have sections on literature, science, technology and, interestingly, a final one called “ideology”; only the first parts were ever printed. The poem can be easily found online. This is the link for it in Wikisource: https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/Alocuci%C3%B3n_a_la_Poes%C3%ADa (Accessed 19 September 2016).

⁹⁶ Bush, *The Routes of Modernity*, 277.

⁹⁷ Both Bello and Echeverría were reprinted many times during the nineteenth century, and gained a special prominence in collected editions of Latin American poetry from very early on.

It was mostly transmitted in two layers, partially differentiated by their chronology: first through the reception of scores from Europe, and later by the arrival of performers, particularly after the 1820s. This reception led to many stylistic similarities between the music composed during the period on both sides of the Atlantic, but to marked differences in the cultural context in which the styles were developed. In Latin America, we typically do not find the hugely important public venues or paid concerts that were common in so many cities of western Europe, and even the bourgeoisie that attended such concerts in the “Old continent” was largely non-existent in the colonies. The booming music printing business of cities like London and Paris was nowhere to be seen in Latin America, where music printing only took off (mostly for short salon pieces) around the 1850s.⁹⁸

Trying to keep pace with European developments, we can see the difficult rise of philharmonic societies across the continent from the 1800 to the 1830s, in which music could be performed at local levels. Philharmonic societies were created mostly by professional musicians and thus promoted local creation, but they were increasingly disregarded in favour of a growing interest in opera, especially from the elite. Theatres across Latin America centred their focus on opera from the 1820s on, and -thanks to political changes-, this also meant the importation of European performers. It was opera, ultimately, that would become the genre that defined the notion of a modern “republican” global sound for Latin American elites by the mid nineteenth century. By then, opera would define the “official” sound of Latin America, with Rossini as its symbolic centre, even influencing most national anthems.⁹⁹ With the construction of opera houses in the 1850s, its influential role became physically sealed.

However, Latin American music historiographies have constantly confused the

⁹⁸ The salon was certainly the most dramatic catalyst of changes in how composers were perceived by the middle of the century, with the incorporation of public woman performers and composers, of printing, of a different relation between amateurs and professionals and, in the case of Latin America, a shift towards an elite rather than an artisan-class form of music consumption and creation. However, the salon is a subject I will not discuss extensively here, given that I believe it is more characteristic of later generations of composers, those born in the early nineteenth century.

⁹⁹ See Robert Stevenson, *South American National Anthems and Other Area Studies; Mexico after the Mexican Anthem*, (Lima: Pacific Press, 2009).

layers of creation and reception of opera in the region; opera is portrayed as the “leading” genre of music for the nineteenth century, supported by opera houses and official policies.¹⁰⁰ But local composers -with a handful of exceptions- did not write operas until well into the last quarter of the century, many decades after the opera “fever” had started, and -again with some exceptions- mostly without success.¹⁰¹ How can we explain this dichotomy? My hypothesis is that while the “classical” style and associated instrumental genres like the symphony could easily be perceived as cosmopolitan, and thus able to be shared by composers on both sides of the Atlantic and performed in philharmonic societies promoted by local musicians themselves, opera was appreciated by the elites that supported the theatres and troupes essentially for being European, civilized, and thus not necessarily as “cosmopolitan” in the sense of a shared creative language. Opera failed to allow for local creation, being a stage for foreign works and -in most cases- performers, and composers either avoided the genre or reused some of its stylistic features in other fields, especially in church music.

And this last scene, church music, might be perhaps one of the most defining divergences between the professional experiences of European and Latin American composers of the period: for Latin Americans, the Catholic church was still well into the 1850s the most stable and supportive patron of musical creation. What Frederic Scherer considered a “well accepted” idea, that “at the outset of the eighteenth century, most musicians creative enough to be composers were employed either by the nobility or by the church [and that] at the middle of the nineteenth century, the situation had changed” can certainly be debated for the Latin American case.¹⁰² With no printing,

¹⁰⁰ Consuelo Carredano y Victoria Eli, *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica 6: La música en Hispanoamérica en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España, 2010), 153-218.

¹⁰¹ The absence of indigenous opera until the second half of the century is certainly intriguing. There are only a handful of examples, and they mostly seem closer to Spanish *zarzuelas* and *comedias* than to Italian or French operas. A few examples could be Esteban Cristiani’s *El Solitario* performed in Mexico in 1824, but Cristiani was an Italian who arrived from Havana. Most other known cases are of operas composed by foreigners, like Lauro Rossi’s *Giovanna Shore* in 1836 (composed in Italy but premiered in Mexico), and Aquinas Ried’s 1846 *La Telésfora*, composed but never premiered in Chile. The only case I know of an opera composed and premiered in the region by a Latin American composer in this period is José María Osorio’s *Opera del Maestro Rufo Zapatero*, performed a few times in Venezuela in 1847.

¹⁰² Frederic M. Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 2.

commercial networks for music or opportunities in the secular world, most composers from the generation of Alzedo and Ximénez worked for the church, and sacred music played a vital role in the reception, reproduction and transformation of European musics in Latin America. Most Latin American composers of the period served as chapelmasters or church composers until well into the second half of the nineteenth century, which becomes an essential difference with Europe when comparing the composer as a professional.

Perhaps the main contrast is the one that Scherer already perceived: the change from a patronage-oriented model to a market one did occur in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century, shaping the career of a musician like Mozart, but the market conditions in Latin America took much longer to be developed, and it could be argued that they were never fully equally realised. While there are certain similarities with other mainly Catholic countries (including France), composers in Europe could have pursued multiple possibilities of revenue in the first half of the nineteenth century, like printing their music or working for the opera, options that were virtually closed to those working in Latin America.

This is a particularly important historiographical problem when we try to stablish the relations between “European” and “Latin American” music histories in a shared perspective. The problem is that, essentially, histories of nineteenth-century music have almost solely been written from a secularist perspective, meaning that music history after the mid eighteenth century (after the death of Bach, so to speak) is typically told with a focus on repertoires created in secular spheres, like the symphony or the opera, and giving little or no space to what was happening in churches, despite the continued centrality of religious music -and life- in European catholic countries like Spain and Italy, as well as the entire region of Latin America. Sacred music, which is thus situated outside the secular canon, is constantly “problematic”, in the words of Charles Rosen,¹⁰³ for those studying music beyond the baroque. The common

¹⁰³ Rosen, *The Classical Style*, 366.

approach, even in books that are focused on sacred music,¹⁰⁴ is one where “sacred” works written after the 1750s are considered as exceptions, interesting only because of their obvious secular appeal.¹⁰⁵

This problem goes beyond the limited field of music histories, and is indeed part of a wider secularist historiography that understands the secular as a necessary sign of progress and modern change, disregarding what falls outside that model. Adrien Hastings has been a central figure in asserting the historiographical problem of negating religion in discussions of civilization and nationality in the nineteenth century, as it happens, for example, in the influential works of Anderson, Hobsbawm or Breully.¹⁰⁶ From Latin America, various historians have shown that such a perspective does not work for the region, given the condition of liberalism only as part of what Sol Serrano calls “Catholic republics”, those where the church is still an integral part of the state.¹⁰⁷ Carmen McEvoy, also, has suggested some of these historical problems and the issues in reading politics omitting the religious discourses that fostered it in the period.¹⁰⁸

Accordingly, I would argue that to understand the music composition scene in Latin America during this period using only the models presented by European histories of music in the nineteenth century would be an error. Latin America is, at the same time, part of transatlantic and modern -western- European music history, and an individual region with specific local developments. Some narratives of the period that cross the ocean were accepted by those living on the western side of the Atlantic, but others were rejected, found false or considered largely irrelevant,¹⁰⁹ particularly with the coming of political independence. Agency comes at the forefront of such decisions,

¹⁰⁴ Swain, *Historical Dictionary of Sacred Music* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), xiv.

¹⁰⁵ For example, The Requiems of Mozart, Verdi or Berlioz; or Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*.

¹⁰⁶ Adrien Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-3 and 11.

¹⁰⁷ Sol Serrano, *¿Qué Hacer Con Dios En La República? Política Y Secularización En Chile (1845-1885)* (Santiago de Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 19.

¹⁰⁸ Carmen McEvoy, “De la Mano de Dios: El Nacionalismo Católico Chileno y la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1881”. *Histórica*, 28/2 (2004), 83-136.

¹⁰⁹ Philip Bohlman, ed., *The Cambridge History of World Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 13.

and the variety of choices that serves that agency creates necessary divergences. How then is it possible to study European music in a post-European (or at least alternative) perspective? I believe Latin America, and specific composers in Latin America, is relevant to problematise such questions and to highlight specific answers.

1.3. The trouble with nineteenth-century Latin American music

It is interesting to note that in terms of studies of Latin American music, most scholars would discard -and have discarded- the nineteenth century as a relevant period to provide any answers to these questions. The nineteenth century, and in particular its earlier decades, has been a constant problem for those who study Latin American music and culture. When we look at some of the most relevant books on the subject, it is easy to see some of the problems, though they are rarely made explicit by the writers. To take an example from a well-known book published in English, Gerard Béhague, in his *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* from 1979, jumps almost directly from the -otherwise very engaging- chapters on colonial music, to one that focus on “the rise of nationalism”, skipping five or six decades in between.¹¹⁰ Similarly, Robert Günther, who edited an important volume on Latin American nineteenth-century music in the 1980s, declared that the first decades of the century, surrounding independence, were only relevant when considered as a “period of voyagers”, considering the arrival of opera singers and virtuosos in the 1830s and 40s as the only important aspect of the period until “the reappearance of a national spirit” around 1900.¹¹¹

Nationalism is here an important influence, breaking what is read as “colonial” from later efforts in explicitly addressing “Latin Americanness” in some way. Much of the writing on nineteenth-century Latin American music has been done without addressing the problematic differences in that transition, perhaps because of the common use of the concept of “*música decimonónica*” [nineteenth-century music] to

¹¹⁰ Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Princeton: Prentice-Hall, 1979).

¹¹¹ See Günther, *Die Musikkulturen*, 26-31.

describe the early republican period with independence from coloniality.¹¹² Even in as recent a book as Carredano and Eli's survey of nineteenth-century Latin American music, only a single chapter is dedicated to the problem of its transition from colonial times, and is provided as an introduction by a different writer, Aurelio Tello -a specialist in colonial music-, as if acknowledging that the epistemological and chronological gap is simply insurmountable.¹¹³ Tello himself, however, seems conscious of the problem: with Ricardo Miranda, they have discussed the larger implications of the nineteenth century as a period widely regarded as a "dark age", a temporal region in-between the accepted (and admired) repertoires created before and after it.¹¹⁴ For them, the main issue is the fact that while we can compare a Stravinsky with a Revueltas, or a Sumaya with a Handel, we do not have Latin-American Beethovens, with all that implies in terms of the historical construction of the canon.¹¹⁵

The period of the early nineteenth century, thus, only has had some relevance either as an extension of the colonial period or in terms of early nationalistic histories, in the search for the first milestones of the republics and the definition of "founding fathers" of national musical lives. This has meant, in the words of Marcelo Campos, that research on early nineteenth-century Latin American music has been done "at the expense of the music itself", considering composers and repertoires only as anecdotes in the construction of nations.¹¹⁶ If we add to this the overwhelming lack of editions, surveys and recordings for the period, we can see why a composer like José Bernardo Alzedo is entombed in a national pantheon and every Peruvian child knows his name, while his music -beyond the National Anthem- had never been edited or even

¹¹² The word started to appear in the 1960s in discussions about music, and by the 1990s it had become a common denominator for music of the previous period, in a way that implied everything before the "modern" and after the "colonial". In Spanish, the concept *decimonónico* is used to describe only things pertaining to the period, but is also used in a more general sense to describe something that is outdated or old-fashioned.

See <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/decimon%C3%B3nico> (Accessed on 15 January 2017).

¹¹³ Carredano and Eli, *Historia de la música en España Hispanoamérica*, 19.

¹¹⁴ Ricardo Miranda and Aurelio Tello, *La música en Latinoamérica* (México: Dirección General del Acervo Histórico Diplomático, 2011), 22-24.

¹¹⁵ Miranda and Tello, *La música en Latinoamérica*, 31-32.

¹¹⁶ Marcelo Campos Hazan, "The Sacred Works of Francisco Manuel Da Silva (1795-1865)" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1999), 6.

professionally catalogued until a couple of years ago. As Cristina Magaldi has written, “the examination of past repertoires and musical practises cultivated outside central areas of dominance but fashioned on similar grounds to European music is a field that has yet to be fully embraced by music scholarship. The challenges are plentiful”.¹¹⁷

And, indeed, challenges are plentiful. An important array of technical, practical and epistemological problems need to be taken into consideration: first, and with the partial exception of Brazil, there is an almost complete lack of edited scores or recordings of these scores, and even basic musicological research on the nature of the sources in Latin America is scarce. As Daniel Mendoza de Arce acknowledges, these repertoires have been “little regarded by composers or consumers, [and seen as attempting to] reproduce an inspiration derived from a more sophisticated centre”.¹¹⁸ As Cristina Magaldi states, for too long European musical traditions in Latin American cities have been studied only when “they were altered by some kind of ‘cross-fertilization’ with the local element” or when there was a conscious intention from scholars to “construct a local canon [...] midway between European ‘master works’ and nationalistic pieces”.¹¹⁹ In a letter written in 1963, the historian Eugenio Pereira Salas summed up this attitude when he wrote to Chilean musicologist Samuel Claro that: “now is the time for musicologists to go beyond historical matters and compare musical structures, considering what is there that is American, meaning original, in music that was born under too direct an influence from Europe”.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro*, xiv. The problem of access to primary sources has also been recognised in Di Grazia’s book *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 452: “chapelmasters throughout Latin American continued to compose music, often of high quality, and possessed the resources for its performance. Most of this repertoire remains in manuscript, however, and still requires cataloguing, publication and revival”.

¹¹⁸ Mendoza, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850*, xiii.

¹¹⁹ See both Magaldi’s *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro*, XV; and her article “Sonatas, Kyries and Arias: Reassessing the Reception of European Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro”, *Symposium Music and Culture in the Imperial Court of Joao VI in Rio de Janeiro* (2005), 1.

¹²⁰ In Samuel Claro, *Letras de música* (edited by Carmen Peña, Santiago: Ediciones UC, 2000), 139. The same sentence was also cited for different purposes by Alejandro Vera in “Musicología, historia y nacionalismo: escritos tradicionales y nuevas perspectivas sobre la música del Chile colonial”, *Acta Musicologica* 78 (2006), 139-158. It is important to note, following this thought, that even a recent book by Armando Sánchez Malaga on Peruvian “classical” music was entitled *Nuestros otros ritmos y sonidos*, “Our other rhythms and sounds”, acknowledging that the literate music tradition of Latin America has not been recognised beyond academia as part of the common national heritage and identity of these

American as original; identity as difference.¹²¹ Why do we always have to bring back -perceived- authenticity in our discussions of identity? Many scholars coming from the fields of ethnomusicology and current post-colonial and Latin American studies have developed a strong interest in music from the region but, alas, seldom do they escape the search for explicit -exotic- originality and authenticity on its own terms. Non-European identity is considered a primary value of local art, but rarely in terms of comparable notions of art and history applied to Europe.¹²² Even at an encyclopaedic level, the current *New Grove* entry on “Latin America” -written by Carolina Robertson and Gerard Béhagüe-, deals only with “the folk, traditional and popular musics of the region”, with their “very complex picture”, as they put it, without a single mention to other traditions that relate to European written music.¹²³

The strong divide between self and other, so relevant to discussions of culture beyond the imaginary -and obtuse- geographical frame of Europe is particularly visible in cultural studies that focus in Latin America. The text created by the Other, in the words of Homi Bhabha, is “forever the exegetical horizon of difference, never the active agent of articulation”.¹²⁴ It is mostly a political tool that helps hegemonic principles, dividing social agents into active and passive, thereby negating the explicit creative forces of individuals or even complete societies and the historicity of their

countries (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2012). The usual term of “*música académica*” to describe these traditions gains some importance in this sense.

¹²¹ See Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds., *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 35-41.

¹²² See Karen Ann Lang *Chaos and Cosmos: On the Image in Aesthetics and Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 82-84. On history as a “moral success story” written by Europe, see the classic book by Eric Wolf *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), originally published in 1982.

¹²³ The same terms are used for coverage of Latin America by broad encyclopaedic collections like the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998-2002) or Malena Kuss’s edited *Music in Latin American and the Caribbean: An Encyclopedic History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004-), to mention just two of the most influential ones. The only proper “American” music (and thus “world” music) in these books is that which sounds different from European or contemporary models, or that has been actively and consciously hybrid, as happens in most -not all- urban popular music. However, as Mendoza de Arce states, “the degree of direct influence of European art music on the aboriginal aesthetic expressions is hard to gauge” (*Music in Iberoamerica*, 13). A more inclusive approach to Latin America has been achieved in Robin Moore and Walter Aaron Clark’s, eds., *Musics of Latin America* (New York: W.W.Norton, 2012).

¹²⁴ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 31.

documents. Using a concept from Santiago Castro Gómez, I should make explicit the epistemic violence that is inherent in such a construction of histories, shared or not:¹²⁵ to construct an “Other”, we necessarily must discard everything that does not fit with our perceived exoticist image of its borders, condemning certain forms of culture to oblivion because of their similarities to our own hegemonic ideas (or preconceived notions of what they and/or we are and are not). Consumed by prejudices, we do not like to see our own similarities to those Others, cautiously selecting our mirrors and their limits.¹²⁶

The contemporary idea of “authentic” Latin American art as an explicitly hybrid *-mestizo-* one (an otherness in comparison with a perceived fictitious homogeneous European or Anglo-American culture) has been reinforced, in my view, from academia by the influential notions of cultural hybridity developed by Benedict Anderson and García Canclini.¹²⁷ Of course, I recognise the enormous importance of studies such as those by Anderson in bringing new epistemological insight to the social sciences and, in particular, to Latin American studies. As De Grandis and Bernd have stated, “the idea of hybridity confronts us with the collapse of dialectical binarisms - self and other in relation to identity formation”.¹²⁸ This, of course, is central to my point here. However, while Anderson used Latin America as an appropriate example for his conceptualisation of hybridity, increasingly both ideas have become embroiled into one, as if Latin America’s essential identity was established only by its difference from others (less hybrid, one supposes). Particularly, it has been Canclini’s “influential

¹²⁵ See Castro Gómez’s article in Edgardo Lander, ed., *La colonialidad del saber: Eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales: perspectivas latinoamericanas* (Buenos Aires: Unesco, 2000), 145-147.

¹²⁶ Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism. Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 2. The German pianist Albert Friedenthal wrote an interesting remark about this problem -if we don’t consider a century of epistemological changes about race and culture- in his early twentieth-century book about *creole* music in America: “Short-sighted people have believed that, because *creole* peoples of South America are an hybrid folk, their music should be equally hybrid [but] there is no reason to believe that people with mixtures [*Mischlingsvolk*] should write equally mixed music”; see Friedenthal, *Musik, Tanz und Dichtung bei den Kreolen Amerikas* (Berlin: H. Schnippel, 1913), 32-33.

¹²⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1991) and Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990).

¹²⁸ Rita de Grandis and Zila Bernd, eds., *Unforeseeable Americas: Questioning Cultural Hybridity in the Americas* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), x.

interpretation of hybridity as a central element in Latin American modernity”, in the words of Kuortti and Nyman, the one that really reinforced the frontiers -and the academic necessity- of an exotic Latin America.¹²⁹

From this perspective, Latin American nations have become, in the words of Juan de Castro, “the privileged loci of cultural, racial, ethnic, and linguistic heterogeneity and, as a consequence, of miscegenation and cultural mixture”.¹³⁰ For musicology, as well as for cultural studies developed in Latin America, the perspective of García Canclini has proven essential in various ways, and its influence is so far-reaching that it is difficult to assume it today in terms other than hegemonic. Hybridism was transformed, *mutatis mutandis*, from an element that helped to explain Latin America’s identities to being *the* central element that defines Latin America’s identity and, thus, marking a new form of positive discrimination and exoticism grounded in *mestizaje*.¹³¹ A recent example of this in musicological terms can be seen in the influential 2010 book *A Tres Bandas*, which was correspondingly subtitled as *Mestizaje, sincretismo e hibridismo en el paisaje sonoro Iberoamericano* [*mestizaje*, sincretism and hybridism in the Ibero-American soundscape]. The connection between the concepts is explicit: “The results of this book can be seen as a panoramic vision of musical *mestizaje* in Ibero-America [...] an introduction to Ibero-American music from a Latin American perspective”.¹³²

In my opinion, the value of the concept of *mestizaje* as a commodity is in giving those that study Latin American culture a particular edge on discussions of hybridism. But, in more than one way, it has been co-opted: *mestizaje* is not a simple prolongation of the ideas of Anderson, but a completely different political and historical problem. As Serge Gruzinski has observed, the terms *mestizo* and *hybrid* do not work in the same

¹²⁹ Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman, eds., *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition*. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 10.

¹³⁰ Juan de Castro, *Mestizo Nations: Culture, Race and Conformity in Latin American Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 3.

¹³¹ A wonderful critique of the use of hybridity for South America can be found in Mabel Moraña’s chapter “The Boom of the Subaltern” for *The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader* (Edited by Ana del Sarto, Alicia Ríos and Abril Trigo, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 643-655.

¹³² Albert Recasens and Christian Spencer, ed., *A tres bandas: mestizaje, sincretismo e hibridación en el espacio sonoro iberoamericano* (Madrid: Akal, 2010), 20.

way, even if today they usually appear confusingly alongside each other, erasing temporal, social and geographical differences.¹³³ As Klor de Alva has argued, ideas like the centrality of *mestizaje*, hybridism or difference for Latin American culture have been mostly “retroactively applied to Latin America”; and, consequently, they cannot address “the set of policies and practices that define the historical experience of the non-indigenous Latin or Anglo American”.¹³⁴ They can only offer tools to specific needs and areas of music-making in the region, as well as in many other regions of the world. In their utmost simplicity, such ideas carry the implicit anguish of trying to produce singularity in the scholar’s research, but also promote long-standing ideas of exoticism, perhaps the only difference being that difference and hybridism cast that exoticism now in a positive light.¹³⁵

While arguments for the importance of the search and description of an explicit Latin American identity might have been -or are- important for studies of popular or twentieth-century music, they also have marked one the biggest hindrances to studies of nineteenth-century Latin American art music because it shows little of the expected explicit *mestizaje* of other Latin American art expressions and cultural goods. As a point of comparison, it is interesting to note how in recent decades, ideas of hybridism have been able to foster an increased enthusiasm for the repertoires from colonial times, explored in books, recordings and performances. John Beverley has recognised that “there has been a strong tendency in modern Latin American cultural discourse to see the Baroque as the *essential* style of Latin American postcolonial identity”,¹³⁶ because

¹³³ Serge Gruzinsky, *The Mestizo Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 17. Catherine Poupeney-Hart has an insightful article on this issue, “Mestizaje: ‘I understand the reality, I just do not like the word’: Perspectives on an Option” in Grandis and Bernd, ed., *Unforeseeable Americas*, 34.

¹³⁴ Klor de Alva, “The postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A reconsideration of ‘Colonialism’, ‘Postcolonialism’ and ‘Mestizaje’” in *After Colonialism: Imperial Stories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 241, 268.

¹³⁵ A good recent example would be Juan Pablo González’s *Pensar la Música desde América Latina* (Thinking music from Latin America), which starts: “We know Latin American music sounds different to the music of the rest of the world. It is passionate and rhythmic, but also sad and reflexive”. (Santiago: Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2014).

¹³⁶ See John Beverley’s article on “The Colonial Baroque” in *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures: Continental Europe and its Empires*, ed. Prem Poddar, Rajeev Shridhar Patke and Lars Jensen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 40.

of the perceived intrinsic hybrid qualities of baroque aesthetics. Leslie Bethell gave an interesting explanation to this phenomenon, asserting that “American baroque’s peculiar combination of the sacred and the paganistic [is the] reason that artists in many fields have been led to believe that the baroque -shaped by instinct and intuition- is the true vehicle and expression for the Latin American *mestizo* character, and that colonial art is therefore closer to Latin American reality”.¹³⁷

The projections of *hybridism* as discussed here have had certain undeniable consequences on the research of so-called “colonial” music, traditionally described as the one written in Latin America between the conquest and the Wars of Independence. Finding traces of local elements in colonial music has channelled various interests, related to current state projects of heritage and identity, audible too in the recordings of “colonial” music.¹³⁸ However, as Bernardo Illari has pointed out that, despite the discographic relevance of pieces that can be ascribed as explicitly *mestizo* or exotic, the presence of *villancicos* in native languages in the Archivo Nacional de Sucre is only marginal: they represent only a 0.4% of the total amount of the *villancicos* in the archive, but they are the most recorded and performed.¹³⁹ Meanwhile, Marcelo Campos Hazan has demonstrated how a colonial/republican *mestizo* dichotomy has deeply affected the reception in Brazil of the music of Francisco Manuel da Silva, a contemporary of Alzedo and Ximénez. While Da Silva’s teacher Jose Mauricio Nunes is highly regarded for his colonial sacred music, the republican Da Silva, following in his steps, has been reviewed as a poor and “inauthentic” composer, just because he wrote in an operatic style that was determined as “non-national” in an already “national” period.¹⁴⁰

Projecting our current postcolonial perspectives into the minds, the actions and

¹³⁷ Bethell, *A Cultural History of Latin America*, 13.

¹³⁸ See Leonardo Waisman’s “La Música Colonial en la Iberoamérica Neo-Colonial”, *Acta Musicologica* 76/1 (2004), 117-127.

¹³⁹ Bernardo Illari, “No hay Lugar para Ellos: Los Indígenas en la Capilla Musical de La Plata”, *Anuario del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia*, sn (Sucre, 1997), 73-108.

¹⁴⁰ Marcelo Campos Hazan, “The Sacred Works of Francisco Manuel Da Silva (1795-1865)”, 9-10. Doris Sommer has explored how the rejection of nineteenth-century literature, for example, was central to the writers of the so-called Boom of Latin American literature in the 1960s, to the point of being uncomfortable; a rejection related also to the growing interest in the baroque possibilities of Latin America. See Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*.

the repertoires of composers such as Alzedo or Ximénez can easily lead us in problematic directions. Perhaps, then, we really need to think beyond the framework of European/American divisions and sustain a more transatlantic perspective, using concepts that can bridge perceived geographical and temporal differences. That is the case, for example, with Walter Mignolo's well-known concept of "creole double consciousness", a local reworking of Gilroy's famous idea of "double consciousness" from *The Black Atlantic*.¹⁴¹ In Mignolo's words: "Creole consciousness was indeed a singular case of double consciousness: the consciousness of not being who they were supposed to be (Europeans). That being as not-being is the mark of the coloniality of being. Afro-Creoles and Indians do not have the same problem".¹⁴² In his words, creole consciousness would be "a double consciousness that was not recognized as such [...] The denial of Europe was not [the] denial of Europeanness".¹⁴³

Perhaps, as Nadia Altschul has suggested, we can also understand this period as one of an "intellectual internalization of coloniality", and the mentality of urban citizens as one of a "cultural self-understanding of the Americas as an extension of Europe".¹⁴⁴ She has termed this process "Occidentalism" and, in more than one way, it seems to me that while Mignolo's definition seem to deny local agency, Altschul, through her work of the poet Andrés Bello -contemporary of Alzedo and Ximénez- understands that, in the end, the acceptance of coloniality is, in many cases, a conscious intellectual choice. As I will discuss in later chapters, that choice did not have to be a nationally fixed one, since perhaps it can be better understood in cosmopolitan terms. As Thomas Schlereth proposed in his famous book on the cosmopolitan ideal, the Enlightened citizen, like Alzedo and Ximénez, "wished to be distinguished by a readiness to borrow from other lands or civilizations in the formation of his

¹⁴¹ Originally stated, as is known, by Du Bois; see Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1993), 30 and 73.

¹⁴² Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2005), 63.

¹⁴³ Mignolo "Coloniality at Large: The Western Hemisphere and the Colonial Horizon of Modernity" in *Teaching and Studying the Americas: Cultural Influences from Colonialism to the Present*, ed. Anthony Pinn, Caroline Evander and Michael Emerson (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 59.

¹⁴⁴ Nadia Altschul. *Geographies of Philological Knowledge: Postcoloniality and the Transatlantic National Epic*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 13.

intellectual, cultural, and artistic patterns".¹⁴⁵

1.4. Choices, appropriations and cultural translations

Could we say, then, that the music of Alzedo and Ximénez is also part of European music history, or at least of a more broadly defined Western music history? This is a forced question, I know; and perhaps unnecessary. But it is useful in that it conveys a central problem found in the previous discussions: we do not gain much in trying to define composers like them only in terms of black and white, self and others. The work of both composers -urban, American, learned and cosmopolitan-, is situated in a philosophical place that is neither Amerindian nor geographically European, an epistemological situation famously described by Simón Bolívar in his momentous letter from Jamaica,¹⁴⁶ a "desire to be what the European civilizing model offered", without being fully European.¹⁴⁷

Given the complexity and multi-layered character of the problem of intellectual and artistic discourses in Latin America in the early nineteenth-century, studies of the period necessarily need, in the words of Roldán and Caruso, a combination of "locally-based and globally designed explanatory frameworks", relating current trends of research to specific local epistemological problems.¹⁴⁸ But how to choose such a framework? Verónica Zárate and Serge Gruzinsky have proposed that our objective should be to find ways to distinguish "the 'local' forms of appropriation from the

¹⁴⁵ Thomas J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought. Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume and Voltaire 1694-1790* (London: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), xi.

¹⁴⁶ "We are neither Indians nor Europeans, but an intermediate species [...] Americans by birth, but our rights are those of Europe"; "No somos ni indios ni europeos, sino una especie media [...], siendo nosotros Americanos por nacimiento y nuestros derechos los de Europa". The full text in Spanish can be found in Wikisource:

https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/Carta_de_Jamaica (Accessed 19 September 2016).

For an English version, see Lewis Bertrand's translation from 1951:

<http://faculty.smu.edu/bakewell/BAKEWELL/texts/jamaica-letter.html> (Accessed 19 September 2016).

¹⁴⁷ José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). The citation comes in a commentary to the original text by Walter Mignolo, 473.

¹⁴⁸ Eugenia Roldán Vera and Marcelo Caruso, *Imported Modernity in Post-Colonial State Formation: The Appropriation of Political, Educational, and Cultural Models in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), 8.

‘globalization’ of the same [cultural models] from America to China”, an approach that I want to share in this dissertation.¹⁴⁹ I will use resources from both history -and particularly from cultural history- as well as from music analysis. This approach, of using analysis as a tool to understand history rather than to create appreciation in terms of taste and value, is -as Juan Francisco Sans suggested years ago- essential to avoid the dangers of nationalism, exoticism or the unnecessary search of radical exotic authenticity that plague studies of historical musics from Latin America.¹⁵⁰

I would argue that to understand this music in its historical context, it is essential to consider an approach that escapes from the imperial binarisms of Europe and its others, without disregarding the previous discussions of Latin American identity in relation to Europeaness. An interesting possibility is to adapt a model inspired by studies of cultural transfer, and particularly by the dialogue proposed by notions of cultural appropriation. Cultural transfer studies, in the 2012 words of Petra Broomans and Karina Smits, should be still considered “a relatively new research line within the broader context of literary history and cultural studies”.¹⁵¹ There is certainly a growing interest in its possible uses for music studies.¹⁵² The concept of cultural transfer is particularly important, I believe, if we consider its ability as an historiographical concept to allow us to discuss problems beyond mono-national paradigms¹⁵³ and, in the words of Stefanie Stockhorst, to consider parallels between subjects of study divided by geographical areas in ways that go beyond “a merely comparative approach”.¹⁵⁴ Importantly, cultural transfer is not only about objects or ideas that move, but also about the “active role played by the receiving culture” and

¹⁴⁹ Verónica Zárate y Serge Gruzinsky, “Ópera, imaginación y sociedad. México y Brasil, siglo XIX. Historias conectadas: Ildegonda de Melesio Morales e Il Guarany de Carlos Gomes.” *Historia Mexicana* 58/2 (2008), 848.

¹⁵⁰ Juan Francisco Sans, “Una aproximación analítica a las obras de los compositores de la escuela de Chacao”, *Revista Musical de Venezuela*, 32 (2001), 58-78.

¹⁵¹ Petra Broomans and Karina Smits, *Rethinking Cultural Transfer and Transmission: Reflections and New Perspectives* (Amsterdam: Barkhuis Edition, 2012), 9.

¹⁵² Mark Everist and Annegret Fauser, eds. *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 6-7.

¹⁵³ Ignacio Infante, *After Translation: The Transfer and Circulation of Modern Poetics across the Atlantic* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 4.

¹⁵⁴ Stefanie Stockhorst, *Cultural Transfer through Translation*, 7.

its agents in the process of cultural transformation according to external models.¹⁵⁵

The process of reception, in this context, derives from the fact that transfer always involves transformation, and, in this sense, transfer can also incorporate the creation of new cultural objects and texts by the adaptation of models to new contexts or paradigms, as well as by the cultural reflection of those models into new cultural fields. Different scholars have proposed models for cultural transfer, considering several concepts of stages, but until today no single frame has been convincing enough to be largely accepted by a majority of historians.¹⁵⁶ I believe that this is probably due to the large variety of forms and factors that influence transfer. So, for this dissertation, I will consider the process of transfer predominantly in two complementary layers: appropriation and translation.

By appropriation I mean, following James Young, “the ways in which members of one culture take something from members of another culture”.¹⁵⁷ In particular, as Young discusses, the adoption of “foreign” models by creators, and the latter assumption of those models as if “their own” is an act of identifiable cultural appropriation.¹⁵⁸ A model is appropriated when it is considered as part of the agent’s own culture or model of cultural undertaking, even if it has largely changed due to its geographical/temporal/personal transfer. Given the relations of power in academia and global economies, studies of appropriation have been mostly carried from the perspective of those in power, understanding the appropriation of colonised and/or

¹⁵⁵ Ann Thomson, et al, *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), 2, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Yuri Lotman’s model proposes five stages: first the arrival of texts (which retain their strangeness), a second in which the texts are addressed by the new culture, idealising the new; a third in which the new culture believes that this new home is better than the original one for those texts; a fourth in which the matrices are assimilated and a fifth in which those models become part of the cultural *semiosphere* of their new home. See Yuri Lotman, *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture* (New York: IB Tauris & Co, 1990). Another similar model consisting of several stages of introduction, reception and translation was proposed by Petra Brooman in “Reception and Ideology: ‘Wild volcanism’ and other varieties on Strindberg”, in Naajikens, Antonius et al. *Event or Incident: On the Role of Translation in the Dynamics of Cultural Exchange*, (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 107-120.

¹⁵⁷ See the entry for “cultural appropriation” written by James O. Young in Stephen Davies, et al, *A Companion to Aesthetics* (John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 222.

¹⁵⁸ James Young identifies this form of appropriation as a “style appropriation” or identifiable appropriation in *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 6.

exotic models as, for example, in studies of orientalism. However, the term can be easily and equally applied to other possibilities, like non-binary relations or studies of subalternity. As Klaus Dittrich has argued, appropriation from the side of non-hegemonic cultures appears commonly in the context of nation-building, with the necessary adoption of “foreign knowledge and institutional models”.¹⁵⁹ It is a complex process by which the original model of influence is necessarily going to be refracted, or recodified for a new audience, language, culture, political or poetic interest; a negotiation of models with systems, in the words of André Lefevre.¹⁶⁰

Translation, in cultural terms, is more difficult to define. Cultural translation considers the permeability of texts and styles, and the roles of active individuals in shaping them and affecting -and defining- that permeability.¹⁶¹ That centrality of the individual is key, and the main reason for my interest in using the concept of translation alongside that of appropriation. As contextual recodification, translation could be thought of as an extension of the process of appropriation,¹⁶² but where agency is a key factor. Some recent musicological research has searched for ways to discuss the problem of “translating” musical cultures, including works by Philip Bohlman on Herder, and Douglas Shadle on William Henry Fry.¹⁶³ However, as in those cases, it is difficult to speak about “translation” in terms of music and its relation

¹⁵⁹ Klaus Dittrich, “Appropriation, Representation and Cooperation as Transnational Practices: The Example of Ferdinand Buisson” in *The Nation State and beyond: Governing Globalization Processes in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Isabella Löhr and Roland Wenzlhuemer (New York: Springer, 2013), 149-176.

¹⁶⁰ André Lefevre coined the term “refraction” in the context of cultural translation studies. See his “Refraction-Some observations on Wole Soyinka’s opera Wonyosi” in *Page to Stage: Theatre as Translation*, ed., Ortrun Zuber-Skerrit (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 191-198. Lefevre himself identified “refraction” to research on cultural transfer, re-evaluating it as a “negotiation between systems, texts and cultures”, a process that had an obvious tendency to fall into misunderstanding and misconception. See Paul St-Pierre and Prafulla Kar, *In Translation: Reflections, Refractions, Transformation* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2007), 3.

¹⁶¹ On the specific role of individuals in this process of cultural translation, see Petra Broomans and Marta Ronne, eds., *In the Vanguard of Cultural Transfer: Cultural Transmitters and Authors in Peripheral Literary Fields* (Amsterdam: Barkhuis, 2010).

¹⁶² Stockhorst, *Cultural Transfer through Translation*, 8.

¹⁶³ Philip Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, 2004). Douglas Shadle *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). See particularly chapter 3, “William Henry Fry, Operatic Translator”.

to culture, because studies of music and translation usually refer to or depart from lyrics and the literary side of musical texts (like libretti or songs).¹⁶⁴ If we only define translation in terms of putting semantic meaning into a different language, certainly the idea of “translating” music becomes complicated; but if we think of translation in terms of the reinterpretation of meanings in a new context (and because of that new context) through the creation or recreation of texts by individuals, I believe that we can certainly speak of the “cultural translation” of music.

As I said, in my research both ideas (appropriation and translation) are studied in relation to their material and private context: objects, texts and styles do not translate themselves, but are translated by individuals. Music (as a contextual text that conveys multiple individual and social meanings) can be appropriated, as well as translated, considering individual and social meanings to which the music is adapted in a process of transfer. The concepts, thus, are used primarily as tools to help us in understanding the case of Latin America, where many repertoires (and their stylistic features) were appropriated in a context that differed from their European counterparts, and which did not allow for them to be used in the same ways as in their imagined or real places of origin. In the end, it is the choices individuals make that transforms music in specific ways, to serve those new contexts and expectations, which is the key issue that will come through in the various chapters of this dissertation.

1.5. Structure of this dissertation

In his book *Filosofía elemental de la música*¹⁶⁵ Alzedo described a good aspiring composer

¹⁶⁴ For two recent examples, see Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva’s edited volume *Translation and Music* (New York: Routledge, 2016), and the volume edited by Helen Julia Minors *Music, Text and Translation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), which, nevertheless, also dedicates some articles to the study of translation from one form of art to another in the sense of “Intersemiotic Translation”.

¹⁶⁵ This book, which will be discussed and referenced many times across the dissertation, can be found digitised in at least two sources. The first is from the Public Library of New York, through Google Books, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=u4JRAAAAYAAJ>

The second is on the site *Memoria Chilena*, from the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-9624.html>

In those cases I am citing only small extracts from this book, I refer the reader to the original in Spanish through these sources. In case of longer citations, I have placed the original in the footnote.

as the one who “compiling a background of selected materials, forms his own style that, acknowledging the developments of his own time, differentiates him from his contemporaries in his ideas and thoughts”.¹⁶⁶ But which distinctions is he considering here? Speaking about the “developments of his century”, he is certainly considering repertoires that were contemporary to him, and perhaps he is including in this even the specific distinctions he saw fit to appropriate from them. Nevertheless: how to distinguish oneself, and why -and from whom-? Are those distinctions national, local, individual? Are they made because of context or personal decisions? Do they affect stylistic, formal or melodic aspects of the music? How are all those layers negotiated by each composer?

All these questions are central to the chapters of these dissertation, and each chapter tries to look at possible answers that start from acknowledging Alzedo and Ximénez as composers with a sense of agency and a range of choices. To help the reader, I have tried to organise the chapters in a somewhat chronological order, so that it is easier to understand the musical discussions alongside the changes that happened to the Peruvian -and Latin American- cultural scene between the 1790s and 1850s. There are two chapters (Three and Five) which are dedicated exclusively to a single composer (Ximénez and Alzedo respectively), which helps me in understanding their careers in relation to the construction of their specific personae. Three other chapters (Two, Four and Six) involve discussions on both composers.

Given its length, I consider this introduction as somewhat of a chapter on itself (as the reader has probably noticed), and have given it the same structure as the following chapters, since I believe it carries important weight in creating the framework to understand the rest of the dissertation: the problems discussed here will come back in various guises later. Chapter Two, “Local and Cosmopolitan Schools”, is the first one of the main body of the dissertation. It considers two different approaches to the acquisition of musical knowledge in Peru circa 1800. On the one hand, it reflects

¹⁶⁶ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 41: “Compositor es aquel que, compilando un fondo de selectos materiales, se forma un estilo propio, con el que, no obstante de marchar al nivel del progreso de su siglo, se distinga de sus contemporáneos en sus ideas y pensamientos “.

on Alzedo's training as a student, and on the local relevance of his education, debating the possibility of defining a contemporary "Limerian school" of music composition and how such a school might have influenced him. On the other hand, it will look at how the acquisition of private scores of European music affected the development of Ximénez's musical style and ideas. Chapter Three, "The Composer as *Letrado*", uses the concept of the Latin American *letrado*, or man of letters, applied not to legal structures but to the writing of symphonies as central to Ximénez's career as a composer, particularly during the 1810s and 1820s in Arequipa.

Chapter Four, "Opera: Disruption and Translation" considers how the increased promotion of the theatre as a stage for music-making affected music creation in Peru in the decades surrounding independence, and how it gave career opportunities to both Alzedo and Ximénez. It considers both the creation of music for the stage on the late colonial period, but also how romantic opera transformed the relation between local composers and the theatre, particularly during the 1830s. As a consequence, the chapter looks at the ways that opera was translated through its use in other locations, particularly in relation to church music. Chapter Five, "The Republican Chapelmaster", discusses how Alzedo had to adapt when taking the role of chapelmaster in the 1840s in Santiago de Chile, to address the complex relations between the republican state and the Catholic church through the creation of a very personal, and socially significant, musical language.

Chapter Six, "Patriotic Epistemologies" ponders how a notion of the importance of depicting or discussing the "American" and the "National" in music might be understood for both Ximénez's and Alzedo's music and ideas, and how their own choices reflect the historical changes in that discussion. Considering the material of previous chapters, I will discuss to what extent the problem of "being American" might have been relevant to them, and how that might relate to their music-making and to our own considerations of stylistic and historical relevance today. Finally, the dissertation ends with an Epilogue that tries to situate what has come in previous chapters in the larger framework of studying the history of music from a global

perspective, discussing what I believe are historiographical problems that could be addressed in new ways from perspectives gained through this dissertation.

The Appendix is comprised of a short chronology of the lives of Alzedo and Ximénez in a simple comparative table, an inventory of the music of both composers that was consulted, and the transcriptions of scores discussed in the dissertation. Each transcription has a number (e.g., “Example no.3”), and page numbers will also be used for an easier access. Scores have been organised in the Appendix in the same order as they are discussed in the dissertation. Other smaller pieces, as well as music that has been edited, is only referenced and, when deemed necessary for analysis, short examples are transcribed in the body of the dissertation itself.

As a final word, I cannot hide the hope that my research, beyond its musicological and historiographical applications and interest, might result in an increasing appreciation -in the best, and most critical sense of the word- of both Alzedo and Ximénez, as well as other Latin American composers of the period, beyond the frames of exoticism, “heritage” and/or unfair comparisons with artists from other epochs and regions of the world; comparisons that have carried so much weight in negating these authors as active and conscious musical and discursive voices. However, I hope my desire in this respect has not shaped my dissertation unduly, and that it has instead helped me consider both Alzedo and Ximénez in relevant and meaningful ways that would not have been otherwise possible and, perhaps more importantly, have helped me in understanding what exactly being a composer in Latin America in this period could have meant.

2. Local and Cosmopolitan Schools

It could be argued that the discovery of music written during the colonial period in Latin America was one of the most exciting musicological “finds” in the twentieth century. After the pioneering work of Francisco Curt Lange and Robert Stevenson in the 1940s and 50s, several archives started to be tracked down in the region, catalogued and microfilmed, shaping the notion of a “colonial baroque repertoire” based on those discoveries.¹ Scores have been mostly recovered from three different scenes of music-making: Jesuit missions,² urban cathedrals, and monasteries and convents. In the case of cathedrals (and large urban churches), from which so many scores have been unearthed, the centrality of “European” culture in their music-making has been difficult to accept for many, always on the lookout for those repertoires that might provide a more transversal (or exotic) picture of colonial society.

But those scores confront us with a reality: local musicians were trained predominantly by the Catholic church, and the focus in both performance and creation was in music in “European” styles, given the centrality of the church for the proclamation of the power of King and (Christian) God over the peoples of the Americas: a perceived “civilising” role. Prominent composers in large churches occupied the role of chapmaster, and given the aesthetic influence and organizational relevance of the post, it was usually desired that the occupants were Europeans: Italians, Spaniards or Portuguese. Until at least the mid-1750s, European musicians were more commonly hired as chapmasters than local musicians, and their impact on local aesthetics of official music-making was undeniable.

With their arrival from Europe,³ chapmasters usually brought new ideas and procedures, and -more often than not- came to embody those ideas through their works and influence. Names like those of chapmaster Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (Villarobledo, 1644 - Lima, 1728) or the missionary Domenico Zipoli (Prato, 1688 - Córdoba, Argentina, 1726) were known across vast regions, and their music was

¹ For a critical discussion of the concept, see Leonardo Waisman, “La música colonial en la Iberoamérica neo-colonial”, *Acta Musicologica* 76/1 (2004), 117-127.

² Particularly those from Paraguay, now in Chiquitos and Moxos in Bolivia, are well-known examples.

³ In some cases, they arrived initially in order to occupy other jobs, like posts as violinists in the theatre or as court musicians for the Viceroy.

usually performed in churches well beyond the cities in which they lived. In fact, it was not rare for a single composer to influence an entire generation of musicians, as arguably happened with Juan de Araujo in Bolivia (Villafranca, 1646 - Chuquisaca, 1712)⁴ or Ignacio da Jerusalem in Mexico (Lecce, 1707 - Mexico, 1769).⁵ There were exceptions, especially -as always- in Brazil,⁶ but both documentary sources and surviving musical archives show the considerable influence these musicians had in the adoption of new stylistic features, and how difficult it is sometimes to separate their arrivals from the setting of new trends and fashions.

In a stratified colonial society, to be a cathedral chapelmaster meant to define the sound of the seat of power, and therefore to define the music of power itself, in a political landscape where there was barely no legal division between the State and the Church. Chapelmasters, working as professional composers, were also central in the urban musical life of South America given their role as composers, arrangers and general coordinators of musical life, and their musical style was thus also imitated by musicians in smaller parochial centres. Becoming a chapelmaster would have been the highest aspiration of any local musician in the colonies, but largely an impossible dream.

The job, however, was far from perfect: as Robert Stevenson has argued, there were significant differences between being a chapelmaster in Iberia and South America during colonial times: while in Spain chapelmasters held prebends that guaranteed a lifelong salary and a retirement pension, in the Spanish colonies chapelmasters were paid directly from the “fabric” budget of cathedrals and they were never confirmed directly by Rome.⁷ Nevertheless, under the best conditions, a cathedral chapelmaster

⁴ In relation to Juan de Araujo, see Bernardo Illari’s PhD dissertation: “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001).

⁵ See, for example, from Jazmín Rincón “Los versos instrumentales de Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella: Vestigios de un discurso sonoro en la Catedral de México”, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 36/105 (2004), 95-126.

⁶ In terms of the importance of “foreign” chapelmasters, the case of Brazil is largely different here, where some of the most influential colonial composers, like Lobo de Mesquita (1746-1805) were born in the regions or cities they worked afterwards, especially in the region of Minas Gerais.

⁷ Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), 93-94.

in a capital could gain enormous power. For example, the Italian Roque Ceruti (Milan, 1683? - Lima, 1760), who was chapelmaster in Lima Cathedral in the mid eighteenth century, was granted exceptional control over all musical life in the city by its archbishop.⁸

The centrality of these figures, and the survival of their material traces in archives, has meant that much of the local musicological research on the colonial past has been focused on them and their music. However, this approach has also been criticised in more recent years,⁹ since a focus on scores and cathedral chapelmasters, is sometimes seen as obscuring or ignoring, in the words of Geoff Baker, “the ‘hybrid city’ that had so caught the imagination of social and cultural historians”, the “‘colonial’ in colonial Latin American music”.¹⁰ I would say, however, that such a “desire” to see what is the explicitly “colonial”, the hybrid, as already discussed in the first chapter, is equally problematic, based on the idea of European values being only imposed, never locally accepted or appropriated.¹¹

Leslie Bethell had already recognised this problem in the writings of many cultural historians whose focus is on Latin America, writing that “if critics or historians are ‘disappointed’ by what they find in the art and literature of Latin America in this period [the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries], it behoves them to explain what they were expecting to find, and on what assumptions”.¹² Despite all the undoubted richness to be found in the musical life of *cofradías* [brotherhoods], rural musicians and smaller churches, it is inescapable that large urban cathedrals exerted influence and power, and served as a model of perceived “excellence” in music-making. They are not more or less important than other musical scenes *per se*, but any musicological

⁸ Roberto Eyzaguirre, “Melchor Tapia and Music in the Lima Cathedral” (PhD diss., University of Miami, 1973), 17; Also Daniel Mendoza, *Music in Ibero-America*, 314.

⁹ See also Kydalla Etheyo Young, “Colonial Music, Confraternities, and Power in the Archdiocese of Lima” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010), 143.

¹⁰ Geoffrey Baker, “Music and Musicians in Colonial Cuzco” (PhD diss. Royal Holloway, 2001), 10.

¹¹ The idea that European culture can solely be understood as imposition, and not also as an adoption or active -and positive- appropriation is certainly one of the most complicated ethical issues in studying Latin American culture, and one for which there are multiple perspectives, and no clear answer.

¹² Leslie Bethell, *A Cultural History of Latin America: Literature, Music and the Visual Arts in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45.

approach that considers the study of music creation in colonial times, with the use and analysis of scores and individual authors, will necessarily have to go into what was being written and performed in cathedrals. That the repertoire is rarely distinguishable from the one being written in contemporary Europe is in this context not a failure, but a fact.

All these elements and problems are important when discussing what was happening in Peru in the second half of the eighteenth century. Essentially, that landscape dominated by powerful European chapelmasters was rapidly changing, and their centrality in the adoption of new musical ideas and styles declining. There were two main reasons for this, which will be discussed in this chapter by turning to the music and careers of both Alzedo and Ximénez. The first (which will be discussed through Alzedo's case) is that there was a growing consciousness of the possibilities of a "Peruvian", or at least "Limenian", school, related to local aesthetic discussions and authors, who operated in mutual support. The second (examined through Ximénez) is that the changing economics of distribution, printing and circulation of scores on both sides of the Atlantic meant that music could be much more easily and rapidly acquired, and in greater volumes than ever before, in the Americas, to a degree that undermined the necessity (or at least the role) of "foreign" musicians as intermediaries in the appropriation of new musical styles.

2.1. In search of a Limenian style

José Bernardo Alzedo started his musical career as a child, inside the church. As the son of a freed slave and an unknown father, his chances of getting a formal education were small, and internment in a convent or monastery offered education to those who had no legal right to acquire it by other means. Music was one of the "crafts" that could be learned inside such spaces; Alzedo himself later remembered that "[Back then], the chapelmasters of the Augustinians, Dominicans and Mercedarians, selflessly received and even fed the children, taught them to sing the divine liturgy, and encouraged them

to learn the instruments they themselves chose”.¹³ For those who did not wish to profess at eighteen, and left the religious institution, music could serve as a career choice, and one that was growing in prestige and acceptance as a “civilised” job, in line with other artisans. Perhaps even more importantly for someone like Alzedo, it was a career in which *pardos* could gain some public prominence.¹⁴

Alzedo was probably eight or ten years old when he first entered a monastery, that of the Augustinians in Lima. Around a year later he had moved two streets up the Jirón Camaná to the even grander convent of the Dominicans, one of the richest and most prestigious in Lima, lying just a few metres away from the viceroy’s palace, the symbolical seat and centre of Spanish power in South America. Alzedo professed with the Dominicans in 1807, when he was eighteen years old, as was customary.¹⁵ By then, he must certainly have received an extensive music education with local teachers. Later in his life he would list some of their names, including his probable first teacher, “Fray Cipriano Aguilar, composer and chapelmaster of the convent of the Augustinians”, alongside “D. Toribio del Campo, composer, man of letters, skilful organ-builder; [and] presbyter D. Melchor Tapia, composer and organist of our Metropolitan Cathedral in Lima”.¹⁶

The selection of names here is clearly not arbitrary, given the probable number of musicians who worked in Lima at that time; but who were these people, and why did Alzedo single them out? A few words on each of them might be helpful. Aguilar might have been born in nearby Ica,¹⁷ and we know he professed as Augustinian in

¹³ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, xx: “Gracias al laudable comedimiento e incansable diligencia de los Maestros de Capilla de las órdenes regulares de Agustinos, Domínicos y Mercedarios, que recibiendo y aun alimentando desinteresadamente niños, los enseñaban a cantar para el servicio del culto divino, destinándolos despues al aprendizaje de los instrumentos que los mismos alumnos elegían”.

¹⁴ See Bernardo Illari, “The Slave Progress: Music as Profession in *Criollo* Buenos Aires”, in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 186-207.

¹⁵ This information comes from Zagarra’s biographical introduction to Alzedo’s *Filosofía elemental*. I have not still been able to find much confirmation for the statements, but Víctor Rondón has done some research in the Dominican archives in Lima and confirms Alzedo’s presence there.

¹⁶ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 214.

¹⁷ Rodolfo Barbacci, *Apuntes para un diccionario musical peruano*, (Lima: Revista Fénix, 1949), 415.

1788, the same year Alzedo was born.¹⁸ Aguilar was also among those who presented an entry in the competition for a National Anthem of Peru in 1821, thus losing against his former student.¹⁹ In 1836, a symphony by him was played in Lima, and in 1845 Aguilar was still alive there (being by then at least 75 years old).²⁰ Only a handful of his compositions appear to have survived, held in the Cathedral in Santiago, Chile: a *Vigilia a 4 y a 8 Vozes*, a *Caídas a Dúo*, and a *Terceto*.²¹ They are all in different hands, and at least part of the *Vigilia* score seems to have been copied around the time that Alzedo was chapelmaster in Santiago de Chile, in the 1840s or 1850s, maybe as a sign of devotion to an old master. Of these scores, the *Vigilia* is the largest and most interesting piece, composed for the usual contemporary formation of two solo violins, two woodwinds (in this case flutes), two horns, and continuo (bass and organ).²²

Very similar in instrumentation and style are the works of the next musician in Alzedo's list: Toribio del Campo, (Lima, c.1740 - 1818). Del Campo was a well-known man of letters and organ-builder, as well as flautist in Lima Cathedral. An important number of documentary sources have survived from Del Campo's life and ideas, and Andrés Sas has already written extensively about him in his book on Lima Cathedral.²³ However, only three scores by Del Campo are known to us, all of them in Lima's *Archivo Arzobispal*: a large *Credo a Quatro* dated 1790; a *Misa a 4 y a 8* from 1811, which was performed -according to the score- for the birth of María Luisa de Borbón, daughter of Carlos III, in 1818; and a short *Ave Maria*.²⁴ His exact relation to Alzedo is unknown to me, but I will outline some possible points of contact later.

Finally, Melchor Tapia (c.1750 - c.1818/19), the third man in the list, was the organist in Lima Cathedral, and various pieces survive by him in archives in Lima and in Santiago.²⁵ Roberto Eyzaguirre wrote a dissertation on Tapia's *Misa a 3* in 1973,

¹⁸ Robert Stevenson, *Tribute to Jose Bernardo Alzedo*, 2.

¹⁹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, v.

²⁰ Raygada, *Historia crítica del Himno Nacional*, I/15; Barbacci, *Apuntes para un Diccionario*, 415.

²¹ Respectively, ACS_139, ACS_242, and ACS_267.

²² In the later copies, the flutes are played by oboes, a sign of the common interchangeability of woodwinds in the Andean region in this period (flutes, oboes or clarinets).

²³ Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima*, vol.2.1/68-75.

²⁴ Respectively they can be found in AAL, Música V_1, V_2 and V_3.

²⁵ Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima*, V2.1/386.

which includes some sparse biographical data.²⁶ Tapia is mentioned in various sources as a presbyter and a *licenciado*, which means he had a University degree.²⁷ He worked first as a singer and then as an organist in Lima Cathedral from 1775 until his death, where aside from his activities as a performer he had a long and distinguished career as an influential local composer.²⁸ His music survives, among other places, in the *Archivo Arzobispal*, in Lima, including at least fifteen Masses, various Psalms, four *Magnificat* and other smaller pieces. His works, in my opinion, are of a quality that easily surpasses comparable compositions by most of his contemporaries in the city, and are in dire need of more research.

These musicians, given their positions, were probably quite influential in the musical scene of Lima at the turn of the century, when Alzedo was a student. It is interesting, however, that Alzedo does not mention either of the chapelmasters who served during his early life in the city, Juan Beltrán and his successor the Italian Andrés (or Andrea) Bolognesi.²⁹ Only one work by Beltrán survives in the Lima archive, and none by Bolognesi, and thus perhaps the fact that they did not resonate as composers gave the opportunity to other musicians in the city to cover their role with their own compositions, and thus gain unexpected prominence.³⁰ It could also be that their works have simply not survived; or else, that perhaps Beltrán and/or Bolognesi were part of a different group, guild or trend, and might not have had much contact with the young Alzedo. This is important, since I believe that at least in the case of Toribio del Campo, one could argue that the idea of a local school of composition was already

²⁶ Roberto Eyzaguirre, "Melchor Tapia and the Music in Lima Cathedral" (PhD diss. University of Miami, 1973).

²⁷ Eyzaguirre, "Melchor Tapia", 46.

²⁸ Eyzaguirre, "Melchor Tapia" 47; he is referencing here a letter sent in 1808 to the archbishop of Lima by the composer.

²⁹ There are not many clues about Bolognesi's origins. It is often mentioned among Peruvian musicians that his father was a certain Giuseppe Bolognesi. It might be that it is the same Giuseppe Bolognesi that lived in Correggio in the late eighteenth century, and who was enormously supportive of local musical life there. Another son of Giuseppe, Michele, born in Correggio in 1765, would become a violinist. See: Blythe Alice Raviola, *Corti e diplomazia nell'Europa del Seicento: Correggio e Ottavio Bolognesi*, (Mantua: Universidad Studiorum, 2014), 217. What is clear, is that certainly more research on Bolognesi's origin and decision to go to America is needed.

³⁰ AAL, IV_1.

being shaped by then, for various reasons.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Peruvian cathedral music seems to have been dominated by two separate musical models: on the one side that of Spaniards Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and Juan de Araujo, and on the other of the Italian violinist Roque Ceruti. In contrast with Torrejón and Araujo, Ceruti (who arrived in Peru in 1707) was fully embedded in the *stile moderno* and *concertante* prevalent in northern Italy in this period, and his church music included modern *da capo* arias, *ritornelli*, concertante choral pieces and virtuoso violin and vocal lines that must have greatly contrasted with the more “old-fashioned” ideas of the other two Spanish composers. Indeed, Torrejón and Araujo had an evident focus on communication of the liturgical text as the centre of their creative efforts; and, in much of their music, instruments seem to be clearly dependent on the choir, rather than central “soloists” as they are in Ceruti’s work. That conflict in early eighteenth-century Peruvian music aesthetics might have also have been understood in political terms, as part of the clash between the old Habsburg emperors and the Bourbons, during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701 - 1715).

The election of a Spaniard, Italian or French chapelmaster as successor to Ceruti would all have had political and stylistic implications in Peru, but would have been expected. I don’t believe many expected the next chapelmaster to be a Peruvian, and that had enormous implications. José de Orejón y Aparicio (1705 - 1765) was born in Huacho, a few miles from Lima. It is presumed that Orejón studied with either Torrejón and/or Ceruti; we know he was praised for his music as early as the 1730s, and when he presented himself for the post of first organist in 1742 no other musician in the viceroyalty dared compete with him.³¹ But being organist was one thing, and chapelmaster a completely different one: no one would have expected a Peruvian to take the most important job for a musician in the viceroyalty, and I believe his election meant something important for younger Peruvian musicians, in terms of what they could achieve and consider as a model.

³¹ Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 87.

Orejón's importance was not solely symbolic, but also aesthetic. Toribio del Campo was a champion of Orejón and wrote in his *Carta sobre la Música*, published in the *Mercurio Peruano* -a late colonial newspaper dedicated to intellectual discussions-³² that the Peruvian composer had "elevated himself over all others, particularly in his church music", comparing him directly and favourably with the famous Spanish composer José de Nebra (1702 - 1768), the paramount authority in eighteenth-century Iberian cathedral music.³³ He mentions that even with the arrival of new musical possibilities in the form of compositions by Domingo Terradellas and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Orejón's influence was neither displaced nor forgotten. Del Campo, publishing in such a public journal, was situating an old, long-dead local master as a reference point for a large audience, and that must necessarily have affected local feelings towards Limenian musicians.

Del Campo explains why he believes in the standing of Orejón: he writes that Orejón y Aparicio "came back to the path from which Ceruti had strayed", ³⁴ thus comparing Orejón directly with the famous Italian chapelmaster before him, and putting Orejón above the European: the hierarchies had changed, as if presaging the looming independence. In the same article, Del Campo is confident in saying that "among us there are some [composers] that, without the help of [European] masters, without schools like those of Milan, Naples, &c, and without the opportunity to hear the great operatic virtuosi, have produced beautiful ideas, discerned by musicians from nature, but arranged with Art".³⁵ Peruvians, he believes, can stand -with the example of Orejón- on their own for their merits, shoulder to shoulder with Europeans:

³² The entire newspaper can be found in digital format in:

<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/mercurio-peruano--11/> (Accessed 10 March 2015).

³³ "Carta sobre la Música" In *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 16 February 1792, "[...] el huachano Nebra trasladado en el Licenciado D. José Orejón y Aparicio [...]. Se elevó sobre todos, particularmente en los cantos de la Iglesia".

³⁴ Stevenson's translation, in *The Music of Peru*, 88: "reparó los descaminos de Cerutti en algún modo y aprovechó tal cual rasgo de melodía que a este se deslizaba".

³⁵ "Sin embargo, hay uno u otro, que sin el auxilio de los maestros, y sin el de los colegios de Milán, Nápoles, &c, sin la continuación de oír los excelentes virtuosos en las grandes óperas, producen unas ideas agradables, capaces de discernir el músico por naturaleza, y arreglo por el Artes". *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 16 February 1792.

“with the help of Providence, this Limenian soil has produced geniuses [*monstruos*]³⁶ that filling this hemisphere with glory, have also astonished the rest of the world”.³⁷

Importantly, Del Campo’s comments are not simply the ideas of a single musician in admiration of an old master, but seem to respond to a shared feeling towards Orejón and his music in the city of Lima. A significant sign of this is that Orejón’s music was still central to the music archive of Lima Cathedral, and not only as a token. When Andrés Bolognesi made an inventory of the entire “useful” archive in 1807 in Lima Cathedral, Orejón y Aparicio comes second only to the great Antonio Ripa (1718 - 1795), chapelmaster in Seville and the most important Spanish model of the period, someone whose sound is much closer to the Galant and Classical models of the second half of the century than Orejón’s somewhat -by then- old-fashioned works. This is no small thing: Seville was the main liturgical reference point for Lima, and Ripa a modern composer who had only died a decade before; Orejón was a Peruvian who had died more than half a century ago.

Another relevant sign of Orejón’s influence and high status is that Melchor Tapia (whom I discussed above) made arrangements of various of Orejón’s works to suit them to new instrumental dispositions of the Cathedral orchestra, including the monumental *Pasión del Viernes Santo*.³⁸ In the same vein as Mozart’s arrangements of Handel’s *Messiah* a few years earlier (in 1789), Tapia’s work is not only an actualization, but also an evident show of admiration, and a way of studying the work by its transcription.³⁹ In the score made by Tapia it is stated that the purpose of the arrangement is to “increase its energy, without losing its essence or altering its

³⁶ The Word “monster” in Spanish is also ascribed to anyone who is big or extraordinary in some way.

³⁷ *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 16 February 1792.

³⁸ The originals of Orejón’s music have disappeared from Lima Cathedral, probably stolen in the 1980s. Luckily, a series of copies of his works were made and kept in Buenos Aires in the twentieth century, and have been recently edited by Diana Fernández Calvo. See Fernández Calvo, *José de Orejón y Aparicio: La música y su contexto* (Lima: Universidad Católica Sedes Sapientiae, 2009). A digital copy of the book, including the music examples, can be found in:

<http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/repositorio/libros/jose-orejon-aparicio-musica-contexto.pdf> (Accessed, 28 Sept. 2016).

³⁹ See Eyzaguirre, “Melchor Tapia”, 49; and also Fernández Calvo, *José de Orejón y Aparicio*, 402.

composition".⁴⁰ The transformations made by Tapia are not major and show only adaptations to some of the instrumental changes in the intervening years, like the use of a pair of horns and a pair of woodwinds as standard part of the orchestra.⁴¹

Orejón's style was significant in its conscious mixing of various elements from previous and contemporary traditions, under the umbrella of specific liturgical and catechetical values.⁴² Essentially, Orejón connected the baroque Italian style promoted by Neapolitans connected to the Bourbon kings with the Spanish influences preferred in colonial church music of the past. Diana Fernández Calvo, in her study of Orejón y Aparicio's style, mentions that his process was that of "choosing carefully, and rigidly, the texts to be used. Then, elaborating them into music, he always strictly followed the poetry, considering its general meaning, its rhythm and its expression, and then painting musically what the fundamental words were saying".⁴³ This centrality of the text, which is shared by later Peruvian composers from the generation of Del Campo and Tapia (and by Alzedo, as we will see), was fundamental.

My contention is that this mixture of specific musical values and a certain reverence for Orejón, alongside the specifics of the music scene in Lima at the turn of the nineteenth century, meant that a notion of "local school" could easily have been constructed among local composers at the time. Orejón opened a way for younger Peruvian composers to believe not only in the possibility of becoming chapelmasters themselves, but also that their music could be considered equal to music composed by Europeans. Certain features of Orejón's oeuvre -and his works themselves- were shared by local composers in a conscious relation to a shared musical past, and thus created a partial -but meaningful- aesthetic difference with other colonial centres.

⁴⁰ Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 125: "para su mayor energía, sin que perdiese dicha obra nada de lo que toca a su esencia o composición".

⁴¹ Bolognesi acknowledges Tapia's arrangements in the inventory of 1809, and signs some of the copies of Orejón's works as if checked or copied by him; see Fernández Calvo, *José de Orejón*, 23. The words used for these arrangements in the scores themselves are most commonly *reformada* and *renovada* (reformed, renovated).

⁴² The formalities of the religious instruction for baptism and/or confirmation, usually framed as a set of questions and answers.

⁴³ Fernández Calvo, *José de Orejón*, 49.

To be sure, the idea that all of this amounted to a “school” could be contested, but there are ample notions of musical “schools” applied to other regions of Latin America in this same period, considering both the shared stylistic features inside the region and specific differences. The cases of Caracas,⁴⁴ the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay⁴⁵ and Minas Gerais⁴⁶ are all well known. Nevertheless, the notion of “Latin American colonial music” has made it complicated to discuss single “schools” where the local takes precedence over the regional. This stands in contrast to other arts, since there has been ample research done in the historical development of local schools across the Americas during colonial times in architecture, literature and painting, perhaps because in those arts the differences are more easily visible and accessible today.⁴⁷ But in terms of music, no similar discussions have been raised in comparative terms. Juan Francisco Sans has suggested that the reasons might be the scarcity of sources, difficult access to archives and the lack of recordings and editions, which have influenced in stripping research on music of the period of the musical analysis needed to define the study and differentiation of schools.⁴⁸

As Robert Stevenson already noted in his 1951 book *Music in Mexico*, “it has often been assumed that culturally as well as politically the colonies had all reached approximately the same stage in their [musical] development around 1810. This is an untenable assumption”.⁴⁹ Stevenson, who had visited an important number of archives across the Americas, could grasp that regional and local differences in music making -and writing more specifically- were abundant, but did not try to treat them in a comparative manner. Only now, with more access to archives and digital tools,

⁴⁴ Juan Francisco Sans, “Una aproximación analítica a las obras de los compositores de la Escuela de Chacao”, *Revista Musical de Venezuela* 33 (1993), 58–77.

⁴⁵ Leonardo Waisman, “Música misional y estructura ideológica en Chiquitos (Bolivia)”, *Revista Musical Chilena* 176 (1991), 43-56.

⁴⁶ Katya Beatriz de Oliveira and Laura Rónai, “A prática musical religiosa no Brasil e em Portugal na segunda metade do século XVIII: Paralelo e fundamentação para a interpretação vocal da música de José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita”, *Per Musi* 24 (2011), 151-166.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008). The case of the “Cuzco” school of painting and art, or the “Arequipa” school of architecture are two famous example from the Andean region.

⁴⁸ Sans, “Una aproximación analítica”, 59.

⁴⁹ Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey*, (New York: Crowell, 1952), 172.

can we start comparing the multiple varieties of music style in the late eighteenth century in various parts of Latin America.

From those examples that have been described as “schools”, the closest one to Lima to be helpful in a comparative study is perhaps the one from Caracas.⁵⁰ Taking as a point of departure the studies of Juan Francisco Sans on specific stylistic elements of the “Chacao school”, as the Caracas music of this period is usually known,⁵¹ a comparison with contemporary Limenian music gives us many important insights. Certainly, compositions from both cities share many similarities, ascribable to shared European influences from the period, but the differences are suggestive.

For example, an important difference is that in Caracas the use of *basso continuo* had almost stopped around the 1780s and is virtually impossible to find in compositions written by 1800,⁵² while in Lima it was still a common practice in music written even as late as the 1810s, and is found even later. In instrumental terms, it is also noticeable -and related to the same practice- that by the 1790s in Caracas the orchestral distribution is much more “classical” than in Lima, with the use of strings *a 4*, including the viola as an integral voice. The lack of organ parts, and the somewhat common use of the cello in Caracas, also point to those same differences with Lima, where even harps were still being used as support for the *continuo* around 1800.⁵³

Looking at that same disposition of the orchestral strings in *a 4* formation in Caracas, one can see that this seriously affected the writing for the violin in that city: the common previous way of writing, retained in Lima until the 1820s, was of having two solo violins, usually playing in parallel thirds or sixths, in the Neapolitan manner,

⁵⁰ Another possibility for a comparison study could be the “school” from Minas Gerais; Paulo Castagna has an unpublished article in which he describes certain features of the region that could also be compared to Lima. See Castagna, “A Música religiosa mineira no Século XVIII e primeira metade do Século XIX”, *Apostila do curso História da Música Brasileira*:

https://www.academia.edu/1082746/A_M%C3%A9SICA_RELIGIOSA_MINEIRA_NO_S%C3%89CULO_XVIII_E_PRIMEIRA_METADE_DO_S%C3%89CULO_XIX (Accessed 20 Sept. 2016).

⁵¹ The use of the term “Chacao” instead of Caracas was given because Padre Palacios y Sojo, the central figure of the movement, founded the music school that supported many younger musicians there.

⁵² Sans, “Una aproximación analítica”, 71-72.

⁵³ Sas, *Música en la Catedral de Lima*, vol.I, 83, 87 and 100-101 (for a comparison of different instrumental organizations of the Cathedral orchestra in Lima between 1780 and 1810).

accompanied by the bass line. In fact, in some of the earliest surviving works from Caracas archives, from the 1780s, the same practice can be found, as in the works of José Antonio Caro de Boesi (1758 - 1814);⁵⁴ but this way of writing for two violins is not found in the works of those writing by the 1790s, such as chapelmaster Cayetano Carreño.⁵⁵ In Caracas, too, it is common to find virtuoso writing for the voice, with a focus on soloists with long melismatic sections, regarding melodic development as more important than the clear syllabic enunciation of the text. As Juan Francisco Sans suggests, for musicians in Caracas the voice, when not a virtuoso soloist, was nothing more than an ornament for the music, with the lines of the instruments being at the centre of the musical composition.⁵⁶

The tradition of Lima, however, was much closer to Orejón than to modern “classical” -or even Neapolitan-instrumental or vocal models. The voices, even as soloists, are mainly written in syllabic disposition, with the text as the centre of gravity, and instruments serving as an ornament to the choir. Was this perhaps a sign of conservatism? The local interest in old-fashioned practices is indeed significant, particularly given that works by Haydn and his contemporaries were by the late eighteenth century as well known in Lima as in Caracas.⁵⁷ Perhaps the most evident example of that possible “conservatism” is the relevance that counterpoint has in the Limenian repertoire from this period, especially when we compare it with Caracas, where counterpoint is, according to Sans, non-existent.⁵⁸

In Lima, the contrast between contrapuntal and homophonic sections, the use of canons and imitations and the composition of complex fugues are all central features

⁵⁴ Caro de Boesi's *Requiem* was edited by Roberto Ojeda (Caracas: Fundación Vicente Emilio Sojo, 2002), and David Coifman has written a longer account of his life in “José Antonio Caro de Boesi (1758-1814?), primer compositor de la ilustración musical de Venezuela”, in *La música y el Atlántico: Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica*, ed. María Gembero and Emilio Ros (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 415-434.

⁵⁵ Miguel Castillo Didier has written a biography of Cayetano Carreño: *Cayetano Carreño* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1993).

⁵⁶ Sans, “Una aproximación analítica”, 71.

⁵⁷ Music of Haydn survives both in churches of Lima, like San Francisco (according to Alejandro Vera), and in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú in a collection of eighteenth-century theatre pieces.

⁵⁸ Sans, “Una aproximación analítica”, 71.

of compositional practice, sometimes with clear structural relevance. Counterpoint had certain specific values in the period, as an explicit aural sign of learned ability, and it is probable that Limenian musicians wanted to show their prowess through its use, but that cannot serve as the sole explanation.⁵⁹ Counterpoint already plays an important role in the works of Orejón -including his aptly titled *Contrapunto a 4 a la Concepción de Nuestra Señora*-,⁶⁰ and is prominent in the works of Tapia (*Missa a 3*, 1796),⁶¹ and Del Campo (*Misa a 4 y a 8*, 1811).⁶² In their works -as well as in those of Alzedo, as I will discuss-, counterpoint is used in similar ways to Neapolitan masses, like those of Pergolesi, rather than in the model of more modern Austrian ones.⁶³

To sum up: the use of almost solely syllabic melodies, the high interest in counterpoint in *stile antico*, the perpetuation of *basso continuo* practice, and the Italianate violin lines (in pairs) give Limenian -and Peruvian- music from this period a very old-fashioned flavour. Many musicologists and performers have read this as a sign of a lack of connections with Europe: a “lag” in the reception. The musicologist Samuel Claro -who studied and edited a large number of Peruvian colonial scores- even proposed that “in the New World [...] around 1800, instead of a mature classicism, we only found the influence of Sammartinian preclassicism”.⁶⁴ However, as I discussed previously, this appreciation only works for Lima (and to a certain extent the larger Peruvian region), but not for places like Caracas, Valladolid-Morelia, or Minas Gerais. In that light, it seems although Peruvian composers were following these compositional procedures as local artistic choices and not because of any lack of technical, literate or aesthetic knowledge.

⁵⁹ Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race and Status in New Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 110-116.

⁶⁰ Fernández Calvo, *José de Orejón y Aparicio*, 220.

⁶¹ See Eyzaguirre's edition, “Melchor Tapia”.

⁶² AAL, Música V_2.

⁶³ For the use of *stile antico* on both the Christe and the end of the Gloria sections in Neapolitan Masses from the early eighteenth century, see Frederick Aquilina, *Benigno Zerafa (1726 -1804) and the Neapolitan Galant Style* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 124-125.

⁶⁴ See his “Música Teatral de América”, *Revista Musical Chilena* 35/156 (1981), 3.

2.2. Stepping into a local tradition

As a young composer, eager to learn from such recognised local masters, Alzedo must have been influenced by these ideas and aesthetics when still a student. As he wrote in his *Filosofía elemental de la música*, “young composers, who still have not fully formed their ideas, start by imitating some of the masters they regard highly: this is not a concern, but is risky, since almost always it happens that, fully in love with the proposed model, the young composer transits easily from imitation to plagiarism”.⁶⁵ On the basis of local ideas about composition and from theoretical books imported from Europe, Alzedo probably had a clear picture of what a musician should be, and it was a picture that could be easily applied to those old Limenian masters: “the true and scientific musician [is the one who], possesses a perfect theory, based on the principles of science derived from nature, the knowledge of the human heart and the ways to excite its emotions, and the judicious observation of the various metres of both the sacred and the profane poetry to give it meaning”.⁶⁶

But how exactly was all of this constructed in the mind of a young student? From a theoretical point of view, his own views in the *Filosofía* show that the Spanish theorists who privileged in Spain in the late eighteenth century were the same ones he had in mind while studying in Lima: Antonio Eximeno (1729 - 1808) and Tomás de Iriarte (1750 - 1791) take precedence.⁶⁷ From a practical point of view, we have two

⁶⁵ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 39: “Los compositores principantes, que aun no se han formado un caudal de ideas, comienzan regularmente por imitar á algun de los maestros de mayor opinión: esto no es reprehensible, pero sí riesgoso; porque casi siempre acontece que con la demasiada afectación del modelo propuesto, se pasa fácilmente de la imitación al plagio”.

⁶⁶ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 41, el “científico y verdadero músico” es aquel que es elegido por la naturaleza: “Ella es la rectora de los destinos, y ella designa al Músico, como al orador y al poeta; y aquel que a esta primera y esencial prerogativa, agregue la posesion de una perfecta teoría, fundada en los principios de la ciencia derivados de la naturaleza, el conocimiento del corazon humano y los resortes de escitar sus sentimientos, y la juiciosa observacion de los diversos metros de la Poesía sagrada y profana para poderla significar”.

⁶⁷ Hugo Quintana has worked on surviving theoretical sources of music from this period, and his articles are worth a look for the sake of comparison, since probably many of these sources were also being discussed in Lima. See his book *Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas (periodo colonial)* (Caracas: Universidad de Caracas, 2008) and also his paper “La Difusión de la Estética Musical Ilustrada y la Teoría de los Afectos en la Caracas Colonial”, *Ensayos. Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 19 (2010), 143-169.

interesting sources to understand Alzedo's process as a student in Lima: the first is a set of what is probably one of his earliest works, the *Motetes Penitenciales*, which seem to have been written as a practical student exercise.⁶⁸ The second is a little collection of writings titled *Principios de Composición*, [Principles of Composition] which are found today in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú.⁶⁹

The two *Motetes Penitenciales* [Penitential Motets] were originally part of a set of four compositions, of which those that survive are numbers 1 "Cuando señor" [When, my Lord] and 4, "Acabe ya mi pena" [I hope my grief ends].⁷⁰ Both can be found in the Appendix (Examples 1 and 2, pp.329 and 337). According to the information contained in the scores themselves, these motets were composed for voices, "accompanied by two violins, two oboes,⁷¹ two horns and bass". In their use of the orchestra, including the continuo, they are clearly in line with other music being written in Lima around 1790-1810. Alzedo explicitly mentions in the opening pages that he is the author of both the music and the lyrics, probably because writing both would be a good way for a student to explore different ways of setting a text to music. They must have been composed around the same time, since they use the same instrumentation and are

⁶⁸ I believe that less than twenty of his surviving compositions (in Santiago and Lima) were composed in his early years as a Dominican (before 1821), or adapted from pieces composed during that period. These are: *Misa a 4 y 8* in D major (BNP CB1); *Lauda Sion* (ACS145), which seems to have been adapted heavily, also as *Venid Coros del Empíreo* (ACS293) and, much later on, as the *Villancico N°2 a Cualquier Santo* (BNP2:14). *Letanías a la Virgen* (ACS160); *Himno a San Pedro* (ACS190); *Himno Ave Maris Stella* (ACS192-193); *Grandes Obras que en su hechura* (ACS194-195); *Volad, volad amores* (ACS196); *De la Casa de David* (ACSSN); *Caídas de Nuestro Redemptor* (BNP 5:30); *Dixit Dominus* (BNP 5:25); *Venid Pastorcillos* (ACSSN - SPM SMC_002); *Tota Pulcra* (BNP 1:8); *Motete Penitencial N°1* (BNP 5:28); *Motete Penitencial N°4* (BNP 5:29); *Manus Tue* (BNP 4:21). Other possibilities of which I am less certain are *Himno de los Maitines de Navidad* (ACS281), *Responso a 4 Voces* (BNP 3:16), and *Himno de Pentecoste* (ACS189). I want to thank Víctor Rondón for suggestions and discussions about this possible list.

⁶⁹ When I visited the BNP they did not have a catalogue number, but were considered as part of Alzedo's collection and have also been digitised and are publicly available, as are all other sources from the BNP.

⁷⁰ BNP 5:28 (no.1) and 5:29 (no.4).

⁷¹ It seems clear that in many of his pieces Alzedo originally used oboes and later the same parts are ascribed to clarinets. This was common practice in the period, given the recent change of instrument, the more common use of clarinets with the appearance of bands in the wars, and the structure of "two woodwinds" that was inherited from scores of the second half of the eighteenth century. As such, usually the fact that pieces mention being written "for oboe", of that have parts for oboes relabelled for clarinets, is an important sign both of the piece's period in Alzedo's career and the fact that he reused it in a later date. In the case of *Motetes Penitenciales*, the front-page for motet no.1 states "obues", the later one for motet no.4 states "clarinets".

roughly in the same style, and given their numbering -and other aspects- I believe this was planned as a set of four compositions from the beginning. There are certain elements that even show Alzedo's intention to generate correspondences between the two surviving motets, as -for example- the way in which the sequence of chords that starts the first motet becomes the harmonic basis for the main melodic idea of the fourth motet (Figure 3, see Examples 1 and 2).



Figure 3, *Motetes Penitenciales*; Motet N°1, bars 1-2. Motet N°4, bars 11-14.

But the key aspect that indicates their origins as student exercises is what Alzedo wrote in the cover of each of the scores: an inscription that says they were written “in parts without [the need for] a general score” [*compuestas en partes separadas sin partitura*]. This boast of a certain capacity, a sign of a certain formal guidelines, which can surely only be explained if Alzedo presented these scores as part of an examination or to prove himself in front of others. In both motets, there is a level of complexity that might also be understood as a sign of “intelligence” in composition, as it was described during the period. In the first motet, *Cuando Señor*, there are various imitative sections between the violins and the woodwinds, while the choir constantly employs counterpoint, and is rarely in homophonous unity. The text is always reinforced by the music, responding to the dramatic nature of the lyrics: “When will mankind’s evilness stop provoking your kindness”, [*Cuando señor de los hombres la maldad / cesará de irritar vuestra bondad*]. The text is rendered fully in syllabic disposition, another important connection with other Limenian composers.

The short document titled *Principios de Composición*, meanwhile, is centred on the study of counterpoint, which Alzedo believed central to the education of any composer.⁷² Alzedo defines counterpoint in his *Filosofía* as “the art of composing

⁷² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 200.

[*componer*] according to prescribed rules".⁷³ For Alzedo, the essential value of the fugue for a student was that it can "show, through various artistic combinations, how a musical composition is deduced from a single principal idea, and thus is ruled at the same time by *unity* and *variety*".⁷⁴ Accordingly, the study of counterpoint "teaches how to give each part and the entire work the most convenient shapes and ends".⁷⁵ Alzedo immediately goes on to say that counterpoint is as central to teaching music as drawing is to painting. As discussed above, this accords with the value of counterpoint in Lima at the time more generally, and it is notable in this context that when Alzedo returned to Lima for the first time from Chile, in 1829, he offered his services in the local newspapers by explicitly mentioning his knowledge of counterpoint, not necessarily the most attractive skill to attract young private students to take piano or singing lessons.⁷⁶

Counterpoint, in this context, might have been relevant for its symbolic value, its ability to show a certain sort of musical training, and thus could also serve as a sign of social status based on knowledge.⁷⁷ That idea of writing music to "prove" oneself might have been also in the background of one of Alzedo's largest earliest works, his *Mass in D major*.⁷⁸ According to Alzedo's first biographer, who based his account on interviews with the composer, "when he was eighteen [1806] he wrote his first *Mass in D major*. Everyone was surprised by such a premature work, and many did not believe it was his own work, which meant the new composer had to pass multiple camouflaged exams, over which his talent made him triumphant".⁷⁹ Given the stylistic

⁷³ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 198, "El arte de componer según las reglas que al efecto se prescriben".

⁷⁴ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 199, "Enseñar por medio de imitaciones de diversos géneros artísticamente combinados, á deducir una composición toda entera de una sola idea principal, y reglamentar al mismo tiempo por esta forma la *unidad* y la *variedad*".

⁷⁵ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 199, "Enseñar a dar a cada una de las partes y al conjunto de la composición, las formas y términos mas convenientes".

⁷⁶ *El Mercurio Peruano*, 26 February 1829.

⁷⁷ For the case of Mexico, this has been discussed not only by Jesús Ramos-Kittrell (in his book *Playing in the Cathedral*) but also by Lourdes Turrent in *Rito, Música y poder en la Catedral Metropolitana de México, 1790-1810* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013), 138.

⁷⁸ BNP CB1.

⁷⁹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, iv: "A los diez y ocho años compuso su primera misa en *Re Mayor*. Asombró á todos tan prematuro trabajo, siendo muchos los que no creían que era obra suya,

and instrumental features of the surviving *Mass in D major*, I believe it must be the same work mentioned in this account.

Alzedo's Mass closely follows the Neapolitan model also used by Tapia and Del Campo, and uses counterpoint at the same moments as they do. As in the Mass by Tapia, Alzedo builds the "Christe" (Example 3, p.354, b.86), as a long double-fugue with contrasting sections of imitative and sequential character. His fugue is at least as long as that of Tapia,⁸⁰ and much longer and more intricate than others from some of Alzedo's contemporaries, such as José María Filomeno.⁸¹ Alzedo also finishes the "Gloria" of his Mass with a long (152-bar) double fugue, which seems to be musically related to that in the "Christe", giving -again- a sense of unity to his work that is rare among his contemporaries. In fact, the entire Mass seems to be based on certain repeated figures, which return in several of the melodic themes of the piece, giving a strong sense of formal unity to the work (see Figure 4):



Figure 4: Alzedo's *Mass in D major*, comparison of the first bars of the violin part of *Introduction*, *Gloria* and *Laudamus Te*. Notice the recurring intervals that structure the melodies (marked by circle, round-corner-square and regular square).

circunstancia que hizo sufrir al nuevo compositor multitud de disimulados exámenes, en todos los cuales salió airoso su talento”.

⁸⁰ See the full score of Tapia's *Mass in Eyzaguirre*, “Melchor Tapia”, Appendix.

⁸¹ Filomeno, whom Alzedo also mentioned in his list of relevant musicians in Lima at the end of the *Filosofía*, was his direct contemporary and someone whose career closely parallels Alzedo's own life and career: Filomeno served in the choir of Lima Cathedral until 1821, when he also presented a failed entry for the national anthem competition. Filomeno, like Alzedo, entered the army that year and soon arrived in Chile looking for new opportunities. He became a member of the chapel orchestra in Santiago Cathedral alongside Alzedo, and stayed there -where he also composed several pieces- until 1843. Then, in the 1840s, and unlike Alzedo, he successfully returned to Peru and created an Academy alongside his brother Bartolomé, who also spent many years in Chile.

Early on, Alzedo seems to have become celebrated among local composers in Lima. In a response in the newspaper in Lima against composer Julián Carabayllo in 1829, there is an important anecdote: the writer says that Carabayllo proposed a musical duel to Alzedo, “who was four times more of a master than him”, and that after Alzedo showed his knowledge, Carabayllo had renounced to compete and left, publicly shamed.⁸² This must have happened before Alzedo left for Chile in 1823, and shows how well he was regarded. One way in which he showed his abilities was in improving over the old masters, going beyond what was expected, and embracing new styles and ideas. The style of someone like Del Campo, still cultivated by many, was also being considered old-fashioned by new voices. In 1818, chapelmaster Andrés Bolognesi criticised Del Campo’s music as “excessively long and old-fashioned [*anticuado*] in style”.⁸³ Bolognesi himself was trying to bring new ideas, involved in a plan to reform the Cathedral orchestra into a more modern group, with the addition of more violins, violas, cellos and a bass in the modern “classical” style.⁸⁴ He seems to have been supported by Tapia in this, but clearly not comprehending what the changes fully meant. For example, Tapia explains that the need for more basses comes from “their support in the modulations, and the organs themselves”, clearly still thinking in terms of a continuo rather than a modern string section.⁸⁵

Bolognesi assumed the role of chapelmaster when Alzedo was only eighteen, and his endeavours to change the music aesthetics in Lima’s most important church must in turn have influenced the compositions of the younger musician. The problem is how to exactly trace those influences (given that no works by Bolognesi, if he composed them, survive), and how to read the appropriation and translation of various “classical” inflections in Alzedo’s early musical works. If one looks at, for example, the introduction of the previously discussed *Mass in D major*, and particularly at its last cadential bars, and contrasts it with the first bars of the “Kyrie” (with its entry

⁸² *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 5 May 1829.

⁸³ Sas, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima*, vol.2.i, 92.

⁸⁴ Sas, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima*, vol.1, 217.

⁸⁵ Sas, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima*, vol.1, 227.

in a radical G#7 as dominant to A minor, see bars 35 to 44 of the score, Example 3 p.351), they seem as if having been written in two completely different periods of music history. The influence of “classical” ideas is much more acute in the introduction than in most movements of the *Mass*.

Similar signs of a dual approach to style are also perceived in others of Alzedo’s works from this period, like *Rara inventiva de Amor* [Love’s Rare Invention].⁸⁶ This piece (Example 4, p.361) is a *villancico*, a genre of vernacular church music that was by then on the verge of disappearance (in its “colonial” format), but that was still relevant in Limenian musical life, since it allowed -especially during Christmas- the conveyance of theological ideas in a familiar, popular way. This is important, since there are divergences among scholars on the relevance of the *villancico* during this period in Peru: on the one hand, Juan Carlos Estenssoro has suggested that there was a demise of the *villancico*, related to the raise of new modes of music composition, such as the “classical” style, which created -according to Estenssoro- a fracture between colonial and republican modes of music composition.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Alejandro Vera has suggested, using sources in Santiago de Chile that were copied in Lima around this time, that the *villancico* still played an important role and is an interesting example of endurance of colonial traditions in the early republican period.⁸⁸

I would suggest that, as with other pieces by Alzedo, *Rara Inventiva de Amor* bridges both historical positions: it is a *villancico* based on colonial models, showing the endurance of the tradition, but also touches on important instrumental and structural ideas from what we could term “classical” aesthetics. For example, on the one hand this *villancico* still uses a continuo-structured bass section, with only two violins, two clarinets (resembling oboes), horns and three voices; an orchestration that would not have been out of place twenty or even forty years earlier. Furthermore, the

⁸⁶ BNP 2:13.

⁸⁷ Juan Carlos Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales: Lima, 1680-1830*. (Lima, editorial Colmillo Blanco, 1989), 89-90.

⁸⁸ Alejandro Vera, “Trazas y trazos de la circulación musical en el Virreinato del Perú: Copistas de la Catedral de Lima en Santiago de Chile”, *Anuario Musical: Revista de Musicología del CSIC*, 68 (2013), 152-153.

way the orchestra is used is very old-fashioned: horns and woodwinds are thought as a single group to thicken the sound; the first few bars of the piece, with the first violin as the primary “solo”, would not be out of place in any *villancico* from the late eighteenth century. The voices alternate between solo and tutti exclamations and reinforcements of the most important dogmatic affirmations, giving the piece the traditional catechetical, educational character of the genre.

But then we have the sudden and unexpected use of almost operatic *fermatas* to punctuate dramatic phrases, which are rare in this context, as well as cadences that sound particularly modern (as in bars 7 and 8). And while the violin is given some solo passages, most of the time the strings work as a single section, and the bass departs from its usual continuo figurations at various points. The contrasting rhythms from bars 34 to 39, for example, are an interesting -and fairly evident- case in point (see Example 4, p.367). Nevertheless, perhaps no sign of the piece’s “innovation” is as radical as the moment the soloist reprises the first melody (starting from bar 57): under the vocal line, the strings perform a “variation” of the original accompaniment. The figurations are much more “classical” than expected, and even the idea that this section serves as a “variation” reminds us of compositional procedures from this period.

The interest of Bolognesi in promoting a more “classical” sound for Limenian church music cannot, however, be ascribed as be the only reason for such a change in aesthetics, or for an increased interest in new instrumental ideas. After all, Alzedo’s writing at this time was not only influenced by local masters, but also by the increasing number of imported scores from Europe that could be more easily acquired than before, particularly so for secular-instrumental music. The new styles and ideas that Alzedo was appropriating (like variations of themes, organic reuse of ideas, new forms of instrumentation) would be adopted not in imitation of local masters, but through the increased importation of increasingly cheaper scores that would deeply affect Alzedo’s and Ximénez’s generation.

2.3. Transatlantic scores

By contrast with the amount of information that we have on Alzedo's musical education and early career, there is virtually no information for the same period on Pedro Ximénez Abrill. This is not only owing to a lack of documents regarding him directly, but also given the general lack of information about the musical context of Arequipa in this period. Since a fire destroyed the Cathedral of Arequipa in 1844, most scores held there were destroyed, and nothing seems to have survived. The main figure in Arequipa's musical life during Ximénez's youth would have been the chapelmaster Cayetano Rodríguez, who served at the Cathedral between 1765 and his death in 1808,⁸⁹ but we do not know much about his musical preferences or ideas. There must have been a certain degree of direct Limenian influence on Arequipenian church music, but without scores -and with no accounts of scores being copied or bought from Lima unearthed-, we do not know how much that influence might have been, perhaps quite different from the one exerted by Lima in cities like Santiago, Cuzco and Chuquisaca.

In terms of Ximénez's own surviving music, it is also extremely difficult to date his works, since the covers of his scores are undated, and many seem to be clean copies made in the 1830s or 1840s. The way he signs his works, however, may provide some clues for those pieces copied before. Since he uses different signatures and versions of his own name, it seems possible that variations are related to changes in status or social condition, or at least to different periods in his life. For example, it is fairly safe to suppose that those scores signed simply as "Pedro Tirado" are from his earliest years, since, as previously mentioned, that was his baptismal name, using the surname of this godfather and not from his real parents (Ximénez and Abrill). In other scores, he

⁸⁹ Zoila Vega has prepared an unpublished article titled "Siluetas en la oscuridad: el maestro de capilla Cayetano Rodríguez (Arequipa, Perú, Siglo XVIII)", which she sent me. Rodríguez, according to Vega, was born in Rio de Janeiro, and later worked in the Rio de la Plata region before moving through Chile to Arequipa, and becoming chapelmaster there. Given this transit through various regions, which has not been accounted for many artists in the region, further study on him would be deeply interesting. See also Vega's book *Música en la Catedral de Arequipa 1609-1881: Fuentes, reglamentación, ceremonias y capilla catedralicia* (Arequipa: Universidad Católica S. Pablo, 2011).

uses these other surnames, which then one could suppose were composed after those signed as “Pedro Tirado”. In some others, he uses three surnames, but in those cases the Tirado always comes last. Alzedo, who might have met him in the 1810s, refers to him as “Tirado”, which is perhaps a sign that only after that he started using the Ximénez and Abrill. For different reasons, we can also conclude that an important part of his sacred music must have been composed while he was chapelmaster in Sucre, since he had held no job in Arequipa’s Cathedral before moving to Sucre (in 1833).

But this lack of early sources for his learning process, and particularly of early religious works, might on itself be significant. Pedro Ximénez, as stated in the previous chapter, came from a rich family with good social networks across the Empire, and this probably meant he had many more opportunities to access new music from Europe or other centres than someone like Alzedo. Even more importantly, it could be that Ximénez studied music privately, perhaps even inside his own home. A strong clue in this direction lies in the fact that Ximénez’s primary instrument was the guitar, which by then had almost no place in church music, but a large role in the *tertulia*, or private late-colonial salon. The guitar seems to have been the instrument from which he composed,⁹⁰ and as a guitar player he was considered a virtuoso by others. This is the way in which the English traveller Hugh de Bonelli, who met Ximénez around 1844, described him: Ximénez’s “power in execution is as great as his taste as a composer, and this is evidenced by the exquisite melodies which he draws forth from that elegant instrument, the Spanish guitar”.⁹¹

Local models, styles, resources and teachers, which were prominent for those who studied music under the wings of the Catholic church, could only offer a partial view in relation to a contemporary, cosmopolitan perspective of music-making, in the case of a young composer in Latin America interested in the latest developments and with access to a world of private music-making. Ximénez’s musical world, it seems,

⁹⁰ There is a short group of composition sketches for a *Salve Regina* clearly created in the guitar, which can be found in CAO B MV16.

⁹¹ Hugh de Bonelli, *Travels in Bolivia: With a Tour across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres, &c.* (New York: Hurst and Blackett, 1854), 78.

was constructed largely from the music to which he gained access in the form of scores: in other words, he was most indebted to the music he owned. In his obituary it is stated, for example, that he gained his musical knowledge by “[studying] the vocal and instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel and Girover [Gyrowetz] and, in his last years, that of Beethoven: in no other way could he have gained so much progress in his art [...] owning almost all the music of the first four and some of that of the last”.⁹² Again, “owning” is here a key factor in relation to his upbringing and to his musical knowledge, and one that offers an alternative narrative to the idea of local “schools” or of direct, personal contact with older musicians.

As I already touched on in the previous chapter, since the 1770s European music seems to have been transferred to Latin American cities in larger quantities than ever before, aided by the opening of commerce to the colonies and the increase in the production of printed editions on the other side of the Atlantic. By the time Alzedo and Ximénez were born, to acquire European cultural objects had become gradually more common and affordable, particularly for *criollos*, who probably acquired objects as part of their desire to share in a cosmopolitan “instructed civic society”.⁹³ Recently surfaced documents show the extent to which new music could be acquired in important colonial centres: Alejandro Vera, for example, has recently studied the music imported by Antonio Helme in Lima in 1779, which consisted mainly of contemporary composers from central Europe, like Johann Anton Filtz, Carlo Toeschi Rucher, Carl Friedrich Abel and Luigi Boccherini.⁹⁴

Perhaps the most interesting source from this period comes from an 1801 list of music scores in Mexico City: the *Avalúo de los papeles*, or price-list of the bookstore of José Fernández de Jáuregui, discovered years ago and recently published by Francisco

⁹² *La Nueva Era*, Chuquisaca, 25 June 1856.

⁹³ Carolina Guerrero, *Súbditos ciudadanos: Antinomias de la ilustración de la América andina* (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos Rómulo Gallegos, 2006), 42.

⁹⁴ Alejandro Vera, “La circulación de la música en la América virreinal: El Virreinato del Perú, siglo XVIII”, *Anais do III Simpom 2014, Simpósio Brasileiro de Pós-Graduandos em Música*. <http://www.seer.unirio.br/index.php/simpom/article/view/4470/4673> (Accessed 3 October 2016).

Rodríguez-Erdmann.⁹⁵ The number of scores listed in this document is staggering, with multiple copies of some works, and a total of at least two thousand pieces.⁹⁶ The prices run from expensive symphonies or grand religious works to small keyboard pieces or vocal arias, and the general impression is that what was available in Mexico in 1800 was easily comparable with what the best bookstores in Europe could offer at that time in a city like Vienna.⁹⁷ This could easily be read in a “nationalistic” way (“look at how modern we were”), but the comparison primarily shows that the integration of markets was even larger than sometimes supposed.

Studying the Mexican catalogue, certain features come to the fore: music copied in manuscript comprises only 12% of the whole catalogue and it is in this category that we find most Spanish and Mexican composers, like Aldana, Delgado, Blas de Laserna or Brunetti. By far the best represented composer is Joseph Haydn, whose music comprises a staggering 154 different scores or 9% of the music being sold, closely followed by Pleyel’s 8%. It is also interesting to note other composers with an important presence, starting with Cambini, Hoffmeister, and Boccherini, and closely followed by the likes of Stamitz,⁹⁸ Pichl, Davaux and Gyrowetz. Among the genres of music on offer, by far the two most represented are the symphony (462 scores, 26%) and the string quartet (327, 19%), and some of the symphonies available had multiple copies in stock, like one *Sinfonía Periódica* by Pleyel (39 copies) or a single symphony by Cambini (25).⁹⁹

⁹⁵ It was originally presented by Ricardo Miranda in his “Reflexiones sobre el clasicismo en México (1770-1840)”, *Heterofonía*, 116-117 (1997), 39-50. The edition I used is the one by Francisco Javier Rodríguez-Erdmann: *Tesoros del AGN. Dos inventarios musicales novohispanos* (México: Archivo General de la Nación, Editorial IEV, 2013).

⁹⁶ There are 1764 entries in the catalogue, but some pieces were sold in multiple copies. This number will be used here for analytical purposes.

⁹⁷ See for example accounts of scores being sold in Vienna in David Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven’s Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁹⁸ Since Stamitz could be any of three composers (Carl, Anton, Johann), the percentage probably creates a false perception of the real relevance of each one. However, the same as with Haydn (Michael and Joseph), the scribe of the document usually copied them with a name or at least an initial.

⁹⁹ These percentages have been calculated from my own tabulation of the data of the document, and might differ slightly from other approaches to the same text.

This indicates that by the time of political independence there was not only a huge amount of printed European music circulating in the Americas, but also that the idea of “modern music” could have been related most prominently to a new generation of composers and their style, the one we usually term “classical” today.¹⁰⁰ For example, in Caracas already in 1778 there were suggestions of importing more music “in the new [*actual*] style”: what was needed, according to one priest, was “music that is of the latest fashion [*moda*]”, while the Dean suggested to buy “useful and printed music”, getting rid of the “useless, old and manuscript ones”, contrasting not only old and new, but clearly equalling modern with printed and antique with manuscript.¹⁰¹ Similar discussions happened again in Caracas in 1791, and 1797, showing an increasing trend of acquiring new pieces that can be perceived, in similar terms, across the Latin American region in the following decades.¹⁰² Musicians were conscious of these important changes. When the local philharmonic society was created in 1811 in Caracas, an anonymous writer published a long letter about its aims in the *Mercurio Venezolano*, stating that:

only recently the marvellous products of Haydn, Mozart and all the great Masters of Europe crossed the ocean and sounded in Caracas: musical performance was now not limited to the violin, but -following a musical instinct- [musicians] started to familiarise themselves with all the other instruments, forming orchestras capable of pleasing the most delicate ears and winning the approval of the most exquisite connoisseurs.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ There is in fact an entire section in the catalogue for early music [*música antigua* in the original], that includes pieces by Vivaldi, Locatelli and Albinoni.

¹⁰¹ David Coifman, *La música en los libros de actas del cabildo eclesiástico de Caracas. Periodo Hispánico (1581-1821)* (Caracas: Editorial Círculo Rojo, 2015), 439.

¹⁰² David Coifman, *La Música en los libros*, 56-57.

¹⁰³ *Mercurio Venezolano*, Caracas, January 1811, 55-56. “[hacia fines del siglo XVIII] varias academias filarmónicas [...] empezaron a hacer oír los encantos de este arte; y bien pronto pasaron el océano y resonaron en Caracas, las maravillosas producciones de Haydn, Pleyel, Mozart y todos los grandes Maestros de la Europa: la ejecución no se limitó solo al violín; sino que [...] empezaron a familiarizarse con todos los demas instrumentos, hasta formar orquestas capaces de agradar a los oídos más delicados, y merecer la aprobaci3n del conocedor mas exquisito”.

Caraquenians were not the only ones to realise that the newer styles needed a different orchestral approach (notice the rejection of “solo violin”): across the continent small orchestras tried to provide concerts, and while most endeavours failed to gain support, some did have success.¹⁰⁴ In the biggest colonial centres, like Mexico City or Lima, the interest for concerts in the classical fashion had started around the 1790s, and small concerts were not uncommon just before the Wars of Independence. In his *Filosofía*, Alzedo remembered that when he was a boy “we had in Lima around twelve orchestras with a significant number of performers, all with good knowledge [of music] and even better technique”, and also the support of patrons who organised concerts, like “the Count Fuente González and the Marquis of Montemira”.¹⁰⁵ Music, projecting a public voice outside the church, was increasingly perceived in a liberal way as something valuable for society and, concomitantly, to the construction of modern nations. In 1821 *Los Andes Libres* in Lima published that music, “beyond being tasteful to people, can serve as an interpreter of [the national] character”.¹⁰⁶

In 1828 it was announced in the Arequipenian newspaper that Ximénez maintained a series of semi-private concerts in his house:

The famous artist D. Pedro Jimenes Tirado¹⁰⁷ gathers in his home a philharmonic society every Tuesday evening, where the best European pieces are played along with some of his own. Entrance is free, and there are chairs in the room. We would very much like for people with taste to meet here: perhaps measures could be taken to add more capacity to the salon, so that in the best taste the most delightful evenings could be organised more frequently; perhaps even if they had to charge something for the essential expenses.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ The title “philharmonic society” was kept for many decades, but later societies tended to be more focused on salon music and dancing.

¹⁰⁵ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, XX.

¹⁰⁶ “La música [...] a más de hacer conocer el gusto del pueblo, es siempre el intérprete de su carácter”. *Los Andes Libres*, 26 October 1821. Cited by Daniel Morán and Maria Aguirre, *La educación popular en los tiempos de la Independencia* (Lima: Luis Daniel Morán, 2011), 98.

¹⁰⁷ I have respected the different ways in which his name is written, given that he also changed it many times, and that orthography was less consistent (or relevant) during this period.

¹⁰⁸ *Arequipa Libre*, 25 November 1828. Cited by Guestrin, *La guitarra en la música sudamericana*, 23: “Un artista célebre D. Pedro Jimenes Tirado reúne en su casa en la noche de los martes de cada semana, una sociedad filarmónica, donde se ejecutan las mejores piezas de Europa, y otras de su propia composición. Se franquea la entrada gratis, y asientos en la propia sala. Desearíamos que algunos individuos de gusto, se reunieran: que se tomaran medidas para hacer mas capas el salón, y que regularizada por el estilo del

2.4. A musician's library

Ximénez's private collection of music, probably used at those concerts, offers a glimpse into what those "best European pieces" mentioned in the newspaper might have been. Ximénez must have had a large collection of music, and part of that collection has survived and can be accessed, divided among the archives and individuals who own Ximénez's manuscripts. There are around 150 scores by other composers in those collections, which might make this one of the largest private music libraries from this period to have survived in the region. However, it must be said that what has been found must be only a fragment of what Ximénez owned in his lifetime: most of the documents are manuscript copies in his own hand, probably salvaged because to later owners they seemed to be his own works, and thus perhaps the collection gives a distorted version of his original library. Nevertheless, given that 150 scores are not a small number, what survives can still be used for statistical purposes in showing roughly how his original collection might have been put together.

One of the first important aspects to take into consideration is which European composers might have influenced him the most, and -if possible- on what grounds. Was his selection of models only based on what could be accessed, or also on defined aesthetic preferences? For example, as was the case in the bookstore in Mexico, Haydn and Pleyel also play a prominent role in Ximénez's collection. However, in this case it is Pleyel who comes first, with 27 groups of scores -some of them comprising multiple works-, while there are only eleven by Haydn, who shares that number with Adalbert Gyrowetz; Hoffmeister, Cambini and Boccherini come far behind in third place with three scores each. The evident preponderance of Pleyel (more than doubling Haydn), is certainly interesting. I believe it is a sign of a particularly personal predilection, but also of how the circulation of printed scores might have affected reception beyond European capitals. While today Pleyel is mostly [dis]regarded as a minor figure in music histories, he was one of the best-selling composers of his generation and, as

mejor gusto, se proporcionase una diversion tan agradable con mas frecuencia, aunque se ecsigiera una corta recompensa, para los gastos indispensables".

Allan Badley has suggested, the “wide dissemination [of his scores] meant that Pleyel’s symphonies may well have been better known in some places than the works of Haydn and Mozart and, accordingly, exerted a greater stylistic influence on local symphonic production”.¹⁰⁹

However, Badley goes on to say that Pleyel’s fame might be grounded “more in the phenomenal popularity of his works than in any striking originality”. This notion, based on romantic ideas of originality, might not be entirely useful to understand Pleyel’s influence, as we will see in the case of Ximénez. Our ways of discussing originality can be very different from the multiple opinions on the subject voiced around 1800 in both Europe and Latin America. Pleyel was appreciated by his contemporaries, but also criticised for certain elements in his music. Boccherini once wrote to him saying “I hear [your quartets] with the greatest pleasure [...] which are truly masterly and beautiful in the highest degree”, while criticising that his style was a bit more “simple and brief” than that of others, and that “in a short space little can be said and still less thought”.¹¹⁰

What transpires from Ximénez’s own collection is that he evidently and honestly admired Pleyel and was inspired and informed by his music. His presence in Ximénez’s collections seems to be related both to a larger issue of circulation and material prominence, and to conscious personal predilection and influence. There are 33 different string quartets written by Pleyel in Ximénez’s collection, most of them incomplete and copied in Ximénez’s own hand,¹¹¹ a large number not even counting

¹⁰⁹ Allan Badley, “Ignaz Pleyel” in Morrow and Churgin, ed., *The Symphonic Repertoire*, 542.

¹¹⁰ Roger Hickman, “Leopold Koseluch and the Viennese ‘Quatuor concertant’”, *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986), 45.

¹¹¹ CAO B MI29 (*Tres Cuartetos* op.2), MI30 (*Tres Cuartetos Concertantes* op.30 Libro 2), MI32 (*Tres Cuartetos Concertantes* op.6), MI33 (*Tres Cuartetos Concertantes* op.16), MI33 (*Tres Cuartetos* op.22), MI34 (*Seis Cuartetos* op.1a). CDSFJ C1B1 FDI0066 (*Cuarteto N°4; Cuarteto Quarto Concertante* op.3; *Cuarteto Segundo Concertante* op.3/2; *Seis Cuartetos Concertantes* op.6; *Tres Cuartetos Concertantes* op.8). ABAS O35 (*Seis Cuartetos* op.2), O37 (*Tres Cuartetos* op.14), O38 (*Tres Cuartetos* op.22), O39 (*Tres Cuartetos* op.3). There is at least one duplication, between MI33 and ABASO38, probably consecutive parts of the same original score of three string quartets op.22. This has been difficult to discern given the fragmentary condition of most manuscripts and that, in some cases, only a viola or a cello survives (perhaps, in the case of the cello, because it was the instrument Ximénez played). During my work for this dissertation, I have chosen to work more heavily in recognising Ximénez’s own works, leaving part of the full description and identification of works by other composers in his collection for a later stage of research.

other similar works by Pleyel that clearly can be grouped as “chamber music”, like a collection of trios,¹¹² duos,¹¹³ and *divertissement concertants*.¹¹⁴ While most of them must have been played with a group of friends -and given that it is a repertoire related to such practices-, Ximénez shows his predilection for Pleyel also in that he arranged at least one of the quartets for the guitar to be played solo.¹¹⁵ The surviving example arranged by Ximénez was among Pleyel’s most popular string quartets, known today as B321/1, in F major (1786), also arranged in Europe for various combinations like keyboard and flute.¹¹⁶ In his own version, Ximénez establishes a dialogue with Pleyel, since he adds his own ornamentations, transforming some lines, while adding or eliminating others.

Given the number of Pleyel’s quartets in Ximénez’s collection, it seems natural to imagine this repertoire as a central influence in the development of Ximénez’s own style and his appropriation of the classical style. This can easily be seen when we compare Ximénez’ own quartets against examples by Pleyel. Three quartets by Ximénez survive today, opp.55, 56 and 68.¹¹⁷ The first two share similar characteristics between them, almost to the point that they could be considered as a pair of works, probably composed around the same time (as also suggested by their opus numbers). Both are written in E flat major and have a total of 16 folios, showing an equally strong structural relation. Op.68, on the other hand, is a bit longer than op.55 and 56, and its first movement does not repeat the exposition (as in op.55 and 56), as well as having a much longer development section.

The three quartets share the fact that they are titled *cuarteto concertante*, and, thus, are written with considerations to the Parisian “concertante” style. This was one of Pleyel’s preferred manners of quartet writing, the *quatuor concertant*, a genre

¹¹² *Tres Trios Obra 16*, CAOB_MI35 or *Tres Trios op.3*, ABAS_O40.

¹¹³ CAOB MI31, MI26, CDSFJ, G1B1 FDI0066.

¹¹⁴ CAOB, MI25.

¹¹⁵ CAOB, MI41.

¹¹⁶ See Rita Benton’s *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977).

¹¹⁷ Respectively ABNB 1299, 1300 and 1301. All three of them have been performed by the Cuarteto Surkos from Santiago de Chile in Chile and also in Arequipa, Perú. A recording is being planned.

essentially focused on a market of amateur players, and -as well as with other *concertante* genres- with mildly virtuoso sections for the various participating instruments.¹¹⁸ Most known *concertante* quartets are in two or three movements, defined essentially by their “brilliance, grace, elegant song [and] ease of performance”.¹¹⁹ Their formal structures are “simpler” than those of most string quartets of the German-Austrian school; in comparison with them, also, *concertante* quartets have “more frequent use of lyrical themes [and] avoidance of thematic manipulation, harmonic shocks, and ‘learned’ counterpoint”, all elements we have come to regard as key in the works of Haydn or Mozart.¹²⁰

Ximénez’s chamber works can certainly be described in similar terms of a *concertante* style, but rather than just amounting to a generic stylistic influence, direct connections with Pleyel can be clearly traced. Pleyel, for example, uses “concertante episodes [shared] between the four instruments on a reasonably equitable basis. In order to accommodate these frequent solos, musical textures are simplified and the kind of motivic thematic construction familiar to us from the quartets of Haydn is largely abandoned in favour of long, gentle lyrical lines”.¹²¹ All these characteristics can be easily perceived, for example, in the first movement of Pedro Ximénez’s *Cuarteto Concertante* op.55 (Example 5, p.369). Ximénez’s quartet is not a direct copy of any single Pleyel quartet, but various elements in it could be traced to some of Pleyel’s works, even the first few bars.¹²² The alternation of brief solos for the four instruments just before the entry of the second group in the dominant is very common in several Pleyel quartets, and Ximénez uses the same sort of solos from bar 53 to 115 (Example 5, p.371-375), sharing also the short conclusive cadences for each instrument that are present in several Pleyel quartets. In those solos, as is common in Pleyel’s music -and

¹¹⁸ Hickman, “Leopold Kozeluch”, 44.

¹¹⁹ Levy, “The Quatuour Concertant”, 324.

¹²⁰ Hickman, “Leopold Kozeluch”, 46.

¹²¹ See Allan Badley’s introduction to the edition of Ignaz Pleyel’s *3 Streichquartette “Preussische”* (Mainz: Schott, 2007).

¹²² Compare them with Pleyel’s String Quartet in E-Flat major, Ben.368. For an online version of this string quartet see:

<http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b1/IMSLP68540-PMLP84371-4208.Pleyel-SQinEb.pts.pdf> (Accessed, 10 June 2016).

in much of the Parisian repertoire-, the cello plays in the upper G clef, alternating lyrical melodic phrases with short outburst of cadences and arpeggios.¹²³

For a very specific way in which Ximénez might have taken a structural idea from Pleyel, look at a comparison between the formal proposition by Ximénez for the arrival of his first violin solo in the first movement of the Quartet op.55, from bars 17 to 28 (Figure 5), and the way in which Pleyel prepares that same arrival in his Quartet in D, op.2 no.6 (Ben 312, Figure 6), from bar 86 to 92. In both cases, a harmonically ambiguous cadence is developed as a canon, transformed then into a single bar of syncopated rhythm, and then into a dramatic arrival into the solo (Ximénez's extends the initial canon in *pianissimo*):¹²⁴

Figure 5, Ximénez Quartet op.55, first movement, bars 17 to 27, piano reduction.

Figure 6, Pleyel's Quartet op.2 no.6, first movement, bars 86 to 93, piano reduction.

¹²³ Compare, for example, bars 214 to 243 of the first movement of Ximénez's op.55 with a similar passage in Pleyel's quartet in D minor Ben 333, bars 205 to 222 of the first movement. From the edition by Allan Badley, *3 Streichquartette "Preussische"*, ED 20118, Edition Schott, 2007, 35-36. Many similar features can be found in Pleyel's quartets, including some of those in Ximénez's possession, and I selected these examples as these scores are more readily available in printed editions than other ones.

¹²⁴ Taken from the edition by Dianne James, *String Quartet in D, op.2, no.6 (Ben 312)* (Wellington: Artaria Editions), 6; my reduction.

Nevertheless, while Pleyel's presence evidently looms over Ximénez's compositions, he is not the only influence that transpires from an analysis of the Arequipenian's string quartets, and it is important to take into consideration how he might have created his own style by mixing various influences. This can be perceived when we consider Adalbert Gyrowetz's influence on Ximénez. Gyrowetz is an interesting influence to be discussed, given how little he is remembered today as a relevant composer, despite being a central figure of the instrumental music of the 1790s: as Roger Hickman has acknowledged, Gyrowetz's quartets also take part in the *concertante* style, but do so in a very unique way, both in their language and in the more explicit "virtuoso displays and orchestral features [which] created a new theatrical conception of the genre".¹²⁵ This description can also fit some sections of Ximénez's op.55 string quartet, with its grand orchestral figures, like the extensive "tutti" that starts in bar 31 (Example 5, p.370). Perhaps even more directly, Ximénez might have been inspired by the way Gyrowetz structured his *concertante* quartets, which are in four movements (as is the case of all three by Ximénez), rather than the two or three-movement format preferred by Pleyel (which Ximénez uses, for example, in his beautiful *Quinteto Concertante* op.38).¹²⁶

Ximénez seems close to a line of composers (like Pleyel and Gyrowetz) who created quartets for a market of private consumption and entertainment. However, being younger than them, their influence -both in style and in purpose of composition- might seem a sign of belatedness. I would like to contrast this idea with the consideration of how similar Ximénez's interests in quartet writing are to those of two exact contemporaries who also seem to have followed some ideas of Pleyel and Gyrowetz -and the Parisian school of quartet writing-: Ludwig Spohr and George Onslow (both born in 1784, dying in 1853 and 1859 respectively). As Marie Sumner Lot

¹²⁵ Roger Hickman, "Vojtech Jírovec and the Viennese String Quartet", in *Janáček and Czech Music: Proceedings of the International Conference (Saint Louis 1988)*, ed. Michael Brim and Glen Bauer (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), 190.

¹²⁶ My transcription of this string quintet by Ximénez was performed in 2015 by the Orquesta de Cámara Caliope in Arequipa, Perú. A video of the performance can be found in youtube in the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wvrmzoi6I> (Accessed, 10 December 2015).

has studied and discussed, their chamber music, and particularly their string quartets and quintets, belong to a market for “men of leisure” and friendship, where the limits of public and private are diffuse, as well as those between the artistic and the popular.¹²⁷ Spohr’s quartets share with Ximénez a preference for the inheritance from the French style of *concertante* writing, with virtuoso sections for the instruments (in particular the first violin), punctuated by other instruments.¹²⁸ The three composers work with the “presentation and repetition of long lyrical melodies by as many members of the group as possible”, as well as “less motivic work in general”.¹²⁹

It is striking, in this sense, that no works by these composers survive in Ximénez’s collection, but -again- this does not mean that he never owned or knew music by them, only that we cannot prove it. But one could speak easily of a parallel evolution in similar lines, grown from shared influences and interests. The case of Onslow, who had no need to sell his music to live, seems particularly close to that of Ximénez’s own, who probably composed this instrumental repertoire for his own entertainment and private interest while living in Arequipa. Some aspects discussed by Sumner Lott as “key” for this genre of private-public chamber music of leisure are also present in Ximénez, like the use of “courtesy markers” for major and minor sections.¹³⁰ Finally, it is worth noticing that in Hugh de Bonelli’s account of Ximénez in Sucre in the 1840s, he finishes saying that “many of [his works] have found their way into Europe, and have drawn from the great Spohr the tribute of his unqualified approbation”.¹³¹ I have not been able to prove or disprove this commentary, or discover how it came into being, but it does reflect that the connection might have been talked about in Bolivia.

In this show of influences and parallel developments, what transpires from Ximénez’s private library of music is that -at least in its surviving format- this is a very

¹²⁷ Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 83.

¹²⁸ Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds*, 84.

¹²⁹ Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds*, 85.

¹³⁰ Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds*, 93.

¹³¹ Hugh de Bonelli, *Travels in Bolivia*, 78.

personal, “curated” collection. I find interesting that some of the private tastes and ideals that might have been important in building that collection are still specifically traceable to Ximénez rather than to a more general musician of the period. Take, for example, the case of the guitar repertoire, considering that this was Ximénez’s favoured instrument.¹³² Among the scores for the guitar in his collection one can find Carulli’s *Fantaisies avec Variations pour Guitare ou Lyre*,¹³³ and several works by Fernando Sor: *Tres Piezas de Sociedad*, *Serenata para Guitarra Sola*, *Peti Piezas* p.42 and *Peti Piezas* op.46.¹³⁴ Sor seems to be the closest connection and most evident influence in Ximénez, perhaps given the “Spanish” link. According to Ximénez’s obituary, Sor got a copy of some of Ximénez’s works, “and after examining them [he] said that ‘If this American whom I would like to know had studied music in Europe, he would be a Rossini and would be known by the whole musical world’”.¹³⁵

As with Bonelli’s comment on the Spohr connection, this is difficult to prove, but shows a contemporary understanding and perception of affinities. There is an important sense of kinship of people -of musicians and composers- which an ocean kept apart. Ximénez, always slightly silent in words, gives us a tantalising glimpse of that virtual transatlantic connection by referencing Sor in one of his minuets.¹³⁶ Minuet no.15 of Ximénez’s collection starts as a variation of Sor’s own minuet no.8 from his op.11, titled *2 Thèmes Variées et 12 Menuets* (Figure 7).¹³⁷

¹³² For an article on Ximénez’s technical use of the guitar in his compositions, see Beizaga, “Riscoprendo Pedro Ximenez”, 24-36. Beizaga owns and had access to guitar works by Ximénez that are not found in public archives, and the information given in this article is thus of enormous relevance for this subject. I also want to thank him for letting me consult some of those pieces.

¹³³ CAOBI MI45.

¹³⁴ Respectively, CAOBI MI42, MI43, MI44 and ABNB 1496.

¹³⁵ *La Nueva Era*, Chuquisaca, 25 June 1856, “después de examinar atentamente el célebre Sor, primer tocador de guitarra del mundo, una colección de composiciones del Señor Tirado para este instrumento (la citada colección), prorrumpió en esta exclamación: ‘Si este americano a quien quisiera conocer hubiese estudiado la música en Europa, fuera Rossinis y fuera todo el mundo musical’”. Again, as with Spohr, I have not been able to prove this connection or commentary. However, it is important to note that Sor died in 1839, five years before Ximénez printed his set of 100 Minuets in Paris.

¹³⁶ Printed by Richault, Parent & Cie in Paris as a collection of 100 minuets titled *Colección de Minué para Guitarra* in 1844. ABNB 1329, ABAS PXAT2. I participated in a recent edition of this work, see Alexander Ramírez, William Lofstrom, José Manuel Izquierdo and Octavio Santa Cruz, *Pedro Tirado: 100 Minuetos, Guitar Solo* (Erzhausen: Edition Chanterelle, 2015).

¹³⁷ Checked from the edition by Simrock in Berlin that is available in IMSLP:



Figure 7, Sor Menuet no.8, bars 1-4; Ximénez's minuet no.15, bars 1 to 4.

Both minuets (by Sor and Ximénez) are in A major in the original. Ximénez is clearly referencing Sor's minuet here, and using this citation in a complicated way: he is acknowledging the work of the great Catalonian master, and thus probably his debt to him, but he also writes a "variation" that is evidently more virtuosic, as if trying to go beyond the European, outsmarting him. After this short citation, the minuet departs into other musical ideas, being one of the most difficult to play from the entire collection. From a material point of view, it is worth noticing that this specific minuet by Sor does not survive among Ximénez's papers, and thus is clearly a proof that Ximénez possessed or knew much more music in his collection than what survives.

Ximénez's seems to be also influenced in other ways by Sor, as he was too by Pleyel and Gyrowetz -for example-, taking some of Sor's structural ideas to construct his own guitar pieces. Sor, for example, was heavily influenced in his instrumental music by the style of late eighteenth-century Italian overtures, like those of Paisiello and Cimarosa, and used their structures for his own sonatas for the guitar, which gave his guitar music a somewhat old-fashioned formal logic.¹³⁸ Ximénez used many of the same developments in his own two sonatas, surviving in manuscript,¹³⁹ and clearly influenced by Sor. For example, one can compare the idea of starting a movement with

http://japanese.imsip.info/files/imglnks/usimg/5/51/IMSLP45705-PMLP97604-Sor_-_2_Varied_Themes_and_12_Menuets_Op.11.pdf (Accessed, 15 March 2016).

¹³⁸ Lars Rosvoll, "Fernando Sor's Evolution as a Performer and Composer as Reflected in the Revisions of the *Grande Sonate* op.22" (PhD diss. The University of Arizona, 2012), 57-59.

¹³⁹ CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065. The score is titled *Dos Sonatas y un Rondó para Guitarra*, but given that they are copied separately in the volume, it is unclear if they comprise one large work or three different pieces. In my opinion, they are three different pieces.

a grand statement followed by a *dolce* melody in thirds or octaves underlined by a one-note pedal in Sor's *Grande Sonata* op.22/1, *Sonata* op.15b, his *Grand Solo* op.14 and in the *Grand Sonate* op.25: Ximénez's uses the same structure in many of his own guitar works, including his two *Sonatas* for the guitar. As an example, Figure 8 is a comparison between Sor's op.14 (bars 1 to 6 of the Allegro)¹⁴⁰ and the first bars of Ximénez's first sonata for the guitar (see Example 6, p.386):

Figure 8: Sor, op.14, Allegro: bar 1 to 6 (26 to 31 of the printed score); Ximénez, Sonata 1, bar 1 to 9. The three missing bars from Sor's sonata are just there to help in the comparison of both pieces (the bars should be read continuously).

Other features shared by Ximénez and Sor include the use of "orchestration"; that is, of identifiable orchestral timbres represented through the guitar. In Sor's own method for the guitar, the composer discusses the various timbres the guitar can imitate depending on the angle at which the strings are struck.¹⁴¹ While other composers used the ability of the guitar to imitate other instruments, Sor went a step further in suggesting that when imitating the timbre, one should also try to write for the guitar in the style of that instrument.¹⁴² Horns, for example, are explicitly

¹⁴⁰ Taken from the first edition as digitised in IMSLP:

http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/e/e6/IMSLP309218-PMLP97609-Grand_Solo-op_14-Sor-Castro.pdf (Accessed, 10 March 2016).

¹⁴¹ Rosvoll, "Fernando Sor's Evolution", 78.

¹⁴² Rosvoll, "Fernando Sor's Evolution", 79.

referenced in Ximénez's second sonata, alternating with passages of harmonics, while the imitation of the bassoon is also explicitly signalled in his *Rondo* in G major that belongs to the *Third Collection* of his manuscript guitar pieces.¹⁴³

Much more could certainly be said about the possible connections and influences traceable in this collection, but there are also other important problems that the materiality of these scores raise, and that also deserve to be discussed. A concrete problem concerns the nature of the collection itself, and where exactly its constituent parts came from. In some cases, the scores themselves can show us some aspects of that circulation. An interesting example is Haydn's Symphony no.102, in Bb major. It survives in Ximénez's collection in two different versions: the first is the printed edition of the piano reduction, made in London and titled *Sinfonia IX* (from the twelve London ones), and signed by Johann Solomon himself in the lower-left corner. The second is a series of manuscript parts made by Ximénez under the title *Grande Sinfonía* "por José Haydn, Obra 98".¹⁴⁴ What was the relation between the manuscript parts and the piano reduction? Where they acquired at the same time? And if Ximénez's parts differ in the title given to the symphony, where they copied from a printed edition or from circulating manuscript copies?

Another symphony by Haydn (no.101, D major) is also kept in manuscript parts,¹⁴⁵ but made by another hand which, surprisingly, seems to be the same one from another set of copies of this symphony found in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, in Lima.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps these "manuscript" editions or copies were of enormous importance for the circulation of the music. Take the case, for example, of Haydn's extremely popular *Seven Last Words*, found in many collections across South America. In Sucre, it survives as both a set of heavily used manuscript copies for the services in the Cathedral,¹⁴⁷ as well copies made by Ximénez himself and from his personal

¹⁴³ CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065.

¹⁴⁴ Both scores are kept under the same signature of CAO B MI16.

¹⁴⁵ CAO B MI16.

¹⁴⁶ In Lima it is conserved in MsMu 8.521/S, as "Sinfonie a Grand Orchestre".

¹⁴⁷ ABNB_1498, brought to the archive as part of the Cathedral collection.

collection,¹⁴⁸ and finally as a set of parts in manuscript made in Madrid by the *Almacen de Papeles e instrumentos de Musica* around 1801.¹⁴⁹

The only possibility to understand these multiple copies and editions in both printed and manuscript formats, is that there were strong networks for the acquisition of new music. Such networks still need to be studied, but there are signs of them in Ximénez's own scores. For example, that is the case for a large collection of Gyrowetz's symphonies, all numbered, and of which eleven survive (from a total of at least sixteen that were originally copied).¹⁵⁰ The copies are certainly made by Ximénez, but many of them mention to be "for the use of Mr. Tomas O'Phelan" [*para el uso de Dn Tomas OPhelan*].¹⁵¹ This is a curious indication, since it implies that Ximénez copied them for another person, but they survive in his own collection. What was their relationship? Who owned these scores, and from whom were they copied? Perhaps O'Phelan paid for the copies, or perhaps he owned the original printed editions. O'Phelan was a member of an influential Irish Catholic family in Peru, at a time when even the Viceroy was of Irish origin (Ambrosio O'Higgins). Tomás's sister, Petronila, married in 1821 one of the last colonial *intendentes* of Arequipa, Bartolomé María de Salamanca, and Tomás himself was deputy major (*subdelegado*) of Tarapacá, in the south of the country.¹⁵² One of his brothers, Santiago, became a priest and would become bishop of Ayacucho in 1840.

Pedro Ximénez was the godfather¹⁵³ at O'Phelan's wedding, in December 20, 1814.¹⁵⁴ The other godfather was Diego Llanos, chapelmaster in Arequipa Cathedral,

¹⁴⁸ ABAS_O25.

¹⁴⁹ Compare, for example, CAOBI_M11 with ABAS_O25.

¹⁵⁰ CDSFJ G1B1 FDI0069 (*Sinfonía N°12, Sinfonía N°16*); G1B1 FDI0070 (*Sinfonía Periódica a Grande Orquesta no.7*). ABAS O22 (*Sinfonía Periódica a Grande Orquesta no.7*). CAOBI MI22a (*Sinfonía Periódica a Grande Orquesta 1a*), MI22b (*Sinfonía Periódica a Grande Orquesta 5a*), MI23 (*Sinfonía Periódica no.3*), MI24 (*Sinfonía Periódica a Grande Orquesta no.2a, Sinfonía de Mr. Gyrowetz no.16, Sinfonía de Mr. Gyrowetz no.17*), MI21 (*Sinfonía Periódica a Grande Orquesta 1ª*).

¹⁵¹ The ones that specifically mention O'Phelan are CAOBI MI22b, MI23, MI21.

¹⁵² See information on *Geneanet*:

<http://gw.geneanet.org/antonioalvistur?lang=en&pz=epifanio&nz=carballido+rincon&ocz=0&p=tomas+antonio&n=o+phelan+recabarren> (Accessed, 10 April 2016).

¹⁵³ The witness or sponsor.

¹⁵⁴ This information was provided by María Eugenia Tomasio, to whom I am deeply thankful. Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa, sección Catedral y Cabildo Eclesiástico. Serie Expedientes matrimoniales 1814

triangulating a powerful musical friendship. These musical-personal connections must have been key in the circulation of scores, as well as in the promotion of music composed in the region. Ximénez owned various pieces by contemporaries writing music in the Andean region, who probably also owned (in return) some of his music. There are, for example, instrumental pieces like a *Quinteto Concertante* by Mariano Tapia,¹⁵⁵ a violinist in Arequipa Cathedral, written in a style that is close to the quintets of Pedro Ximénez himself. Mariano Tapia died in 1823, and his widow would go on to marry Lorenzo Rojas, who became chapelmaster in Arequipa around 1843.¹⁵⁶ And indeed, Lorenzo Rojas himself appears more than once in Ximénez's collection: there is a symphony (no.20) by him, from 1840 -from after Ximénez had left Arequipa-,¹⁵⁷ and, in his hand, is the copy of the second violin part for Ximénez's symphony no.28,¹⁵⁸ as well as some parts for a tercetto from Farinelli's *Il Matrimonio per Concorso*.¹⁵⁹

2.5. Private and public connections

What transpires here is a set of strong private connections that are directly related to both the creation and the circulation of new music. These connections are mostly internal to Arequipa, but in their local value they portray a context that also affected the broader Latin American region, in which music scores were central in both the process of learning and of updating knowledge of the musical landscapes of Europe and the surrounding American regions. Musical knowledge was acquired by internal relations and shared ideas of modernity (as in Lima and Arequipa), but also by what was accessible and how it was accessed. Perhaps, as stated before, differences in the style of writing of both Alzedo and Ximénez are not only related to specifically

libro VIII. José O'Phelan was also the godfather of Lorenzo Rojas's wedding to Mariano Tapia's widow, as discussed below, increasing these private connections.

¹⁵⁵ ABAS O41, the violin solo part is particularly virtuosic, with frequent harmonics and double stops.

¹⁵⁶ Zoila Vega, "Lorenzo Rojas: Apuntes biográficos", unpublished document (2014).

¹⁵⁷ ABNB 1499.

¹⁵⁸ ABNB 1387, ABAS PXAT69.

¹⁵⁹ The number is "Al mio bene". CAO B MV07, as "Tercetto de la opera El Matrimonio"; violas and oboes are clearly in his hand.

conscious “schools” of thought and/or composition, but also to their own respective networks for the circulation of music. Even between two relatively close cities like Lima and Arequipa,¹⁶⁰ differences in reception occurred, and the values given to both local and foreign works and authors might have been somewhat different.

If we look at Alzedo’s music from this period, what we find is a series of works written by a friar, inside a convent, and that display a shared tradition with other local musicians in Lima more than any explicit (and undeniable) foreign influence. In the case of Ximénez, even in his early works composed in Arequipa, the “modern” and “cosmopolitan” influence of the likes of Pleyel and Gyrowetz becomes explicit, and takes a different precedence. The value of that effort of being “updated” in relation to Europe transpires in Ximénez’s own collection of works by other composers. What is more striking is how these copies relate to Ximénez own works, as if they were all integral parts of one collection. If we take two scores from the collection and put a score by Pleyel beside one by Ximénez (see Figure 9), both being copied by the latter, it is extremely difficult to tell them apart: they are visibly and materially part of a “community” of scores, of which Ximénez is only one among multiple authors.



Figure 9, Front Pages of MI37 and MI47 of CAO collection.

Within his own collection of music, Ximénez is therefore not radically different from a Haydn or a Pleyel, the Atlantic Ocean is not necessarily there in the moment of

¹⁶⁰ Relatively close for South American standards, since this is almost the same distance that from London to Frankfurt in Germany (c.760km).

the performance itself. In other words, in the materiality of the music he owned, in the ink and the paper, Ximénez is “virtually” one amongst peers, a composer in a calligraphic illusion of his own cosmopolitan ideals and aspirations.

Musicians are not only determined by their own ideas, but also - by their models, aspirations, and social and material possibilities. Both Alzedo and Ximénez were shaped by the world they lived in, and that world was certainly not the same as contemporary musical scenes in Europe or North America, but also not radically different. It was, however, a musical world in flux, for those caught up in a historical transition of opportunities and influences. Ximénez, perhaps, could not have acquired his money and connections without the new regulations proposed by the Bourbon reforms that had allowed non-recognised children to live normal lives and receive formal education, as well as acquiring cheaper new intellectual products. At the same time, Alzedo probably could not have gained the knowledge he had, nor risen up in society as he did (and as we will explore more in later chapters), without the changing landscape for *pardos* in Lima. With independence, both became -in theory- equals; what they took into their later careers was their values, connections, networks and aesthetic distances and proximities with both their local context and their European references. Reception and appropriation are therefore in this sense two sides of the same coin, particularly when the abundance of some sources must dialogue with the scarcity of others. What comes through, at the end, is that these composers -and our images of them- are shaped not only by the music they wrote, but equally by what they heard and what they owned.

3. The Composer as *Letrado*

Little personal information about Pedro Ximénez appears to have survived, beyond the music he left behind. His ideas and personality can only be reconstructed from what others say about him: no private letters, no diaries, no statements have yet been unearthed. Only one letter by Ximénez to a newspaper has been found, and this is -as far as I know- the only immediately personal document written by him that survives.¹ It is impossible not to ask: How did he sound beyond his music? What sort of person was he? There are some answers in the secondary documents: He was praised by those who knew him, and posthumous public accounts of his character -as so often happens- show him in a very favourable light. A newspaper from Bolivia in 1833 said of him that “his talent in harmony makes him the first among Americans, while his morality makes him appreciated by everyone that knows of his integrity and dedication”;² in more personal terms, his obituary spoke of a “noble friend, hard-working father, a man full of virtues and a distinguished professor”.³

That last word, “professor” (*catedrático* in Spanish), comes often when Ximénez is described by others, and I was intrigued by it since the beginnings of my research. Even Ximénez himself used the word on the cover of his collection of *100 Minuets* published in Paris.⁴ My hypothesis in this chapter is that this description indicates that Ximénez considered himself a *letrado*, a man of letters whose status was demonstrated through his written musical discourse, and that he conveyed that lettered persona through his compositions in a way that could be appreciated by his contemporaries. Even more, as I will discuss here, I think that both Ximénez’s instrumental music output -his symphonies in particular- and his election as chapelmaster in Sucre in 1833 can be directly related to this status of *letrado*. His compositional voice is one that conveys certain ideas about what kind of person he was or imagined himself to be.

¹ The letter, which I will discuss later in this chapter, was written in March 27, 1833, and published on the following April 7 in *El Iris de La Paz*.

² *El Boliviano*, Sucre, 8 September 1833.

³ *La Nueva Era*, Sucre, 25 June 1856.

⁴ “*Catedrático de Música*” is how he titles himself, (Paris: Richault, Plate 5321, 1844). A digitised version of Book 4 of the collection can be found in IMSLP: [http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b4/IMSLP44670-PMLP69252-Abril Tirado - 100 Minuets - Book IV No.41-50.pdf](http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b4/IMSLP44670-PMLP69252-Abril_Tirado_-_100_Minuets_-_Book_IV_No.41-50.pdf) (Accessed, 5 June 2016).

The category of *letrado* has been vital for much recent research on the colonial and early-republican periods in Latin America, and places the act of writing at the epistemological centre of social and cultural power. Ángel Rama's posthumous book on the importance of writing for the exercise of control in Latin American cities, *La Ciudad Letrada*,⁵ developed the concept to understand the ways by which certain citizens could construct and influence local identities, order and discourses. The *letrado* discourse, in the words of Carlos Jáuregui, served a purpose in being "not countercolonial or against the empire [...] it is a symbolic balancing act of cultural and political submission and a claim of peripheral authority".⁶ However, as I have stated before, I do believe in the agency of individuals beyond the "submission" model of centre and periphery, and perhaps we could think of a *letrado* specifically as someone who takes control of his own agency and lettered authority.

A critical aspect of Rama's book is that he considered the *letrado* mainly as "the lawyer or [the] agent of the law",⁷ the one who writes in notarial and judicial terms. In recent years, however, the notion has been further opened to include those who could "write" in a broader sense: those who had a public voice, could communicate with officials and the crown, and could contribute to the shaping of "written" cultural capital. In this extended sense, the notion of *letrado* has been opened to those that could exert similar powers through other "textual" fields, like -in the words of Joanne Rapport and Tom Cummins- "less aristocratic notaries, and artists, as well [as] priests".⁸ Recent research by José Jouve Martín on the black doctors of Lima during the

⁵ Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada* (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984).

⁶ Carlos Jáuregui "Cannibalism, the Eucharist, and Criollo Subjects" in *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*, ed. Ralph Bauer and José Mazzotti (Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 96.

⁷ Julio Ramos, *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in 19th Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 59-60.

⁸ Joanne Rappaport, Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 154.

last colonial decades,⁹ or by Luis Wuffarden on late colonial painters,¹⁰ have certainly amplified the notion of the *letrado* as a figure who goes well beyond the framework of law. In this chapter I want to discuss it in terms of music and being a composer.

3.1. A musician from Arequipa

Arequipa underwent enormous changes during Ximénez's early life. As a major Spanish colonial city, with a large white population in comparison with other colonial centres, Arequipa had gained much from what were the most "visible" aspects of Bourbon reforms in the 1770s: new *alamedas* and *paseos*, schools, hospitals, beautiful and elegant avenues in the French style, grand public buildings, cleaner streets and squares, better markets and better access to news from Spain and Europe. By the turn of the century, it had become a major agricultural and commercial centre, larger than Cuzco, with a population of 27,000 and thus the second biggest city in Peru after the capital, Lima.¹¹ Arequipa was (and is) a proud city, beautifully settled beneath a large volcano (the *Misti*), with white-shaded buildings in Andalusian style, and large ecclesiastical constructions that shaped the so-called architectural "colonial Andean baroque",¹² an aesthetic that was enormously influential in the entire Andean region.

The last decades of colonial rule in Arequipa were marked by an important cultural transition, as local elites shifted from an *Hispanophile* to a Francophile culture, primarily interested in the latest trends and fashions from Paris.¹³ In the words of historian John Wibel, in the 1810s the city gained a "new orientation towards Northern Europe. Arequipa's newspapers reported regularly on European politics and literary tastes [and] French culture dominated Arequipa's elite tastes in everything from

⁹ José Ramón Jouve Martín, *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima: Science, Race, and Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

¹⁰ See his chapter "Enlightenment versus local tradition, 1750-1825" in *Painting in Latin America, 1550-1820: From Conquest to Independence*, ed. Luisa Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (New York: Yale University Press, 2015).

¹¹ Wibel, "The Evolution of a Regional Community", 53.

¹² See a study of Arequipenian architectural influence in Gauvin Bailey. *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru* (Notre Dame.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

¹³ Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*, 139.

philosophy to dancing”.¹⁴ Flora Tristán, commented how in Arequipa “the costumes differ in nothing from the European ones. Men and women are dressed as in Paris [and] French dances have completely substituted the fandango, bolero and the national dances”.¹⁵ The city would become particularly important in sharing these new trends, that later would overtake most cities in Latin America. In part, this influence was due to the continuous arrival of European travellers and professionals in the city even before independence: the temporary or permanent residence of European doctors, artists and merchants became entirely normal by the 1820s.¹⁶

At the same time, the citizens of Arequipa were hit during the same decades by new taxes, and -accordingly- rebellions were not uncommon, of which perhaps the most famous is the so-called Customs upheaval of 1780.¹⁷ The ideas that would develop into political independence did not happen overnight, but already in the late eighteenth century some parts of the population were voicing strong opinions about self-government, especially in economic terms. Given the social structure of the city, its political voice was important for the entire viceroyalty. In the words of John Wibel:

Arequipa’s late colonial and early republican elites are a difficult group to segregate, although they were primarily ‘white’ Spaniards, European-born peninsulares and American-born criollos [...] these elites were composed of landowners, merchants, and officials of Church and State, but not all members of these groups enjoyed elite status. [Few] obtained titles of nobility during the colonial period, but numerous Arequipeños claimed aristocratic status”.¹⁸

¹⁴ Wibel, “The Evolution of a Regional Community”, 379.

¹⁵ Flora Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una Paria* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2003), 287. I will reference this version in the dissertation, but there is an English translation, by Jean Hawkes, titled *Peregrinations of a Pariah, 1833-1834* (London: Virago, 1986).

¹⁶ Wibel, “The Evolution of a Regional Community”, 377.

¹⁷ Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*, 40-42. In January, the first riots took place just outside the newly formed *Aduana*, followed by similar uprisings in Cuzco and La Paz. *Aduanas* were a new institution that increased taxes, infuriating everyone from rich *criollo* business men to indigenous producers. They were created as a way to increase revenues for the almost-bankrupt Spanish crown. Tupac Amaru’s game-changing indigenous rebellion in the High Andes started that same year, around November.

¹⁸ Wibel, “The Evolution of a Regional Community”, 14. According to his sources (p.55), by the 1790s in Arequipa “there were more Spaniards in the region of Arequipa than in Lima in both absolute numbers (39,587 to 24,557 inhabitants) and proportionally (twenty-nine vs sixteen percent). In contrast, Arequipa had only a small mestizo population of 17,797”, with 5,000 black slaves and 7,000 free persons of “mixed colour”. *Peninsulares* is the word commonly used for Spaniards in this period.

This elite, filled with pride, had for more than a century been central in the colonial administration of Peru, and most of the boys from rich families of Arequipa chose legal careers, which gave Arequipenians “a disproportionate role [among] colonial Peru’s professional groups”, who enjoyed “greater prestige and influence than their brothers who devoted their efforts exclusively to agriculture or commerce”.¹⁹

Ximénez, being a natural -unrecognised- son from a wealthy and prestigious family, sat in a difficult position. On the one hand, he had the contacts, the help and the money to build a career, but he was also impeded from officially studying in a proper school or university and gaining status as a lawyer, as many others in his family did. Some close members of his circle had important places in later Peruvian politics, like cousins Antolín -Antonino- Corbacho y Abril, and José María Corbacho, senator for Arequipa and minister in Lima. Both were descended -like Ximénez- from one of the most important mayors in Arequipenian history, Francisco Abril y Maldonado.²⁰ Ximénez, though, had to construct his prestige in his own terms. The persona he constructed was that of a learned composer, with all that implied for a man of the early nineteenth century.

Unlike Alzedo, Ximénez never defined himself in terms of his religion, and as far as we know he never worked for the church until he went to Sucre in 1833, and certainly not in the Cathedral in Arequipa. He was not a priest or a monk, and in 1819 he married Juana Bernedo, who came from another rich family in the city.²¹ The official descriptions we have from Ximénez in Arequipa are therefore those of musician as craftsman. When his philharmonic gatherings in Arequipa are described in 1828 he is mentioned as “a famous artist” [un artista célebre],²² and in a list of all the guilds of Arequipa from that same year he appears among those who “form the industrial guild

¹⁹ Wibel, “The Evolution of a Regional Community”, 162-64.

²⁰ Most clues point in the direction of Ximénez’s mother, María [del] Carmen Abril, who was a natural daughter of Major Francisco Abril y Maldonado, who died in 1795.

²¹ Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa: Libro de matrimonios de la parroquia del Sagrario, no.18 fol 75v.

²² *Arequipa Libre*, 25 November 1828.

of musicians”.²³ Yet as mentioned above, Ximénez would later build his career as something different from an artist-as-craftsman, in styling himself a *catedrático*, an academician or professor, a title he used variously in later years and an aspiration for any lettered man.

How could he have been an academic without (as far as we know) any sort of university studies? In this, apparently, his family connections and relations played an important role.²⁴ Ximénez was from early on involved in important intellectual activities in Arequipa. A *tertulia literaria*, a literary salon, functioned in the Quinta Tirado -belonging to his family- during the final colonial decades, and it was there that the likes of the poet Mariano Melgar and the Corbacho brothers discussed their disruptive political and aesthetic ideas, the same ones that probably influenced the young Ximénez.²⁵ José María Corbacho would later remember in a letter from 1832 the “literary gathering in which we planned the emancipatory revolution”, and the discussions “over the compositions in [Melgar’s] notebooks 1 and 2, and that beautiful anthem to our longing for freedom, the Patriotic March”,²⁶ for which, according to some sources, Ximénez wrote the music.²⁷ Members of this *tertulia* were later to become the founding fathers of the foremost academic institution of independent Arequipa, the *Academia Lauretana de Artes y Ciencias* (Laurentian Academy of Arts and Sciences). The *Academia* was born directly out of various colonial plans for the

²³ *Listas formadas por los diputados de los gremios industriales y de predios urbanos que sirven de documentos para los patrones respectivos*, section: “De Los Individuos que componen el gremio industrial de músicos formada por los diputados que la suscriben”. Document from the private collection of María Eugenia Tomasio in Arequipa.

²⁴ This might be confusing for English readers, but the condition of a natural son, particularly in rich families, only meant certain legal obstructions and specific problems, rather than being “unrecognised” in the sense of being left out of family circles, riches and influence. In terms of his studies, he did not use the title of *licenciado* which would have signified that he had undergone university studies.

²⁵ Cornejo, *Música popular tradicional del Valle del Chili* (Lima: Theia, 2012), 58-59.

²⁶ Delgado, Luis Humberto. *Pablo de Olavide y Mariano Melgar: El monstruo y el héroe; crítica pura y mordaz* (Lima: Latino América Editores, 1972), 85-86. The letter is from March 28, 1832, to Benito Lazo: “recordando ‘las tertulias literarias en que planeamos la revolución emancipadora’, comenta las discusiones sobre “algunas composiciones de los cuadernos 1 y 2 [de Melgar] y de la que más trasunta nuestro anhelo de libertad, la Marcha Patriótica”.

²⁷ On the *Marcha Patriótica*, including a reconstruction of the music from oral sources, see Darío González: “El arte al servicio de la patria”, *Human Sciences Review* 8 (1995), 85-117.

foundation of a local university, as well as multiple political discussions during the first decades of the nineteenth century, and Ximénez would be part of it.

The *Academia* was created amid the almost total disconnection from Iberia that resulted from José de San Martín's invasion of Lima in 1821 with his Liberation Army [*Ejército Libertador*], comprised mostly of Argentinian and Chilean citizens. With the capital invaded by revolutionary patriots, Arequipa was left on its own, and things started to change rapidly in cultural terms. José María Corbacho brought the first printer into the city during that year, and a public library was opened in 1822. Already in April 1821, a few months before San Martín's entrance into Lima, the idea of an *Academia* had been presented to the local city council [*ayuntamiento*].

Evaristo Gómez proposed an academic society as a substitute for a university, which would not have been allowed by Spain. For him: "In Arequipa, more than in any other place, there is the urge to establish an academic society for the arts and sciences, as demanded particularly by its numerous and talented youth who would have to migrate in search for enlightenment [*luces*] or otherwise sink into darkness".²⁸ The society was approved by the exiled viceroy in September 1822, but already in December 1821 they had started working with the authorization of the local government. José María Corbacho was central in organising the inaugural ceremony. A year later, with independence in danger, Ferdinand VII reigning in Madrid and Arequipa still Spanish, the *Academia* feared abolition, and an important number of royalist members left the institution. That same year of 1823, which saw various conflicts between the *Academia* and the local government and church officials, saw Pedro Ximénez (as D. Pedro Jiménez Abril) being elected in July as an honorary member, "in virtue of his notable merits as a musician".²⁹

²⁸ Héctor Ballón, Guillermo Galdos and Eusebio Quiros, *Academia Lauretana de Ciencias y Artes de Arequipa* (Arequipa: Colegio de Abogados de Arequipa, 2000), 108-109: "En Arequipa más que en ninguna parte hay necesidad de establecer una sociedad académica de ciencias y artes; y así lo demanda pronta e imperiosamente entre otros muchos lo demanda pronta e imperiosamente entre otros muchos reclamantes, su numerosa y hábil juventud que se verá precisada a emigrar en busca de las luces o a sumergirse en las tinieblas". Letter from April 25, 1821. All following statements regarding the *Academia* are taken from the same book in the following pages.

²⁹ Zegarra Meneses, *Arequipa en el pase de la colonia a la República. Visita de Bolívar* (Arequipa: Editorial Cuzzi, 1973), 117: "por sus merecimientos notables en calidad de músico".

It is interesting to note that Ximénez was elected as a member at the same time as the engineer Jacinto Ibáñez, “a skilled builder of machines”. It is difficult to establish any hypothesis from this, but perhaps they were included together because of their perceived similarity: as craftsmen, and not as *catedráticos* with university studies. However, even if that was the case, his acceptance into the *Academia* had important consequences, since it shaped both him and, apparently, the *Academia* itself. In 1826 an anonymous member of the Academy published a harsh article in the local newspaper criticising that the budget of the institution was being mostly used for things unrelated to its original purpose, including the promotion of religion and what he calls subjects more worthy of a “ladies’ school” [*colegio de niñas*], like buying theatrical pieces [*papel de comedia*, which could also mean music scores] and acquiring musical instruments [*proveer a las aulas de instrumentos de música*].³⁰ So, it seems that Ximénez might have used the budget of the *Academia* as a platform to organise concerts, teach or promote music-making in other ways.

Education would be increasingly important for the *Academia*, and Ximénez’s participation in this field is most evident. The first educational institution devised by the *Academia* was the fashionably named *Colejio Nacional de la Independencia Americana*, a new college school founded in 1827.³¹ Ximénez became one of its first teachers and in October 1828 he presented his first thirteen students in public exams on music theory in the same manner as the other professors of the college.³² Again, it seems clear that his personal-familial relations helped him: the first Dean of the college was José María Corbacho y Abril, and his brother Antolín served as librarian. The denomination used for all the teachers in the newspapers, meanwhile, is that of *catedrático*, or academician, which was extended the following years to all those involved in the foundation of the *Universidad Nacional de San Agustín*, the long-desired University which, at the beginning, was designed to cater only for studies in law.

³⁰ *El Republicano*, Arequipa, 10 June 1826.

³¹ *El Republicano*, Arequipa, 29 September 1827 (as Pedro Tirado).

³² *El Republicano*, Arequipa, 28 February 1829.

While Ximénez does not appear to have been directly involved as a teacher in the University -understandably, since music was not part of the curriculum- the official inauguration, filled with music, concluded with the performance of “a beautiful symphony” [*una bella sinfonía*], after which the members of the university left the building alongside the ringing of bells and the cries of “¡Viva!”.³³ Was Ximénez the author of that symphony? From the documents I have seen it is impossible to know, but closing the ceremony with a symphony is certainly symptomatic of the status that the musical genre had by then acquired across Latin America, and thus perhaps of Ximénez’s involvement. In fact, even if he did not compose it, he must almost certainly have participated in its performance and organization, cementing through it the strong symbolic connection between the symphonic genre and an acoustic notion of Enlightenment and academic prestige and principles.

3.2. An unlikely symphonist³⁴

The triple connection between symphony, *academia* and Ximénez’s own career and persona is, in my view, enormously important in contextualising him as a composer. In contemporary documents, Ximénez is mainly regarded as a composer-*catedrático*, but he is also addressed more specifically as a symphonist. His music, and his symphonies, circulated heavily in the Andean region by the 1830s, and we have multiple accounts of his prestige outside Arequipa, including concerts in Lima since the beginning of that decade.³⁵ In April 1832 a concert organized in Sucre by Romualdo Díaz opened, according to one newspaper, with “a symphony by the famous Arequipenian Pedro Tirado, which was exceedingly well played”.³⁶ The fact that he

³³ Libro de Actas de la Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa no.1 fol. 1-6, consulted directly by the academic member of the institution Zoila Vega.

³⁴ Some ideas that appear in this subchapter were also recently published in Spanish in my article “Las Sinfonías de Pedro Ximénez Abrill y Tirado: una primera aproximación”, *Anuario Estudios Bolivianos, Archivísticos y Bibliográficos*, no.22 (2016), 153-184.

³⁵ *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 2 August 1831. I thank Dr. Benjamin Walton for this information.

³⁶ *El Boliviano*, Sucre, 2 Mayo 1832, “por una sinfonía del celebre Arequipeño Pedro Tirado, que fue muy bien ejecutada”.

was apparently not present in Sucre at the time -he would arrive in Bolivia at the beginning of the next year-, and that he is mentioned as “famous” by the aforementioned writer, are certainly indicative of his status.

Alzedo, too, much later would single Ximénez out among his contemporaries because of being a composer of symphonies. His exact words are: “and the Arequipenian Pedro Jimenez Abril (known popularly as Pedro Tirado), who beyond his Masses and other useful pieces, has been admired for his symphonies and two violin concertos”.³⁷ The way Alzedo phrases it, after mentioning a handful of other local composers who were church musicians (Tapia, Del Campo and Aguilar, see Chapter 1) is interesting, since Ximénez is singled out specifically for being a symphonist and instrumental composer, in contrast with that background of “useful” sacred music in which everyone else worked. From the handful of Latin American composers of the period that we know wrote symphonies, Ximénez is the only one who appears to have composed in that genre for most of his life, without clear practical reasons to do so, and in quantities that far outstrip all his continental contemporaries.³⁸ The symphony, as a genre, seems to have been an important and meaningful part of his output, and he left a handful of clues about the status he conceded to his symphonies amongst his works.

The most important of those clues, in documentary terms, is an inventory of his output written in the last years of his life, titled “Lista de todas las obras compuestas por Pedro Ximenez Abrill T. con sus respectivos precios”.³⁹ It has been suggested that

³⁷ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 214. “y mas notablemente al Arequipeño D. Pedro Jimenez Abril (conocido vulgarmente por Pedro Tirado), que aparte de sus misas y otras provechosas piezas, se hizo admirar por sus sinfonías y dos conciertos de violín”.

³⁸ Not many Latin American symphonies have survived, and mainly one can see that composers wrote symphonies in the region sporadically and not as a continuous creative output, as Ximénez did. The most relevant contemporary authors, in terms of quantity and quality, are probably José Eulalio Samayoa and José Escolástico Andrino in Guatemala, and Juan Meserón and José Lorenzo Montero in Caracas, two evident centres for instrumental music making in the period.

³⁹ “List of all the works written by Pedro Ximénez Abrill T. with their respective prices”. In ABNB *Música* 1353. The catalogue mentions the 100 minuets he printed in Paris in 1844 and, interestingly, he puts them again in the addenda, crossed out with a line.

the list was put together by Ximénez's son rather than himself,⁴⁰ but the calligraphy is consistent with that used by the composer elsewhere and, in addition, the inclusion of an addendum in a later ink with the author's very last works -symphony no.40, the last three masses and a handful of other pieces- implies that the original list was conceived at least some years before Ximénez died. The inclusion in the first part of the list -before the "addendum"- of his *100 Minuets*, printed in Paris in 1844, is indicative that the list was thus probably done after that, in the late 1840s or early 1850s. In the list, Ximénez seems to be considering his compositions as "works", in the modern aesthetic sense of isolated self-contained pieces, but the list was put together evidently to sell or at least value the pieces in a monetary sense. The document is arranged in three columns, with the last one containing the prices for each piece. The list starts with his instrumental pieces, then goes into the religious music and, finally - before the addendum- includes all the salon works for voice, piano and guitar, grouped in "collections". The list starts, perhaps symbolically, with his symphonies, but it does not give any specific information for each of his symphonies: Ximénez groups them together in a single entry that reads: "32 symphonies from no.7 to no.39, warning that the first six and no.21 are missing". (Figure 10):

⁴⁰ Darío Montiel, "The Rossini of the Americas", Appendix. He says that "this list was among 4 letters presumably written by his son, Pedro Tirado, whose purpose was probably to sell his father's works".

*Lista de todas las Obras Comp[ues]tas por Pedro Ximénez Abill E.
Con sus respectivos precios.*

+ Simfonias 32 desde el numero 7 hasta el N.º 39. advirtiendo que faltan la seis primeras, y la del N.º 21. El precio de cada una es de diez pesos, importan.....	320
+ Divertimientos Concertantes sinio a quince p. cada uno.....	075
+ Un concierto de Violin Obligado 25 p.	025
+ Seis Divertimientos, dos para dos Guitarras, y 4 p. una sola Guitarra a 25 p. cada uno.....	150
+ Nuebe Cuartetos para Flauta, Violin, Viola, y Violoncello.....	030
+ Tres Quintetos p.ª dos Violines, dos Violas, y Violoncello.....	030
+ Tres Cuartetos p.ª dos Violines, Viola, y Violoncello.....	030
+ Un Cuarteto p.ª Guitarra, Flauta, Violin, y Violoncello Concertante.....	025
+ Tres Duos Concertantes para Violoncello, y Guitarra.....	025
<i>Misas 42</i>	
+ Misa N.º 4 a Dos, y a 3.ª por Refa.....	015
+ Misa N.º 6 a 3 Voces por Refa.....	025
+ Misa N.º 8 a 3 Voces por Do mayor.....	020
+ Misa N.º 10 a Dos por Refa.....	010
+ Misa N.º 11 a Tres Voces por Do mayor.....	010

Figure 10, "Lista de todas las obras comp[ues]tas..."; ABNB_1353, beginning of the first page.

Relevantly, however, the symphonies do not appear to have significant economic value in comparison with the rest of the catalogue; compare, for example, the price of each symphony (ten pesos) with the prices of some of the earliest Masses, much shorter than a symphony, at the bottom of Figure 10 (which here go from 10 to 25 pesos). There seems to be here a contradiction between on the one hand their quantity, and place in the inventory, and on the other hand their price and lack of detailed information. Perhaps this could be interpreted as a sign -again, not the first one- that these works had more of a personal than a market value. This feeling is extended when we consider that Ximénez used opus numbers only in his instrumental "concert" music, and not for the salon, theatre or church pieces.

Another document that might give us a clue about Ximénez's high regard for the symphony as genre comes in an article that appeared anonymously in the local newspaper in Sucre in 1834, a few months after Ximénez arrived in the city. It is a very

specific and informed discussion on the genre for a newspaper. Its tone is one of promotion and explanation, of conveying an image of the symphony as the essential modern musical form, and it was clearly written by someone who knew about the subject. While I cannot prove that Ximénez was indeed the writer of the article, it seems directly related to his own work and style. For the author, “the symphony is a true kaleidoscope; it splits the sounds and lets them experiment a thousand ingenious combinations”.⁴¹ Even if he was not the writer, the article speaks of a certain way of appreciating the genre in the Andean region at the time, the same one that led to symphonies being used as the conclusion of important official ceremonies, like the inauguration of Arequipa’s university. For Ximénez, at least, symphonic writing became an extremely important part of his creative output and personal voice, and his local contemporaries recognised him for the rarity of his dedication to this genre.

A few words are necessary on the sources of the symphonies themselves. From the forty symphonies that are mentioned in the list of Ximénez’s works, many have survived until the present day, but fragmented in various archives and collections. Since they were only copied in parts (see below), much of the music became lost, or the symphonies were split up. For example, Carlos Seoane’s 2010 inventory of Ximénez’s music for the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia in Sucre gives, in this respect, a misleading picture, since it only shows nine completed symphonies, far fewer than the actual number when comparing all the sources.⁴² However, to arrive to a real appraisal of his works, it was necessary to compare the materials found in the various archives and collections, and from there to construct a more cohesive picture of Ximénez’s symphonic output. In total, thirty symphonies from the forty he composed have survived. Table 1 provides a list of all of them, including their status (complete, incomplete or almost complete),⁴³ key, general structure of the movements (fast or slow movements, whether they have introduction or not), opus number (when

⁴¹ *El Boliviano*, Sucre, 24 August 1834: “La sinfonía es un verdadero kaleidoscopo; descompone los sonidos y les hace experimentar mil combinaciones ingeniosos”.

⁴² Carlos Seoane, *Catálogo analítico*.

⁴³ Almost complete (a/complete) means that only parts that are easy to rewrite have been lost, such as a second horn or clarinet, or some pages from one instrumental part (like a viola or a cello).

it exists), tonal relations between movements and instrumentation (considering that all symphonies use at least two violins, one double bass,⁴⁴ and one viola). For a discussion of sources, material conditions and missing parts, please see the list I prepared of Ximénez's works in the Appendix, p.314-315.

Table 1: Ximénez's Symphonies						
Nº	Op.Nº	Key	Structure	Tonalities	Status	Instrumentation (1db, 2vn, 1vla)
1 to 6 ⁴⁵					Lost	
7		f	F-S-M(T)-F	f-F-f(F)-f/F	Complete	2 cl, 2 hn
8		D	F-S-M(T)-F	D-A-D(D)-D	Incomplete	2 cl, 2 hn
9		F	F-S-M(T)-F	F-Bb-F(d)-F	a/complete	2 cl, 2 hn
10		Eb	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	Eb-c-Eb(Eb)-Eb	Complete	2 cl, 2 hn
11C ⁴⁶		D	F-S-M(T)-F	D-G-D(D)-D	Complete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 2 bs, 2 hn
12		C	F-S-M(T)-F	C-F-C(c)-C	Incomplete	2 cl, 2 hn
13		g	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	g/g-G-g(Bb)-g/G	Incomplete	1 vlc, 1fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
14		F	F-S-M(T)-F	F-Bb-F(Bb)-F	Complete	2 vla, 2 cl, 2 hn
15C		e	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	e/e-E-e(G)-e/E	a/complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
16	21	d	F-S-M(T)-F	d-D-d(D)-d	Complete	2 cl, 2 hn
17	22	D	F-S-M(2T) ⁴⁷ -F	D-d-D(D,d)-D	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 1 bs, 2 hn
18	23	c	F-S-M(T)-F	c-C-c(C)-C	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn,
19	30	C	F-S-M(T)-F	C-c-C(F)-C	Incomplete	2vla, 1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 1 bs, 2 hn
20	28	Bb	F-S-M(T)-F	Bb-Eb-Bb(Bb)-Bb	Incomplete	1 vlc, 1fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
21					Lost	
22	29	d	F-S-M(T)-F	d-D-d(F)-d/F/d	Complete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 1 bs, 2 hn
23	33	G	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	G/G-g-G(G)-G	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 1 bs, 2 hn
24	34	Eb	F-S-M(T)-F	Eb-Bb-Eb(Eb)-Eb	a/complete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 1 bs, 2 hn

⁴⁴ The cello in some symphonies is an independent instrument; I only mention it apart in those cases.

⁴⁵ We don't know if these works would have been overtures or multi-sectional symphonies, but I believe the latter is most probably the case, given his later tendency to use the word only for that kind of symphony.

⁴⁶ The C here means *concertante*, the acknowledged style of the symphony (same in symphony no.15).

⁴⁷ This symphony has two trios, one in the major and one in the minor mode.

25					Lost	
26	36	D	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	D/D-G-D-D	a/complete	1 vlc, 2 fl, 2 cl, 1 bs, 2 hn
27	39	Eb	F-S-M(T)-F	Eb-c-Eb(Eb)-Eb	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
28	40	g	F-S-M(T)-F	g-Eb-g(G)-g	a/complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
29		G	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	g/G-D-G(G)-G	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
30	44	F	F-S-M(T)-F	F-f-F-F	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
31	54	d	F-S-M(T)-F	d-D-d-d	Complete	1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
32		D	(i)F-S-M(T)-F	D/D-d-D-D	Incomplete	2 vl, 2 cl, 2hrn [?] ⁴⁸
33	62	D	F-S-M(T)-F	D-A-D-D	Incomplete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
34	63	C	F-S-M(T)-F	C-F-C-C	Complete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
35					Lost	
36	65	C	F-S-M(T)-F	C-c-C-C	Complete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
37	66	F	F-S-M(T)-F	F-Bb-F-F	a/complete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn
38	74	D	F-S-V ⁴⁹ -F	D-d-D-D	a/complete	1 vlc, 2 fl, 2 cl, 2bsn, 2 hn
39	75	D	F-S-M(T)-F	D-A-D-D	Incomplete	1 vlc, 1 fl, 2 cl, 1bsn, 2 hn
40		D	(i)F-S-V-F	D/D-d-D-D	Complete	1 vlc, 2 fl, 2 cl, 1bsn, 2 hn

As the table shows, Ximénez had a very consistent way of writing his symphonies: all of them are in four movements; the second movement is always slow and in a different tonality; a minuet always comes in the third place -except for symphonies no.38 and no.40, which substitute a waltz-. He does not stray very far in tonal terms for each movement, and while there are a good number of symphonies in the minor mode,⁵⁰ most of them were written in familiar tonalities up to two sharps or

⁴⁸ This means that the total number of instruments is unknown. See introductory remarks to the Appendix A5.

⁴⁹ As with symphony no.40, this symphony has a waltz instead of a minuet.

⁵⁰ In his obituary (*La Nueva Era*, Sucre, 25 June 1856), the writer states about the symphonies that “most of them are in four movements, a few are concertante, and there are many in the minor mode: he clearly prefers them in comparison with European composers, of whom we see very rarely symphonies written in this mode, since the composition of a symphony in the minor mode is something quite difficult”. Original: “la mas de ellas acuartetadas, varias concertantes y muchas en tono menor: circunstancia que le da sin duda, la preferencia en este orden sobre los compositores europeos, de quienes vemos muy pocas obras de este género, pues la composición de una sinfonía en tono menor es de bastante dificultad”.

four flats from C major. The instrumentation is also very consistent, with the rare addition of a second viola (in some of the first symphonies) or an independent cello (mostly in the last ones), and with the sporadic inclusion of flutes (mostly one) and bassoons (most commonly in pairs). No trumpets, timpani or oboes are present in the symphonies, but, as discussed previously for the works of Alzedo, it is probable that the “clarinet” parts of the earliest symphonies were written originally for oboes, for which they seem more idiomatic.

However, that consistent “writing”, which exists only if we look at the pieces as ideal “works”, is in part illusory: the materiality of the sources gives a completely different picture, in which fragmentation seems to overcome the integral consistency of the symphonies. Ximénez, as I mentioned previously, wrote his symphonies in separate instrumental parts, and the homogeneity of papers and calligraphy leads me to believe that an important part of the symphonies were copied anew at some point in his later life, especially the first three quarters of them (up to Symphony no.27). The number of the symphony is written in each part, making it easier to connect them, but the part of the cello or double bass -as was the norm- serves as the cover and is the one that usually includes all other pieces of information, like opus number, name of the author, and instrumentation. When that part is lost, it is almost impossible to know the specific details of the work (which is the case with, for example, Symphony no.32).

When the collection was sold to different individuals and archives in the mid 2000s, however, only a handful of the symphonies were kept in a single collection, and a good number of the parts got separated. The ABNB in Sucre holds most of the fully extant symphonies; but other complete symphonies survive elsewhere: Symphony no.7 (the earliest), for example, is complete in Andrés Orías’s private collection in Geneva, or no.18 in that of Juan Conrado Quinquiví, while symphonies no.16 and 40 are complete only in the ABAS in Bolivia. A good number of other symphonies have parts in more than one archive, which makes the task of studying them extremely difficult. Symphony no.29, for example, is equally divided between the ABNB (violin 2, viola, bass) and the ABAS (violin 1, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, flute), and while I found the

missing two horns of symphony no.38 (almost complete in the ABNB) in the ABAS, there are still two bassoon parts whose whereabouts are unknown.

Even after reconstructing the works from their multiple dispersed parts, there is still much that the scores do not tell us; for example, when they were composed. But for a handful of exceptions, Ximénez did not date his scores,⁵¹ and only a hypothesis of possible temporal relations is possible. The only symphony we can safely “date” (more or less) is the last one, no.40, given that it was added to Ximénez’s *Lista* alongside his last few works, and after the list was initiated in the mid-1840s. However, in those pieces that were not copied anew, the consistency of calligraphies, the ways in which Ximénez’s signs his name, the use of paper, the possible copyists and the use of ink are all important elements in dating them. My current belief is that most symphonies were composed when Ximénez was still living in Arequipa, and only the very late ones were written in Sucre. There are two particularly useful elements that have helped me in consolidating this idea, which are opus numbers and instrumentation.

Opus numbers are, perhaps, one of the key elements in helping us to differentiate groups of symphonies. Ximénez’s starts to use them with Symphony no.16 (op.22, see Figure 11), but given that high “first” number, it is probable that he applied them retrospectively to previous works, including the earlier symphonies.

⁵¹ Only six scores by Ximénez are dated, and all of them are large sacred works composed during his first and second year in Sucre, as if to prove that this is “new” music for his new job. They include a *Pasión del Viernes Santo* (ABNB 1352, 1459, ABAS PXAT57, 15 March 1834), a *Gloria Laus* (ABNB 1317, 18 March 1834), a *Lamentación del Miércoles Santo* (ABNB S/N, 13 November 1834), a *Lamentación del Jueves Santo* (ABNB 1325, 18 November 1834), a *Lamentación del Viernes Santo* (ABNB 1322, 30 March 1833), and a *Pasión del Martes Santo* (ABNB 1350/5, 7 November 1834). Interestingly, too, all of these are works for the Holy Week, the same period of the year Alzedo used to show his own talents in Santiago in 1847 and 1848, as I will discuss in chapter 4.

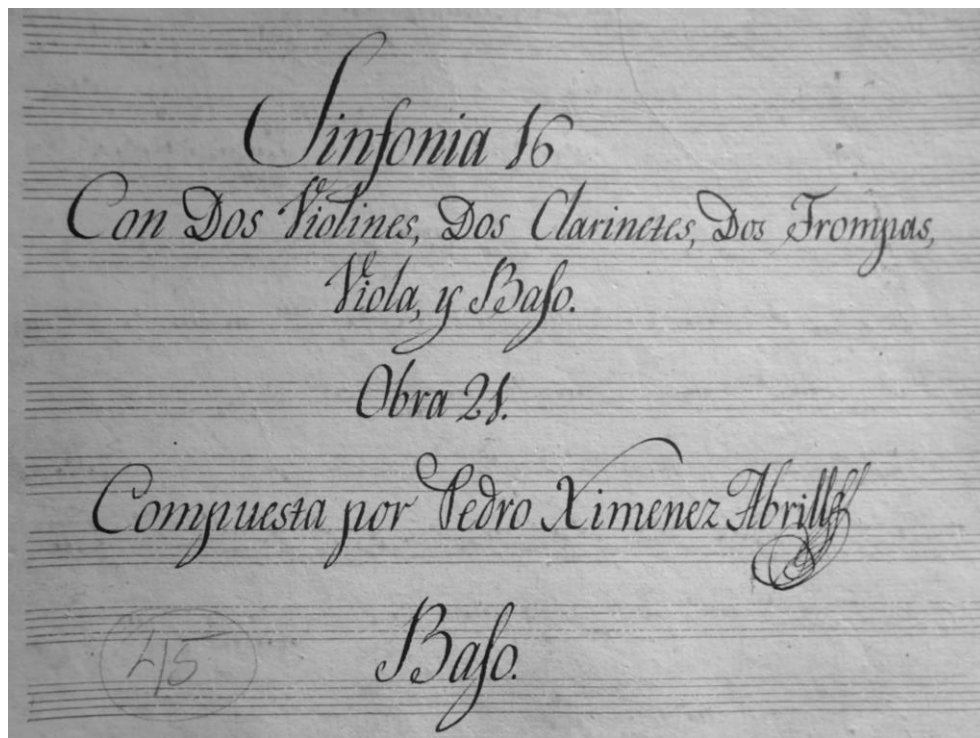


Figure 11: Symphony no.16, Cover of the Bass part, ABAS PXAT68.

The listing of opus ends with Symphony no.39, op.75, since Symphony no.40 has no opus number. As can be seen in Table 1, there are certain important continuities in opus numbers, not broken by other pieces, that could help us in dating these works: the longest almost continuous trend of symphonies is between Symphony no.20⁵² and Symphony no.30,⁵³ with eleven symphonies being situated inside seventeen opus numbers (op.28 to op.44), which only leaves us with six other pieces to fill the gaps: two of them must surely be the missing Symphonies no.21 and 25, and we also know about two quintets (op.37 and 38)⁵⁴ and the *Divertimiento* op.43. Thus, it was a period (either short or long) when the composer mostly dedicated himself to symphonic writing. The next opus numbers after no.30 are mostly comprised of chamber pieces (quartets, divertimenti), until we get to symphony no.33 (op.62), starting from which

⁵² Symphony no.19 is a strange case, since it gives op.30 as opus number, which would be larger than symphony no.20 (op.28) and no.21 (op.29). Perhaps a mistake?

⁵³ Symphony no.29 as op.39, the same one as no.27 (op.39), which probably is a mistake of the copyist who made the bass part and cover, which are not in the hand of Ximénez.

⁵⁴ ABNB 1356 and 1358. Strangely, too, Quinteto VII, which should be earlier than these two (V and VI) has the opus number 24. Again, this leads me to think that opus numbers were added to many pieces in a later moment, and retrospectively.

we have another strong continuity of five works, followed by a gap until symphony no.38 (op.73), and 39 (op.74).

This might sound convoluted, but it helps us towards understanding various things. I believe that groups of symphonies were written probably in close temporal relation to each other (see, for example, similarities in style and numbering between Symphonies no.16 and no.18). Also, for some reason, Ximénez almost stopped writing symphonies at one point in his life to dedicate himself totally to chamber music. When could that have been? Perhaps an explanation could be found in the *Academia de Música* that Manuel Bañón started in Lima in the early 1830s, an institution that sustained both private education and a series of monthly instrumental concerts.⁵⁵ Chamber music was the centre of those concerts, rather than solo or orchestral works, and at least one piece by Ximénez is listed in one of the few programs that appeared in the newspapers.⁵⁶

It was a quartet with flute, which is probably one of those that he grouped as op.47 or op.57, and both numbers would situate the piece in that “gap” between the symphonies. We also know that a string quintet by him was played in 1836 in Lima,⁵⁷ and only three quintets mentioned in his list survive: op.24, op.37 and op.38. Even if we take the earliest quintet into account, half of his symphonies would have been composed already, and by op.38 we are already in the terrain of Symphony no.27. Even if the opus numbers were settled later in his life, or if the pieces are not exactly contemporary, it all leads to the idea that many of these works were already there before the early 1830s, and thus definitely during his life in Arequipa.

This might also explain why the later symphonies (the last eight) are instrumentally different from the previous ones. There are five big groups of instrumentation that dominate a certain period with shared similarities: from no.7 to

⁵⁵ It was announced for the first time in the new *El Mercurio*, Lima, 16 March 1830.

⁵⁶ *El Mercurio*, Lima, 16 July 1831, and 2 August 1831.

⁵⁷ Néstor Guestrin, *La guitarra en la música sudamericana*. Free pdf eBook by the author: <http://www.geocities.ws/nestorguestrin/sudamer/guitsuda.pdf> (Accessed 19 February, 2015), 23-24. He does not give exact dates for this reference. I still have not been able to find it in the newspapers myself, but I do not have any reason to mistrust the account of Guestrin.

10, from 22 to 26, from 27 to 31 (or 32), then from 33 to 37 and, finally, from 38 to 40. It is tempting to think that the differences between the instrumentation of the symphonies might relate to specific periods in the music-making conditions in which Ximénez worked, and thus probably related to specific available musicians. Symphony no.28, for example, was copied by a certain M.M. Basagoitia. The Basagoitia family lived in Arequipa, descendants of captain Narciso Basagoitia, a Spanish soldier. Narciso was commander of the battle of Huamanga,⁵⁸ and his children were born in Arequipa, contemporaries of Ximénez, among which there is one Manuel Mariano, the probable copyist. Symphony no.28, also, is dedicated (the same as Symphonies no.27 and no.29) to a certain Juan Rodríguez. A *Te Deum* by Juan Rodríguez survives in the ABNB collection, dating from 1816.⁵⁹

By themselves, these pieces of information might not amount to much, but the ways in which they interrelate give an increasingly more secure perspective about their relations and relation of groups of works to either Arequipa or Sucre. To this, we must add the fact that the works change stylistically over time. I believe that four different stylistic periods can be perceived in Ximénez's symphonies. The first one applies to the very early symphonies, where there is almost no independence for the middle strings (viola and second violin), and melodic and formal ideas put Ximénez closer to Cambini than the later "classical" style. With Symphony no.11, a *concertante* symphony, some changes start to appear, specifically in that said *concertante* features come often in various movements, with contrasts between solo instruments, including the winds. These features do appear often in the symphonies of the "tens".

Around the early "twenties" (symphony 20 to 24), Ximénez starts to adopt more evidently "classical" features of the Viennese school, including rondos with variations, longer development sections with more harmonic variety, and more contrasting "main" subjects in the exposition of the first movement. After Symphony no.33, the orchestra he uses grows bigger, leading to a less chamber-like sound in his last five or

⁵⁸ Andrés García Camba, *Memorias del General García Camba para la historia de las armas españolas en el Perú. 1809-1821* (Madrid: Editorial América, 1916), 202.

⁵⁹ ABNB 1162.

six symphonies, with more explicit influences from Beethoven (Symphony nos. 36 and 39) and particularly from Rossini (nos. 38 and 40), showing these symphonies as probably being written in the 1830s and 40s, and thus in Sucre. In fact, if my suggestions are correct, and most of Ximénez's symphonies were written during his life in Arequipa, this is highly significant, because it leads us to ask the key question: Why did he compose them?

I believe that his symphonies might have served a specific role in his efforts in being recognised as a *letrado*, a lettered member of that post-colonial *criollo* society to which he belonged. Perhaps there is an echo of this in the *Academia Lauretana* itself: to be a member, it was mandatory to present a public lecture on a preferred subject at least once a year, "whether in arts or science that would lead to the audience's enlightenment".⁶⁰ Naturally, orators were expected to use the methodical structures of classical rhetoric, basic to contemporary education. While Ximénez might not have participated in such talks, perhaps his symphonies served as a correlate: formal discourses grounded in "classical" patterns of form and rhetoric, but in music. Symphonies that follow these lines are, ultimately, somewhat standardised formal discourses that allow their authors to show prowess in theory and rhetoric,⁶¹ in their ability to communicate effectively, while also publicly playing with their audiences' expectations of creativity and ingenuity in an agreeable and modern manner.⁶²

3.3. Appropriating the symphony

Latin American symphonies have not been given much attention by scholars, mentioned in histories of local music mainly for their value as milestones of local "high

⁶⁰ Ballón, Galdós, Quirós, *Academia Lauretana de Ciencias y Artes*, 281 (art. 8 of the regulations).

⁶¹ The relation between musical form -particularly sonata form- and rhetoric in the sense of classical oratory and discourse has been much explored in recent times. For the case of late eighteenth-century repertoires and debates, probably the most exhaustive and relevant account is that by Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991). See particularly chapter 2 from page 90 to 131.

⁶² For such an approach to the European classical symphony, see Melanie Lowe's *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), particularly chapter 2, "The Immediacy of Structural Understanding".

culture". Given the lack of sources, the general notion has been that Latin American composers were not interested in symphonic writing, and Juan Francisco Sans has spoken about the "historic absence of sonata form [and related genres] in Latin America during the nineteenth century".⁶³ Indeed, with the exception of Ximénez's *oeuvre* (which was only recently rediscovered), the surviving multi-movement symphonic repertoire of the nineteenth century consists of a handful of isolated works: three symphonies by José Eulalio Samayoa (1781 - 1866) in Guatemala;⁶⁴ four fragmentary symphonies by José Escolástico Andrino (c.1817 - 1862) between Guatemala and El Salvador;⁶⁵ three *concertante* symphonies attributed to Manuel José Gomes (1792 - 1868) in Brazil;⁶⁶ two complete symphonies by Juan Meserón (1779 - 1859) in Venezuela,⁶⁷ and two others by José Lorenzo Montero (? - 1857) working in that same country.⁶⁸

All these symphonies show certain common features: orchestrations are similar (again, mostly one or two pairs of woodwinds plus horns on top of strings), percussion instruments are extremely rare, and the scores seem to have circulated only locally, and only in manuscript. However, their most obvious shared aspect is that they all sound and look much more "classical" than romantic; closer to Pleyel and Haydn than Spohr, Mendelssohn or even Beethoven, for works that were written around the 1830s. This has surprised some of those who have considered them; Coralys Arismendi, for example, wrote with surprise about how Montero's symphony from 1833 sounded

⁶³ Juan Francisco Sans, "Sonata y trivialidad en América Latina", *Revista Musical de Venezuela* 37 (1998), 140.

⁶⁴ Juan Andrés de Gandarias, *José Eulalio Samayoa. Sinfonía Cívica - Sinfonía Histórica* (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 2014).

⁶⁵ Igor de Gandarias Iriarte, *Escritos de José Escolástico Andrino (1817?-1862). Pedagogía, periodismo, crítica e historia musical centroamericana en el Siglo XIX* (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, 2007).

⁶⁶ For a discussion on the attribution of these symphonies, see Daniel Santos Bortolossi "As sinfonias concertantes atribuídas a Manuel José Gomes" (MA diss. Sao Paulo: Universidade de Sao Paulo, 2007).

⁶⁷ Juan de Dios López Maya, "El primer movimiento de la Sinfonía N°5 de Juan Meserón: Una forma sonata ortodoxa en el repertorio sinfónico venezolano", *Musicaenclave* 5/1 (2011).

⁶⁸ Coralys Arismendi Noguera, "Sinfonía N°4 en Sol mayor de José Lorenzo Montero, edición crítica" (BA diss. Caracas: Universidad Nacional Experimental de las Artes, 2009). Other possibilities are less certain, like the symphonies -mostly overtures- of Francisco José Debali in Uruguay, and symphonies we only know existed thanks to information in newspapers from the period.

more like Schubert's early symphonies than anything being written in Europe by that date.⁶⁹ The music -as is also the case of Ximénez- sounds more "old-fashioned" to us than it probably did for Ximénez's own contemporaries. Audiences, in fact, seem to have been rather more conservative about the genre; for example, a newspaper in Sucre discussed in 1833 that Beethoven's music was "too convoluted", in comparison with that of Haydn or Mozart.⁷⁰

But using concepts like belatedness might not be the most effective way of understanding why these symphonies were composed in this way, or how were they appreciated locally. There is, of course, nothing neutral about using the style of Haydn as the stylistical framework for symphonies composed in Latin America in the first half of the nineteenth century. My contention is that Haydn -and the style he represented- had become a symbol by this period, one that could be read (especially in the decades surrounding Independence) as modern, cosmopolitan and enlightened, with all that those concepts implied. As an article in the *El Argos de Chile* mentioned in 1818: "music, poetry and singing have a direct influence on the moral organisation of individuals [...] Hayden and Pleyel, [creating] the orchestra, imitating Apollo's Lyre, have painted the noble passions of the heart and dissolved bad feelings through colourful symmetries".⁷¹

There are many examples of the ways in which this symbolic image of Haydn was built through the Americas during this period. One of the earliest was a discussion on the merits of Mexican composer José Miguel Aldana (1758 - 1810).⁷² Aldana had gained a job as conductor and violinist of various orchestras in the capital, including that of the Teatro Coliseo in Mexico City and of some academies that worked as early philharmonic societies, with public concerts (as the one in the Palacio de Minería). One

⁶⁹ Arismendi, "Sinfonía N°4 en Sol mayor", XXXII.

⁷⁰ *El Boliviano*, Sucre, 24 August 1834.

⁷¹ *El Argos de Chile*, Santiago, 3 September 1818, "La música, la poesía y el canto tiene un influjo directo sobre la organización moral de los individuos [...] Hayden y Pleyel [creando] la Orquesta, é imitando los acentos de la Lira de Apolo, pintaron las nobles pasiones del corazón y afearon las malas con coloridos simétricos".

⁷² Mauricio Hernández. "José Manuel Aldana: Hacia un nuevo panorama del siglo XVIII", *Revista Heterofonía* 125 (2001), 9-30.

of his symphonies was being sold in the bookstore of Fernández de Jáuregui that I discussed in the previous chapter. In 1806 the *Diario de México*, the officially approved local newspaper, sustained a discussion on modern music and the situation in it of Mexican composers. In it, Aldana was directly compared to Pleyel, which raised an answer from one of the editors of the newspaper:

No one can deny the primacy in composition of the incomparable Haydn: perhaps someone could give a second place in instrumental music to his disciple Pleyel, and in the vocal to Paisiello. Nevertheless, [it is fair to ask]: What *American* composers do we have? The chapelmasters in both Mexico [City] and Puebla are *Europeans*. On the other hand, it could be said of Aldana that he is another Pleyel and, why not, perhaps even the American Haydn, since we do not know of any other composers better than Aldana. Perhaps there are some, but we have not heard their compositions.⁷³

Based on this quote, to sound like Haydn, and to be considered in relative terms to him, was thought as important for a composer, and Haydn's value -both statistic and symbolic- shaped the notion of the style in relation to instrumental music, and its meanings for local audiences. If we come back to Ximénez's symphonies -but this could also be said of the works of previously mentioned Latin American composers-, it is music that is not European, but that is shaped by the values of Europeaness associated with the genre. To contemporary Latin American audiences, to listen to them was to partake of the broader cosmopolitan culture of which the so-called "classical" style was an important part. This is even more evident when we compare Ximénez's symphonies with his *divertimientos*, a genre that does not share the same cultural weight, and might even be considered as disruptive of some of those values.

⁷³ See the *Diario de México*, 18 Novembre 1806, followed by the response on 16 December 1806 and 17 December of the same year: "Ningún inteligente ha quitado la primacia de la composicion al incomparable Haydn: el que mas ha dado el segundo lugar en la parte instrumental a su discipulo Pleyel, y en la vocal a Paisiello. Ahora bien ¿que compositores *americanos* tenemos? Los maestros de capilla de México y de Pueblo son *Europeos*. Por otra parte no se ha dicho que otro Pleyel, y acaso podria quejarse de que no se dijese que era el Haydn americano, porque no sabemos que haya otros compositor americano, mejor que Aldana. Podrá haberlo; pero no hemos oído sus producciones.

In Ximénez's *divertimientos*, local elements, songs and rhythms appear frequently, but not in his symphonies.

I would therefore argue that Ximénez's symphonies are essentially white-*criollo* products that prevail as a sonic extension of Europe at a time when such projections were deemed necessary by an elite that wanted to gain emancipation, while retaining hegemonic control over local populations and culture. In this sense, Ximénez is different from Alzedo in that Ximénez belonged to that elite, and felt distinctly comfortable in it, its assumptions and discourses. He does not have to "prove" himself, but instead has to learn how to situate his discourse inside that cultural place. The fact that he composed so many symphonies could be ascribed to their positive acceptance by his local contemporaries, to an audience that understood them. Following Nadia Altschul's terms, Ximénez's symphonies are the sonic result of an Occidentalist attitude, where a Peruvian composer felt comfortable writing music that signified its Europeanness, but was not necessarily European. At the same time, they are showpieces of art, talent, science and craft, signs of a *catedrático* of an expert in a certain subject.

However, as in any act of appropriation and cultural transfer, Ximénez's symphonies tend to show that there are multiple possibilities in the way the genre is re-signified in his own Arequipenian context, reshaping slightly the chronologies and aesthetic assumptions of style usually accepted for comparative European examples. For example, consider Ximénez's Symphony no.15: it is formed of four movements and termed by Ximénez's himself as *concertante*. *Concertante* symphonies appeared in the 1770s in Paris as a new genre that enjoyed great popularity in the following decades, "especially designed to appeal to the Parisian taste via its lyric and graceful melodies and transparent musical texture", as Kyung-Eun Kim wrote in his dissertation on Jean-Baptiste Davaux's *symphonies concertante* (of which Ximénez possessed a handful).⁷⁴ *Symphonies concertantes* had in common the use of a modified

⁷⁴ Kim Kyung-Eun. "Jean-Baptiste Davaux and his Symphonies Concertantes" (Phd dissertation, University of Iowa, 2008), 16. A printed copy of these pieces is extant in the Cathedral archive in Sucre, now in the Archivo Nacional. Música 315, *A Second sett of two Concerto Symphonies...* R. Davaux, Opera

ritornello structure in the first movement and an explicit alternation of solo and tutti passages.⁷⁵ They have been likened superficially to the old *concerto grosso*, since the *symphonie concertante* “places the solo group at the forefront, assigning to it most of the important thematic material, and often extended cadenzas, while usually relegating the orchestra to a primarily accompanying function”.⁷⁶ This meant that a continuous flow of melodies became more important than motivic development, giving the *symphonie concertante* a particularly characteristic feeling. The genre was mostly developed by French composers and most of those *symphonies concertantes* that were composed by musicians from other nations (like Mozart’s), were written with Parisian audiences in mind.⁷⁷

The first movement of Ximénez’s Symphony no.15, *Concertante* (Example 7, p.392), shares many characteristics with those written in the 1780s and 1790s by Davaux and his French contemporaries, including the formal development of its first movement which, as I mentioned above, consists of a series of tuttis (most commonly four) interpolated with solos, especially for the first violin. The general structure of the movement can be seen in the following table (Table 2):

Table 2: Symphony no.15, first movement structure								
Adagio	Ritorn. 1	Solo 1	Ritorn. 2	Solo 2	Development?	Ritorn. 1’	Solo 1’	Ritorn. 2’
1	35	59	113	156	179	268	309	343
e - G	e	e - G	G	G	E - unstable	e	e	e

VII, London, printed for W. Napier. Two symphonies and a symphonie concertante by Pleyel survive in the same archive, all of them printed in Paris, ABNB 385-387, and might have been owned by Ximénez (they come from the Cathedral collection). Other pieces present in Ximénez’s collection are Beethoven’s String Quartet op.127 [ABNB 1488], six quintets and six trios by Giovanni Cambini [1494 and 1497], Haydn’s *Seven Words* for two voices and orchestra [1498], the overture to *Ginevra di Scotia* by Simon Mayr [1493], some arias by Verdi [1491,95] and guitar pieces by Sor [1496].

⁷⁵ Kyung-Eun, “Jean-Baptiste Davaux”, 31.

⁷⁶ Barry S. Brook and Jean Gribenski. “Symphonie Concertante.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27252> (Accessed March 10, 2015).

⁷⁷ Barry S. Brook, “Symphonie Concertante”.

Ximénez follows various aspects that are typical of Davaux's procedures, including the four-tutti structure and the fact that the third tutti serves as the beginning of the recapitulation.⁷⁸ However, there are also important differences, some of them quite radical and intriguing. For example, instead of the traditional melodic prolongation of the second solo, the violin is stopped by an unexpected three-bar outburst of the full orchestra in bar 176 (Example 7, p.409), which is followed by a much more Viennese-style development section, where the original *ritornello* theme that had appeared in bar 35 is transformed in various ways. This section, which is not part of the style or structure of Davaux's examples, comprises 89 bars of the total 373 of the Allegro, which is a quarter of the total movement (not counting the adagio introduction). Another aspect that seems strange in Ximénez's symphony no.15 in comparison with European examples, is that it is written in the minor mode: from the total of 570 works in the *concertante* genre written between 1767 and 1830 in Europe, according to Barry Brook, only two or three were not written in a major key.⁷⁹ It is also written in four movements, instead of the most common two or three (as is the case, for example, with José Lorenzo Montero's *sinfonia concertante* from Caracas⁸⁰ and those attributed to Manuel José Gómes in Brazil).⁸¹

Ximénez's Symphony no.15, then, must be understood as introducing an interesting duality. It is framed within very specific European influences, in this case Parisian, which probably would have been meaningful to Arequipenian audiences interested in everything related to Paris. But Ximénez also went beyond those models, to imprint his own ideas on the genre, and his own voice, creating a translation of the *symphonie concertante* for the Andean region. In the words of *El Semanario de Bolivia* in 1833, a composer should go always beyond only "precision" and "beautiful melodies":

⁷⁸ Kyung-Eun, "Jean-Baptiste Davaux", 85.

⁷⁹ In fact, only around 2-5% of classical symphonies were written in the minor, in strong contrast to Ximénez output. Barry S. Brook, "Symphonie Concertante".

⁸⁰ I must thank Juan Francisco Sans for access to a live recording of the piece.

⁸¹ See Bortolossi, "As sinfonias concertantes atribuídas a Manuel José Gomes".

Imitators only gain ephemeral advantages in front of men of great talent. When the revolution in taste comes, as always happens in an art as vague as music, [...] all those reputations fall into oblivion. Among contemporary composers, however, we can count first the American Pedro Jimenes Tirado, whose inventions have anticipated their time, and whose glory is going to be even grander in a hundred years. No one denies that Weigl and Winter had talent: but both were only imitators of Mozart and their music only worked while he was a model.⁸²

3.4. Collective meanings

The difficulties of understanding how meaning works in the classical symphony, and how it was listened to by its audiences, has been addressed extensively in recent years, and I can reiterate Melanie Lowe's opinion that "representations of human affections in eighteenth-century music [...] should not be considered extra-musical meanings, for just as musical meaning at the time could not be 'pure', neither could it be 'extra'".⁸³ Meaning is, thus, given by "the constructions of *individual* members of [an] interpretative community",⁸⁴ which, however cosmopolitan the genre, was necessarily local, as Haydn learned both in London and Paris, for example. So, while we can understand the implications of the classical style, and Ximénez's use and transformation of it, in the broader context of the Occidentalism of certain Andean urban communities, we must also appreciate that his symphonies must have covered other possible meanings for an audience that was, necessarily, different from the idealised European listeners it implies or conveys.

⁸² *El Semanario de Bolivia*, 19 de marzo de 1833, "ventajas efimeras que les hacen aparecer como hombres de verdadero talento. Llega cuando menos se espera la revolucion en el gusto, como sucede siempre en un arte tan vago como la música, que es susceptible de modificaciones, tanto mas cuanto que su objeto es indeterminado; y entonces, todas ese reputacoines brillantes caen en el olvido para no mas recordarse. Entre los compositores modernos podemos contar por el primero al americano Pedro Jimenes Tirado, cuyas invenciones se han anticipado en el tiempo, y cuya gloria será tal vez mayor dentro de cien años. Nadie niega que Weigl y Winter tenían talento: ambos fueron imitadores de Mozart y prosperaron mientras estaba en moda su modelo"

⁸³ Melanie Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 13.

⁸⁴ Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 20.

In this regard, we have an intriguing source from Ximénez himself on the possible meanings of various “cues” in his music; again, understanding meaning as the interpretation individuals give to something inside a broader community. The piece, which survives complete, is titled *Diez Numeros de Musica* or “Ten Musical Numbers” (Example 8, p.434),⁸⁵ and is composed for the usual “base” instrumentation of his symphonies: two violins, two clarinets, two horns, viola and bass. It consists of ten numbered pieces of radical brevity: the longest one is comprised of thirty bars, while the shortest is only four bars long. We have no explanation for what was intended here, and the excerpts do not seem to serve any special purpose. One possibility is that they could have been used as fragmentary sections for spoken theatre, but given their structure and arrangement, I am more inclined to think they are some sort of “catalogue” of examples: a pedagogical tool (and not the only one that can be found among Ximénez’s papers).⁸⁶ I consider it, in other words, as a catalogue of affects, expressions and the most essential characters to be portrayed in instrumental format: *Magestuoso, Adagio, Presto, Andante Magestuoso, Largo Afectuoso, Allegro, Adagio Grave, Marcha, Adagio Lento, Adagio con Sordina*.

The score would not be of much interest if it were not for the fact that the same models also appear repeatedly in his symphonies. Some movements in the symphonies are clearly derived of only one of these “schemes”, but others take a handful of them, using the models in contrasting fashion. Some of the descriptions are surprising in terms of what they could “mean”: for example, no.4, the “Andante Magestuoso” (Example 8, p.437), behaves mostly in a pastoral way, and thus conceives the “pastoral” perhaps in a more “majestic” religious way (as the fields to which we will arrive when returned to God).⁸⁷ Perhaps it is the religious character of the pastoral that is here intended, more than the secular “untroubled countryside” that is more

⁸⁵ ABAS PXAT05.

⁸⁶ When I catalogued Ximénez’s collection in the ABAS archive, in agreement with the director Avelina Espada I left all the loose educational material in the collection, mostly for piano and guitar, on the folder ABAS PXAT23.

⁸⁷ See a similar interpretation by Diósnio Machado Neto of José Maurício Nunes Garcia’s use of the *pastoral* style in his Masses in this period in Brazil, in “A Commedia na Música Religiosa: Kyries como Ouvertures em Tres Missas de José Maurício Nunes Garcia”, *Revista Brasileira de Música* 29/1 (2016), 154.

common in the classical symphony.⁸⁸ Some other “numbers” of his selection surprise not because of their description, but because of the consistency with which they are applied through the symphonies. Take for example no.1, “Magestuoso”, which appears repeatedly as opening model for his symphonies (Figure 12):

The image displays a musical score for five staves, all in 4/4 time. The top staff is labeled 'Diez Números, no.01 (D major)' and begins with a *f* dynamic. The subsequent four staves are labeled 'Symphony no.14 - F major', 'Symphony no.27 - Eb major', 'Symphony no.38 - D major', and 'Symphony no.40 - D major', each beginning with a *f* dynamic. The score shows the initial measures of each piece, highlighting the 'Magestuoso' opening pattern. A bracket indicates '[2 bar omitted]' in the Symphony no.40 staff. The bottom staff features a *ff* dynamic at the beginning and a *p* dynamic later in the sequence.

Figure 12: Comparison of *Diez Números*, piece no.1, with beginnings of symphonies 14, 27, 38 and 40, all transposed to C major.

According to the “example” given by Ximénez, the beginnings of those symphonies should not only be read as “allegros”, but also as “majestic” in a more explicit way. This “Magestuoso no.1” is the second longest piece in the *Diez Números*, and is comprised of five different contrasting elements: in the example above, two different ones can be clearly perceived. A *forte* gesture stating the tonality is followed after a few bars by a *piano* sequence with repetitive notes in the strings and above that a simple melody in the woodwinds.⁸⁹ A similar idea can be seen in the “Adagio con Sordina” of *Diez Números* (Example 8, p.441). Here, there is a strong contrast between major and minor sections, which is also very common for most of Ximénez’s adagios in his symphonies. A very close comparison can be given, for example, with the second movement of Symphony no.27, which uses both a minor-major contrast in its main subject, as well as in various subtle figurations inside the movement itself.

⁸⁸ Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 182-183.

⁸⁹ A similar resource to the one discussed before in relation to his guitar sonata.

This reading of standardised “statements” is, however, mostly internal. Some other local meanings could have been constructed entirely in relation to context, without necessarily portraying music as “Peruvian” or “Latin American”. This is the case, I believe, in the use of minuets in Ximénez’s symphonies. In Ximénez’s minuets we rarely find the “abstraction” of the genre adopted in the European, particularly Viennese, classical symphony; there are no “canonic, fugal, or otherwise ‘learned’”⁹⁰ minuets, especially in the earlier symphonies. Ximénez’s minuets are always in two parts, with a first section that introduces one or two melodies (and is always repeated) and a second section that presents new ideas and, rarely, develops some of the previous ones. It seems likely, then, that Ximénez’s minuets would have been interpreted in a different way by contemporary audiences in Arequipa than by similar listeners in European cities, given that the minuet was still a popular elite dance in the Peruvian city.

In the late-colonial period it was widely believed by Peruvian upper classes that the minuet conveyed a different moral status from the “national” or “land” dances, the ones created by *mestizaje*, or either of African or Indigenous origin. In 1790, for example, an official in Lima considered that the minuet should be learned by everyone, because “by its own nature it has a gravity, a composure in which no immodesty [impudicia] is allowed”.⁹¹ José Hipólito Unanue (Arica, 1755 - Cañete, 1833), president of Peru between 1825 and 1826 after the departure of Simón Bolívar,⁹² in his book about weather in Lima, recommended the minuet as an essential exercise for the body: “the minuet has to be our favourite dance, because reuniting various circumstances, and distributing with grace and softness all our members in movement, resulting from its

⁹⁰ James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 331.

⁹¹ Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “La Plebe Ilustrada. El Pueblo en las Fronteras de la Razón”, in *Entre la retórica y la insurgencia: Las ideas y los movimientos sociales en los Andes, siglo XVIII*, ed. Charles Walker (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1995), 55.

⁹² His official title was “Presidente del Consejo de Gobierno del Perú”. Before that, in 1822 and 1823, he had been president of the parliament in charge of writing a constitution.

steps and regular actions, creates an agreeable body; and this body can without fatigue, with the help of music, continue in movement for some time".⁹³

In Arequipa, the minuet comes first in the list of favourite dances of the city drafted in 1816 by Antonio Pereyra y Ruiz,⁹⁴ and when Eugene de Sartiges visited the city in 1833, he was impressed to find people still dancing minuets, while, at the same time, Arequipenians could not understand why a Frenchmen could no longer dance the piece. Even more strikingly, according to him, people danced the waltz as if it were a minuet:

When the waltz started, and I tried to waltz in the German way, as it is danced across Europe, my companion, after three or four steps out of time, had to stop and declare that she had never heard of such a violent movement, which was impossible to follow. They started asking me many questions about how it was danced in Europe and a lady, with more courage than the rest, dared to follow me: we were not halfway through it when she had to stop, laughing. Everyone joined her; me too. Their waltz is indeed very slow.⁹⁵

This might explain why Ximénez instead of writing "learned" minuets in his late symphonies, or going into scherzos in the shadow of Beethoven, replaced them with waltzes, quite usable as dances themselves. Probably, the origin of some of Ximénez's symphonic minuets could have been found in original "salon" versions, meant for dancing, though I have not yet found evidence of this. However, the waltz from his Symphony no.38 is the same as waltz no.15⁹⁶ from his collection of waltzes for the piano, which was for dancing. The minuet, in Ximénez's symphonies, was not

⁹³ José Hipólito Unanue, *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima, y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en especial el hombre* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1815), 173. This is the second, extended edition. Interestingly, in the first edition (1806) this discussion about the minuet was not present. "Por esto debe el minuet ser nuestro bayle favorito, pues reuniendo estas circunstancias, y distribuyéndose con garbo y suavidad por todos los miembros el movimiento, que resulta de sus pasos y acciones acompasadas, dá gentileza al cuerpo, y éste puede sin cansancio, auxiliado de la música, continuarle por algún espacio de tiempo".

⁹⁴ Antonio Pereira, *Noticia histórica de Arequipa*, ed. Manuel Fernández (Tenerife: Ediciones Idea, 2009), 39.

⁹⁵ Eugene de Sartiges, "Arequipa" in *Imagen y leyenda de Arequipa*, ed. Edgardo Rivera Martínez (Lima: Manuel J Bustamante de la Fuente, 1996). 273-274.

⁹⁶ The Album is in the private collection of Sachiko Sakuma, in the city of La Paz, and the waltz can be found in page 21 of the album.

therefore transformed from an “aestheticized dance” into an increasingly more complex movement, scherzo or not,⁹⁷ but from one popular dance to another, a logical sequence that shows how much the relation between audiences and appropriation could transform creation in Latin America beyond obvious European influences.

3.5. “Court musician” in Sucre

Around 1832 Ximénez was asked by the then president of Bolivia Andrés de Santa Cruz to leave Arequipa to come and serve as chapelmaster in the Cathedral of the capital, Sucre -or Chuquisaca-, and to teach in both male and female public colleges there. It was a good chance for the composer, being then almost fifty years old and working almost solely by then as professor of music in the *Colejio de la Independencia*, which by early 1832 could barely sustain itself financially.⁹⁸ Even if Ximénez probably sustained himself through other economic activities, perhaps the allure of becoming chapelmaster of such a privileged and famous cathedral convinced him to move. Andrés de Santa Cruz was also by then considered one of the foremost Latin American politicians, especially after the untimely deaths of both Sucre and Bolívar.

Santa Cruz believed in transforming Bolivia into a modern nation fostered by intellectuals and big public expenses,⁹⁹ and of combining it with Peru into a larger “Andean” nation that could stand the power of Argentina and Brazil. Nevertheless, culture was always important for him, and at the end of his presidency he would declare as one of his primary legacies his cultural transformation of Bolivia, and “particularly [of] Chuquisaca [Sucre]”, through the creation of universities, schools and new professorships [*cátedras*].¹⁰⁰ In the words of Natalia Perea, “according to his

⁹⁷ I have not found a single “scherzo” written by Ximénez.

⁹⁸ Arturo Villegas Romero, *Un decenio de la historia de Arequipa 1830-1840* (Arequipa: Edición Fundación Gloria, 1985), 362.

⁹⁹ Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas y Culturales de La Paz, *La vida y obra del Mariscal Andrés Santa Cruz: Mesa redonda sobre la vida y la obra del Mariscal Andrés Santa Cruz* (La Paz: Casa Municipal de la Cultura “Franz Tamayo”, 197), 213.

¹⁰⁰ Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas y Culturales de La Paz, *La vida y obra del mariscal Andrés Santa Cruz*, 39-40.

supporters and even his enemies, management was one of Santa Cruz's greatest strengths. He was hands-on and kept abreast of all the major issues in the country [...] All the main cities were to have a university and schools for higher education, not only for boys, but also for girls. A national system of libraries was to be built", being particularly preoccupied for training people "in arts and sciences".¹⁰¹

I believe that Ximénez's status as a "symphonist" might have been key in Santa Cruz inviting him to Bolivia in this period. We do not know exactly how Santa Cruz contacted Ximénez,¹⁰² There might have been several ways by which they knew each other; for example, Santa Cruz went to Arequipa in 1829 during his journey to take the presidency of Bolivia, and he got married there to the Arequipenian Francisca Cernadas, staying with his in-laws for a few months. He could certainly have met Ximénez in the city that year, perhaps through Ximénez's relatives involved in local politics. Santa Cruz might even have attended one of his concerts, since he appears to have had an interest in music: he is mentioned as the first promoter of the philharmonic society that was created in Lima in 1827 -only two years before.¹⁰³ It could be, too, that Ximénez himself wrote to Santa Cruz when problems started to appear in the *Colejio de la Independencia* in 1832.

Whichever way the contact was made, Ximénez made a shattering arrival in Sucre. A few weeks before, Santa Cruz's personal secretary wrote to the Cathedral chapters and the directors of the local colleges to ask them to fire the current music teachers and chapelmaster, in order to make room for Ximénez, mentioning that the funding for the position was now going to come directly from Santa Cruz's own "discretionary funding".¹⁰⁴ Ximénez's monthly stipend was in fact astronomical for the time, including 1000 pesos from the Cathedral (500 more than the previous chapelmaster) and 500 pesos each from the *Colegio de Educandas* and the *Colegio Junín*,

¹⁰¹ Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, *The Caudillo of the Andes: Andrés de Santa Cruz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 119-120.

¹⁰² There is some contrasting information about this on Ximénez's obituary, and I have not been able to find any information that proves what is stated there. *La Nueva Era*, Chuquisaca, 25 June 1856.

¹⁰³ Carlos Raygada, *Guía Musical del Perú* (Lima: Revista Fénix, 1956), vol.2, 29.

¹⁰⁴ ABNB MI, T69, 10: f78-89; MI, T43, 16a: f1.

respectively the girls' and boys' schools, where most teachers were paid around 100 pesos. In the lists of official salaries of the city of 1833, Ximénez is the only teacher explicitly mentioned by name, and one of the few to be titled as *catedrático de música*, professor -and not teacher- of music.¹⁰⁵ Santa Cruz also paid directly for Ximénez's daughter's education.¹⁰⁶ Ximénez bought one of the most splendid houses in the centre of the city,¹⁰⁷ and during the 1830s lived a life that, most certainly, was grander than that of most chapelmasters and musicians in Latin America.

It is evident that Ximénez's entrance to Bolivia was, also, not solely as a chapelmaster or a simple musician, but as an admired intellectual. "An illustrious man in the school of Apollo and the Muses", the newspaper from La Paz *El Iris de la Paz* called him, recognising "his admirable and brilliant compositions, celebrated even in Europe".¹⁰⁸ Ximénez responded to the praise with the single letter, mentioned at the opening of this chapter, which is the only one we have authored by him.

I have seen in no.74 of your most esteemed newspaper an article titled "music": reading it I have felt for the first time emotions so soft and delicate, the ones that come from my gratitude and appreciation towards you, and the enlightened [*ilustrado*] people from La Paz, which is never going to be erased from my heart. Yes, dear Editor, I believe it is my sacred duty to give my thanks for the impassioned and just praise that, without merits, has been given to me by the heroic and enviable people from La Paz. Even before this, I had felt a strong inclination for the thousand titles which any town at the level of that of La Paz deserves. I, then, am happy to give my thanks for the first time to this fortunate country, being now closer: and I mean closer, because being here in Bolivia, I believe that from any place I will be able to fully consecrate myself to the progress of its illustrious children. So, please let me give here my eternal thanks to Bolivia. Since I crossed Desaguadero,¹⁰⁹ I have had the warmest reception, and the people have fought to have the preference of giving me gifts and praises. La Paz, Oruro, Potosí and even in the smallest cities I visited,

¹⁰⁵ ABNB AA1832-83, 231-32.

¹⁰⁶ ABNB MI, T65, 21, f.4-9.

¹⁰⁷ William Lofstrom, "Rescate de una valiosa obra musical de Chuquisaca", *Revista Cultural de la Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia* 40 (2006), 42.

¹⁰⁸ *El Iris de la Paz*, 17 March 1833: "un hombre ilustre en la escuela de Apolo y las Musas" [...] "podemos tener sus admirables y brillantes composiciones, esas composiciones ponderadas y aplaudidas en la misma Europa"

¹⁰⁹ A frontier town of Bolivia, which shows that Ximénez arrived by crossing the Titicaca from Arequipa, the route still most commonly used today to travel between Arequipa and La Paz.

everyone was kind to me and showed me how much the children of the great Bolívar want to foster the prestige of their nation.

I will end then, Mr. Editor, saying that if in all other places I was received with such kindness, in Chuquisaca, the capital of Bolivia, the patriot peoples of that city have not fallen behind. It is my satisfaction for me to see how far their charms can go. I am only sad at the idea that I cannot give back in the same way to everything that has been offered to me. Even more, it makes me sad to know I will never be able to compensate all the considerations and distinctions that His Excellency the president of Bolivia has given to me. This illustrious American, this Iris, the saviour of Bolivia, the first son of the Liberator, a Bolivian with no peer, so worthy of the admiration of the whole world and the eternal gratitude of the peoples of Bolivia, was the one who took me from my native country, and because of him I decided to come to Bolivia, to enjoy so many benefits. I sincerely hope, that my work will correspond itself with all the plans he had for my coming here! I hope, that providence will give still many years to live to this hero, life of Bolivia, the great Santa Cruz. I pray, dear Editor, that you will give a place in your respected periodical to this badly expressed, but sincere signs of my gratitude, and to admit the considerations and high esteem in which I have you. Your most sincere [...] Pedro Jimenez Abrill y Tirado".¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ *El Iris de la Paz*, 7 April 1833 (the letter is signed Chuquisaca, 27 March 1833). Given its importance, I have decided to copy it in full. Señor editor del Iris, / He visto en el N°74 de su apreciable periódico un artículo "música": su lectura me ha hecho sentir, por la primera vez, emociones tan suaves y agradables al mismo tiempo que una gratitud y reconocimiento hacia UU, y a ese ilustrado pueblo paceño, jamás se borraré de mi corazón. Si, señor Editor, creo un sagrado deber manifestar mi indecible reconocimiento por el exaltado, mas bien que justo elogio, con que sin mérito verdadero he merecido de ese, vuelvo a decir, heroico y envidiable pueblo paceño, a quien antes de ahora ya profesaba una fuerte e irresistible inclinación por mil y mil títulos, a que justamente es acreedor todo pueblo que se halle al nivel, o por mejor decir, con los atractivos del de La Paz. Yo, pues, protesto a ese afortunado país hacerle ver en primera oportunidad mas de cerca mi gratitud sin límites: he dicho mas de cerca, porque estando en Bolivia, creo que de cualquier punto podré también consagrarme al adelantamiento de sus ilustres hijos. Con este motivo séame permitido manifestar igualmente mi eterna gratitud a Bolivia. Desde que pisé el Desaguadero, todo fue para conmigo un agasajo, y parece que a porfía se disputaban la preferencia en considerarme y obsequiarme. La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, y aun los cantones que a mi tránsito recorrí, me colmaron de favores, y me hicieron ver cuan amantes son por el lustre de su patria los hijos del gran Bolívar. Concluiré, pues, señor Editor, asegurando que si en todos los lugares mencionados merecido tantas distinciones, en la capital de Bolivia, en Chuquisaca, en este pueblo patriota no lo han sido menos: todos, todos se han distinguido para conmigo en este respecto. Esta es una satisfacción para mí, que solo yo que la siento, se hasta donde alcanzan sus encantos. Mas solo me entristece una idea: no poder corresponder, cuando no con ventajas, al menos con igualdad a tantas bondades. Pero mucho mas me entristece la idea de no poder tampoco corresponder a las distinciones, consideraciones y particular esmero, con que la bondad de SE el Presidente de Bolivia se digna honrarme. Este ilustre americano, este iris, este salvador de Bolivia, este hijo primogénito del Libertador, este Boliviano sin igual, tan digno de la admiración del mundo y de la eterna gratitud de los bolivianos, es el que me arrancó de mi país natal, y por él vivo en Bolivia, y gozo de tantos beneficios. ¡Ojalá que mis trabajos y contracción correspondan a los objetos que él se propuso con mi venida! ¡Ojalá que la providencia dilate por mucho tiempo los años de la existencia de este héroe, vida de Bolivia, el gran Santa Cruz! Ruego, pues, a U. señor Editor, se digne dar un lugar en su apreciable periódico a estos mal expresados, pero

During his first months in the city of Sucre, he was mostly valued as professor and a learned artist. For the local newspaper, there was nothing but praise for the “great knowledge of the worthy professor [*digno catedrático*] señor don Pedro Jimenez Abril [...] His harmonic talent makes him unique among Americans”.¹¹¹ He was welcomed as a composer in the sense of a creative artist, with an artistic discourse of his own. Ximénez, it could be said, even behaved a bit “romantically” as an artist when, after only a few weeks in the capital, he asked the chapters of the Cathedral to remove him from participation in anything that “is insignificant or futile”, particularly “those acts that are just a formality”, because “only in that way will I be able to reconcile my hopes with the extent of my work”.¹¹²

Ximénez’s idea of himself as a composer with creative needs that are more important than his official duties, was confirmed by the chapters’ unreservedly positive answer in the last days of March that same year: “The licence is granted to the suppliant [to absent himself from those acts], with the condition that he keeps composing and organizing music for this Holy Church”.¹¹³ During his first year of 1833, he only had to attend 120 hours in the Cathedral; by contrast, the “honorary”

sinceros rasgos de mi gratitud, y admitir las consideraciones, y particular aprecio con que me suscribo de U. suyo-decidedo- obsecuente, y reconocido s.s.q.b.s.m. Pedro Jimenez Abrill y Tirado.

¹¹¹ *El Boliviano*, Sucre, 8 September 1833: “catedrático el señor don Pedro Jimenez Abril. [...] No concluiremos este artículo sin repetir que la adquisición del señor Abril ha sido sumamente ventajosa y se hace cada día mas grata para Bolivia. Su talento armonico le recomienda entre los Americanos, y la moralidad de sus costumbres le hace apreciar jeneralmente de todos los que conocen su honradez y dedicación”.

¹¹² ABAS V.19 Archivo del Cabildo, Sucre; 1833-1849, f.1. His petition was accepted in March 26. “Siendo de mi deber no perdonar medio alguno que de mi dependa para llenar cumplidamente los objetos del Gobierno, me es forzoso hacer presente a Vueseñoría Ilustrísima que para lograr este resultado necesito economizar las pocas horas del día aprovechándolas de un modo útil y ventajoso, y nó insignificante y sin fruto. Para esto me es de absoluta necesidad a mis circunstancias y a la insignificancia de las asistencias que en los días comunes y ordinarios tengo que hacer, en las que solo basta el subchante, se sirva relevarme de todas aquellas en qu mi concurrencia no es mas que un acto de pura fórmula. Solo así podre conciliar la estencion de mis tareas a las esperanzas. Esto no quiere decir que mi ánimo es econerarme absolutamente de aquel deber: nó Señor Ilustrísimo; yo protesto hacer cualquier esfuerzo para no dejar de concurrir cuantas veces puedas”.

¹¹³ ABAS V.19 Archivo del Cabildo, Sucre; 1833-1849, f.1. “Decreto. Pedro Gimenez Abrill y Tirado - [...] 26 de marzo de 1833. Se concede la licencia que se solicita, escepto los días de fiesta, primeras y segundas clases; con la condicion de que el suplicante componga y arregle los papeles de música”.

retired chapelmaster Julián Vargas,¹¹⁴ who was fired to give the post to Ximénez and who received only half the salary of the shining new composer, had to attend 364 hours during that same year, probably covering for all the minor occasions in which Ximénez simply did not want to participate.¹¹⁵

With such privileges, it is easy to perceive that Ximénez was not the usual chapelmaster, but a composer promoted and sponsored by Andrés de Santa Cruz for a very explicit official symbolic role. There were various other intellectuals who were offered a great opportunity and salary to reside in Bolivia during the government of Santa Cruz, on similar same terms as Ximénez. To take care of literature, Santa Cruz hired José Joaquín de Mora, a Spaniard who had started different educational ventures in Chile and Peru, later becoming Santa Cruz's personal secretary.¹¹⁶ Santa Cruz also promoted and sustained Amédée [Amadeo] Gras, a French painter and cellist who started an arts academy in Sucre in the 1830s.¹¹⁷ Also in 1833 Santa Cruz met in Potosí the well-known Spanish violin virtuoso and singer Pablo Rosquellas,¹¹⁸ who had left Buenos Aires some months before and was currently investing in mining companies. Santa Cruz supported Rosquellas in 1834 and not long afterwards the violinist established a dramatic society [*sociedad dramática*] that also gave concerts.

¹¹⁴ He was still being paid, and the title of *honorario* must have meant only a symbolic role, an "honorary member" of the chapel, perhaps as a way to keep him there.

¹¹⁵ ABAS V.19; Archivo del Cabildo, Sucre; 1833-1849, f.14, *apuntador de faltas* (1833).

¹¹⁶ For a modern account on Mora, see Virgilio Ibarz and Ramón León, "José Joaquín de Mora (1783-1864), un introductor de la escuela escocesa del sentido común en el Perú, Bolivia y España", *Revista de Historia de la Psicología* 30 (2009), 145-152. Still the most comprehensive account of his life is the one written by Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Don José Joaquín de Mora. Apuntes biográficos* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1888).

¹¹⁷ See Mario César Gras, *Amadeo Gras: Pintor y músico, su vida y su obra* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1942).

¹¹⁸ Pablo Rosquellas (1784-1859) was an exact contemporary of Ximénez, but with a largely different life. He worked for Charles IV in Madrid (as did many other members of his family) and later emigrated to England, as many other Spaniards did during the war. There he edited and performed many of his works, and in the 1810s he decided to depart towards Brazil, later moving to Buenos Aires. There has been an important amount of research on him, but mostly tangentially in larger accounts of musical life in Argentina or Bolivia. Two main accounts should be noted, the first by Vicente Gesualdo, *Pablo Rosquellas y los orígenes de la ópera en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Artes de América, 1962). The other is by Guy Bourligueux, "Un musicien madrilène à travers le nouveau monde", *Acta Hispanica* (1992), 183-197.

There were multiple connections between all these intellectual and artistic figures -Santa Cruz's "*letrado* court"-, a group that gave Sucre an air of cultural capital and cosmopolitanism during the 1830s. Among them, the closest connection seems to have been that between Rosquellas and Ximénez, who established a long friendship. Already the second concert Rosquellas organised in Sucre, in early February 1834, opened both its first and second parts with symphonies by "Pedro Tirado".¹¹⁹ The extremely virtuoso part of Ximénez's very late *Divertimiento* op.68 -a violin concerto in all but name-¹²⁰ certainly more difficult than any other violin part in previous works by Ximénez, might very well have been composed for Rosquellas, a well-known violin virtuoso who had worked in London many years before. The opus number fits, in fact, with those symphonies that, according to my exploratory chronology, would have been composed in Sucre, and the style of the violin part has similarities with Rosquellas's own violin concertos, published in the 1810s.¹²¹

According to Ximénez's obituary, when Rosquellas was still alive he was in constant contact with Ximénez: "since they met, Rosquellas has always been his admirer".¹²² According to other sources, Rosquellas used in his own private teachings the techniques and theories proposed by Ximénez.¹²³ During the 1840s Rosquellas established a modern "French-style" salon in his home, in which Ximénez probably participated, which could explain -partially- Ximénez's increased interest in piano music and salon songs in his very late years.¹²⁴ Together, then, one can picture that Ximénez and Rosquellas offered a symbol for the soundscape of Sucre in its best republican years, a powerful reminder of an era long gone. In a biography of Néstor

¹¹⁹ *El Boliviano*, Sucre, 9 February 1834.

¹²⁰ ABNB 1309.

¹²¹ Pablo Rosquellas, *Second Concerto for the Violin*, op.6 (British Library, SN 004622067).

¹²² *La Nueva Era*, Sucre, 25 June 1856.

¹²³ Harold Beizaga, *Aproximación histórico-musicológica a la obra musical de Pedro Ximenez Abrill y Tirado* (Private edition, kept in the volumes in the ABNB, BC16938), 21. The reference comes from Alfredo Jáuregui Rosquellas.

¹²⁴ Dating and classifying his more than 200 songs is still in process at this time. Many songs were composed in the 1830s and 1840s as far as I have seen, and would thus have been written when he was already in Sucre, but more research is necessary. Using the incipits from the texts, I'm trying to find the poets and when the poems were edited, which might help in dating the songs and other works by him.

Galindo, a politician and writer from Cochabamba, published in Buenos Aires in 1868, the writer situates the years surrounding 1840 with an image of “the members of the old *partido restaurador* [an elite party], in Sucre, with their wives and daughters, under the pleasant sounds of the symphonies written by Tirado and Rosquellas”.¹²⁵

Those symphonies, by then, were thus part of a melancholic past; but when composed, they served as the primary “business card” Ximénez used to construct his personal and professional status as a composer. In Arequipa through his connections with the *Academia* and, later, with the support of a strong president with almost monarchic powers like Santa Cruz, Ximénez built for himself what could be understood as the career of someone who tried to be heard as a modern, individual, and -perhaps primarily- learned composer. His status as a *catedrático* took primacy over his role as chapelmaster, which could then be used as a pragmatic platform, not destroying the perception of him as a composer of admired instrumental works. Arguably more than any other composer in Latin America, he managed through his status as *letrado* -from a creole elite- to be increasingly accepted as a professor of music -as a composer with knowledge and a discourse- and an artist in the modern-romantic sense, escaping, or at least transforming, the common determination of the musician as craftsman. His symphonies, and the perception built around him as a composer, meant that he was recognised mostly not because of his titles or position, but because of what his works meant to his generation, and particularly to the elites of the two “white” cities of the Andes, Sucre and Arequipa.

¹²⁵ *La Revista de Buenos Aires*, 6/68, December 1868, 500.

4. Opera: Disruption and Translation

It might be perhaps a surprise to learn that Andrés Bolognesi, the last colonial chapelmaster of Lima Cathedral, was not a composer. He assumed the job in 1807, after the death of Juan Beltrán, but documents show that during his time in the post (until 1823/24) he dedicated himself mostly to organising the old music, to importing new pieces, and, possibly to arranging some works, but not to serving as a composer. Given that composing music was traditionally the main task for chapelmasters, his election can only raise various questions, for which we do not have many answers. The process of his attainment of the job is rather obscure: we know that he was proposed by the president of the chapters,¹ and that no competition seems to have taken place, as was usual in all cathedrals.² It is probable that he was “desired” for the role not because of his abilities, but because of his symbolic status as an Italian, and thus expected to exert an influence like that of the chapelmasters who served a century before him.

Bolognesi’s real field of action as a musician seems to have been not the church, however, but the theatre. The theatre, as a musical scene, had become an increasingly important forum for cultural developments in Latin America during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the early years of the careers of both Alzedo and Ximénez, the theatre had become a central place for the reception and development of new music, and thus of sizeable influence. It was in the theatre, too, that the most disruptive European repertoire for the next generations would arrive in the decade surrounding independence: opera.

This chapter will discuss the different ways in which the theatre influenced musical developments during those decades in the region of Peru, and how it affected composers. Theatre and opera both opened and closed professional opportunities for local creators in the first half of the nineteenth century, shaping what could be expected of a professional music life beyond the influence of the churches. From the late-colonial repertoires of *comedias* and *tonadillas* to the operas of Cimarosa, Paisiello

¹ Cathedral chapters are the college of clerics that advise a bishop.

² Andrés Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima*, vol.2.I, 47.

and -most importantly- Rossini, the theatre as a venue and a symbolic space directly affected musical styles, but in multiple, non-linear ways. While the late colonial period allowed composers like Ximénez and Alzedo to gain a name through the theatre, or simply to write music to be performed in those stages, the same composers would be increasingly -actively and passively- impeded from writing opera in the decades after Independence. In many ways, the arrival of opera meant that a fracture appeared between what was perceived as cosmopolitan (and thus capable of being appropriated and co-created in a transatlantic way, as the instrumental music around 1800 had been) and what was constructed as explicitly European, and thus meant to create a cultural distance between creation and reception. To be reused, opera had therefore not only to be appropriated, but also translated into other creative fields and unexpected musical scenes.

4.1. Theatre, music and enlightenment in late-colonial Peru

Opera had fulfilled a ceremonial role in Peru since at least the early eighteenth century. The first opera known to have been composed in Latin America was created in Lima: Torrejón y Velasco's *La Púrpura de la Rosa* from 1701, of which various copies survive in the region.³ But there are radical differences between the operas from that period and those that arrived from Europe a hundred years later, and not only in obvious stylistic terms. Operas composed and/or performed in Lima during the eighteenth century were performed in a court context, mostly in the viceregal palace and sometimes later "shared" with the public as part of *fiestas* in squares, streets and other public spaces.⁴ This comprises what Juan Villegas has termed *teatralidades* or "theatralities", a concept that has become increasingly relevant in explaining the

³ It was composed in Lima, and first performed for the 18th birthday of Philip V. For an account of eighteenth-century opera in Peru in English (and a discussion of *La Púrpura de la Rosa*), see Chad M. Gasta's *Transatlantic Arias: Early Opera in Spain and the New World* (Madrid: Vervuert, 2013).

⁴ Much has been written about colonial fiestas and public performances and their role in the promotion of the colonial ideals and political-religious project. One of the key works in English is Alejandra Osorio's *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), especially chapter 4, "The Baroque Machinery of the Auto de Fé" (103-120).

colonial function of theatrical ceremonies.⁵ Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the squares and open public spaces were the key scenes for the performance not only of operas, but also of other equally meaningful events, like religious plays.⁶

However, in the second half of the century things started to change rapidly both in terms of the place theatrical performances held in colonial society, as well as in the way they were staged.⁷ In the case of Peru, much was transformed during the government of viceroy Manuel de Amat, from 1761 to 1776, who had very different ideas about the role of theatre and theatres (plays and venues), much closer to the current ideals of the Enlightenment. In this, he showed himself very much in line with growing concerns about necessary role of theatre for the communication of ideas in a more concentrated way, and its role not only as entertainment, but in explicitly fostering civilization and morally grounded citizens.⁸ With the expulsion of the Jesuits in the mid-1760s, the role of education had to be rethought across the colonies, and given the enormous lack of literacy in the population, viceroys like Amat reconsidered the theatre as a place for controlled inculcation of ideas to large numbers of people.⁹ Censorship and centralised election of pieces to be performed (as in much of Europe) was an important part of that “new theatre” and, in the words of Rolando Rojas, the selection of the pieces directly related to the idea of theatre being “considered the

⁵ Juan Villegas, *Historia multicultural del teatro y las teatralidades en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 2005).

⁶ For the case of Rio de Janeiro as an example of how new perceptions of public space and theatre affected local music, see Rogério Budasz’s chapter “Music, Authority and Civilization in Rio de Janeiro, 1763-1790”, in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 151-170.

⁷ While somewhat different to what transpired in Peru, much of what Rogério Budasz mentions in his *Teatro e música na América Portuguesa: Convenções, repertório, raca, gênero e poder* (Curitiba: DeArtes UFPR, 2008) is relevant for those interested in this period just before the one I’m studying. In particular, the discussions of the relation between theatricalities and power (140-179) are of importance to the broader Latin American region in multiple ways.

⁸ Rolando Rojas, *Tiempos de carnaval, el Ascenso de los popular a la cultura nacional, Lima 1822-1922* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005), 45-60.

⁹ Here the words of Budasz seem especially relevant: “[...] Theatre, and particularly musical theatre, legitimised as a school for civility and a thermometer [*indicador*] of civilization, is also transformed into an instrument of political propaganda after the arrival of the Court, celebrating the event not only as an entertainment, but as a heroic and intentional way of deploying European culture through the recreation of an Empire in America”. See Budasz, *Teatro e música na América Portuguesa*, 181.

privileged means to communicate specific ideas and values, and to educate the people into moral and civic ideas".¹⁰

Traditionally, Limenian historians have argued that Amat favoured the theatre not only because of his "enlightened" ideas, but primarily due to his infatuation with one of the most famous local actresses and singers: Micaela Villegas (1748 - 1819), best known to posterity as "La Perricholi".¹¹ But a single lover cannot explain the amount of interest the viceroy showed in rebuilding theatres, promoting attendance, and guarding order and quality from very early on.¹² Amat believed that music and plays had to be explicitly and publicly preferred over other forms of entertainment, like street performances, and bull and cock fighting.¹³ A set of internal rules drawn up in 1786 for the Coliseo, the main theatre in Lima, shows how much there was a preoccupation in giving to the public the best possible performances, going well beyond aesthetic preoccupations. For example, if singers did not like the roles they were given, and they did not perform, they could be arrested for up to eight days, and the same punishment was given to musicians who failed to attend rehearsals or performances with no previous warning. If they still caused problems, or did not attend "or study" their roles, they could even be imprisoned for a full day in an inquisition-style Clamp Room [*quarto del cepo*].¹⁴

However, as so often happens, such strict rules were probably written *because* performances were generally of really bad quality. Felipe Bauzá, who accompanied the Malaspina expedition that explored the Americas between 1789 and 1794, mentioned that the Coliseo in Lima was "big enough. There is order and tidiness, even

¹⁰ Rolando Rojas, "La república imaginada: representaciones culturales y discursos políticos en la independencia peruana (Lima, 1821-1822)" (MA diss. Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 2009), 58.

¹¹ Prosper Mérimée used the subject for his one-act *Le Carrosse du Saint-Sacrement*, which was later the basis for Jacques Offenbach's *La Périchole*. The subject was also used by Jean Renoir for his film *Le Carrosse d'or* from 1953, as well as in multiple Peruvian films, songs and plays.

¹² Ilana Lucía Aragón, "El teatro, los negocios y los amores: Micaela Villegas, 'La Perricholi'", in *El Virrey Amat y su tiempo*, ed. Carlos Pardo and Joseph Dager (Lima: I. Riva-Agüero, 2004), 368-369.

¹³ Estenssoro, "La Plebe Ilustrada: El Pueblo en las Fronteras de la Razón", 38.

¹⁴ Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el Virreinato* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas, 1945), 599.

if members of the audience do not stop smoking during performances; sets are ordinary, and actors quite mediocre [*bastante regulares*]. Mostly, the pieces performed are comedies about magic and saints, that people celebrate enthusiastically".¹⁵

The Coliseo in Lima itself did not change much in the next decades, and we can imagine it through the descriptions of travellers in the period after independence.¹⁶ Basil Hall (1788 - 1844), a Scottish naval officer who visited Lima in 1820, attended the Coliseo in multiple occasions and described it in some detail:

[The Coliseo in Lima is] of a rather singular form; being a long oval, the stage occupying the greater part of one side, by which means the front boxes were brought close to the actors. The audience in the pit was composed exclusively of men, and that in the galleries of women [...] the intermediate space was divided into several rows of private boxes. [/] Between the acts, the Viceroy retires to the back seat of his box, which being taken as a signal that he may be considered as absent, every man in the pit draws forth his steel and flint, lights his cigar, and puffs away vigorously, in order to make the most of his time; for when the curtain rises, and the Viceroy again comes forward, there can no longer be any smoking, consistent with Spanish etiquette [...] The Viceroy's presence or absence, however, produces no change in the gallery aloft, where the goddesses keep up an unceasing fire during the whole evening.¹⁷

In charge of the Coliseo for most of the second half of the eighteenth century was a European composer, the Italian Bartolomé Massa (Nove Ligure, 1721 - Lima, 1799). An interesting figure who is in serious need of more study,¹⁸ Massa seems to have arrived from Europe to Buenos Aires around the 1750s, where he stayed for around a decade, working in the local theatre and composing music for some plays. Around

¹⁵ Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima*, 530.

¹⁶ Robert Burford and William Smyth, *Description of a View of the City of Lima, and Surrounding Country, Now Exhibiting at the Panorama, Liecester Square: Painted by Robert Burford, from Drawings Taken in 1834, by Lieut. W. Smyth, R.n.* (London: T. Brettell, 1836), 7.

¹⁷ Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal: Written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820* (London: A. Constable and Co., 1826), Vol.1, 108-109.

¹⁸ There is a lot of confusion about Massa, and even a recent survey of colonial cathedral music by Alfred Lemmon mentioned him as an Italian composer with only a musical presence in Latin American archives, not realising he was composing on American soil. See his "La música catedralicia en la América colonial" in *La Música en España en el Siglo XVIII*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 277.

1761 the theatre in Buenos Aires was closed by the local bishop, and Massa moved to Lima.¹⁹ At that time, we must remember, Buenos Aires was still part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. In his first contract in 1765 as administrator of the Coliseo, it is explicitly mentioned that apart from doing all types of administration he had the obligation to compose “music for all the representations of comedies, operas, and entertainments deemed necessary, as well as to teach all the actors, singers and performers the works and to be punctual”.²⁰

Massa’s surviving works are mostly *comedias*, or plays where spoken text is sometimes intercalated with songs and short musical numbers.²¹ His musical style does not differ much from what was being written by church composers around Lima in the 1780s, and he himself wrote some religious music (which might, or might not, have influenced the local works).²² In his theatrical pieces, he might be considered a bit more “gallant” in tone and instrumentation than in his religious works, perhaps acknowledging a different local tradition or a more modern sound for the theatre, but more research would be needed to discuss his style in greater depth. It could even be that his relationship to local musicians was not on the best footing.²³

Nevertheless, Massa’s stylistic influence does not seem to have marked a shock that would be remembered by later generations, like that of Roque Ceruti before him. Perhaps this was due to his style being so similar to current works arriving from Spain to the colonial theatres. *Tonadillas* and *comedias* were at the centre of contemporary

¹⁹ Ricardo Trecek, “Bartolomé Massa: Algunas Características de su Estilo Musical”, *Academia Musical de Indias*: <http://amusindias.free.fr/en/varios/tesisbm.php3> (Accessed 28 May 2016).

²⁰ Lohmann Villena, *El Arte Dramático en Lima*, 431.

²¹ One *opera* survives in the Biblioteca Nacional de España collection of eight of his works, *Primero es la Honra*, performed in Lima on Christmas day 1762 (MP/1744/1). The *comedias* (from 1767 to 1776) have been digitised and can be found in Biblioteca Digital Hispánica:

<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/Search.do?numfields=1&field1=autor&field1val=%22Massa%2c+Bartolom%c3%a9%22&field1Op=AND&docLikeThis=bdh0000169288&exact=on&advanced=true&pageSize=30&language=es&fillForm=false&showBack=true&visor=> (Accessed 5 June 2016).

²² Some of his religious works, including a Mass, survive in the archive of the Catedral de Santiago de Chile (ACS). The Mass is the only complete work, with number ACS 86.

²³ Toribio del Campo, in his *Carta sobre la Música*, wrote a strong criticism of “a certain instrumental musician who arrived in this Kingdom under the title of businessmen, and who had had no intention of communicating the rules of the way his instrument is played” (*Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 16 February 1792). Is he thinking here, perhaps, of Massa, who was still alive? As suggested by Rogerio Budasz, this could also be referring to Domenico Sacomano.

theatrical repertoire, and while composing “operas” is mentioned in Massa’s contract of 1765,²⁴ there is not a single opera mentioned in the inventory of the theatre from 1773.²⁵ Furthermore, operas are not mentioned in the list of the works played in the Coliseo compiled by Guillermo Lohmann Villena (still the best source on the subject); nor in the contract of a singer from 1793, in which only *tonadillas* and *zarzuelas* are mentioned as part of the mandatory repertoire.²⁶ The opera, as a genre, did not play a prominent role in this period of Peruvian theatre, and even in the larger Spanish context it would be on the verge of disappearing by the 1790s. In 1799 the King had cancelled all new performances of “Italian theatre” (i.e. opera) in Madrid, a rule that was expanded in 1801 to “all the realms”, mainly on consideration of the growing economic crisis and the enormous costs opera presented over other forms of official entertainment.²⁷

While this was not entirely observed, it set a precedent. Opera does not seem to have made an appearance in the colonial theatres in the 1810s, even if audiences and musicians probably knew of its contemporary public importance back in Europe. When opera arrived in the colonies, staged and in foreign languages, sung in a different way to how actors performed *tonadillas* and *comedias*, it usually shocked audiences. In Lima, the scale of the shock can be traced thanks to the parallel appearance of the first public newspapers in the 1810s. Andrés Bolognesi, the aforementioned chapelmaster, organized a few seasons of opera from 1812 to 1814. Performances consisted mostly of works by Cimarosa (for example, *Il Matrimonio Segreto*) and Paisiello (*Il Barbiere*). Bolognesi, who was regarded by Limenians as someone who had “been born in the gardens of Europe, in the delicious Italy, where

²⁴ It could be, as Rogério Budasz’ suggests, that *opera* is here conceived as simply a tragic or comic drama including some musical numbers, and thus not enormously different from a *comedia*. In fact, Massa’s surviving work titled *opera*, mentioned before, seems to also convey the same idea. See Budasz “Opera and Musical Theater in Eighteenth-Century Brazil: A Survey of Early Studies and New Sources”, *Studi Musicali* 35:1 (2006), 216.

²⁵ Lohmann Villena, *El Arte Dramático en Lima*, 467.

²⁶ Lohmann Villena, *El Arte Dramático en Lima*, 523.

²⁷ See Adela Presas, “La opereta versus la ópera: Nuevos repertorios de teatro musical francés en Madrid (1799-1820)”, in Begoña Lolo and Adela Presas (ed.) *Cantos de guerra y paz: La música en las independencias iberoamericanas (1800-1840)* (Universidad Autónoma Ediciones, 2015), 202.

only the most harmonious music sounds in every place”,²⁸ wanted to give the local audiences a taste of what “contemporary” Italian music sounded like.

These performances appear to have been not a handful of isolated operatic numbers, but staged performances, in Italian, that appeared on the Limenian theatre while *comedias* and *tonadillas* were still the core repertoire of the Coliseo. Opera, in contrast, was something new; something different from the traditions inherited from colonial times, and from the scores that arrived through transatlantic commerce. It was a revolutionary style in an age of revolutions, and one that -at least for Limenians- was perceived as foreign not only because of the way it was written, but also because it sounded so different: performances were sung in Italian, performed by Italian singers: Pietro Angelelli and Carolina Griffoni,²⁹ who worked alongside successful local actors, like the famous *tonadilla* star Rosa Merino. One can only imagine how, in contrast to Blas de Laserna,³⁰ or the music of the various churches, something like the overture to Paisiello’s *Il Barbiere* might have sounded to those Limenians, with its dramatic dynamic changes, virtuoso lyrical voices and new orchestral colours that were rarely found in the usual *tonadillas*.

It is important to note that, on the one hand, opera appeared at a time in which current views on the “civilising” value of theatre were perhaps even more prominent than before, thanks to the circulation of newspapers. Certainly, newspapers maintained the current views on theatre: the newspaper *El Peruano*, one of the first to be published in late colonial times, dedicated an important part of its fourth issue to the problem of theatre: “Nothing gives a better idea of the level of enlightenment of a nation than its theatre: it is the infallible compass of culture”.³¹ For the *El Investigador del Perú*, in 1813, “the theatre is one of the most essential parts of what constitutes

²⁸ Barbacci, *Apuntes para un diccionario*, 430.

²⁹ Carolina Griffoni was born in Florence and Angelelli in Rome, both sang in Europe before moving to the Americas. I thank Benjamin Walton for this piece of information.

³⁰ Blas de Laserna (1751-1816) was the most prominent Spanish composer of *tonadillas* around 1800, and who was most deeply admired and circulated across the Atlantic.

³¹ *El Peruano*, Lima, 17 September 1811. “Nada da una idea mas segura de la ilustracion de un pueblo que el teatro: es la infalible brújula de un estadista en la investigacion de su cultura”.

civility and culture in big capitals: it is a school for behaviour, language and healthy morals".³²

On the other hand, however, opera brought with itself new ways of listening and understanding the way stage and audience must relate to each other in the theatre. As reports in the local newspaper *El Investigador* show, opera was evidently accepted -or rejected- in direct comparison with the earlier repertory of the theatre: the old styles of *tonadilla* and *comedias*. According to one anonymous writer in 1813, those that did not understand opera "must start civilising their ears, to understand this delicate, refined music". The writer continues in more practical terms: "Three things are needed to appreciate it, in my opinion: 1. To be extremely attentive [...], in silence; a profound silence has to reign in the temple of Apollo; 2. To understand music a little [*mediano oído y gusto músico*], which is only possible by getting rid of the old tonadillas, guaraguas and old musics, and studying the modern [*actuales*] operas, not neglecting the instrumental parts; 3. To learn beforehand what is going to be sung, which can be done by asking those with knowledge [...] I do not understand a word of Italian, but after listening twice to an aria I can understand more or less what it is about".³³

Opera took the previous ideals, but expanded them, and -according to those promoting it- not only demanded more of its audiences, but it also delivered more, because it "civilised" ears in a more abstract way. That dual aspect of opera as being a sign of civilization (European and modern), as well as revolutionary (or a sign of the new republican times), would become a key factor in its reception in the region over

³² *El Investigador del Perú*, 3 June 1814. "el teatro es una de las partes mas esenciales que constituyen la civilidad y cultura de las grandes capitales: es la escuela de las costumbres, del idioma y de la sana moral"

³³ *El Investigador*, Lima, 12 July 1813. Italics are as in the original. "Procuren por su bien civilizar sus orejas é irlas desasnando poco á poco, á fuerza de acostumbrarse á oír la fina y delicada música [...] Para admirar y gustar sus delicias no se necesitan mas que tres cosas en mi opinión: 1. Prestar una suma atención en el teatro quando se va á la opera: esto se consigue con el silencio: un silencio profundo, profundísimo debe reynar en el templo de Apolo. 2. Tener un mediano oiro y gusto músicos, que se adquieren desprendiéndose de las antiguas tonadillas, guaraguas, y otras ranciedades músicas, y asistiendo con estudio y afición á las actuales operas, sin perder ápice de la parte instrumentalmente: 3. Prevenirse con una regular inteligencia de lo que se canta, lo qual se logra preguntando á los que entienden, ó poniendo mucha atención: yo no sé palabra de italiano, y no obstante á las dos veces que oigo una aria la entiendo poco mas ó menos".

the decades to come. Opera would transform the role of the theatre in Latin America during the nineteenth century, and deeply affect the ways in which local music authors understood what composing for the theatre meant.

4.2. Writing music for the Peruvian stage³⁴

But I should not get ahead of myself. In this context, in which opera was still walking its first “modern” steps in Latin America, *tonadillas* and *comedias* still reigned, and the theatre was in constant need of new pieces that were attractive to local audiences. It was a period in which local composition for the theatre was still meaningful, relevant, and even a career choice. As seen previously, during the years of Massa, the theatre originally needed local composers, and was thus a practical venue for professionals in search of presenting music, even if one that was not as desirable nor as stable as the church. *Comedias* and *tonadillas*, while customarily imported in manuscripts from Spain, were genres that, like opera buffa, were based on local customs, ideas, language and, in some cases, local musical traditions. *Comedias* were larger plays with a handful of songs (rarely more than a handful), while *tonadillas* were extremely short fully sung plays (some not even 10 minutes long). They attracted both learned and illiterate audiences, thus serving perfectly as the musical echo of what viceroys like Manuel de Amat believed the theatre should be.

Tonadillas were unique: they had been developed in Madrid and were enormously successful in the second half of the eighteenth century in Spain and its colonies. They have been studied extensively, starting with the seminal work of José Subirá and, more recently, particularly by Begoña Lolo³⁵ and Elisabeth Le Guin.³⁶ They usually depicted contemporary social life, relevant political and cultural discussions,

³⁴ Some ideas that appear in this sub-chapter were published in my paper “El Militar Retirado de Pedro Jiménez de Abrill (Arequipa, 1784-Sucre, 1856): Una tonadilla inédita en el Perú Independiente”, *Diagonal* 1/2 (2016), winner of the Otto Mayer Serra Award 2015.

³⁵ Begoña Lolo, “La tonadilla escénica, ese género maldito”, *Revista de Musicología* vol.25/2 (2002), 439-469.

³⁶ Elisabeth Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

and their musical language itself was consciously constructed to remain popular, attractive and of an explicit immediacy that became central to the genre.³⁷ However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, *tonadillas* had started to become less fashionable in Spain. They had become longer, more developed -particularly after the innovations of Blas de Laserna in the 1790s- and musically intricate, imitation of opera, from which they could no longer successfully remain separate. However, *tonadilla* scores were sent to the colonies after being used in Spain, and they remained successful in America well into the 1830s.³⁸

Sadly, not many musical sources have survived of theatrical life in the Americas in this period. We do know that composers worked in theatres and composed *tonadillas*, particularly around 1800. We know of other authors -though not many- writing *tonadillas*, like Juan Bautista Olivares in Caracas,³⁹ but only the scores by Ximénez appear to have survived.⁴⁰ Another possible candidate would be *El Macareno y la Maja*, kept in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú in Lima,⁴¹ which Robert Stevenson ascribes to José Rossi y Rubí.⁴² However, at least in the copy I saw in Lima -decades after Stevenson's work- there was no sign of an author in the various surviving parts. Some librettos created in America do survive, for example in Mexico, but not the musical parts as far as I know.⁴³

³⁷ It might be considered, perhaps, that *tonadillas* did not differ much from many Italian operas of the period. However, there are key differences: one is that the sung parts are much simpler; also that operas are much longer than *tonadillas*, which only consist -normally- of three short sections. Finally, considering reception, operas would have lost that immediacy that they had for Italian audiences when performed in Spain or the colonies.

³⁸ Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance*, 143.

³⁹ Alberto Calzavara, *Historia de la música en Venezuela: Periodo hispánico, con referencias al teatro y la danza* (Caracas: Fundación Pampero, 1987), 96.

⁴⁰ Some late *tonadillas* do appear in Caracas, perhaps because opera took time to get accepted there, and a proper theatre was only built by the 1840s, with little or no operatic performances before that. Montserrat Capelán has studied this repertoire in "Las reformas borbónicas y la música venezolana de finales de la colonia: El villancico, la tonadilla escénica y la canción patriótica" (PhD diss., Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), 322-391.

⁴¹ BNP MsMu, 7.1 T6 y T6_2.

⁴² Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: Organization of American States, 1970), 114.

⁴³ Vicente Mendoza y Virginia R.R. de Mendoza, *Estudio y clasificación de la música tradicional hispánica de Nuevo México* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1986), 373.

A handful of *tonadillas* and an example of music for a *comedia* have survived among the manuscripts of works composed by Pedro Ximénez Abrill. The problem, however, is that -as with many other pieces by him- there is no way to connect them to a specific time or place, and thus to guess why he wrote them. Nevertheless, by looking at various other sources and connections, it is possible to construct some hypotheses of why and when he wrote those pieces. The first aspect we must consider is that they most probably were composed before the early 1830s, when the love for opera had become so tremendous that theatres had all but stopped performing *tonadillas* in big Andean cities, and particularly in Lima. According to a document from that city's Coliseo in 1836, the enormous collection of *tonadillas* in the archive, valued at more than 8000 pesos, could not have been sold for more than 200 pesos by then, since "they are never used any more".⁴⁴ The same document, in another section, also mentions that "the archive only has tonadillas, zarzuelas and Spanish operas, which today are of no use".⁴⁵ The idea of the repertoire being "Spanish" might have been relevant in a context of increasing patriotism and nationalism, even for Lima; and one in which the new Italian opera might have been central in assuming a new post-independence aesthetic. The previous works contained music that committed, according to a Limenian newspaper of the period, "the sin of being Spanish".⁴⁶

The progressive dismissal of the genre can also be perceived by the fact that in his catalogue of the late 1840s, Pedro Ximénez includes only one of his four *tonadillas*, and nothing else for the stage, as if it was music that did not have any utility or could not be sold.⁴⁷ So, he must certainly have composed them years before, and there are also some aspects in them that might indicate a certain connection with Lima, rather than Arequipa. Before the 1830s, Arequipa would have been a poor option as a place to perform large theatrical pieces, since the city did not have a theatre until 1833, the

⁴⁴ Pablo Macera, *Presentación y selección documental. Teatro peruano, siglo XIX* (Lima: Fuentes de Historia Social Americana, 1991), 3.

⁴⁵ Macera, *Presentación y selección documental*, 2.

⁴⁶ Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima*, 252.

⁴⁷ ABNB 1353.

same year Ximénez left it to go to Sucre.⁴⁸ Perhaps this also explains the fact that newspapers of the period show that people had to be specifically hired for certain “theatrical” private or public events;⁴⁹ or that amateurs are the ones usually shown performing in the city, normally in the hall of the hospital.⁵⁰ Lima, however, had a tradition of staged performances; Ximénez, in fact, might have even attended the opera performances organised by Bolognesi in the 1810s, since the trip between Arequipa and Lima was not an uncommon one to make for rich *criollos* of the southern city. In fact, we know that his Arequipenian friend Mariano Melgar attended some of the opera performances in 1813, and even published a little poem in the newspaper in praise of soprano Carolina Griffoni.⁵¹

While we do not have documents that explicitly show Ximénez’s presence in Lima, we have various sources to confirm his close relationship with Bolognesi himself, which might date from those years, since Bolognesi only moved to Arequipa in 1823. The Limenian chapelmaster fell in love with an Arequipenian lady, Juana Cervantes, and they got married in 1814. With independence, and the difficult economic and social situation in Lima, they decided to move to Arequipa, and lived there for the rest of their lives. Ximénez was a good friend of the family: when Andrés Bolognesi was in Lima organising some concerts, and his wife had to prove urgently that Francisco Bolognesi -who later became a national hero of Peru- was indeed their son, she called for Pedro Ximénez as one of the close friends to confirm it.⁵²

The other important connection is a musical one, since in Ximénez’s collection we can also find scores that might link him to operatic events in the 1810s in Lima. For example, there is a score of an undated and anonymous opera, without title, that includes a short song in praise of the liberation of Spain from the claws of Napoleon,

⁴⁸ The theatre still exists, known as “Fénix”, and the street was known in late colonial times as *Calle de Comedias*, implying that a previous theatre had existed, but was not there from 1800 to 1833.

⁴⁹ *El Republicano*, Arequipa, 3 February 1827.

⁵⁰ *El Republicano*, Arequipa, 26 December 1826.

⁵¹ Aurelio Miró Quezada, *Historia y leyenda de Mariano Melgar* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la UNMSM, 1998), 140-141. The original poem can be found in *El Investigador*, Lima, 2 October 1813.

⁵² Fortunato Turpo Choquehuanca *El coronel Bolognesi* (Arequipa: Editorial UNSA, 2008), 95.

which situates it around 1814.⁵³ There is also in the archive in Sucre a *Misa a 4 y a 7* composed by José María Tirado⁵⁴ in Lima, in 1816, and dedicated to Andrés Bolognesi,⁵⁵ as well as other pieces from Alzedo⁵⁶ and Juan Rodríguez which are dated with the exact same year.⁵⁷ There are also interesting connections with the world of opera in other scores, by European composers: for example, a full scene from Pasquale Anfossi's 1775 *La Incognita Perseguitata*;⁵⁸ three numbers from operas by Giuseppe Farinelli (1809 *L'incognita*, 1812 *La Ginevra degli Almieri* and 1813 *Il Matrimonio per Concorso*);⁵⁹ and an unidentified duetto by Pietro Generali.⁶⁰

Perhaps even more interestingly, among Ximénez's music there are two *tonadillas* that do not have a front-page and are thus anonymous:⁶¹ one is titled *Los Negritos* ["Little black men", with evident imitations of African dialect] and the other - without title- is comprised of three vocal fragments for characters of a *tonadilla*,⁶² called "Viejo" [old man], "Tutor" and "Pupila" [female student].⁶³ In the case of *Los Negritos*, it is interesting to note that a *tonadilla* of the same name was performed in 1830 in Lima according to local newspapers,⁶⁴ and that a manuscript with that title was kept in the Coliseo of Lima according to the inventory of 1831.⁶⁵ On the same page of the inventory, and in the same category,⁶⁶ there is another one titled *La Pupila y el Tutor*, which might have been the same one that survives in Ximénez's collection. While I have not found any *tonadilla* titled anything like *Los Negritos* in Spain, there was one

⁵³ ABAS O08.

⁵⁴ I do not know who this José María Tirado might have been, but I have seen in more than one occasion sources of a JMT on this period, who might be the same person. Stevenson confounded him with Pedro Ximénez at least on one occasion. See Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Sources*, 130 and 251.

⁵⁵ ABNB 1187, originally from the collection of Sucre Cathedral which was transferred previously to the ABNB than the works of Ximénez were privately acquired.

⁵⁶ ABAS O01.

⁵⁷ ABNB 1449, which belonged to the collection of the Cathedral.

⁵⁸ ABAS O07.

⁵⁹ Respectively CAO B MV14, MV06 and MV07.

⁶⁰ ABNB 1490.

⁶¹ Ascribed to him in Seoane's catalogue.

⁶² ABNB, Música 1480, ABAS PXAT80, CAO B (Colección Andrés Orías Blüchner) MV12.

⁶³ Respectively ABNB, M1484 (Viejo); ABNB, M1461 (Pupila); ABNB, M1481, (Tutor).

⁶⁴ Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales*, 58. According to the *Mercurio Peruano*, the performance was on December 16 of that year.

⁶⁵ Macera, *Presentación y selección documental*, 82.

⁶⁶ The inventory separates *tonadillas* according to the number of voices required.

called *La Pupila, el tutor y el Viejo*, the libretto being kept in the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Spain, and sung at least once in the Teatro El Príncipe in 1790.⁶⁷ Perhaps Ximénez kept copies for himself (not in his handwriting) to use later, perhaps when there were enough resources in Arequipa, or just for his music library.

The idea that Ximénez might have composed his theatrical works for Lima is also reinforced by their orchestration. As with the manuscript for *Los Negritos*, all Ximénez's *tonadillas* -except one- and his single *comedia* titled *La Travesura* ["The mischief"] use an orchestra of 2 violins, viola, bass (two in the case of the *comedia* and *Los Negritos*), 2 woodwinds (clarinets) and 2 horns, the typical Limenian formation for the theatre of the period. *La Travesura* is written for four voices,⁶⁸ and it is clearly the music for a play. It does not comprise the full libretto, but only a series of relevant "numbers", in which various characters perform songs or musical sequences, like many others that survive in the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional in Peru.⁶⁹ There is a duo from the first act, and four numbers for the second act: an aria, two quartets, and a final chorus, all of them performed with the full orchestra. The voice parts are simple, and there are no complicated orchestral parts to follow, which confirms that it was probably meant for actors and not for professional singers.

The two *tonadillas* that share the same instrumentation with *La Travesura* and *Los Negritos* are *El Convenio*,⁷⁰ and *El Estudiante Pobrete*,⁷¹ of which only the first one is complete. The only *tonadilla* mentioned in Ximénez's own inventory,⁷² as I mentioned before, is the one titled *El Convenio*, squeezed in that list between an *Himno a San Pedro* and a *Duo para Santa Catalina*. If we look at the first number of *El Convenio* as an example [Example 9, p.444], Ximénez's *tonadillas* follow the same traits and features

⁶⁷ *La pupila, el Tutor y el Viejo* [Manuscript]: MSS/14065/62. It is worth noticing that this is the same plot as the *Barber of Seville*, albeit if in an abridged version.

⁶⁸ ABAS PXAT17.

⁶⁹ Take the interesting case of *El Preso o El Parecido*, which is kept in Lima (BNP, MsMu. 2.1F, 2.1Q, 2.1T), but was also printed in Madrid, and thus can be easily compared. See Eugenio de Tapia, *El Preso o El Parecido. Melodrama en un acto, traducido del frances por DET* (Madrid: Oficina de Benito García, 1800).

⁷⁰ ABNB 1411.

⁷¹ ABNB 1316 is only the bass part. In ABAS PXAT78 there are parts for two violins, two clarinets, two horns.

⁷² ABNB 1353.

of the Spanish examples of the genre, from its orchestration to the shape of the melodic lines; from the rapid changes between comedy and “tragedy”, to the very typical characters and stories they portray. He even follows certain elements from the “Spanishness” of the *tonadilla* sound in his own music, as in bar 41 for example, and even some Phrygian cadences play a role as in, for example, the violin part from bars 17 to 20. However, cosmopolitan gestures do coexist with the traditional sound worlds, like the “learned” harmonic progression at the end of the introduction (from bar 21 on) or the more explicit vocal cadenza in bar 47, which could be implying a specific type of singer, with certain technical knowledge, and thus might situate the *tonadilla* alongside or just after the efforts of Andrés Bolognesi’s Italian operas.

The manuscripts of Ximénez’s *tonadillas* have numbers written in each front-page, with *El Convenio* being no.1, *El Estudiante* no.3 and *El Militar Retirado*⁷³ being no.4. This last *tonadilla* is, certainly, the *rara avis* of the lot [Example 10, p.452]. In comparison with the others, its instrumentation is much simpler, being written for only two violins and a bass line. This might relate it to a different period, or perhaps to a different place (Arequipa instead of Lima). But the most radical difference comes from its central argument: it tells the story of a patriot soldier coming back home after the end of the Wars of Independence -thus, probably from 1825-,⁷⁴ who finds a shepherdess in the road. She is scared, since she believes the man is a royalist, who is coming home to take her cows, and tries to run away. He stops her, clarifies that he is a patriot, both rejoice and, after some comic relief, fall in love and he proposes marriage. The story is similar to that of many other *tonadillas*, but its entrenchment in the Wars of Independence, and thus effectively meant for a local audience, implies an important transformation. A genre that is known to be essentially Spanish, is used here as a political tool, transformed into the “local”, as the theatre was meant to be used by the identified with the characters in this plot.

⁷³ ABAS PXAT79.

⁷⁴ The battle that settled the Independence of Peru and South America was that of Ayacucho, on December 1824. The feeling of returning home and being freed of army service only makes sense for the Peruvian region after this battle.

But the connections are not only with characters, but perhaps also through the music itself. There is a short section (bars 133 to 141 of the score) that seems to reflect a song or dance of popular character, being written with a syncopation between 3/4 and 6/8. While there are many Spanish dances in *tonadillas* that use this feature (and it can be seen in the first number of *El Convenio* between bars 49 and 66, see Example 9, p.449), it seems that the dance-style song of *El Militar* is directly related to a genre of Arequipa. In his *Noticia Histórica de Arequipa* of 1816, Antonio Pereira Pacheco transcribes a series of songs from the region, and one of them, titled *El Moro*,⁷⁵ has a striking similarity with the piece in *El Militar*:



Figure 13: *El Moro* (top, transposed to E minor), and *El Militar Retirado*, (bottom, bars. 133 to 141).

The *tonadilla*, a Spanish genre of music *par excellence* in the period, and acknowledged as such, had become *criollo* with the decades, and thus being able to relate not only to Peruvians, but also to the fight for independence itself. In a way, *El Militar Retirado* seems to resemble that double-sided problem of assimilation of Latin Americans of the period, by which the colonial imposition of a genre had been appropriated and thus accepted as a sign of local identity. This problem confused foreigners who travelled in early Latin American republics; Basil Hall, who visited the region in 1820, complained in his journal: “The actors were the same, and the play the same, but everything else -dress, manners, language, were different”.⁷⁶ But the perception of locals was quite different; for Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, the great Peruvian intellectual, writing around 1840, everything had changed with the arrival of opera: “everyone was convinced that an aria of *Romeo* was more valuable than all the

⁷⁵ Antonio Pereira Pacheco, *Noticia histórica de Arequipa* (Tenerife, España: Ediciones Idea, 2009), 97.

⁷⁶ Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, 81.

huaraguas of Chepa Manteca [a popular singer]; that the trial of Crispo in *Fausta*⁷⁷ is better than the tonadilla of *El Corregidor* [...] in short, that Italian opera has to be preferred over our traditional criollo operas".⁷⁸ The *tonadilla*, in contrast with a new European sound, had gained its Peruvian citizenship, but at the same time lost its value under the new expectations raised by the appearance of modern opera.

4.3. The stage of Independence⁷⁹

Theatres were -and have always been- contested places. When in the previous quotation Felipe Pardo is talking about "everyone", or when newspapers discuss people in Lima appreciating opera or other theatrical genres, we have to remind ourselves that theatres were constantly changing, and those "peoples" were not necessarily the same in each period. With operatic influences, the theatre was becoming increasingly an upper-class business, but at least until the 1820s one can still find in it the traces of the ideas of viceroy Manuel de Amat: that the theatre was a place for education, primarily for those who had no other means to acquire the desired "civilising" education. Theatres captivated an audience that was already accustomed to be entertained, and used that to teach moral and civic ideas from a stage.

This model was certainly considered useful when the patriot armies entered Lima in 1821, under the leadership of José de San Martín; when all possible tools were needed to convince Peruvians in the most royalist of all South American cities of the importance, and theoretical and practical benefits, of independence.⁸⁰ As such, the stage of the local theatre remained a central tool for political communication in the 1820s, and one in which composers could play an active role. In Ximénez's *El Militar Retirado* this becomes rather explicit in a song that appears both in the first and the last

⁷⁷ Probaly referring to Donizetti's 1832 opera *Fausta*.

⁷⁸ Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, *Poesías y escritos en prosa de don Felipe Pardo* (Paris: A. Chaix et cie, 1869), 347.

⁷⁹ Some ideas discussed in this sub-chapter were published in a joint paper with Víctor Rondón titled "Las canciones patrióticas de José Bernardo Alzedo (1788-1878)", *Revista Musical Chilena* 68/222 (2014), 12-34, which includes ideas generated during my first year of the PhD.

⁸⁰ Jesús Cosamalón, "La unión de todos: Teatro y discurso político en la independencia, Lima 1820-21", *Revista Apuntes* 39 (1996), 135-136.

number of the *tonadilla*. It is a short, almost insignificant exclamation (in terms of music and textual material): “*Viva nuestra libertad, viva la noble igualdad*” [“Hail our liberty; hail noble equality”].

I believe that this song is used here as a slogan, and not only because of its repetitive element: the phrase can be easily perceived as a distilled patriotic song, a reminder of the multiple similar lyrics to which audiences would already have been accustomed by 1825, the most probable date of *El Militar*. For example, we can compare it to the -arguably- most influential of Latin American anthems: the one from Argentina,⁸¹ composed in 1813 as a national march with lyrics by Vicente López and music by the Catalan Blas Parera. As Bernardo Illari has suggested, this was an anthem built from and for the theatre, sharing the sound world of the *tonadilla* and the stages of the period.⁸² It was rapidly used as a model, and sung with the accompaniment of guitar by those in the army, as well as a popular song across South America. Its traces can be easily perceived in, for example, the first Chilean national anthem, from 1819, composed by Manuel Robles.⁸³

The Argentinian anthem begins by conveying a clear message, an “annunciation”, bordering between the political and the religious (as an inheritance of colonial culture): “Hear, mortals, the sacred cry: ‘Freedom, freedom, freedom’. Hear the sound of broken chains; see, in a throne, the noble equality crowned”.⁸⁴ It was a call, and the call was answered by patriots across the continent. Both key elements of this first few verses of the poem (the “noble” equality and freedom) are present, distilled, in Ximénez’s version. He was not unique in doing this. His cousin José María Corbacho, for example, published in 1824 the lyrics of a song which started “Liberty, liberty, liberty”, and then to praised “noble equality”.⁸⁵ What is ingenious in the work

⁸¹ Argentina itself did not exist by then, so the correct name of the country for which the anthem was written is United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

⁸² Bernardo Illari, “¿Una nueva y gloriosa nación?: Retórica y subjetividad en la *Marcha Patriótica Rioplatense* de 1813.”, *Latin American Music Review*, 36/1 (2015), 24-25.

⁸³ The anthem was used between 1819 and 1826, when it was changed to a new song created from the same lyrics by Spanish composer Ramón Carnicer.

⁸⁴ The text in Spanish says: “Oíd, mortales el grito sagrado / Libertad, libertad, libertad: / oíd el ruido de rotas cadenas, / ved en trono a la noble igualdad”.

⁸⁵ José Hipólito Herrera, *El álbum de Ayacucho* (Lima: A. Alfaro, 1862), 306.

of Ximénez, is that he uses the tripartite form of the *tonadilla* to build this call, this echo of a political cry, into a meaningful part of the piece. In *tonadillas*, as discussed before, to use elements from everyday life was one of the most important aspects, and by this period patriotic songs, projected from the stage, could easily be taken by people into the streets and the battlefields, as the fictitious character of *El Militar* did.

In the case of the works of José Bernardo Alzedo, it becomes even more obvious that to be a successful composer of patriotic songs in this period could be an important career choice, and one that could easily lead an unknown local artist to a certain fame. Alzedo, whom as I have already discussed was a friar, seems like a poor choice for a composer of the theatre, but there are sources which show that Alzedo had started to build connections with the theatre even before 1821, the year of his Peruvian national anthem. A score by him, *La Cifra*, is defined by Alzedo on the cover as the “introduction to an opera”, composed in 1816, and which now survives -interestingly- among Ximénez’s own library of music scores.⁸⁶ This piece is not acknowledged in any other source, by later Peruvian scholars or in Alzedo’s own *Filosofía*, and its existence came as an enormous surprise for me when organising Ximénez’s score collection in the ABAS archive in Sucre.

The front page of the manuscript reads: “Quinteto introducion / de la Opera titulada La Cifra: / con violines, viola, Flautas, trompas / violoncello y Bajo. Compuesto p.r / Fr. Bernardo Alcedo del SSmo. Sacramento / Año de 1816”, thus acknowledging that Alzedo was indeed composing it while a friar [Fr.], a member of the brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament.⁸⁷ It is an intriguing piece, since it is acknowledged as only the introduction of an opera, *La Cifra*, which corresponds to a homonymous work composed by Antonio Salieri, with libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte.⁸⁸ Alzedo does not use the original Italian libretto, but instead Luciano Comella’s translation into Spanish for the company of Luis Navarro in Madrid, published in 1799, and thus probably

⁸⁶ ABAS O01.

⁸⁷ The brotherhood of Santísimo Sacramento was important in Lima. It mostly comprised *pardos* linked to the Dominican convent, and Alzedo seems to have a close connection to it personally. His very late *Mass in F* is dedicated to this institution.

⁸⁸ First performed in Vienna in 1789, and popular in Germany and Austria until 1805.

considered it as more of a *comedia* than an opera in the “modern” sense.⁸⁹ Did Alzedo receive only the libretto or was also part of Salieri’s music transported to Lima? Was Alzedo just writing an introduction for another score, or is this the only part that has survived from a larger opera? It is difficult to say.

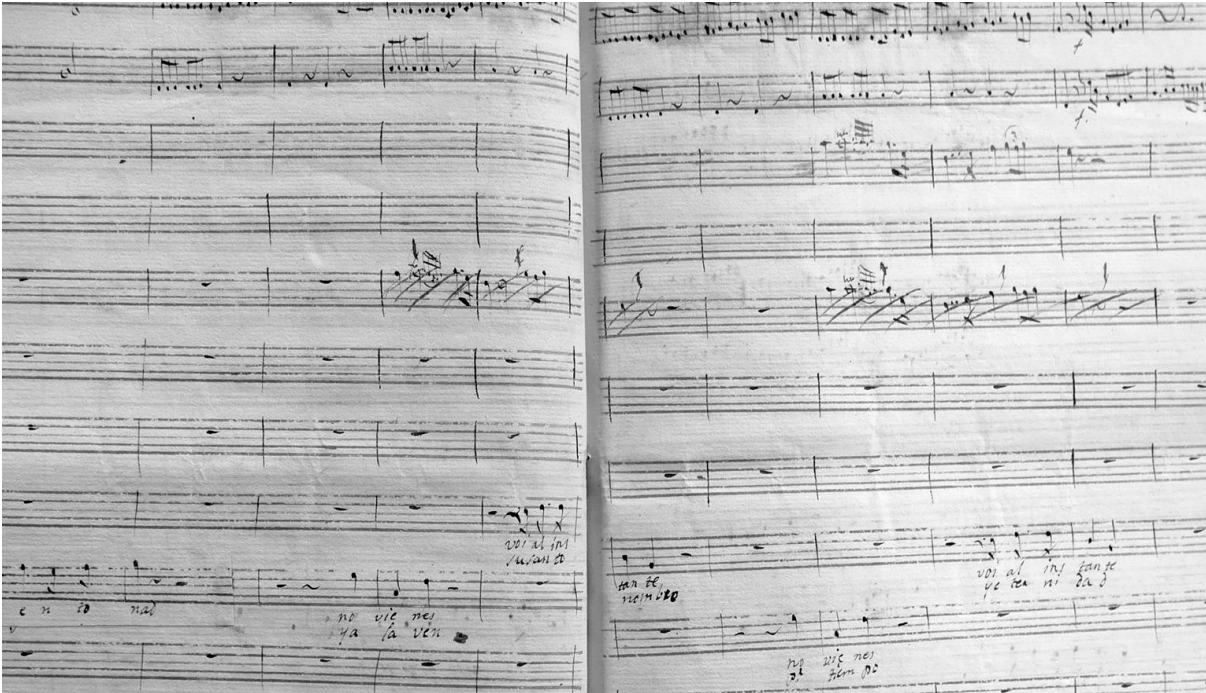


Figure 14, *La Cifra* by Alzedo, f20v, ABAS 001

Unlike most music from the period, the manuscript is written in full score, with the strings at the top, followed by two flutes, the voices, and then the bass. Horns and two extra flutes are written at the bottom in what is clearly a later addition. The music has a completely different character from that in Salieri’s style, and would not fit well with his opera, and while little cadenzas are included for the singers (see Example 11, p.465, b.56), the style is mostly syllabic, very close to what Alzedo was writing at that time for the church. Alzedo does not seem comfortable with writing the score, and the entire piece looks more like a sketch, with many instruments changed from place and multiple bars crossed out (Figure 15).

⁸⁹ Luciano Francisco Comella, *La Cifra. Ópera jocosa en dos actos arreglada del teatro italiano al español*. (Madrid: Oficina de Antonio y Josef Cruzado, 1799).

It is difficult to say, without its parts, if *La Cifra* was ever performed at all, but even if it wasn't, it shows how the possibilities of theatre, in the 1810s, might have affected a local composer, and even one who lived within the church. It could be seen as a relevant career or sporadic choice, and one that was independent from the sacred sphere. With the coming of Independence, Alzedo then started participating in the theatre more often. It was there that his life was transformed, when in 1821 Rosa Merino -the famous *tonadilla* singer of the 1810s and 20s- first performed his *Somos Libres* that would become the national anthem of Peru. The anthem entered a public competition, called -and perhaps judged- by José de San Martín himself, and announced by the *Gaceta del Gobierno* in Lima in 1821.⁹⁰ There are no signs that the anthem was ever officially selected as the winner of the competition, only as a temporary selection.⁹¹ Perhaps, this was because Alzedo would not have been the most "desirable" candidate to become an official composer in the views of the conservative Limenian elite, being a *pardo*, a black musician.

What seems most relevant in relation to the possibilities that the stage could have offered young composers during this period, is the fact that Alzedo did not only write one song for the theatre during these years (the national anthem), but apparently, an important number of others, of which at least two more survive. These songs were commonly performed in between acts, or as part of plays and operas, and the theatre was a way to project them to a wider audience, and it might be that Alzedo's songs took flight even without the full endorsement of the government. Perhaps as an extension of his success with the anthem, or in parallel to it, Alzedo created a series of successful pieces that were widely appreciated by local audiences, and which gave him enormous popularity. Perhaps the most popular one among the pieces he composed around these years, was *La Chicha* (Example 12, p.466),⁹² also performed for the first time by Rosa Merino. In the premiere the song was received with such

⁹⁰ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima*, 15 August 1821.

⁹¹ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima*, 13 April 1822.

⁹² BNP 8:10.

thunderous applause that the voice of the singer could not be heard.⁹³ It was, perhaps, Alzedo's greatest success, still popular in the 1860s, when he printed it;⁹⁴ in 1862 *El Comercio*, the main Limenian newspaper, praised Alzedo saying that "among his many inspirations, he gave birth to the sublime humorous song titled 'La Chicha', which still brings people into delirious frenzy [al colmo del frenesí]".⁹⁵

The song quickly entered the oral repertoire even beyond Lima, since the traveller Robert Proctor heard it sung by a man with a guitar in the small town of Cocoto, up in the Andes, transcribing its lyrics in his diary.⁹⁶ Interestingly, and perhaps unexpectedly, the lyrics are from the same author as those of the national anthem: José de la Torre Ugarte.⁹⁷ However, everything that in the anthem is high-spirited poetry, here is turned into the most local, simple and effective symbol of all: food.⁹⁸ *La Chicha* is a song praising Peruvian foods in opposition to Spanish ones, with a rhythm and strange melodic turns that must certainly be of local origin, or appealed to local audiences. It is the perfect popular counterpoint to the national anthem, being created for the same stage.

On the opposite side of *La Chicha* is *La Cora* (Example 13, p.468),⁹⁹ another theatrical song, that could have been created for one of the performances of this play in Lima during the 1820s. It tells the story of Alonso and Cora, the mythical couple of Jean-Francois Marmontel 1777 *Les Incas; ou, La destruction du Pérou*,¹⁰⁰ which became an enormous literary success around 1800. It was converted to opera by many Europeans in those decades, including Francesco Bianchi in 1786, Etienne Méhul in 1791, and

⁹³ *Correo Mercantil, Político y Literario*, Lima, 23 February 1822.

⁹⁴ It was printed by Mayence, "chez les fils de B. Schott", in Leipzig, N°19351, as "Canzoneta Peruana".

⁹⁵ *El Comercio*, Lima, 17 October 1862.

⁹⁶ Robert Proctor, *Narrative of a Journey across the Cordillera of the Andes, and of a Residence in Lima, and Other Parts of Peru, in the Years 1823 and 1824* (London: A. Constable & Co, 1825), 330-331.

⁹⁷ José de la Torre Ugarte y Alarcón Manrique (1786-1831) was an influential figure in the Peruvian politics of the period, and his one of the signets of the declaration of independence in July 1821.

⁹⁸ Chicha, for those who have not been lucky enough to drink it, is a fermented drink -usually from maize- common in the Andean región. In Peru it is made from different kinds of maize, but the most common is from the purple variety, called *chicha morada*.

⁹⁹ BNP 1:5.

¹⁰⁰ The original edition was published in 1777 (Paris: Lacombe); it was first reprinted in London in English in that same year, and has been frequently reedited since then.

Simon Mayr in 1803. Alzedo might have been influenced in his own version by the translation realised by the Limenian Spaniard Francisco de Cabello y Meza, printed in 1822. This edition made the story even more popular in Latin America, and General Antonio José de Sucre had a painting of the encounter of Alonso and Cora over his presidential desk in Bolivia. In this revision, the love history of the Inca princess and the Spanish conqueror was transformed into a symbol of the critical and destructive mixture of both worlds, a cataclysmic tragedy rather than the positive allegory of civilization that transpires in all the previously mentioned operas. Alzedo follows that “tragic” reading in his own music, expanding our notion of what the limits of a “patriotic song” are. From *tonadilla* to popular song, patriotic songs were a heterogenous medium that needed local artists, who -like Alzedo- might have realised how this repertoire offered a chance to make public name.

In *La Chicha*, *La Cora* and in his national anthem *Somos Libres*, multiple possibilities of depicting the “national” and communicating patriotic ideals are conveyed. Songs take elements of contemporary ideals and political beliefs, but are transformed by the theatre and their relation with mostly illiterate audiences (whether in depicting food or a pseudo-classical drama), using emotion and everyday elements to create connections between the new and the old. Their connection with current repertoires is evident, and they were performed not only before and after contemporary plays, but also as part of them. *La Chicha* even became part of other late *tonadillas*, probably not composed by Alzedo, and of some of the first patriotic plays of the 1820s, like *La Sajarla de Amancaes y Los Indios*.¹⁰¹ Music, and theatre, were essential for the ideological and cultural battles of the 1820s, as well as for the lives of contemporary composers.

¹⁰¹ See Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales*, 57 and Barbacci, *Apuntes para un diccionario*, 453.

4.4. Translating Rossini¹⁰²

Rossinian opera put an end to that successful participation of local composers in the theatre one can see in the 1810s and 1820s. Rossini became the most obvious symbol of a larger process of change, by which opera transformed local audiences and perceptions about the role of the theatre. From its late-colonial purpose of being a vessel to educate and civilise population (with reserved places for the “lower classes”, as travellers mentioned), opera in Latin America became a triumphal stage for the elite by the mid nineteenth century: a venue designed to portray a notion of Latin America that could be accepted as modern to the rest of the world, as well as embodying and showcasing a modern Europe for local audiences. By the 1850s, important sums of money were being invested across Latin America to build opera houses, sometimes before parliaments or other essential republican buildings -like parliaments- had been finished... or even started. The Teatro Municipal in Santiago (1857), the Theatro Provisorio of Rio de Janeiro (1852), the old Colón in Buenos Aires (1857) or the Solís in Montevideo (1856) are good examples, two of them still extant today (Montevideo and Santiago). To enter one of these theatres was to enter Europe, with marble columns and chandeliers directly imported from France or Italy, as were the singers, conductors and scores. These opera houses would become the central European projection in Latin American capitals.

It is impossible to set an exact date for the break between the old concept of theatre and the new way, defined by Italian opera. Certainly, some traces of that change can already be seen in the reception of the seasons Bolognesi conducted in the 1810s in Lima. As with him, it was the arrival of influential foreigners, especially after independence, that marked the idea of opera as “new”, foreign and modern. A similar reception can be seen for Marcos Portugal in Rio de Janeiro,¹⁰³ Giacomo Massoni in

¹⁰² Some ideas in this section were reworked as a paper and presented for debate in the conference *Music, Italinità and the Nineteenth-Century Global Imagination* in Cambridge, September 2016.

¹⁰³ Marcos Portugal (1762-1830), was the court composer of the King of Portugal in Lisbon and was called to Rio de Janeiro in 1811, where he performed both his own and new Italian operas, never to return to Europe.

Buenos Aires,¹⁰⁴ Isidora Zegers in Chile,¹⁰⁵ and Manuel García in México.¹⁰⁶ All of them would present the bel canto operatic sound as “new”: when Zegers arrived in Chile, according to José Zapiola, “she offered a real revolution in vocal music. And she did not come alone: she brought another novelty, the operas of Rossini”.¹⁰⁷ Hence, Bolognesi can be seen as part of a larger movement of importation of Italian opera as a model of modern Europeanness, mainly by Europeans in Latin America. By 1830, the change had become obvious, especially with the travels of the company of Teresa Schieronni and Domenico Pizzoni, which after visiting Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile, performed in Lima in 1831-1832. They left an “almost universal taste for Italian music”, in the words of William Ruschenberg, who lived in the city around that time.¹⁰⁸ The “rage” over opera meant that the old repertoires had been almost fully replaced by Italian opera, in most Spanish-American cities, by the 1830s or 1840s.

For composers, this must have created a shock. Local composers were not allowed as creators in the operatic theatre of Latin America, and until very late in the nineteenth century had no role to play. There would be almost no operas composed in South America during the nineteenth century, and in most cases when operas were composed they would be openly rejected, or never performed at all.¹⁰⁹ The repertoire of the theatre was fully taken over by European opera, with everything that implied. The “new” Latin American theatre, the one in which opera reigned, was inherently different. Zárate and Gruzinsky describe the nineteenth-century Latin American opera house as “a space for sociability with aristocratic pretensions, for the dissemination of

¹⁰⁴ Giacomo (or Santiago) Massoni (1798-1878) arrived in Buenos Aires in 1823, and was a key figure in the first performances there of operas by Rossini and Mozart, while later conducting an opera company in Lima.

¹⁰⁵ Isidora Zegers (1803-1869) had studied singing before moving to Chile alongside her family in the 1820s, where she promoted a philharmonic society and was the first one to sing and share Rossini.

¹⁰⁶ Manuel García (1775-1832) was a famous Spanish opera singer who travelled to Mexico after a season in New York. He actually planned to stay in Mexico, but returned to Paris in 1829.

¹⁰⁷ José Zapiola, *Recuerdos de treinta años (1810-1840)*, (Imprenta del Independiente, 1872), Vol. 1, p.71.

¹⁰⁸ W. S.W. Ruschenberg, *Three Years in the Pacific, including Notices of Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1834), 93.

¹⁰⁹ The most obvious and famous exception is that of Antonio Carlos Gomes, whose *Il Guarany*, after enormous success in *La Scala* in Milan, became a symbol for local elites in Latin America in the 1880s. However, how much this successful Latin American reception of Gomes was due to its “victory” in Italy than its content, is a relevant point that should not be overlooked.

artistic creation (stage) and fashion (auditorium). Opera could teach the bourgeoisie about 'court culture', allowing it to gain aristocratic manners, or those considered as such. Opera was a club for the elites of the nineteenth century".¹¹⁰

After the arrival of Rossini's music in the 1820s-30s, and the subsequent craze for everything related to him, the fate of opera as something explicitly European rather than cosmopolitan was settled, and thus the idea of "local operas", written by local composers, made no sense. The theatre was a place for arrangements, not of new pieces, because those had to be European. One can see a trend of composers that went out of the church, only to go back into it in the 1830s, who constantly retain a foot-hold in both the church and the theatre. Churches were a much better job opportunity in the 1830s and 1840s, since they maintained paid orchestras and choirs, and particularly in "new" countries like Chile and Bolivia there was a certain prestige in having large-scale music in the capitals' cathedrals. In more than one way, Alzedo and Ximénez were lucky, since both Santiago and Sucre supported such activities, which almost disappeared from Lima Cathedral during the nineteenth century.¹¹¹

The Europeanisation of opera, a process that increasingly portrayed opera as a European symbol, at the same time created both "national" schools and regions where opera did not provoke a creative output, as discussed already by Philipp Ther.¹¹² For the case of Latin America, already in the 1830s, the problem of opera as European, and its possible echoes (creative, national or not) became a contested issue. Rossini was in that debate the largest figure. The love for his music, and the modern perspective it represented, cannot be overstated when one looks at sources from the period: "The immortal Rossini" a newspaper in Arequipa said in 1833,¹¹³ "the divine Rossini" another in Sucre;¹¹⁴ by 1830 he completely overtook the musical stage and the notion

¹¹⁰ Zárate and Gruzinsky, "Ópera, imaginación y sociedad", 803.

¹¹¹ Later chapelmasters in Lima, like Julián Carabayllo and Bonifacio Llaque, maintained a job as arrangers in the theatre while working in the deeply reduced cathedral orchestra.

¹¹² Philipp Ther, "The Genre of National Opera in a European Comparative Perspective", in *Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 184.

¹¹³ Barbacci, *Apuntes para un Diccionario Musical Peruano*, 430.

¹¹⁴ *El Boliviano*, 2 May 1832.

of what was the contemporary European sound. From a global perspective, Rossini's reception in Latin America might be seen as a projection of what Benjamin Walton has discussed in terms of his reception in Paris, namely that his music "could offer satisfaction to a wide variety of political and social communities".¹¹⁵

Opera was adopted by both liberal and conservative parties across Latin America, and Rossini's reception was tuned to a larger notion of what modernity was, instead of specific political models. Thus, the rise of opera in Latin America therefore went hand in hand with both the rise of "postcolonial" modes of government from the 1820s on, and the ascending global influence of Rossini (and later Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi) on the operatic scene.¹¹⁶ As Manuel Atanasio Fuentes wrote in his 1858 survey of the history of Lima, by the 1830s, with the arrival of Rossinian opera troupes, "our ladies [got to know] the real beauties in music and embraced with enthusiasm the works of Rossini", forgetting all other interests.¹¹⁷

One of the most vivid accounts of the love for Rossini is given by Flora Tristán, the French writer who visited Arequipa in the early 1830s. She writes in her diaries how the nuns in the convent where she stayed accepted her "for the sole reason that I came from the country where Rossini lived".¹¹⁸ The stay in the convent was a fully operatic experience: "The Abbess [one day] said to me with the most artistic expression: "I, my dear child, if I were only thirty, I would go with you to Paris to see at the Opera one of the sublime works of the immortal Rossini being performed. A single note from that genius is more useful to the moral and physical well-being of a nation than all the horrible shows [*horrorosos espectáculos*] [...] of the Inquisition".¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Benjamin Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 19.

¹¹⁶ That influence of bel canto permeated Latin American culture in multiple ways, and perhaps the most famous example are the various national anthems that appeared around this time, written in a highly Italianate style -or frankly copied from an aria or two-, and in many cases also composed by European -and particularly Italian- composers embedded in those same influences. On Latin American national anthems, and the Italian opera influence on them, see Robert Stevenson's *South American National Anthems and other Area Studies: Mexico after the Mexican Anthem* (Lima: Pacific Press, 2009).

¹¹⁷ Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, *Estadística General de Lima* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional de M.N. Corpancho, 1858), 588.

¹¹⁸ Flora Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una Paria* (Lima: UNMSM, 2003), 386.

¹¹⁹ Flora Tristán, *Peregrinaciones*, 389.

When Flora finally said goodbye to the nuns, “they showered me with presents and asked me to send more music by Rossini when I returned to France”.¹²⁰

Rossini was largely presented as a global, transcendent figure, one that is not situated in duality or in opposition, but in absolute terms, with a strength that perhaps only Haydn conveyed before in the region. Alzedo himself acknowledged in his writings the key role he gave to Rossini in his own periodization of music history, when he described two large modern periods: one starting with Palestrina, and another with Haydn, the last one being the “contemporary” one, in which, according to Alzedo, Rossini had to be regarded as the central figure.¹²¹ Rossini, to him, was “the hero of our century”.¹²² For him, all composers were “in the shadow of a single revolutionary star; each one has its own orbit, a singular style, but they all seem to be variations of Rossini. It is he who projects his own spirit in multiple ways, embellishing the ideas of other composers, and they are the ones who constantly strive to rejuvenate and perpetuate the moral existence of that primordial luminary”.¹²³

It was, indeed, an astronomical revolution to local musical life, and this created a difficult dichotomy for local composers: how to create music in this language, if it cannot be created for the scene in which it is usually performed. Music by Rossini, as well as other operatic composers, was performed in houses or as arrangements too. In Ximénez’s own collection we have two interesting examples of this: one is Simon Mayr’s overture for *Ginevra di Scozia*, from 1801, copied by Ximénez himself in

¹²⁰ Flora Tristan, *Peregrinaciones*, 403.

¹²¹ This model might have been influenced by Fétis’ four phase history of Western harmony, in which the perfection and culmination of *tonalité moderne* was found in the third stage, that of the music of the time of Mozart and Rossini, called Pluritonic order.

¹²² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 52 “Examinando el curso de la música desde Palestrina, regulador del bárbaro contrapunto gótico, hasta Haydn, y desde éste hasta Rossini, héroe de nuestro siglo, hallaremos una serie de estilos sucesivamente progresivos”.

¹²³ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 41 “El siglo XIX, cuya vigorosa influencia ha fecundado con asombro la mayor parte de las ciencias y las artes”, “pudiera apellidarse, el aureo-musical por sus progresos. Jamás se contó un número tan abundante de distinguidos luminaires que, siguiendo la brillante huella del astro revolucionario, no obstante jirar cada uno dentro la órbita singular de su propio estilo, parece que todos juntos se dejan ver como diversas modificaciones de Rossini; o que éste difunde su espíritu en diferentes transformaciones, embelleciendo las ideas de cada compositor; o que éstos se empeñan en rejenar y eternizar la existencia moral de su primer luminar”.

manuscript and thus possibly used for a concert performance.¹²⁴ Even more interesting is his arrangement of Meyerbeer's "Sinfonia Militare" from *Margherita d'Anjou*, transformed from its original orchestral instrumentation into what Ximénez called "military music".¹²⁵ As far as I know, this is one of the few settings of music for military band that has survived with all its parts from the period surrounding Independence, and thus there is much we could learn from its orchestration (even if this is not the place for such a study): two clarinets, "requinto",¹²⁶ piccolo, two bassoons, two horns, trumpet and bass.¹²⁷

But arrangements did not stop there: another thing was to simply adapt Rossini's church music in a way that could be meaningful for local liturgies. Ximénez, for example, made such an arrangement in his *Salve a 4 voces*, which survives only as a few fragments.¹²⁸ In the collection of *salves* it is numbered as the first, from sixteen that were apparently composed. It is in G minor, written for four voices and with a very large orchestra -in comparison with other *Salves* of two violins, two flutes, two clarinets, two horns, viola, trumpet, organ, contrabass, bassoon and cello. While it says "composed [*compuesto*] by Pedro Ximénez de Abrill Tirado" on its title page, it also mentions that it is "taken [*sacada*] from Rossini's Stabat Mater for the piano". Ximénez *contrafactum*, as far as one can see -from the cello part- takes many ideas from Rossini's *Stabat Mater* from a piano reduction and use the text of the *Salve* for it, but in an orchestration that is typical of Ximénez, including virtuoso cello solos in the upper octave -particularly in the section "Eia Ergo"-, and a combination of flutes, clarinets and horns that, while not surviving, most certainly resembled similar scorings in his symphonies or in other sacred works, which also share the almost "continuo-like" old-fashioned support of organ, double bass and bassoon.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ The composer appears as "Simon Mayer", in ABNB 1493.

¹²⁵ This piece still has no identification code, since it was only recently discovered in a house in Sucre and donated to the ABNB, where it is kept.

¹²⁶ Very similar to a military E-flat clarinet.

¹²⁷ It is not said which instrument plays the bass.

¹²⁸ ABNB 1423, *Salve a 4* (no.1).

¹²⁹ This is one of the few occasions in which there is a direct connection between Ximénez and a piece by Rossini. Another one appears in the slow movement of his *Divertimiento* op.52, which consists of a set of variations on "Una voce poco fa". Similar *contrafacta* are common in Latin America in this period,

Alzedo, in his early years, seems to have been comfortable with such procedures. In his *La Cifra*, previously discussed, the opera begins comically, with various questions (“What is this? Who is calling me?”), but there is also a second set of lyrics for the score to be used as a sacred piece, which are instead rather sombre: “How dreary and horrible, how human is the sorrowful evil. Who is the one that is free of the original sin?”.¹³⁰ In its second “version”, Alzedo’s introduction tells of the salvation of mankind through Jesus Christ, reutilising materials from a secular work. Such reuse was common, yet remained a highly debated theological and aesthetic problem on both sides of the Atlantic.

In recent terms, the discussion had been fostered by the Vatican in the mid eighteenth century, particularly after Pergolesi’s 1736 *Stabat Mater* became a model in the use of the language of opera and *concertato* style in religious works across the transatlantic region. Pope Benedict XIV issued his encyclical *Annus Qui* in 1749, trying to contain in part what he perceived as the eruption of opera in the church. He especially asked for both fields of music-making (theatre and church) to be audibly separated in a way that was clear to churchgoers, including the censorship of certain instruments (like percussion) and restriction on the use of churches for concerts.¹³¹ Another *Stabat Mater*, by Rossini, would have the same impact a hundred years later. This work, however, was mostly performed in concerts, even if originally intended - and premiered in its first version in 1833- as a church piece for Holy Saturday. Its success helped to fuel a growing movement that attacked theatrical church music, and that regarded the sound of opera in the church as a sign of decadence.¹³²

including both recycling of Haydn’s and Rossini’s works, including the adaptation of themes from *The Creation* by Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia, chaplain in Rio de Janeiro.

¹³⁰ In Spanish: “Que funesto, que horroroso, que del hombre el triste mal. ¿Quién será, quién se halla, libre de la culpa original?”.

¹³¹ Edward Schaefer, *Catholic Music through the Ages: Balancing the Needs of a Worshipping Church* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2008), 95-97.

¹³² The debate was extended in the nineteenth century through the various movements pushing for liturgical and music reform in Christian churches: for example, the Cecilian Movements in Italy and Germany, the Anglican Oxford Movement in the UK, the works and ideas of Louis Lambillote, or the well-known work of the monks of Solesmes in France.

Alzedo seems to have been conscious of those criticisms, trends and larger problems. We know he had at least some contact with the aesthetic discussions since he adapted some works by Lambillote for the use of the Cathedral in Santiago in the early 1850s.¹³³ But he must also have been conscious of the most obvious differences between the relation of opera and church music in Europe and in Latin America. Simply stated: while in Europe a composer could write church music as organist or chapelmaster, he could also premiere operas;¹³⁴ or publish salon music, or travel as an instrumental virtuoso: all career choices that were, in practice, closed to contemporary Latin Americans.¹³⁵ There were practical, economic and structural reasons: lack of printing presses, little or no support for local composition, the salon as an essentially elite sphere that shut out musicians, and an absence of public concerts, or permanent orchestras.

In that sense, one can see a journey from rejection to acceptance of opera inside the church across Alzedo's career. As an ordained friar, he must certainly have felt resentment about the prominence of operatic church music by other composers, and shades of that resentment can be perceived in his works and writing in Chile just before he became chapelmaster. In 1846, he even wrote two long articles on sacred music for the *Revista Católica*, the conservative Chilean journal directed by the archbishop, Rafael Valentín Valdivieso:¹³⁶

¹³³ It survives in folder ACS 277 of the Cathedral archive in Santiago, mixed with a *Sequentia* by José de Campderrós.

¹³⁴ Like Pietro Generali (1773-1832) and Vincenzo Petrali (1830-1889) in Italy, or Miguel Hilarión Eslava (1807-1878) in Spain, to take three rather important European examples.

¹³⁵ Printing became cheaper and more available by the 1860s, and only after the visit of Louis Moreau Gottschalk one can see the first careers of travelling virtuosos being born in Latin America; some of them even toured Europe, like Josefina Filomeno, Federico Guzmán or Teresa Carreño. Similarly, that decade would see the first successful operas creations by local composers in forty years, leading to Carlos Gomes' *Guarany*.

¹³⁶ *La Revista Católica*, Santiago, 20 June 1846: Todos saben que la música de ópera forma por lo regular una armonia imitativa de la voz humana [...], de tal manera que puede ir unisona con el canto; así es que tocándose solo tal pasaje, tal aria o tal dúo, ya nos parece oír la voz de los actores, ver su figura, sus gestos y ademanes con las demas cosas que se ofrecen sobre las tablas. [...] Cualquier idea devota o piadosa se olvida con facilidad, y los oyentes se distraen a pesar suyo".

Everyone knows that the music of opera imitates the human voice [the instruments going] in unison with the singing; in this way, if someone plays a certain passage from an opera, an aria or a duo, we start to hear inside ourselves the voice of the actors, to see their bodies, their gestures and everything that is offered in a stage [...] All devout, pious thoughts are lost and the listeners are distracted even if they do not want to be.

Alzedo here strongly rejects the use of opera in a sacred context, and this rejection would have important influences on his own work. Such a strong position against operatic music does, however, need some contextualization. The chapelmaster in Santiago at the time of this quotation, while Alzedo remained a bass in the choir - with pretensions of being a composer- was none other than an Italian opera singer, Henry Lanza.¹³⁷ Lanza, son of Giuseppe Lanza who had been an important singing teacher in London, was hired alongside other French and Italian musicians to perform in the Cathedral in 1839, but the group very soon found themselves in constant confrontations with the archbishop and other church dignitaries, since they were also fully engaged in the theatre. Alzedo thus perhaps saw this crisis as an opportunity for his own career, and his rejection of the combination of opera and church music, in an article in the main Catholic journal of the country could have served as a move not only to remove this European competitor, but also to be regarded as an important literate voice in terms of liturgical music.

At the same time, Alzedo already had to rethink how to introduce this contemporary sound (that of Rossini) from the mid-1830s on. This can be seen, for example, in some of the pieces he wrote when he was not yet the chapelmaster in Santiago, but already a singer: between 1835 and 1846. Alzedo assumed as a singer in the Cathedral in Santiago in 1835, when he was already 47 years old, and while he would become the chapelmaster only a decade later, he most certainly composed music during that time. The problem is to date his music more precisely. In a letter to the Dean of the Cathedral in September 1848 Alzedo, who had been chapelmaster for

¹³⁷ See José Izquierdo and Lía Rojic "Henry Lanza: música, ópera, modernidad y religiosidad en la construcción cultural de la República Chilena temprana (1840-1860)". *Neuma*, 6/1 (2013), 10-29.

less than two years, wrote with satisfaction that he had already supplied the chapel with “eight Masses, two Domine ad Adjuvandum, 7 Villancicos, 5 Hymns, 1 *Cántico de Moisés* for the anniversary of independence, 3 Litanies, 1 Passion Kyrie, 1 Miserere, 1 Passion for Holy Friday, 1 Adoration of the Holy Cross, 3 Sanctus, 1 Credo, 1 Symphony and 1 Te Deum”, stating explicitly that “these pieces are original from him who, in his indefatigable zeal, will not rest until this Chapel will be in the most perfect order and service”.¹³⁸

It is almost impossible that Alzedo wrote all that music in so little time, and so that leaves us with two possibilities: that he reused music composed when he was a friar in Lima, and that he also wrote new music during this period. I believe both possibilities are correct, and the first can in fact be proven through his re-orchestrations of some previous works, like the *Mass in D*, which was adapted to the orchestra in Santiago at some point.¹³⁹ But it is much more difficult to pinpoint the pieces composed while he was a singer. I think a strong case for a piece written in that period can be made for the motet *Domine ad Adjuvandum* (Example 14, p.470), which shows a transitional style between his early and late pieces.¹⁴⁰

The manuscript contains not only the full score and the parts, but also a conductor's score for the first violin, with its part and the voices, a rarity I have not encountered in other archives. Perhaps this part also testifies to a date around 1840 since, Alzedo being still a singer, he would not have been able to conduct. Another important clue to date the work is that the full score implies that the piece was originally conceived for a small orchestra, including two violin sections, viola, two clarinets, two French horns, choir and bass; however, at the bottom of the score, an evidently in another stage of the writing process, he added a flute, two trumpets in D,

¹³⁸ ACS, Oficios, v.2:125, 2; September 1848.

¹³⁹ BNP CB1.

¹⁴⁰ BNP 1:6.

a trombone and a snare drum, which would then transform the small original group into the orchestra that he used for his music composed around 1847 (Figure 16).¹⁴¹



Figure 15, First page of *Domine ad Adjuvandum* manuscript score, BNP 1:6.

¹⁴¹ The most usual percussion instrument in Alzedo's works from the late 1840s is the snare drum, but it is evident it started to be replaced by the early 1850s, and thus it is possible to date also some of his late-1850s works, which already include the timpani in an idiomatic way.

However, while they would become more idiomatically used in later scores, here the trumpets, trombone, snare drum and flute only reinforce previous musical lines, adding more volume to the orchestra than anything else. The motet *Domine ad Adjuvandum* is an interesting case in point in terms of its musical style:¹⁴² it uses an important text for Christian -and particularly monastic- liturgy, which is still used in translation in both the Anglican and Catholic Church vespers: “O Lord, make haste to help me”, followed by the response “O God, come to my assistance”. The prayer serves as a call to God to help the congregation; to leave sins behind, to go beyond the mundane and into a space where prayers can be carried effectively to Him. While most composers who have used the text understand it as directly beseeching God’s assistance, Alzedo uses the Rossinian style to depict the chaos of earthly life that the congregation hopes to leave behind.

He opens the piece in a very militaristic and grandiose way, with fanfares in the tonic (D major) followed by a rapid descent in the strings and a fortissimo chord in the dominant: three bars of noise that do not go anywhere. He repeats the gesture again, now in a darker E minor, cadencing back into D major and the first theme. A highly lyrical melody in the violin then puts us in the terrain of opera, full of snappy rhythms, accented appoggiaturas, chromaticism (reinforced by the winds) and syncopated movement of both the bass and the violin lines. After repeating the melody, Alzedo goes into a very chromatic section, accompanied by syncopated tremolos in the second violins, descending into complete harmonic chaos. Everything is disorder, and from there (and a pedal in the horns), he builds up a full Rossinian crescendo starting with strings, then clarinets, then with octave doubling. It seems like order is being forced, but then the bass goes back to its strange chromaticism and the violins respond with rapid gestures and a new crescendo that drops into silence. Pizzicato, a few notes in

¹⁴² BNP 1:6. That the piece was composed before his election can be guessed from various elements, including style and orchestration, but also in the fact that he signs it only as “J.B. Alzedo”; and then with another later ink, and in a different size, he wrote underneath “chapelmaster in Santiago de Chile, 1847”, and only in some of the parts, while not on the score (which seems older than the parts).

the strings *pianissimo* and a full octave run into the choir entrance with a steady rhythm over the “Domine ad Adjuvandum” text.

The world that the congregation prays to leave behind is therefore the one reflected by obvious Rossinian allusions. It is music assumed not as neutral, but as negative, almost in opposition to the rest of the musical discourse. However, even here Alzedo’s sentiments against using opera inside the church have a double edge. While it seems clear that he is using Rossinian references here as an active sign of “worldliness”, the sound of Rossini is nevertheless permitted to enter the church, thereby showing that he also knows how to write in the language that most people would have regarded as “modern”.

When Alzedo finally took over as chapelmaster, his attitude seems to have rapidly changed, and opera would increasingly become an intrinsic part of his own musical language. This is particularly true for the works he wrote for his first big public presentation, during the Holy Week of 1847. As he himself claimed on a later occasion, Holy Week was “the magnet that attracts the biggest crowds to our church who, even from Valparaíso and nearby towns, come fervently to this temple [for the occasion]”.¹⁴³ He arranged for all the musicians to be dressed in black robes and the singers in the style of a “great parade”, and decided that he was going to perform the four passions next to the ante-presbytery and the lamentations, mass and miserere from the choir, giving them more of a “concert” status.

Around the same time, he completely rearranged the order of instrumentalists in the orchestra, putting people he trusted in key positions.¹⁴⁴ He requested more violins, two horns, a trumpet player and -perhaps even more notably- a few singers from the opera company. He imported a special “Mass from Europe” for Holy Thursday and “wanting to call into attention the improvements made, I have specially composed some verses for the Miserere, which are the last ones of the psalm; and three for the

¹⁴³ ACS Correspondencia, v.6:49; 12 March, 1850, “[...] ha sido el iman que ha atraído la religiosa concurrencia, que de Valparaíso y otros pueblos cercanos, se han allegado reverentemente á nuestro templo”.

¹⁴⁴ ACS Correspondencia, v.5:109; 8 March 1847.

passion on Good Friday, the copies of which I will pay for myself".¹⁴⁵ Everything was conspicuously planned to impress audiences and those above him in a dramatic way, as the best Holy Week in recent years. A commentary appeared in the newspaper *El Progreso*, which is striking for its content, but also for its form, since it is clearly written as if talking about opera:

The ceremonies for this Holy Week have been some of the most brilliant in our Cathedral, and we have seen with pleasure that the merits of our chapelmaster are no longer in discussion, as people have been arguing. We knew of Mr. Bernardo Alzedo's talents already, but we have been really convinced during the three days of the three days of *tenebrae*, in which the lamentations sung by Mr. Zambaiti and Marti were sung with all the inflections of art. Mr. Zambaiti also sung the Miserere which left us amazed, particularly the verse Benigne Fac Domine, which music was so harmonically conceived with the solo trumpet, pleading for the benignity of the Supreme Being over Holy Zion. A lot could be said about the Mass on Thursday, but what really affected us was the Passion for Good Friday, with the solos of Mr. Marti and Zambaiti; the first one full of the graveness of the words of him who gave our Lord to the cross even without finding a fault, and the second with a tender and melodious voice showed his true talent in the philharmonic art. The orchestra showed that its diverse elements were all of the first order, and the rendition in both instrumental and vocal parts must have filled with pride the author of this wonderful music.¹⁴⁶

The singers serve as evident markers of the operatic here. We must imagine that they were seated not in a high choir over the doors (which did not exist in this

¹⁴⁵ ACS Correspondencia, v.4:94; 25 March 1847.

¹⁴⁶ *El Progreso*, Santiago, 14 April 1847: "Las ceremonias de semana santa an sido este año de las mas brillantes en nuestra catedral, i emos visto con placer, qe el mérito de nuestro maestro de capilla no es ya un problema, como se a querido suponer por algunas personas mal intencionadas. Nosotros que conocemos la alta capacidad musical de D. Bernardo Alcedo, nos emos convencido mas de su talento en los tres dias de las Tinieblas, en los que las lamentaciones, cantadas por los SS. Zambaiti y Marti fueron ejecutadas con todas las inflecciones del arte. En seguida el señor Zambaiti cantó en el Miserere que nos dejó encantados, mui particularmente en el verso Benigne Fac Domine, cuya música simpatizaba con las palabras armonizadas con la espresiva voz del corneta a piston, que parecia estar invocando la benignidad del Ser Supremo sobre la Santa Sion. Mucho pudiera decirse sobre la misa del juéves santo; pero lo que más conmovió nuestra ternura fue la pasion del viernes, en los solos de los señores Marti i Zambaiti; el primero lleno de la gravedad que inspiraban las palabras del qe a pesar de no encontrar culpable a Jesus lo entregó al suplicio de la cruz, i el segundo con su voz tierna i melodiosa nos mostró cuan grande era su caudal de luces en el arte filarmónico. La orquesta nos izo ver que los elementos de qe constaba eran todos del primer órden: la ejecucion instrumental así como la del canto debió aber llenado de gusto al autor de esta preciosa música."

cathedral at the time), but in the front, besides the presbytery. Singers were not meant to be seen, but their location and performative style must have made them very “visible” to the “audience” in the church. It created a sense of intertextuality between the church and the theatre. As Jeanne Halgren has discussed in her study of the transformation of churches in the USA under the influence of theatre experiences in the nineteenth century, there is a certain “similarity in function among buildings designed for secular entertainment and churches -providing space for a speaker/performance and an audiences desirous of seeing and hearing that performance”.¹⁴⁷ Was there something in the composition itself that would have reinforced that adoption of the church as theatre, of these works being listened as opera?¹⁴⁸

The first piece mentioned in the newspaper is the “Benigne Fac Domine” of the *Miserere* (Example 15, p.481), the tenth part of the composition when counting only the odd verses.¹⁴⁹ Written in E-flat major, the relative of the work’s main C-minor tonality, it is conceived as a duet for trumpet and voice (here a tenor, but in the later 1848 version a soprano). The verse in question is the one that states “O be favourable and gracious unto Sion: build Thou the walls of Jerusalem”. Accordingly, the musical structure is separated into two different moods, the first one being gentle, the voice and trumpet accompanied by strings *piano*, with sweet *pizzicati* marking the rhythm until an abrupt flourish at bar 26. Then the rhythm becomes steadier, almost like a solemn march, with the voice carrying the melody and the trumpet and two clarinets sharing the counterpoint. Both ideas are repeated in a reduced version and then the mood changes for a second section starting in bar 49, with a chromatic section *pianissimo* that tends clearly to C minor.

¹⁴⁷ Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 116-117.

¹⁴⁸ An edition of the *Miserere* was done by the author in a CD edition that also included Víctor Rondón’s edition of his *Trisagio Solemne*. They can be found on Alzedo’s IMSLP webpage: http://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Alzedo,_Jos%C3%A9_Bernardo (Accessed 3 September 2016).

Manuscript sources for the *Miserere* are ACS 335 and BNP 3:19; this later one includes certain smaller changes in instrumentation. The source for the Friday Passion is ACS 333.

¹⁴⁹ The even movements would be sung in plainchant, which influences the use of the dominant to close every section in the *Miserere*.

The “pleading” character the newspaper writer mentioned is especially noticeable if the movement is contrasted with no.9 in the *Miserere*, one of the other verses that Alzedo probably finished in time for the 1847 performance. The “Quoniam” (Example 16, p.487) that precedes the “Benigne”, is clearly influenced by the “Lacrimosa” of Mozart’s *Requiem* is of a desperate and enigmatic character. In contrast, the pleading approach in the “Benigne” of the lyrical, solo voice, is thus fully converged. While the other choral numbers are impressive, Alzedo knew of the necessity of having an exceptionally good singer for the piece, one who could make sufficient dramatic contrast.

In the *Passion* (according to St. John) we do not know exactly which numbers would have been sung by Zambaiti, but it is easy to guess that Marti’s section must have been the “Eggo Nullam” (the main bass solo, Example 17, p.494), the long sixth verse in which Pilate declares that he cannot find a single fault in Christ, being willing to give him back to the people.¹⁵⁰ The piece is more or less of the same duration as the “Benigne”, now for a bass voice, strings and a solo horn. As in the latter case, the solo instrument is the one that establishes the mood, followed by the singer (b.14), with whom it starts a dialogue. Short (one or two bar) intersections point to changes in the text and general atmosphere of the piece. The last section, again, shows more drama, with tremolo and harmonic changes, and a radical change in the use of the horn. But what exactly was the logic of the solo instrument here? To show Pilate’s dignity or his status in society perhaps? The instrument is not heroic, but gentle and almost tender in character, and thus its change later on is even more pronounced than in the “Benigne”. What I find more striking, however, is that in both numbers mentioned in the newspaper *El Progreso*, Alzedo used solo instruments in duet with the voices.

Solo instruments, and soloistic sections, would become a staple in the works Alzedo composed during his tenure as chapelmaster, being central to many of his grander sacred compositions for the Cathedral, but rarely appearing in earlier works.

¹⁵⁰ Original Latin: “Ego nullam invenio in eo causam. Est autem consuetudo vobis, tu unum dimittam vobis in Pascha: vultis ergo dimittam vobis regem Judaeorum?” Psalm XVIII, v.38-39.

In fact, a solo violin presents the main theme in the first sections of the *Miserere*, the *Christus Factus Est*,¹⁵¹ and in both Friday and Sunday Passions from 1849.¹⁵² Other solo instruments also appear constantly in similar works from the period, like the beautiful trumpet solo from his *In Memoriam* (marked *espressivo* in the manuscript).¹⁵³ In the *Miserere* the solo violin is the instrument of the first movement, but in the second, Alzedo replaces it with an equally virtuoso clarinet, alternating the familiarities with the distinct voices of the orchestra. While in some of the instrumental solos he is prefacing a later statement by the singer, in some cases it is a resource on its own, as if the solo voice -even without lyrics- conveyed a specific form of communication with the audience, the same that would have been by then fully accustomed to listening as if in the opera house. Voices were partly shorn of long, lyrical and virtuoso statements that would have been too much at odds with what he learned in his early years, but instruments were free to convey the virtuosity and lyrical coloraturas of opera without directly mimicking the direct sound-world of the stage.

4.5. A disappointing repertoire

Alzedo was certainly not alone in using the style of opera in church. Discussions about the necessity, practicality or validity of such practices were common during the nineteenth century in other Catholic regions, including many parts of Europe. However, in Latin America conditions for composers and specific symbolic values related to the reception of opera, meant different strategies and different aesthetic in the context of church music and opera appropriation. The lack of possibilities for a career as composer in other fields, that opera was not locally composed but imported, and that churches maintained both orchestras and choirs, were all relevant elements in defining the nineteenth-century Latin American composer. Francisco Manuel da Silva in Brazil, Juan Pedro Esnaola in Argentina or Mariano Elízaga in Mexico were as

¹⁵¹ ACS 336.

¹⁵² ACS 333 and 334 respectively.

¹⁵³ BNP 3:17.

successful as Alzedo in their own countries between the 1830s and 1850s, perhaps because they managed to converge these worlds: the old ways of the chapelmasters and the new kingdoms of opera.

However, and in direct contradiction, this fateful decision of style ended up affecting their late reception in the twentieth century. As Marcelo Campos de Hazan has noted for the case of Francisco Manuel da Silva (1795-1865), chapelmaster in this same period in Rio de Janeiro, while his contemporaries praised and acknowledged him for his talent to combine and reuse the sound of opera in his church music, twentieth-century audiences and scholars criticised him for exactly the same reasons.¹⁵⁴ The music stayed the same, the values of what a composer should be -or what he had to write, or how to sound- had completely changed. Leslie Bethell, in his cultural history of Latin America, discussed this common problem of what he called “disappointment” with the nineteenth-century artists of the region by modern audiences and scholars, sentencing, however, that “if critics or historians are ‘disappointed’ by what they find in the art and literature of Latin America of this period, it behoves them to explain what they were expecting to find, and on what assumptions”.¹⁵⁵ What are our assumptions when we study church music written in the nineteenth century, and the influence of opera on it? Can we only read that appropriation of opera in terms of trying to become -or be- European, disregarding the obvious local relevance and favourable reception that was not solely constructed in that way, but also in other -theological, for example- terms?

Was it the only possible way for composers? Could it have been different? Those are always questions that historiography tries to avoid, but Ximénez’s career and choices certainly show some differences. While he reused Rossini for one *Salve*, as we have seen, Ximénez never fully appropriated the style of the composer from Pesaro in his own sacred works. His style for the church remained more or less the same through his decades as chapelmaster, in the vein of Haydn, and only in his very last

¹⁵⁴ Hazan, “The Sacred Works”, 9-10.

¹⁵⁵ Leslie Bethell, *A Cultural History*, 45.

symphonies and Masses some aspects of evident Rossinian influence can be perceived in his music.¹⁵⁶ There were, however, consequences to his stylistic decision of consciously not adopting “new” manners, and non-operatic tendencies: his sacred music rapidly fell out of fashion in the last years of his life. In 1856, Pedro García, the director of the theatre and opera troupe in Sucre, made continual efforts to be elected as the new chapelmaster, even though, as the chapter wrote to him, Ximénez was still alive.¹⁵⁷ But as soon as he took the job, he was celebrated for transforming the old sounds of Sucre Cathedral. The local newspaper said: “we have observed, like everyone, a noble transition from the old-fashioned music to another that is a thousand times more animated, expressive and charming”.¹⁵⁸

The accepted historiographical perspective for church music in Latin America in the nineteenth century is that it was indeed “decadent”, because it incorporated elements of Italian opera.¹⁵⁹ Alejo Carpentier, one of the most influential writers of the region, said that “if in Europe religious music began to be forgotten in the nineteenth-century, ours felt in a spiral of decadence, bland and theatrical in tone”.¹⁶⁰ This view, however, is in direct contrast with the reception by local audiences. José Zapiola, a Chilean musician, praised Alzedo in 1863 for “his great Masses, and above all his *Miserere* which the audience of this capital always listens as if to a novelty and, which according to various competent critics, has five or six verses that no great *master* would reject as of their own”.¹⁶¹ His biographer Zegarra also wrote later that, among his greatest works, should be first considered “the magnificent *Miserere*, a *Passion* for

¹⁵⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter, especially in his symphonies 38 and 40, but also in Masses 47 and 49 (which only survive in fragmentary form).

¹⁵⁷ ABAS, Catedral de Sucre, vol.31, f22.

¹⁵⁸ *La Nueva Era*, Chuquisaca 25 June 1856.

¹⁵⁹ Carredano and Eli, *Historia de la música*, 125-150. The idea of “aesthetic redemption” from opera is particularly discussed in pages 146 and 147, and the word “decadence” used multiple times, including explicitly in pages 136 and 140. Of course, this also happened in Italy, Spain and other Catholic countries and regions, but this is a different issue, further discussed in the conclusion.

¹⁶⁰ Miranda y Tello, *Música en América Latina*, 31-32.

¹⁶¹ *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, Valparaíso, 5 January 1864.

Sunday and another for Friday, the three *Solemn Masses* in D, E flat and F, the beautiful *Invitatorio*, various motets, the *Benedictus*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Salve* and *Trisagio*".¹⁶²

Even in his very last years, Alzedo would be praised for the music he wrote using this "operatic" style. His final Mass (in F major) in 1865 would be praised back in Lima as "the masterwork of Alzedo, which caused such a great effect in Chile",¹⁶³ while his *Miserere* was performed again in Lima at least twice during Holy Week, in 1865¹⁶⁴ and in 1872, when La Merced church "was completely full of people who came here by the novelty of hearing the famous *Miserere* of Alzedo", and some present compared it to Rossini's *Petite Messe Solennelle*, accusing Alzedo of plagiarism, thus ignoring the fact that the *Miserere* had been composed almost twenty years earlier.¹⁶⁵ In appropriating opera for his works, in particular for the *Miserere*, Alzedo was thereby able to create works that made sense to his contemporaries, and permitted them to relate to liturgies in the way they understood opera.

Alzedo's way of translating into sounds that imagined shared "modernity" seemed effective and appreciated, by his contemporaries. What opera caused, nevertheless, was a friction with the changing possibilities of careers, symbolic and aesthetic choices and thus taking a stance meant rethinking how to make music meaningful. We cannot, then, understand appropriation of opera and its translation into the church by composers of Alzedo's generation selecting only some of their contemporary debates, whether theological, or based on the popularity of opera, on its symbolic value as European and/or as Republic, on the specific conditions its performance in Latin America, or its acceptance and value as a modern soundscape. Alzedo's compositions, in themselves and as an echo of opera's relevance, show how much all these elements were part of a complex process of agency towards circumnavigating the difficult relations of church, state, nation, the cosmopolitan, and the meanings of creating something new (or not) in nineteenth-century Latin America.

¹⁶² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, VIII.

¹⁶³ Carlos Raygada, *Guía Musical del Perú*, II/72.

¹⁶⁴ Carlos Raygada, *Historia Crítica del Himno Nacional*, II/25, footnote 125 (information given by a certain Sotomayor to Raygada, so I have not been able to retrace it).

¹⁶⁵ *La Patria*, Lima, 29 March 1872.

5. The Republican Chapelmanster

Looking at Alzedo's life from the perspective of a biographer, I believe one can differentiate three turning points in his life: his entrance into Dominican monastic life, his composition of the Peruvian national anthem, and his nomination as chapelmaster in Santiago in 1846. It is this last event, which was already partially discussed in the last few pages of the previous chapter, that will take precedence in this chapter. We tend to think of chapelmasters in a "colonial" perspective: either as part of the culture that belonged to a previous period in Latin American music history, or accepted as a nineteenth-century "prolongation" of the colonial past. Indeed, for those who had become musicians in colonial times, to be a chapelmaster would have been the grandest honour, and naturally this feeling partially extended to those living in Alzedo's times. Alzedo certainly was proud of being a chapelmaster, and until the end of his life signed himself as chapelmaster of the Cathedral of Santiago de Chile.

But how can we understand the role of the chapelmaster in a period of change, of divorce from the colonial past, in which the Catholic church was in the processes of critically reappraising its role in Latin America, and new subjects found easy to criticize it in return? What did it mean to be a "republican" chapelmaster, in a period that was definitively diverging from previous forms and structures? How were the new debates of the role of church and state incorporated into the lives and social relevance of the figure of the chapelmaster? In these decades of flux, with the growing influence of opera as the central symbolical official repertoire of the new republics of Latin America -and the Brazilian empire-, chapelmasters had to rethink their roles; but exactly how they did it, and how it affected their job and their musical works has not been the subject of much study, to say the least.¹

¹ The two works I know that focus on nineteenth-century Latin American chapelmasters, are the one by John G. Lazos, "José Antonio Gómez's Ynvitatorio, Himno y 8 Responsorios: Historical Context and Music Analysis of a Manuscript" (PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 2009) and the one by Marcelo Campos Hazan, "The Sacred Works of Francisco Manuel Da Silva (1795-1865)" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1999). Both consider ways in which politics might have affected the works of these composers, but do not strive to outline many differences with studies of colonial chapelmasters, and so they do not define what a republican or imperial chapelmaster of the nineteenth century would be, at least not in a specific way.

For José Bernardo Alzedo, the road to becoming chapelmaster was not an easy one. In 1834, after a decade living in Chile, he applied for a place in the Santiago Cathedral choir, as a bass. He was accepted a few months later and would stay there for almost two decades, with only one intermission. That period, when he went to Lima in search of a new job, shows that Alzedo was probably not entirely content with just being a singer in the choir. During his time in Santiago he also applied for other posts, including that of teacher in the local *Seminario Pontificio*, perhaps feeling that his knowledge was not being fully appreciated by the Cathedral.

His efforts in going to Lima, however, were not fruitful, and he returned to Santiago after a few months. To understand his internal process, we are lucky that a surviving letter from Alzedo from 1846 shows some signs of the emotional stress he was enduring. In it, Alzedo describes those bitter years and how he believed his talents were not being used.² Addressed to one of the foremost politicians in Lima, Javier Mariátegui, it is by far the most personal statement by either composer (Alzedo or Ximénez) that the reader will find in this dissertation, and a rarity in term of South American sources. In it, Alzedo gives some context to his move to Lima in 1840, explaining that the previous president of Peru, Ramón Castilla, contacted him in Chile and promised that a job would be waiting for him in Peru. Alzedo took a ship in 1840, abandoning his post at the Cathedral, and was shocked to find, when arriving, that the promise had come to nothing. The central section of the letter reads as follows:

This man [Castilla] promised me, while staying in Santiago, that he would help me to gain a post conducting the local bands [of Peru, ...] and give me a post as a lecturer of music,³ which was closer to my own affinities. [...] In fact, Mr. Gamarra [the president before Castilla] himself sent me a letter, which I keep, calling me to take this job and I, so willing to go back to my country [...] took a ship leaving behind everything that I had built here [in Chile]. [...] When I arrived I wrote to him, but he never wrote back. I was completely isolated [in

² This letter is in the private collection of Gilbert M. Cuthbertson (Political Science, Rice University, Houston, Texas), whom I contacted in 2012 after noticing his acquisition of this letter through Ebay. He kindly sent me a photocopy of this important document a few months later.

³ It is interesting to relate this desire with the previous discussion about Ximénez's appreciation of his role as lecturer, in chapter 3.

Lima], and tried to contact him directly. [He received me in his office] and, influenced by the people from the opera company -as one of them told me- [Gamarra] replied that I had travelled not with a contract but with just a letter, so he was not obliged to offer me a job. [...] In the conflict of not having any means of subsistence, a foreigner in my own country, with no resources, I had to go back to Chile shedding tears and trying to get my job back so I would not starve. [...] I even sent to Castilla an anthem that he ordered to be performed many times in the theatres, without giving me any support [...] Do you know how much this weighs on the soul of a sensible man [*hombre pensador*]?⁴

It is difficult to understand exactly what caused this bitter rejection after arriving in Lima, and we cannot discard the possibility that, perhaps, when confronted with a black musician, those who had invited him withdrew the invitation. As in the case of other professions, like medical doctors, white citizens were increasingly being preferred in the 1830s and 1840s for public positions instead of *pardos*, who had been so prominent in the first few decades of the century.⁵ Alzedo describes himself as an *hombre pensador*, literally a thinking, learned, but probably closer to a “sensible” [thinking] man: someone who can fully appreciate the magnitude of the problem. He

⁴ “Este señor [Castilla] me prometió en su estada en Santiago, que a su llegada a Lima me haría llevar poniendo en mi dirección las bandas de música de los cuerpos cívicos (por ser esta mi profesión) y las de veteranos estantes en la capital a mas, la enseñanza de una Clase o Catedra de música que se quería instalar. Esto ultimo lisonjeaba mas mis deseos, por lo que más abajo sabrá usted. En efecto, siendo ministro del señor Gamarra me remitió una nota de su mano que aun conservo, llamándome a posesionarme de lo que me había ofrecido; y yo deseoso de habitar mi país y serle útil en un tiempo en que, a decir verdad, no hai un solo músico de capacidad, emprendi mi viaje abandonando cuando aquí formaba una buena de mi subsistencia. [...] Ocurrió al Presidente Gamarra para que en fé de las cartas credenciales de su ex-ministro y amigo me pusiese en posesión de los destinos a que había sido llamado; pero este (según supe posteriormente) poniéndose al lado de los empeños delos Operistas que hicieron valer su influencia a favor de uno de la misma compañía me dijo que, no habiendo ido yo por una contrata sino por una carta, no podía cumplirme nada.

Asi despidió el Jral. Gamarra a un artista del país, que sirvió en la guerra de la independendencia con su persona y pobres talentos y que podía servirle con ventajas sobre su agraciado. En este conflicto de no tener de que vivir, extranjero en mi Patria, sin recursos ni empeños, hube de volverme derramando lágrimas procurando restaurar alguno de los acomodados que había dejado en Chile para no perecer de hambre. consumidos ya mis recursos: siendo lo mas notable que sabiendo yo la exaltacion del Señor Castilla a la primera magistratura, le remití a fines de marzo del pasado año, un himno para su recepcion, el que hizo cantar en el teatro varias veces, olvidando o despreciando el contestarme ni el aviso de haberlo recibido. Gradúe U. ahora ¡cuánto pesará todo esto sobre el alma de un hombre pensador!”

⁵ See José Jouve’s *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima* for a good comparison example with what happened to *pardo* medical doctors, particularly Chapter 4.

was, by then, almost sixty years old, when many would have considered him at the end of his career, and close to the end his life.

By the same time as he wrote that letter, however, things had started to change in Santiago. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Henry Lanza, an Anglo-Italian tenor who had been hired as chapelmaster for the Cathedral in 1840, had proven completely unreliable and, for the taste of the new archbishop -Rafael Valentín Valdivieso- rather too interested in using his job as a platform for his career in the opera house. Only a few months after Alzedo wrote to Mariátegui, Lanza was fired and the post of chapelmaster was, once again, open to competition.⁶ Alzedo, however, was not the first musician to be approached for the job. Manuel de Salas, the chapelmaster before Lanza, was invited despite his age, but he angrily refused, arguing that he had been fired in the first place “because of a spirit of novelty” (regarding Lanza), and “without recognising my merits and my services of so many years, and without paying me for my retirement”.⁷ Another option was Lorenzo Betolaza, the organist, but there was no one who could replace him in that important job.⁸ Finally, José Bernardo Alzedo was called to serve as “interim chapelmaster”, being “happy” to fill the post.⁹

The description of the job as “interim” is intriguing. Why was Alzedo asked after so many other candidates, almost as a last resort? There could have been personal, racial or national problems with his election. Would the other candidates also have been elected as “interim”? Possibly, since the archbishop had plans to replace the

⁶ On Henry Lanza’s “misadventures” with Santiago Cathedral chapters and the archbishop, see José Manuel Izquierdo and Lía Rojic “Henry Lanza: Música, ópera, modernidad y religiosidad en la construcción cultural de la República Chilena temprana (1840-1860)”, *Revista Neuma*, Universidad de Talca, 6/1 (2013), 10-29. In that article, we combined Lía’s research on Lanza as an opera singer and singing teacher, and mine on his life as chapelmaster.

⁷ AAS, Legajo “Jubilación o reposición al cargo de Maestro de Capilla de don Manuel de Salas”, 27/8.

⁸ AAS Legajo “Iglesia Metropolitana Provisión de la Plaza de Maestro de Capilla”, 28/42; 7 November 1846.

⁹ AAS Legajo “Iglesia Metropolitana Provisión de la Plaza de Maestro de Capilla”, 28/42; 7 November 1846.

orchestra with a large European organ, and the chapelmaster with an organist.¹⁰ The organ was due to arrive in 1850, for the always important Holy Week, the centre of the liturgical year. Alzedo, however, went well beyond what was asked of him, composing large new pieces (like the *Miserere* and the *Passion* discussed in the previous chapter), and showing a constant zeal in his role. He made himself important for the Cathedral, and the archbishop became more than satisfied with Alzedo. In 1851, Valdivieso asked the chapters to raise Alzedo's salary as "a personal gratification [...]" which in no way can be used when another person assumes the job".¹¹

But the perceived quality of Alzedo's works in musical terms or his zeal in the job cannot explain -on their own- why the archbishop changed his mind about the idea of having a chapelmaster, since his salary was increased as a "personal gratification", something directly related to Alzedo and not to the post. Valdivieso perhaps realised that Alzedo's works for the Cathedral were relevant in a more meaningful way. The central hypothesis of this chapter, then, is that Alzedo's musical style during his years as chapelmaster were transformed or affected by local politics in a difficult period of Chilean history for the relation of church and state, to which he adapted and responded creatively in his music and actions.

5.1. Chapelmaster in a Catholic republic

The historian Sol Serrano has coined the term "Catholic republics" to help us understand the complex political arrangements of post-colonial Spanish American nations in the nineteenth century. These were republics where "Catholicism is the religion of State with exclusion or restriction of other religious cults", which meant that the Catholic church had enormous influence on the state, clashing with the liberal

¹⁰ On this specific matter, see my book *El gran órgano de la catedral de Santiago: música y modernidad en una ciudad republicana (1840-1860)* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones UC, 2013), which is an expanded edition of my MA dissertation on the Flight & Son organ in the Cathedral.

¹¹ The petition is in the Cathedral correspondence in Santiago, ACS v.6:125, 3 May 1852. That would have been only three weeks after Resurrection Sunday, of the same year on April 12. Esta es una "gratificación personal del citado Alzedo, en manera alguna podría alterar la dotación prefijada al empleo para cuando otro deba servirlo".

ideas of secularism and equality advocated by many European republics as central of the modern state.¹² But the weight of the colonial past was not easily overruled: the Spanish kings were given a “royal patronage” [*patronato real*] to appoint church officials and manage church revenues, and while similar patronages had been given to the kings of Portugal and France, the enormous expansion of Spain in the Americas gave this *patronato* a completely new political weight. To put it simply, the Catholic church in the Americas could not be differentiated from the State, their interests and privileges having been transformed into one.

In the words of Serrano, during the first half of the nineteenth century, “it was unthinkable for those in political power to have a Church without State or a State without Church”.¹³ President and dictators ruling after the Wars of Independence sought to maintain this control over the church, while church officials were interested in maintaining the patronage, but with a certain degree of independence in relation to power and control over their actions. This gave liberalisms in Latin America a flavour that was different from that found in most contemporary European republics, and also from that of the United States. In those Latin American countries in which conservative governments were in charge, the church was allowed to rule alongside the government. That was, indeed, the case of Chile during the conservative governments of Manuel Bulnes (1841-1851) and Manuel Montt (1851-1861), under which José Bernardo Alzedo had to work as a chapelmaster.

During this period, the budget for the Cathedral came directly from the Ministry of Religion, Justice and Education. An important part of the budget concerned liturgical needs, including music (the most expensive of all liturgical costs). For Henry Lanza, the chapelmaster before Alzedo, this had brought many problems: why did he have to comply with what the chapters asked of him, if the money that paid his wages was coming from the government? He dared to write a letter saying that since the Minister “seems to be interested in the good shape of the chapel [the

¹² Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la república?*, 19.

¹³ Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la república?*, 63.

Cathedral orchestra and choir] and the magnificence and splendour of the Divine Service, I would wish that all dispositions regarding my job come from him".¹⁴

Who then should determine the course of church music in these new republics? For those in charge of musical life in cathedrals this was an everyday dilemma. Pedro Ximénez, for example, had to contend in Sucre with a president -Andrés de Santa Cruz- who had declared himself "protector" of the church, in practical terms an inheritor of the old colonial privileges. Santa Cruz believed that he was "invested with royal patronage [...] and was constantly meddling with affairs of the ecclesiastical administration".¹⁵ Pedro Ximénez, as chapelmaster in Sucre during those years, could work with ease of mind knowing that he was protected by Santa Cruz, for whom he composed, and that there was going to be a music budget in a "protected" church whose prominence was read, at the same time, as a sign of the prominence of the state. Music was a political affair and, as I discussed in Chapter 3, Santa Cruz himself hired Ximénez, supported him with his own money and asked the chapters of the Cathedral to dismiss the previous chapelmaster in order to give Ximénez a job.

Ximénez, in that sense, was in a perfect situation as a chapelmaster in the 1830s. In the 1840s and 1850s in Santiago, however, while governments were equally Catholic and certainly conservative, everything was more complicated. Since the late 1830s liberalism had been gradually increasing its influence in Chile, and by 1861 three decades of consecutive conservative governments would reach an end, just two years before Alzedo left Chile to go back to Lima. The fight against the rise of the liberals would be led by the church itself, with archbishop Rafael Valentín Valdivieso as its general. Valdivieso, who would hire Alzedo in 1846, promoted total independence of the church from the state in terms of its internal administration, but total dependence of it in terms of economy and government influence. Such a convenient stance was,

¹⁴ "Ojalá que de este Señor [Ministro], único que manifiesta un ilustrado celo y interes por todo lo que tiende al buen arreglo de la Capilla y a la magnificencia y esplendor de este ramo del Servicio Divino, emanacen tambien todas las disposiciones relativas a mi destino". AAS, "Querella del Cabildo Eclesiástico contra D. Enrique Lanza", 27/18. No date, [1843?]

¹⁵ Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas y Culturales de La Paz, *La vida y obra del Mariscal Andrés Santa Cruz*, 213.

obviously, doomed to fail sooner or later, but the governments of Bulnes and Montt (1841-1861) cannot be understood without this political framework.

The government of Manuel Montt, in particular, was deeply affected by political revolutions and a growing influx of protestant European migrants who desired more secular influence on the state. The crisis reached boiling point by 1856, with was going to be called by later historians "*la cuestión del sacristán*" (the "issue" with the sacristan). The 1856 crisis started with a small incident (as it always happens): a sacristan from the Cathedral was expelled by the Dean because he allegedly broke some stained-glass windows and drunk the consecrated wine with some friends. The sanction was not accepted by the sacristan, and soon the debate moved from the ecclesiastical to the civic (secular) courts, given the lack of division between Church and state. The secular court determined that the sacristan should be reintegrated in the Cathedral, but Valdivieso was not willing to accept the decision. This was untenable: by law, if the archbishop did not comply, he would be forced to go into exile.

In what was a striking political move, Valdivieso started to prepare his luggage to leave the country, knowing very well that the president would not send *his* archbishop into exile. Public voices in the local newspapers, almost all Catholic, forced the government to make a public statement on the matter: Was the church independent in its internal affairs, or not? Manuel Montt, on the verge of Valdivieso's departure, asked the sacristan to retract his demands and thus solve the political dilemma, but the tension caused national repercussions for decades to come. Apart from ending thirty years of conservative governments, it would influence the start of a rising secularism that, by 1925, would finally split the Church from the State.

During this same period, Alzedo was the most public "official" musician in Chile. He oversaw music-making that had to serve the ideas of both Church and State, and to comply with the expectations of both increasingly separate partners. He was not only the chapelmaster of Valdivieso, but also of Bulnes and Montt, in charge of the music of the "metropolitan" Cathedral, and Alzedo took his job extremely seriously. One way in which Alzedo did this, as I discussed in the previous chapter, was by

bridging the secular and sacred spheres through his use of performative and compositional elements from the opera in his own works for the Cathedral. However, this move was not entirely accepted by church officials and, in fact, Alzedo was criticised for it. It is easy to understand why: opera was becoming the symbol of that liberal, secular republic, to the detriment of the colonial extension of the influence of church music as the central official sound of the State. By bringing the sounds of that secular sphere, successful as they were with audiences, Alzedo was breaking the necessary independence that many of the most conservative Catholics expected. It was a way of bridging both worlds under stylistic presumptions of a world that was anathema to Catholic church officials: the theatre.

Alzedo did not escape this political problem, and his enthusiasm in embracing opera -discussed in the previous chapter- affected his reputation with the conservative Catholic establishment. In December 1855, only a few months before the problem with the sacristan started, a group of students from the Pontifical Seminary in Santiago published an article in the official Catholic newspaper -*La Revista Católica*- suggesting that the music that had been played in the Cathedral during the ceremonies of the Immaculate Conception -recently officialised as *dogma* by the church- was mostly taken from operatic extracts: “We believe that the music played that night must have surely pleased the *dilettanti* of the Opera; but those of us with pious sentiments do not like to hear in the temple what is played in the theatre”.¹⁶

Alzedo was outraged by the accusations. How could it be that he was being attacked using such arguments? In the words of the students, Alzedo was too involved in the “secular” world, unable to separate the sound of opera from what was needed in the church.¹⁷ Alzedo responded by pointing out that he was and always had been a member of the church. “Everything that was played that night (except for the Te Deum) was exclusively the work of this chapelmaster [...] I have had a professional education since I was nine years old, always in the church”.¹⁸

¹⁶ *La Revista Católica*, Santiago, 15 December 1855.

¹⁷ *La Revista Católica*, Santiago, 2 February 1856.

¹⁸ *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, Valparaíso, 21 December 1855.

Alzedo, who extended the discussion in two further letters to the newspaper, started to go beyond personal defence to, instead, for the first time publicly construct a theoretical argument about the use of profane musical styles in the church, one that had implications well beyond opera. He offered four criteria to distinguish such “bad behaviours”: 1) If the music was indeed taken from a piece written originally for the theatre; 2) if the music is “jumpy” [*saltante*, could be read as too rhythmical or syncopated], or induces dance movements; 3) if the music is funny or ridiculous; 4) if the melodic language can be considered lubricious [*tendencias lúbricas*].¹⁹ It is certainly the case that Alzedo’s music from this period does none of these things (and certain, too, that some of his other music does, such as his early *villancicos*), but the original accusation -that it was music that could have more easily pleased the *dilettanti* of the opera- could not be denied, and Alzedo left this charge unanswered. It seems plausible to argue that the charge made by the students severely affected Alzedo. It is undeniable that in some of his late works,²⁰ particularly those for organ and voices, he severely restricted himself from the use of any grand orchestral figures and operatic traits of the sort described above.

But that was not enough. In the following years Alzedo finished his grand *Filosofía de la Música*, a large book discussing various theoretical and philosophical aspects of music making, which was finally published in 1869. Alzedo’s *Filosofía* is divided into Articles, each one starting with a set of questions and answers, and then leading to a more philosophical debate on the nature of those answers. Article IV of his *Filosofía* is mostly dedicated to the problem of “style” and it is there that Alzedo offers one of his most interesting discussions, and one that was directly related to everything he had experienced in past decades. He introduces the problem by arguing that, as in oratory, musical styles are usually classified by “their object and place of dedication”, as with sacred, theatrical or military music. However, following Rousseau, he concedes that style cannot be easily classified, given that it changes “with

¹⁹ *El Ferrocarril*, Santiago, 22 February 1856.

²⁰ *Misa en Fa* for organ and voices, BNP 4:23; *Requiem*, BNP 4:24.

weather, tastes of peoples, genius of authors, subjects, places, times, objects, expressions, &c".²¹ Accordingly, he follows with a model of classification of styles that, he argues, simplifies the operation of describing them. Four layers of style "coexist [*son inherentes*] in each composition: *Individual, National, Moral and Contemporary*".

The first one is "the way in which each expresses his own thoughts; and thus, we speak of the style of Rossini, Bellini, Mercadante". The second is "the one that, on a par with language, depends on the influence of climate [*clima*]; and is thus rough or soft, festive or melancholic and, by its manner, one can say that Italian music is different in character from German or French one". The *moral* style would be "the one that is in proportion to the object to which the place of dedication refers; and thus, we speak of the style of theatre, of temple, and so on". Finally, there would be a contemporary style, "which is the one in which coincide all coetaneous people; because it is true that each century has its own fashion, styles and notabilities; and one can say that the style of Haydn and Mozart is in fact very different from the one of Donizetti and Verdi".

Alzedo, then, adds two extra layers to his description: the first is that the value "and distinction by which we judge each composition" go beyond styles, and are defined by the degrees in which they are developed, whether simple, moderate, or sublime. The second is to consider that style can reach sublimity only through expression, either in composition or performance [*ejecución*]. According to Alzedo, the first is the way in which a composer "sets each passion or affect", while the second is related to the way in which the performer "judiciously understands a composition, and the mind of the composer".²² The problem that arises from this distinction, then, is that while style is always, in essence, "characteristic and permanent", it is valued in the end through expression, which is always "accidental and transitory". Alzedo's discussion of style goes well beyond some of his eighteenth-century models, like the Spanish theoretician Antonio Eximeno, whose works he probably knew from his early

²¹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 38-39. All following quotes come from this passage.

²² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 39 (first footnote of the page).

student years.²³ Alzedo's distinction and divisions help him not only to overcome the usual problems of describing "style", but to give an answer to his critics: while he uses a *contemporary* style in his church music, he is still conscious of the *moral* problems behind writing specifically for the liturgy. As he himself wrote, "how many times have people who have wronged come into the temple and, moved by the meditations of a suggestive and devout melody, emended their ways?"²⁴

In his fifth article, Alzedo specifically discusses differences and problems in the three *moral* styles: theatre, military and the church. He divides "sacred music" into two broad categories: Ecclesiastical Chant and Temple Music (also called *Sacred-Lyrical*). The first, that we usually define as Plainchant, is according to Alzedo the one used "for the divine rites, according to the prescriptions of the church", following a long tradition, has to be "uniform and decorous" to be "edifying" and, when not, descends into profanity and disorder.²⁵ On the other hand, Temple Music [*Música de Templo*] "expresses a religious sentiment in accordance with the place and the identity of the words".²⁶ This repertoire fails in its purpose, according to Alzedo, when the specific words to be sung are not expressed correctly by means of specific music attached to them.

5.2. The composer as chapelmaster

This is the task, Alzedo argues, "of all composers and performers, but most specifically of chapelmasters, who oversee the order, direction and zeal in their ministry".²⁷ Thus, argues Alzedo, the problem arises when people "confound the *theatrical* [moral] style with the contemporary one. Then injustice happens, as when Padre Martini censored Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, comparing it with *La Serva Padrona*".²⁸ As he argues in his

²³ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 42-44. See also Alberto Hernández, *El pensamiento musical de Antonio Eximeno* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2014), 316.

²⁴ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 53.

²⁵ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 48-50.

²⁶ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 50.

²⁷ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 51.

²⁸ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 52.

Filosofía: music is there to play a role, to communicate and inspire, and to do that it must flow with the tides of its time. He reminds the reader, and the listener, of the words of Saint Isidore of Seville: “Without the cooperation of music, no doctrine can be perfect; without her, nothing is fruitful”.²⁹

The centrality Alzedo gives in his theories and in his work as composer to church music was not uncommon for Latin America in this time, and should be understood both in practical and aesthetic terms. However, as I have stated in the introduction, this is difficult to comprehend if we only retain a secularist perspective of nineteenth-century music history: church and sacred music have been essentially considered as anti- or pre-modern by many of those that study music history of this period: church -liturgical- music as a form of composition seems to go against much that is perceived as the “progress” of the century: secularism, liberalism, independence of the artist, the creator as individual.³⁰ As in Europe -and particularly in Catholic Europe- composers still worked for the church during the nineteenth century in Latin America, but there are evident differences between both regions.³¹

Church music not only offered job opportunities in Latin America, but also a desired and highly regarded way of being a composer, seemingly the most valued of all. Church music also played an aesthetic, historical and economic central role in literate music creation in Latin America, because of the relevance of the Catholic church in the continent’s colonial past, for much of the nineteenth century. Religious works are time and again praised by contemporaries as the summit of a composer’s career. As the young pianist (later politician) Juan Bautista Alberdi acknowledged in *The Spirit of Music*, published in Buenos Aires in 1832: “a Mass with no defects is, without doubt, the most important and difficult work of composition”.³² When Alzedo returned to Peru in 1863, his colleague José Zapiola would write about “his great

²⁹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 54.

³⁰ Philip Bohlman, ed., *The Cambridge History of World Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), xxvii.

³¹ But in Europe the number of composers working for the church had dropped abruptly after the 1790s, see Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, 69-70.

³² Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Obras completas* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de La Tribuna Nacional, 1840), 6. “una misa sin defectos es sin contradicción la obra más importante y más difícil de la composición [...]”.

Masses, and above all his *Miserere* which the audience of this capital always listens as a novelty and, which according to various competent critics, has five or six verses that no great *master* would reject as of their own”.³³ His biographer Zegarra also wrote later that, among his greatest works, we should first consider “the magnificent *Miserere*, a *Passion* for Sunday and another for Friday, the three *Solemn Masses* in D, E flat and F, the beautiful *Invitatorio*, various motets, the *Benedictus*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Salve* and *Trisagio*”, which reads largely like a list of all his major works composed for Santiago Cathedral.³⁴

But, as discussed in the last chapter, musical interest in the first half of the nineteenth century was rapidly moving from church music to the theatre, and other “secular” places of music-making, and thus to make church music relevant a direct relation with those “modern” sounds and scenes had to be found. This change, certainly, could have been read as part of those difficult transitions of power between Church and State, and thus Alzedo had to situate himself in a rapidly changing world of symbolic and practical relations in which operatic resources would not have been enough. As a chapelmaster, a republican chapelmaster, he had to find a way to convey in his sacred music his role as a representative of both powers in a difficult relationship.

That he had to write music in this manner, considering the expectations of so many agents, indicates one reason that it is so difficult to understand nineteenth-century chapelmasters as part of broader music historical narratives. In a traditional historical narrative where “breaking” with patronage is the essential model for being a “universal” composer in this period, to find relevance as a musical voice through finding a way of complying with not one but two masters, seems a bit ludicrous. The sense of liberty promoted by secular liberalism, which is essentially individualistic in character, is at odds with the idea of Christian liberty, which is granted by God,

³³ *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, 5 January 1864.

³⁴ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, viii.

synesthetic with him.³⁵ How can the composer strive to be both “genius” and employee at the same time? Is the liberty given inside liturgical rules and precepts less free -less at liberty- than the one granted by the individual as sole ruler of his/her creative life?

There is an essential epistemological problem in studying music before romanticism in that “previous” art forms were more concerned with portraying a collective or “conventional” expression, supported by patronage, rather than an individual ideal, and that this model was embodied in all its force by religious art.³⁶ In a way, this problem was already acknowledged by Charles Rosen, in his late discussion of art and freedom, when he debates the problems of understanding eighteenth-century art from a romantic perspective, from a post-Schiller quest for freedom. Bruce Haynes has more recently continued this discussion, arguing that much damage is done in trying to understand pre-romantic art, and particularly church music, under concepts of individual expression.³⁷

I would argue, however, that both Haynes and Rosen make the mistake of regarding this conception of art in a teleological way, only as a fragment of pre-1800 ideals, reinforcing the Hegelian model of music history as the power of change and transformation -and innovation. If that were the case, certainly, a composer like Alzedo would only be a fixed, belated echo of a past in a peripheral, un-modern region. And, perhaps, this is the way that most would still think of him or similar composers in historiographical terms. This, naturally, has affected our understanding of sacred music in Latin American after independence as backward-looking. See for example Leslie Bethell’s description of creation in the period: “The period from the 1820s to the 1870s saw a violent and often incoherent struggle to restructure the Latin American societies [...] All the arts except literature languished or declined at first in most regions

³⁵ Jeremy Begbie, *Music, Modernity and God: Essays in Listening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 148-151.

³⁶ Charles Rosen, *Freedom and the Arts: Essays on Music and Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 8.

³⁷ Bruce Haynes and Geoffrey Burgess, *The Pathetick Musician: Moving an Audience in the Age of Eloquence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 8.

[...] and few paintings or musical compositions were officially commissioned before mid-century, other than the traditional religious works for churches”.³⁸ For Carredano and Eli, in their recent book on nineteenth-century Latin American music, sacred music of the period is understood repeatedly as “decadent”.³⁹ It is implied in such a description, that these music -written for churches- is only a languishing remnant of a past, not a real display of creative activity, because it does not account for a perspective in which art has to be in constant change. But this is an essentially romantic, secularist and modern idea that is necessarily at odds with the notion of much liturgical art.

We must understand that -and how- church music was still relevant to Alzedo’s generation, because the Church and the sacred conception of space and time it conveyed were still important and central to everyday “modern” life in many nations, including Latin American ones. Thus, church composers had to work under many constraints (a word that I do not regard necessarily as negative in this context), including liturgical ones, that shaped their music. Perhaps Alzedo’s genius, if I may be allowed the word, resides in the ways that he managed to combine all these requirements within a handful of pieces that at once allowed him to retain his job, to please both priests and politicians, to satisfy the liturgical necessities, and still to seem organic -and somewhat personal- as musical compositions: in combining all the multiple stylistic layers necessary to make a statement for his time.

To show exactly how he managed to do this, I will analyse two groups of repertoires. First, I will discuss the strong relationship between certain early pieces by Alzedo -from his years in Lima- and his patriotic songs, and how Alzedo came to create a style that could convey both the secular and the sacred; second, I will examine how he explored this style while being chapelmaster in Santiago, to serve the complex political situation for which he composed.

³⁸ Bethell, *A Cultural History of Latin America*, 10.

³⁹ Carredano and Eli, *Historia de la música*, 125-152; the notion of “decadence” appears several times in this section. A similar use of the notion of “decadence” can be seen in other Latin American books on music of the period, like Miranda and Tello, *La música en Latinoamérica*, 22.

5.3. *Villancicos* in the name of liberty

The claim has been made that the melody of Alzedo's *Somos Libres*, the Peruvian National Anthem, came originally from a "Gloria" of one of his early masses.⁴⁰ Alas, no proof has ever been given, and as far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no single obvious connection to his only extant early Mass, the one in D major (see Example 3, discussed in chapter 2). However, even if the connection does not exist or survive, that the myth was created is rather interesting. Perhaps it was originally based on an account or anecdote from the composer himself, or perhaps as a jest reflecting the fact that the national anthem had been created inside a convent. Or, from another perspective, it could have been invented to give the national anthem the halo of sanctity that it needed, to make it a prolongation of the sacred anthems that supported previous regimes.

But beyond the mythical, it is evident that there is otherwise a strong connection between some of Alzedo's patriotic songs and his early compositions for the church, such as his *villancicos*. *Villancicos* had had a long tradition in Peru: they were sacred music in vernacular languages (mostly Spanish), meant to explain theological problems in simple and didactic terms. They were extremely popular across the Iberian colonies, with their easy-to-follow structure of a refrain and repeated stanzas. The same model was used by patriotic songs, and the style of the contemporary *villancico* can be perceived in most of the "anthems" that survive from the period before *bel canto* overtook the writing of national songs, as is the case, for example, of the original Chilean anthem from 1819⁴¹ and the Venezuelan one, from 1811.

Indeed, Alzedo's own example of a national anthem (*Somos Libres*) also seems to have been part of that tradition, as if grown from a *villancico* itself, with its clear division of repeated choruses and various stanzas for a soloist. Perhaps there was an original, direct model for it. The score of his *villancico a 4* titled *Volad, volad amores* [Fly,

⁴⁰ Carlos Raygada, *Historia crítica del Himno Nacional*, I/89.

⁴¹ Cristián Guerra, "Entre el olvido y la ruina: en torno a la canción nacional chilena de Manuel Robles", *Resonancias* 20 (2007), 25.

fly you Loves] has some striking similarities to the *Somos Libres*, but perhaps the connections have never been made because the piece disappeared from Santiago Cathedral's archive at some time in the last forty years. Samuel Claro catalogued it,⁴² but the scores were probably stolen after the collection became known thanks to his research. However, I found that a series of uncatalogued microfilms made by Claro of the archive survive in the musicology archive of the Universidad de Chile, where a handful of Alzedo's compositions otherwise lost can be found.⁴³ The piece itself consists of a score for the regular Neapolitan type of orchestra used in Lima around 1800, as well as a later adaptation for organ Alzedo made in the 1850s. The moment in which both pieces become similar is one of the most relevant for the structure and the message of both: the beginning of the solo, the *coplas* (or stanzas, Example 18, p.499 from bar 45 on). In Figure 17, a comparison can be seen between the way this section is addressed in both the *villancico* and the national anthem:

Figure 16: “Volad, volar amores”, b.45 to 56; “Somos Libres”, b.39 to 49.

⁴² Samuel Claro, *Catálogo del archivo musical de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial del Instituto de Extensión Musical, Universidad de Chile, 1974).

⁴³ *Volad, volad amores* was number ACS 196 in the catalogue, and survives in the same position in the microfilm. See the Appendix for more information on the piece.

If you add one bar to the melody of the national anthem, the structure of both melodies fits almost perfectly in harmonic and rhetorical terms. The first few bars contain a contemplative description for the listener, of either the “beauty of the father” and his rays of sun, or of the sound of chains being broken after “centuries of horror”. Afterwards (bar 4 to 5 of Figure 17), there is a dramatic -almost “sublime”- turn from G major (the anthem was here transposed from most copies from the period that are in F major)⁴⁴ to a minor third above, B flat major, when the narrator sings of the ascendance of Jesus to heaven in the *villancico* and the “sacred cry of the free” [*de los libres el grito sagrado*] in the anthem. In the case of the anthem, the melodic shape of the phrase is evidently quoting *La Marseillaise*, a very specific “sacred cry of the free”. Afterwards, both melodies are fragmented into short sentences, descending slowly into a final concluding section for the phrase. Certainly, the melody of the *villancico* is mostly in a single rhythm of quavers, while the anthem conveys a marching, militaristic picture with its use of dotted crotchets and quavers.

The similarities, I believe, are too many not to consider them. However, by itself, this comparison would amount to no more than an anecdote. It makes complete sense in relation to how many of these similarities also appear between others of his earliest religious pieces and some of his patriotic songs. Take, for example, the case of Alzedo’s *Himno a Grande Orquesta*, “Anthem for Orchestra”, which begins with the incipit “*Salve patria del Inca*”, or “Hail land of the Inca”.⁴⁵ The tempo of the piece is titled “de marcha” and there are various corrections and amendments of orchestration, showing that Alzedo worked the piece directly in the score. What is perhaps most interesting, is that the same piece survives both as a *villancico* and a *motet*, depending on the copy, in the Cathedral in Santiago, under the title of *Benedicta et Venerabilis*.⁴⁶ In musical terms, they are the same piece, and all traces seem to show that the patriotic march came first,

⁴⁴ My transcription of Alzedo’s arrangement of the National Anthem of Peru can be found in IMSLP: <http://imslp.nl/imglnks/usimg/7/7b/IMSLP352342-PMLP306324-alzedoamericano.pdf> (Accessed 10 January 2017). The oficial versión used nowadays, arranged by Claudio Rebagliatti, can also be found there: <http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b7/IMSLP173470-SIBLEY1802.4189.212e-39087011975523alzedo.pdf> (Accessed 10 January 2017).

⁴⁵ BNP 8:6.

⁴⁶ See the different variations in ACS 65 (used for this transcription), ACS 177, ACS 294.

given the militaristic introduction, with fanfares and punctuating rhythms, and even the way the rhythm of the lyrics is set for the choir (Figure 18):



Figure 17, *Benedicta*, bars 33-37, showing both secular and sacred lyrics.

The recycling of the music is not only striking because of how little is changed in musical terms to fit the new text, but also because how successful the religious piece seems to have been in the Cathedral, with various copies -some apparently copied even after Alzedo left- under different names and hands, mostly for organ and voices.

Another example in a similar vein is Alzedo's *Venid Coros del Empíreo* ["Come, o ye Empyrean choirs"], a *villancico* that also survives as the motet *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*.⁴⁷ The same melody is also used for an anthem, titled *Himno Guerrero a la Vuelta de los Españoles a las Islas Chincha* ["War Anthem on the Return of Spaniards to the Chincha Islands"],⁴⁸ composed for the war against Spain in the 1860s. The similarities between the melodies are striking, as seen here (Figure 19):



Figure 18, *Lauda Sion / Himno Guerrero*, first bars of the melodies.

Again, the lyrics do not seem to work as well for the Latin as they do for the Spanish version, but by all accounts the *Himno Guerrero* is a later reuse, since its lyrics

⁴⁷ ACS 145.

⁴⁸ BNP 8:1.

only make sense in the context of the 1860s, when it was even performed by the opera company in Lima in May 1866 and dedicated to the new Peruvian president of the time, Mariano Ignacio Prado, who attended the evening of the premiere. According to local newspapers the piece was “celebrated by the audience and after the last verse the composer had to present himself on the stage”.⁴⁹ Interestingly, too, the instrumental parts for neither the *Lauda Sion Salvatore* nor *Venid Coros del Empíreo* survive, perhaps because they were reused in this performance. But the style and the instrumentation convey the sense of a very early composition.

To reuse music in this way was not unheard of, and we should remember the “double lyrics” of Alzedo’s scene for the opera *La Cifra*. In most cases, the recycling implied only a change of lyrics, but in others the transformation is more profound, whether for practical or aesthetic reasons. In the light of previous theoretical discussions, this process shows that Alzedo’s ideas of style and how to convey the multiple layers of what is contemporary, modern, secular or sacred grew over time, and converged during his tenure as chapelmaster. Alzedo reused what he knew from how to write a *villancico* to structure his own anthems, religious and secular; and, perhaps, part of his later success came from this early training in how to sound both sacred and profane at the same time with the same music. He worked to create new music in a sound-world that remained familiar, that appealed to a broad audience, and the *villancico*, as a genre of music so central to many celebrations, shared those properties. In this, Alzedo works in a similar way to Ximénez with the *tonadilla* (as discussed in the previous chapter), embedding it with new meanings, and thus appropriating the traditions from the colonial past for a new political era. The use of resources and formats audiences were familiar with, to speak about what was unknown and new -independence and the new republic-, was a practical as well as an aesthetic solution, in which Alzedo too reinvented himself as a composer.

⁴⁹ *El Comercio*, Lima, 23 May 1866.

5.4. A Catholic-republican repertoire

In his first months as chapelmaster, Alzedo wrote time and again to the chapters and archbishop with various demands, in a way that demonstrates his zeal to control every aspect of music-making in the Cathedral as soon as he assumed his job. From his interest in the uniforms of the musicians to the number of violins in the orchestra, Alzedo did not want to leave a single element beyond his control. Alzedo wrote in 1847 to the chapters, a month before the commemoration of Independence on 18 September, saying that “I have been overloaded with tasks, even during my long nights, since the first days of July, so I can achieve the brilliant results I have proposed to myself”;⁵⁰ the *Te Deum* that day was going to be “comprised of the original productions born of the shallow talents of the director of the chapel”.⁵¹ For the Gradual, the section sung between the epistle and the Hallelujah, Alzedo proposed a setting of the “Song of the Sea”, or song of Moses (Exodus 15:1-18), the prayer sung by Moses and the Israelites after safely crossing the Red Sea (see Example 19, p.502).

Alzedo’s selection is interesting: this is not a piece that is often set by Christian composers, but Alzedo was very conscious in using it to serve two purposes in one work: on the one hand, in his own words, it would serve to “glorify the Lord in imitation of Israel, on the day that we remember the beginning of our political freedom”, and “at the same time, fulfilling the order of the Canon 12 of the First Council of Prague, in which it is asked that the songs and poetry of the Old Testament are set to music”.⁵² Alzedo therefore knew perfectly well that with his unorthodox selection, he was fulfilling a double purpose in the practical sense, but from his first sentence we can see it really had another double meaning: the piece celebrates both

⁵⁰ He “recargado mis tareas sin perdonarme aun las horas de la noche desde el primer día del pasado Julio, a efecto de conseguir el brillante resultado que me he propuesto”. ACS, Correspondencia, vol. 4; 1844-1848. no.102, 14 August 1847.

⁵¹ “producciones originales nacidas de los pobres talentos del director de la Capilla”. ACS, Correspondencia, vol. 4; 1844-1848. no.102, 14 August 1847.

⁵² “con el que a imitacion de Israel glorifiquemos al Señor en el día que se hace memoria de la plantación de nuestra libertad política: llevandose al mismo tiempo el encargo del Canon 12 del Concilio primero de Praga, que quiere se canten en la Iglesia los Canticos i poesias del viejo y nuevo testamento”. ACS, Correspondencia, vol. 4; 1844-1848. no.102, 14 August 1847.

“the Lord” and the “political freedom”, music for both liturgical and republican necessities, and complying with all the rules. Alzedo did not use the entire text, selecting a fragment. The piece survives in a full manuscript score for orchestra (Figure 20), as well as a transcription for the organ, meaning that it was still being used after the large Flight & Son organ was installed in 1850. Alzedo opens the piece with a long “military” introduction, where the brass is written directly into the score,⁵³ with only a pair of piston trumpets and a side-drum added as an afterthought.



Figure 19: *Cántico de Moisés*, score, BNP 8:4, first page of the manuscript.

⁵³ That is, not as a footnote to the original instrumentation, as it was the case in his *Domine ad Adjuvandum*, discussed in the previous chapter.

The Gradual thus escaped from its straightforward liturgical duties without departing from the scriptures, using the powerful image of victory in a way that would have directly reminded the listeners at the same time of the patriotic celebrations outside the church itself. This spirit of the piece, however, is not circumscribed to the introduction, as something separate from the religious text, but is extended with the entry of the voices strikingly in the subdominant of A-flat major (with the bass in E-flat). Alzedo only uses the first lines of the poem (15:1), for the chorus: “I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea”. For the verses, however, he uses a later section (15:11): “Who among the gods is like you, Lord? Who is like you, majestic in holiness, awesome in glory, working wonders?”, which are set against a more delicate musical background, with solo voices and a more evident participation of the strings in their support. The return of the full orchestra at the end therefore becomes even more impressive, with the addition of some dramatic harmonies in the coda (see bars 106 to 107, p.511).

The convergence of Alzedo’s ideas, as proposed to the chapters, including the selection of the text and the composition of the music itself, show how conscious he was in trying to bridge his work as chapelmaster of a church and of the republic itself; a tendency only reinforced in his later pieces. Take, for example, the differences and convergences in the short motets he wrote for both the entrance of the president to the Cathedral -*Posui Adjutorium*- and for the archbishop himself -*Victimae Paschalis*. It is striking that they share the same musical language, and are very similar in both structure and melodic development, like two sides of the same coin.

In the case of the *Posui Adjutorium* (Example 20, p.512),⁵⁴ used for “the reception of the President of the Republic”, as it says on its title page, the idea that government is not possible outside the church is quite explicitly displayed. The piece uses a short text from Psalm 89, which praises King David: “I have bestowed strength on a warrior; I have raised up a young man from among the people [...] my hand will sustain him; surely my arm will strengthen him. The enemy will not get the better of him; the

⁵⁴ ACS 279; for an orchestral version see BNP 1:3.

wicked will not oppress him". The translation, in fact, could easily be discerned as "one elected [*electrum*] from among the people", more than "I have raised", serving perfectly for a presidential position, particularly one so strongly related to the wills of the church. But it was, again, a very unorthodox text to set, and not one that had been set before with this specific meaning in mind, as far as I know. Alzedo shows his intentions not only through the music setting, but in the selection of the text itself.⁵⁵

Posui Adjutorium is militaristic in character, albeit less so than the *Cantemus Domino*. It begins with a short introduction of nine bars, followed by a statement by the choir. Certain special moments of the text are set to music in ways that reinforce the message. For example, the bass (Alzedo's singing voice) has a solo arpeggio when he is the first to announce the "election", followed by a march-like rhythm in the organ (bars 20 to 22), and the "people" (*plebe*) are described in a canon, as if many voices were participating and responding to the announcements of the solo. The B section begins with an unexpected turn (bars 41 to 42) from F major to A flat major, when the bass sings about the "servant from Israel", the one chosen by God (who speaks in first person in the text). The phrase "I have anointed him with my holy oil" transforms the accompaniment in the organ to a subtle, choral sequence of chords, giving the action an unrestrained "sanctity" in its use of chordal harmony (bars 52 to 64). The text then comes back to a section that had already been sung, developing the final coda and peroration from it: "My hand will always be with him". The constant declamation of the text, over a C pedal in the middle voices (bars 96 to 99), finally underlines the central idea -inherited from the monarchy- that the might of the ruler comes from God, but also from the protection of the church when the president stays on its side.

⁵⁵ A moving selection of text by Alzedo is the one he made for his Requiem, one of his last compositions, only surviving in a very unfinished manuscript. In it he added a single solo, after the Sanctus, with the text "O vos omnes". The solo is only accompanied by bassoons, bass and violin and, being technically part of the Lamentations, I have not found it to be part added to any other Requiem. The personal quality of the piece is unmistakable in the selection of such a text: "O, all you who walk by on the road, pay attention and see: if there be any sorrow like my sorrow".

The *Victimae Paschalis*,⁵⁶ on the other hand, was more explicitly dedicated to a single person, Archbishop Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, as it is stated on the cover of the score. In the increasingly liberal world of a republic, the appearance of Valdivieso as the archbishop of Santiago determined, in many ways, the conservative, almost reactionary Catholic structure of the country for decades. Valdivieso deeply despised “baroque” or “romantic” forms of worship, and searched for a more rational way of realising local liturgies.⁵⁷ According to Sol Serrano, Valdivieso sustained the position of the church not by claims to God’s will, but rather through jurisdiction and politics.⁵⁸ For him, a central aspect of being an archbishop was to have “the satisfaction in knowing that the government shares our same convictions”.⁵⁹

In what ways, then, did the *Victimae Paschalis* serve Valdivieso’s purposes? This piece (Example 20, p.21) is a sequence for Easter Sunday, the most well-attended day in the Cathedral of Santiago. It was saved from an earlier medieval hymn by the Council of Trent and has been arranged by various composers, both in Protestant and the Catholic context (in German, famously, is known as the choral *Christ ist erstanden*). Parts of it, like “Death and life contended in battle” or “The lamb has redeemed the sheep” are staples of the Holy Week, and Christian faith. The dedication of such a central text, with its liturgical and historical weight, must certainly have resonated with Valdivieso’s sense of self-importance. The dedication itself could have been written in colonial times: “Composed and dedicated to the most illustrious and reverend Sr. Dr. Dn. [Mister, Doctor, Sir] Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, full of merit [*meritísimo*] archbishop of this archdiocese of Santiago, by José Bernardo Alzedo, Chapelmaster of the same church and obsequious servant and appreciator of Your Most Illustrious and Reverend Holiness”.⁶⁰ Which archbishop could deny such praise?

But the music itself departs from pieces like the *Cantemus Domino* and the *Posui Adjutorium* in that it is evidently less militaristic, while it also follows them in being

⁵⁶ ACS 323.

⁵⁷ Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la república?*, 34.

⁵⁸ Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la república?*, 49-50.

⁵⁹ AAS, Oficios del Prelado, v.3:2; 14 July 1846. Letter from Valdivieso to Antonio Varas.

⁶⁰ ACS 323

extremely straightforward in its approach to text and musical discourse. One could even call it catechetical in its unambiguity. However, here the catechism is, at the same time, religious and political. The introduction is only eight bars long, with the same material used for the first entry of the voices, and after that (bar 9), we are exposed to a continuous rendering of the long text, almost without repetitions, but with frequent changes of musical imagery. The sentence *Agnus redemit oves*, the lamb has redeemed the sheep, is portrayed in all its drama, with a diminished seventh chord (as dominant) syncopated on top of the tonic D in the pedal (bars 17 to 20), and then a dramatic harmonic turn prepares the word *peccatores* (bars 24 and 28).

The bass (the voice of Alzedo) gives the first solo, *Mors et vita duello*, death and life in battle, with the organ contrasting the stops of Bassoon and Cremona in two different registers (bars 30 to 40), with the rest of the choir punctuating the two most important words (*mors, vita*). *Dic nobis Maria* -“tell us Maria what you saw on the road”-, is a duet for soprano and tenor (bars 66 to 73), which gives a contrasting tender subtlety to the piece, fitting the subject, and then the organist displays all his virtuosity with the words “The angelic witnesses”, a moment for the supernatural (bars 74 to 79), which listeners who had never heard a large organ or a professional organist would have found mesmerising. Finally, the last Amen is built as a long peroration that uses syncopation to maintain the intensity of the discourse.

I have given such a long description of the piece, because I think that it portrays a return for Alzedo to the practices of his early years in Lima. In contrast with the *Cantemus Domino*, the *Miserere* or other pieces of the 1840s, he uses a long text in a syllabic setting, centring the weight of his composition on the clear exposition of the text and its setting in music. For Alzedo, to compose music meant to “portray with fidelity each passion or particular affect with the most appropriate [*propia*] and significant melody”.⁶¹ But it was also to “understand the human heart, and the springs that excite its feelings, and the judicious observation of the various metres of sacred and profane poetry to be able to make it significant; that would be the *scientific and true*

⁶¹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 39.

musician".⁶² Alzedo was thinking how to address "his" archbishop, and wrote music that closely resembled both the colonial past he longed for, but in a more contemporary style. At the same time, it also fits with the ways in which Valdivieso wanted to make the church more logical, more rational and straightforward, which is what the *Victimae Paschalis* is. And although we do not have a precise date for the first performance of the piece, it seems plausible that it was written between 1850 -the arrival of the organ- and 1852, when Valdivieso asked the chapters pay Alzedo more.

The very last two bars of the piece, however, point also in a more political direction: they are an unmistakable citation of the last two bars of the Chilean national anthem, a simple cadential musical figure, but one that is easily recognised by any Chilean listener, as must also have been the case in the 1850s (see Figure 21). It is also a very special cadential figure, not a standard one, and used by Alzedo only on one other occasion, probably with a similar connotation.⁶³ Alzedo's obsession with using music to convey meanings and communicate with his "audience" leads me to hear this final cadence as setting the *Victimae Paschalis* as an introduction to the meanings of the national anthem, as if the religious weight of the archbishop was the support, the ground from which the Chilean nation springs and has to be understood.



Figure 20: Last bars of *Victimae Paschalis* / Last bars of the introduction to the Chilean national anthem.

⁶² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 40.

⁶³ At the end of the congratulatory piece for Henry Meiggs Alzedo wrote in 1863. A discussion of that piece follows in the next sub-chapter.

5.5. Music for a modern country

Alzedo returned to Lima for the last time in early 1864. Only a few months before, in September, he wrote the music for what was, probably, one of his last public appearances in Chile. The piece commemorated a significant event for the economical development of the country: the inauguration of the railroad between Valparaíso and Santiago. The piece is titled *Himno Encomiástico al Honorable Señor D. Enrique Meiggs* [Hymn of Praise to the honourable Mr. Henry Meiggs],⁶⁴ and was presented in the ceremonies in honour of Enrique Meiggs, the US-American businessman and entrepreneur who developed some of the early railways in Chile and Peru. The inauguration of the route was on September 14, 1863, and the occasion was used to celebrate both the new liberal government and the visible arrival of progress to the country. Meiggs was the man of the hour, celebrated with a grand dinner and various feasts in Llay-Llay, a small town between Santiago and Valparaíso.

Given the importance of the event, the archbishop was asked to give a sermon and his blessing, and his words were immediately followed by Alzedo's song, as if an extension of them. Some said that Meiggs visibly cried, overwhelmed by so many honours.⁶⁵ The piece (Example 22, p.526) is full of the usual praises (glory to Meiggs, honour to Meiggs), but the verses (*a duo*) are more interesting, with their use of modern musical imagery: From the "locomotive" rhythm in the piano part, to the lyrics, it keeps a pedagogical mode that would have been not out of style in a *villancico*: "See, how like fast eagles a hundred trains slide, pulled by machines of whistling vapours. With vertigo, beneath our feet, the Andes vanish, snowed and green".⁶⁶

Was Alzedo asked by the archbishop to compose the piece as part of the Church delegation to the ceremonies? Did he compose the piece because he was asked by someone else, or because he wanted to contribute personally to the occasion? I have

⁶⁴ BNP 8:8.

⁶⁵ There is an account of the occasion in the biography by Watt Steward, *Henry Meiggs: Yankee Pizarro* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), 29.

⁶⁶ "Ved cual águilas rapidas deslizarse cien trenes al impulso de máquinas silbantes de vapor. En fantástico vértigo a sus pies desaparece de los Andes esplendidos el nevado verdor".

not been able to find information to answer these questions. Perhaps Alzedo was using his music in a very old-fashioned way, to ingratiate himself with influential people, like Henry Meiggs. Meiggs was already planning to go to Peru, and perhaps Alzedo was conscious of the potential gains of being in good terms with the most famous businessman in the region. Writing music to gain favours was not rare in the period: Bernardo Illari, for example, has studied the somewhat contradictory anthems that Juan Pedro Esnaola wrote in the 1840s to Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina.⁶⁷ Ximénez's also wrote an anthem for Andrés de Santa Cruz.⁶⁸

But Alzedo's anthem gives a different impression when looked in the context of his entire output. That December Alzedo would turn 75 years old, and in the last twenty years of his life he had managed to extend the colonial role of the chapelmaster and reinvent it, an old man using his skills to provide the music for an event that announced a new era. By 1863, Alzedo had managed to make himself the official voice of that convoluted political entanglement between the Church and the State, the secular and the sacred, the old and the new. From trains to presidents, his music was part of a subtle soundtrack of the modern nation, even beyond the walls of the Cathedral he served. His music proved significant to his listeners, employers, and most probably to himself as an artist and artisan. Through his choices, Alzedo developed a meaningful musical persona that was effective in organically shaping -and being shaped by- its context. But we shouldn't read too much of Alzedo as a romantic and individual artist: instead, he serves as a great example and a reminder of the multiple ways there were of being a nineteenth-century composer.

⁶⁷ Bernardo Illari, "Esnaola contra Rosas", *Revista Argentina de Musicología* 11 (2010), 33-73.

⁶⁸ ABNB 1466 (incomplete).

6. Patriotic Epistemologies

At various points in this dissertation, the problem of identity has surfaced in different guises: from the discussion in the introduction about the exoticist perspective of much research on Latin America, the ways in which perhaps a Limenian school of composition had certain “nationalist” roots, to the development of theatrical life in a Europeanised manner. And in my own process of writing the dissertation, in conferences and discussions, I have been time and again confronted with the same question: “Is there something we can regard as Latin American in this music you study?” As I have argued before, however, I do not believe this is the right question to ask. It conveys an essentialist view of Latin America, a continent whose identity would be contained on its own geographical limits, and defined by its possibilities in the exotic, in what is different in relation to a centralised Europe.

In this last chapter, however, I want to confront this question in a contextualised way, looking at how ideas like “Peruvian” or “American” might have been constructed through music and musical discourses in this period, and in the works and writings of Alzedo and Ximénez. The question then, is how can we readdress that “difference”, and how can we understand the historical meanings of the ways in which these “identitarian” elements were included. Take, for example, Ximénez’s *Divertimiento* op.43, which includes what seems like an “Andean” rhythm in its last movement. This work has become, arguably, Ximénez’s most “successful” piece in modern times, often performed nowadays by many guitarists.¹ But in contrast, his two other *divertimenti* for the guitar, which do not have any material that could today be heard as explicitly “American”, have not yet been performed publicly. This creates a false sense of balance: that negligible percentage of pieces that can be assumed and performed as “exotic” get much more attention than those which are more cosmopolitan in style, character and intentions, even if the latter are more abundant.

¹ At least two different performances of the piece can be found in YouTube, and important guitarists have performed it in recent time from my transcription, including Pirai Vacca. None of them have been much interested yet in the other *divertimenti* by Ximénez. Given the interest in the piece, I uploaded my transcription to IMSLP: [http://imslp.org/wiki/Divertimiento_Concertante,_Op.43_\(Abril_Tirado,_Pedro\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Divertimiento_Concertante,_Op.43_(Abril_Tirado,_Pedro)) (Accessed 20 October 2016).

Accordingly, we need to address the question of whether concepts like the “American” were understood during the period in terms of identity, or in other ways. In perspective, this problem becomes important for two composers who worked during and after the period of national independence, and seem to have been conscious of the growing efforts to define national identities during this period. In this chapter, I therefore want to explore the question of why it could be relevant to approach these “traces” of locally defined identity in context, and why these elements existed, if at all. What made them relevant or irrelevant, and how were they considered by musicians? It could be argued that the problem might be more relevant to us than it ever was to them, more central to our historiographical debates than to their contemporary aesthetic discussions; but that the issue existed, and comes to the fore exceptionally in a few works and words of Alzedo and Ximénez, is unquestionable.

Perhaps it would be better -as I will do here- to accept this issue as part of a growing dilemma, one which has roots in the last decades of the eighteenth century and then becomes increasingly relevant through the nineteenth century. This chapter, then, will break slightly the almost continuous chronological order of the dissertation, to thus organically approach issues that became increasingly contested by the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, there are at least two layers to this debate, which are constantly present: one is the consciousness of being “American” -later, “Latin American”-; the other is the idea of the “national” as being different from other regions of that larger America.² In terms of the dissertation itself, the appearance of these ideas show that the construction of the musical and professional persona of Alzedo and Ximénez, as composers, was deeply ingrained in the social and historical changes through which they lived, and that their responses work within a cosmopolitan framework that does not define music solely as “Latin American”, but rather as “from” America, in a transatlantic perspective.

² On the problem of defining and using the concept Latin America, see the beginning of the introduction.

6.1. The local voice

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, who has studied the appearance of an intellectual and literate independent voice from Latin America in the late eighteenth century defined the process of contesting European ideas catering to American needs and beliefs as “patriotic epistemologies”. As he wrote, patriotic epistemologies were intellectual debates that defended American voices against being portrayed by Europeans as unreliable and/or uncivilised. One of the most explicit ways in which this was made was through reinforcing the Catholic elements of Enlightenment against its most secularist versions.³ The timing was extremely important: with the expulsion of the Jesuit order in the 1760s, many American religious scholars ended up in Europe, and from inside European circles confronted the growing notions of Latin America as eminently indigenous, retrograde and/or exotic. Patriotic epistemologies, in return, fermented the imagination of key Latin American writers on the other side of the Atlantic, searching for both what was unique and what was shared, becoming key players in the development of the idea of independence.

However, Cañizares’s research deals mostly with the late colonial period, and to expand the notion of “patriotic epistemologies” into the nineteenth century we need a subtler differentiation of layers and discursive elements. Perhaps the most evident change is that of the geopolitical determination of what was American and/or patriotic in a relation of the region with Europe. The unification or dismembering of “Latin America”, its possible communal values, the fragmentation into nations with geographical limits, and who had the right to serve as the “American” voice were increasingly contested elements of debate that affected any notion of “patriotic” epistemologies in the sense of a unified approach to intellectual discussions. The “American” and the national are thus deeply interrelated ideals, both of which played an important part in the discussions of the Wars of Independence.

³ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 207-208.

The concepts of America and *Americano*, as political identities, can be traced back to at least the period from the 1790s to the 1820s. After the 1820s, however, there was a rapid decline of the collective identification of the entire region as “*Americano*”, in the sense of a political unit, in favour of smaller regional or national identities.⁴ The dream of uniting America, the so-called Bolivarian project, would soon fall apart, at least for the Spanish-speaking countries. After the Wars of Independence, demonyms acquired increased importance, almost always in detriment of the notion of *Americanos*. The consciousness of a collective American identity, beyond the frame of the national, was always maintained intermittently, but would not resurface with the same energy as it had during the period of independence until well into the 1860s, with the invention and gradual use of the concept of Latin America.⁵

Initially, the idea of *Americano* was eminently a comparative concept of identity in contest with Europe: *Americano* was therefore an early “national” concept, a geographical identity code for those from the western side of the Atlantic in opposition to those in the east, in a similar fashion to how it had been -successfully- used by the northern Anglophone colonies in their own process of independence in the 1770s. It is in this sense that one can read, for example, the term “*Americano*” applied in the very early patriotic songs in Spanish America.⁶ One of the earliest patriotic songs that survives in Latin America, the Venezuelan *Canción Americana* -its text printed in 1797 in Curacao- states that: “Sorrowful calls you the nation, *Americanos* / So that, united, we can destroy the tyrant [...] The nation is our Mother, our beloved Mother / oppressed and enslaved by the tyrant”.⁷ America was here thought of as a nation before fragmented nation-states.

⁴ See John Chasteen, *Americanos*, 2-3.

⁵ Joao Feres Júnior, “El concepto de América: ¿Concepto básico o contraconcepto?” in *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano: La era de las revoluciones, 1750-1850*, ed. Javier Fernández Sebastián (Madrid: Fundación Carolina, 2009), 57.

⁶ As always, it is good to remind the reader of the slight differences in the Brazilian case, where the King went to occupy the colonies and set his court in Rio de Janeiro, transforming Brazil into a Kingdom that would later be declared an autonomous Empire.

⁷ Lía Bugliani, “La Carmañola americana (1797) Entre la Carmagnole francesa (1792) y el Canto de las Sabanas de Barinas (1817-1818)”, *Núcleo* 16 (1999), 17-18. “Afligida la Patria os llama, *Americanos*; para que, reunidos, destruyáis al tirano [...] La Patria es nuestra Madre, nuestra Madre querida a quien tiene el tirano esclava y oprimida”.

A very good Peruvian example of this use of the American at the turn of the century can be found in Mariano Melgar's *Ode to Liberty*, which most certainly Pedro Ximénez must have known, given their presumed close personal connection in Arequipa (see Chapter 3). In this poem, Melgar consciously tries to rebalance the relation between Europe and America: it confronts the "the enlightened world" as the one that "took the American gold" leaving behind only the "tenebrous night of horrible centuries". Melgar believed that this dark period was now ending; "and those who called these 'dark lands', now can see and say: 'This is, indeed, a New World' [...]. Now we can say, our nation [*patria*] is the entire world, and we are brothers, of both the Indian and the Iberian".⁸ The "enlightened world" is transformed from a positive to a negative value in that confrontation of the "dark" side of civilisation with the Americas, but in an active search for a certain transoceanic brotherhood.

The appearance of the idea of specific "nations" inside that American region also appears around 1800, but in a different light. At the turn of the century, the concept of nation [*nación*] was still being defined mostly in the old Spanish sense, referring to various ethnic groups that shared languages, religions and traditions; one would have then spoken of a nation of black people, a nation of Indians, or of *criollos*, as well as a nation of Spaniards. The "Spanish" nation, in that sense, would not have meant people in Iberia, but those who were able to differentiate themselves -legally and/or in their identity- as Spaniards in opposition with other groups in the same region.⁹

When the concept of nation started to be thought alongside that of a State -with geographical borders-, it therefore still allowed for a shared identity that was, in many ways, new to the citizens of the Americas. In more than one way, this new concept of the nation (the Peruvian, the Mexican, the Argentinian) had a strategic purpose: to acquire independence, racial divisions had to be changed into geographical ones, thus gaining the necessary human resources to win the war and political support.¹⁰ People

⁸ A full version of the poem can be found in Wikimedia:

https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/A_la_libertad_%28Melgar%29 (Accessed 20 January 2016).

⁹ Fabio Wasserman, "El concepto de Nación y las transformaciones del orden político en Iberoamérica, 1750-1850", *Diccionario político y social*, ed. Javier Fernández Sebastián, 852-856.

¹⁰ John Chasteen, *Americanos*, 3.

would have to start the long and difficult process of naming themselves “Peruvians”, “Chileans”, “Colombians” in ways that differentiated them from their neighbours. In the words of John Chasteen:

In the wake of independence, regional and local identities mattered more than national ones. Regional and local identities tended to encode cultural variations and contrasting lifestyles. [...] Identity politics, America for americanos, had made independence possible, but identity politics soon became an obstacle. To be an americano was no distinction once everybody had become one. To be a mexicano, guatemalteco, colombiano, peruano, boliviano, chileno, paraguayo, or argentino had relatively little meaning in daily life. The new nations lacked much national identity.¹¹

And, as Leslie Bethell has recognised, art could fulfil a role in this new “search for personal, national and continental self-expression which will lead the way from a colonial past to some freer, better future”.¹² In the case of Peru, the complexity of the dialogue between the personal, the national and the continental (the “American”) is explicit from very early on. For example, in the play *The Conquest of Peru* of 1748, written by Francisco Castillo in Lima, a character called “The Peruvian Nation” appears on stage, dressed as a noble Indian woman. She states to the character dressed as “Europe” that: “I’m one with you / and I negate any separation / because the union of our bloods / has built our identity”.¹³ This is a “Peruvian” identity shaped on *castas* and culture rather than on geography, and thus creates an interesting conflict in a rather forced proclamation of union.

In later decades, this problem became a central one for Peruvian intellectuals. In the famous *Mercurio Peruano*, the main journal of Peru in the late eighteenth century, the question was often addressed, including the key issue of Indians becoming -or not- part of a “single and indistinguishable body of [Peruvian] nation”.¹⁴ This was the same *Mercurio Peruano* in which Toribio del Campo praised Orejón y Aparicio -as I discussed

¹¹ John Chasteen, *Americanos*, 185.

¹² Leslie Bethell, *A Cultural History of Latin America*, 45.

¹³ Marcel Velázquez, “Nación: Perú”, in *Diccionario político y social*, ed. Javier Fernández, 941. “Yo soy contigo tan una / que la separación niego / porque la unión de la sangre / cuasi identidad se ha hecho”.

¹⁴ *Mercurio Peruano*, 20 April 1794, “un solo e indistinto cuerpo de Nación”.

in Chapter 2- as a central composer for the development of a local school in Peru. His praise of Orejón y Aparicio seems to me a sign of a patriotic turn in the epistemological discussions of music, in its defence of a style that serves local interests and gives a learned response to colonial projects from Europe.

Perhaps the most contested symbol of Peruvian music in the *Mercurio Peruano* is the *yaraví*, a genre of Andean songs. Today, still, the *yaraví* is often performed through the lower Andes, from Ecuador to northern Chile and Argentina. However, its origins are not clear. It seems to have derived, at least partly, from songs of the indigenous population of the Andean region, but it is only from the eighteenth century that we have more evidence of its musical features, and how they were rapidly changing around 1800.¹⁵ From the beginnings of the *Mercurio Peruano* debates on the Inca past and monuments had been important. The *Sociedad Académica de Amantes del País* ("Academic Society of Lovers of the Country"), which was founded in 1790 in Lima, published a list of topics that "needed" to be addressed by the members of the Society urgently, especially "antique history" about "the monuments, arts and culture" of the Incas, including the study of "their songs and dances".¹⁶

In 1791, in one of the first issues of the *Mercurio Peruano*, a short survey on the Incas had already been published, titled "A general idea of the Monuments of the Ancient Peru, with an introduction to their study". In it, among other subjects the writer discusses the *yaravíes*, the songs of the "Peruvian poets" [*poetas peruleros*]: "elegiac songs, which style, affects, and peculiar music give them a known advantage over all the songs of other nations in the way they can ignite the human hearth with feelings of piety and love".¹⁷ This account became widely known, and was even quoted (without acknowledgment) by Joseph Skinner in 1805 in his *The Present State of Peru*, thus disseminating these ideas to a European audience.¹⁸

¹⁵ Bernardo Illari, "The popular, the sacred, the colonial and the local: the performance of identities in the villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia)" in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (New York: Ashgate, 2007), 429-430.

¹⁶ *Mercurio Peruano*, 6 March 1794.

¹⁷ *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 17 March 1791.

¹⁸ Joseph Skinner, *The Present State of Peru* [...] (London: Mc.Millan, 1805), 17-18.

In December of that year, an anonymous article was published that included a long description and analysis of the *yaraví* as a genre. The writer praised the way it “moves the human heart”, with its multiple “flats, sharps and naturals”, its “admirable appoggiaturas, timely slurs and exquisite trills [...] its respirations, the pauses which are the soul of the composition”. Importantly, the article considers it a “national” genre of Peruvian music, in the old meaning of the word: the music of the nation of the Indians of Peru, and thus compares it to the music of Spaniards, the French, Germans and Italians.¹⁹ Del Campo would confront this article, giving some more analyses of the genre and a few examples. But more importantly, he would confront the idea that the *yaraví* was “national”. The *yaraví*, for Del Campo, is “admirable”, but not art, or not at least in the way that Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater* is Italian art, and thus not possible to debate in the same terms.²⁰ It came, in his words, as a “cry” after the “catastrophe that was the dethroning of the Peruvian Prince”.²¹

6.2. “Peruvian” music

Much has been said and written in Peru about Del Campo’s comments on the *yaraví*, and the way he raised the subject while both praising the genre and attacking the idea of it being particularly important.²² Sometimes, when I reread the article, I believe Del Campo’s logic is not far from my own (with all the epistemological distance considered): that Latin American music should not be defended in terms of its exoticism, its evident “otherness”, but rather in its own terms. But those terms were rapidly changing, departing from that imagined Peruvian and Inca past. The *yaraví* was “overcoming” the notion of being “simply” an Indian “sad song”, as it had been usually described,²³ and was becoming a “national” genre.

¹⁹ *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 23 December 1791.

²⁰ *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 19 February 1792.

²¹ *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, 16 February 1792.

²² See, for example, Raúl Porras Barrenechea, “Notas para una biografía del yaraví”, *El Comercio*, Lima, 28 July 1946. Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 301-302.

²³ Eric Carbajal, “A Propósito de Bicentenarios, Romanticismo y Emancipación: El Caso de Mariano Melgar” *A contracorriente* 9/1, 2011, 270-286. See for example its description in Diego González Holguín

The *yaraví*, one could say, was moving from the “nation” of Indians to that of “Peruvians”, including white *criollos*. Mariano Melgar, the Arequipenian poet, has usually been regarded as key in this transformation, through the creation and publication (in newspapers) of various poetic *yaravíes* that were enormously influential to the post-independence generation. The role of Melgar in highlighting the *yaraví* as a fashionable genre has been hotly debated,²⁴ but the fact is that, most probably, he wrote *yaravíes* because they had already been accepted as an urban genre. Antonio Pereyra y Ruiz, in his *Notices from Arequipa* of 1816 (only two years after Melgar’s death), described how the *yaraví* had moved, “with time and civilization, to the stages [*estrados*], without losing the lassitude of its character [...] the love for it makes people to abandon any foreign music, or if for some time they listen to a concert, their taste is not entirely satisfied until it is mixed with some [of those songs]”; importantly he noted this was happening not only in Arequipa, but also in Chuquisaca.²⁵

Melgar’s *yaravíes*, however, are excellent examples of how much the literate construction of that “Peruvianness” was dependant on the ways in which the “local” could be related to the white Spanish identity of the elite. The central influence in Melgar’s *yaravíes*, from a formal point of view, was not indigenous poetry, but Juan Bautista Arriaza, a Spanish poet in the neoclassical style who had enormous success at the turn of the century in Spain and the colonies. In fact, Melgar’s “Yaraví I”, ends with the same verse as Arriaza’s poem “*El Propósito Inútil*”.²⁶ Melgar’s poems, and the *yaravíes* especially among them, show influence from both specific Spanish and more broadly contemporary European poetry, and that influence permeated the *criollo* and

dictionary of Quechua from 1608 as “canción de endechas” or sad song. See his *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru* [...] (Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1608), 142. Félix de Azara commented in 1790 that the *yaraví* was sung in Peru, being “always monotonous and sad”, *Descripción e historia del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sanchiz, 1847), 309. However, Azara’s book was published posthumously and probably did not influence Limerian discussions in the 1790s.

²⁴ Gonzalo Espino Relucé, “Mariano Melgar, héroes culturales y el yaraví”, *Celehis*, 20 (2009), 71-100.

²⁵ Antonio Pereira, *Noticia histórica de Arequipa*, 68.

²⁶ Aurelio Miró Quesada, *Historia y leyenda de Mariano Melgar: 1790-1815* (Lima: Sucesión Aurelio Miró Quesada Sosa, 2003), 154-55. “Amor, amor no quiero, / no quiero más amar”.

popular *yaraví*. In fact, one of Melgar's *yaravíes* still being sung in Arequipa, "Despedida de Silvia", uses as a basis a slightly modified poem by the same Arriaza.²⁷

The poetry of Arriaza was also important to Pedro Ximénez, who used in his songs some of Arriaza's poems, probably at the same time as Melgar was working on his poetry. Number 6 from Ximénez's *Seis Cavatinas* (ABNB 1298), "*Eres tú la que realizas*" ("You are the one who makes"), is a good example of his use of Arriaza; but even more striking is that one of Ximénez's *yaravíes*²⁸ uses a poem by Arriaza: "Oda al Corazón", originally published by the poet in a collection of 1808.²⁹ It is not the only "strange" text in his *yaravíes*: for example, a *yaraví* copied in his hand (but perhaps not by him), uses a neoclassical "Ode to Sappho".³⁰ And, even more strikingly, one of Ximénez's own *yaravíes* uses a translation of a poem inspired by Rebecca in the prison of Templestowe, from Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.³¹

What transpires from all this, I believe, is the fact that by the early decades of the nineteenth century the *yaraví* seems to have gained new life as a vessel: a genre that, being assumed to be Peruvian, could at the same time express a cosmopolitan or global urban citizenship, dealing with multiple Spanish and European influences without losing its definition as "*yaraví*". Ximénez seems to have been conscious of this trend, since he appears to convey that message in the second movement ("Adagio con

²⁷ A version of the song by the brothers Azpilcueta and Félix Valdivia can be found in Radioperu.pe, a website with Peruvian music from the disc *Arequipa y su Canto*: <http://radioperu.pe/es/los-hermanos-azpilcueta/albums/yaravi-arequipa-y-su-canto/songs/despedita-de-silvia-yaravi> (Accessed, 20 August 2016).

²⁸ It is difficult to know how many *yaravíes* were composed by Pedro Ximénez, but an edition of 24 of them was published (probably by his son) in the early 1860s by the editors Niemeyer e Inghirami in Lima (scores n°113 to 137). The title of the collection is interesting: *Colección de jaravies por Don Pedro Tiraio Ximenes de Abril, Maestro Mayor de Arequipa*, since it reflects a way of promoting Ximénez post-mortem as a proud voice of Arequipa rather than as chapelmaster and literate man as he himself promoted his image. Niemeyer started printing in Lima around 1861-1862.

²⁹ Juan Bautista Arriaza, *Poesías o Rimas Juveniles* (Madrid: La Hija de la Ibarra, 1808), 37.

³⁰ CAO B MV08, "Oda de Safo, yaraví con acompañamiento de Guitarra".

³¹ *Presente a las Damas* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea y Carey, 1829), n.p. "En la prisión de Templestowe". From a collection of songs in the ABNB without number of catalogue (no.30 in that collection). The album, which I only found in a digitised copy in one of the PCs in the ABNB, says *Segunda Colección de Canciones*, includes 142 songs, and has two further comments: in a second hand someone wrote "que bárbaro para componer tanto" (*how did he manage to write so much!*), and in Ximénez hand a note that says that the first collection included 57 songs. My current inventory of Ximénez's songs, taken from several sources, includes 244 pieces, but most of the albums in which these songs are included are fragments, so the number of songs he composed could be much higher.

sordina”) of his String Quartet op.55, *Concertante* (Example 23, p.530).³² It is one of the few instrumental pieces in which, as far as I have been able to gather, Ximénez explicitly included a musical language that could have been read by his contemporary listeners as “Peruvian”, or at least local or Andean, in a way that would have been distinctive from being identified as European or, most probably, as cosmopolitan. The structure of the movement is simple, with a four-bar introduction followed by ten consecutive sections that are clearly delimited. The end, from bar 82/83 to 87, might be better understood as a coda:

Table 3: Structure of Ximénez op.55/2 “Adagio con Sordina”												
Bars	1	5	9	17	26	30	36	45	56	65	73	82 - 87
Phrase	Intro	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A/B	B	Coda
Tonal.	Cm	Cm	Cm	EbM	Cm	FM - EbM	Cm	BbM - Cm	Cm	EbM	Cm	Cm

After the introduction, which sets the tonal framework, Ximénez presents his first melodic idea, which I have labelled as A (bars 5 to 8):

The musical score shows four staves. The first three staves are marked 'dolce' and the fourth is marked 'p' (piano). The music features a melodic line in the first staff, with the second and third staves providing harmonic support. The fourth staff has a bass line with triplets and dynamic markings 'p' and 'f'.

Figure 21: String Quartet op.55/2, b.5 to 8.

This melody can be considered a *yaraví* both from its stylistic features, as well as from surviving sources in Ximénez’s collection. It has all the common traits that are discussed, for example, by Toribio del Campo, as well as those shared in other

³² ABNB 1299.

surviving *yaravies* from the period, including those by Ximénez himself. It uses an asymmetrical melodic profile (see, for example, how the melody seems to accelerate at the end of each phrase); the harmonic instability of the melody is constantly affected by chromatisms that obscure its profile; the dramatic transitions from phrase to phrase, marked here by a “guitar” bourdon in the cello, are also common in other contemporary examples not by Ximénez. In terms of sources, the same melody appears in a piece in Ximénez’s hand, titled *Yaraví a Duo* (Figure 23).³³

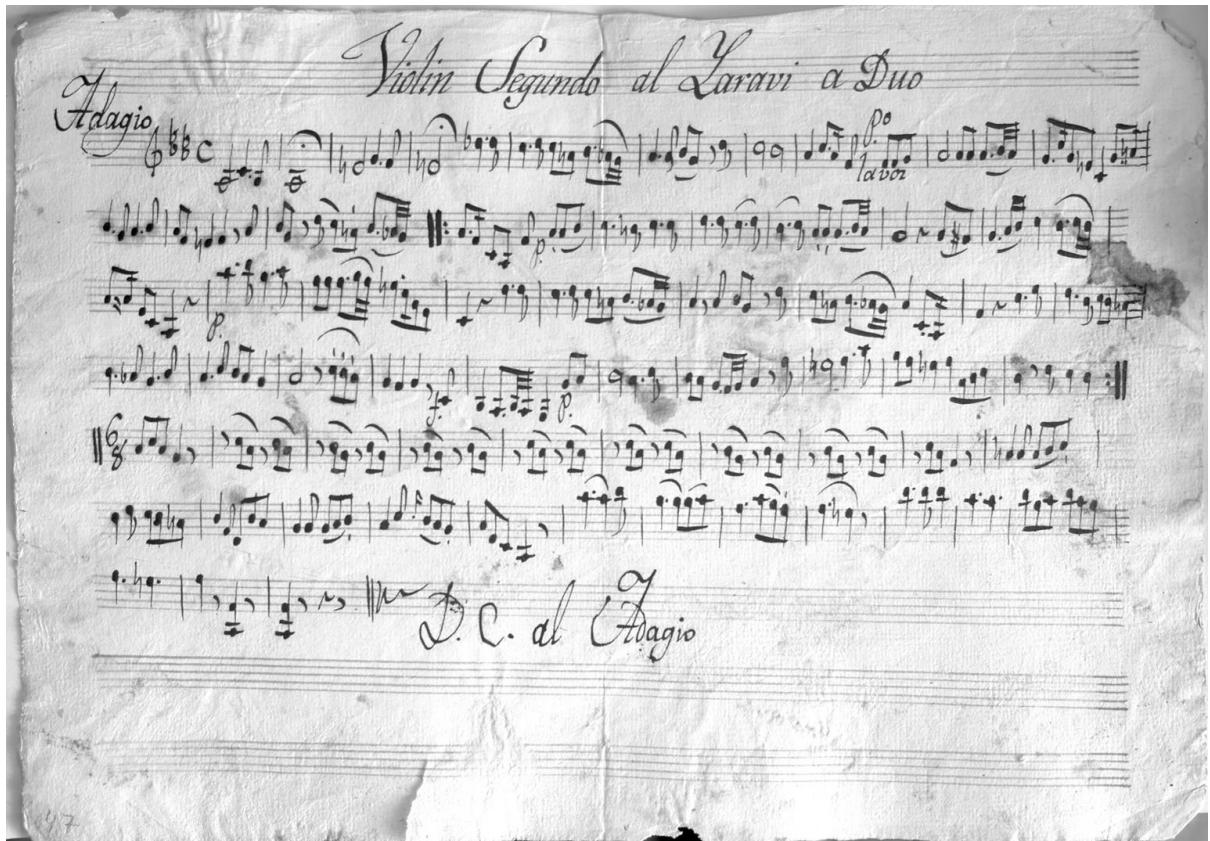


Figure 22: ABAS PXAT82, “Yaraví a Duo”, Second Violin

What is most striking about the use of the *yaraví* melody in Ximénez’s String Quartet op.55 is, however, that he did not use it as a quotation, but rather as a fragmented, intercalated musical idea, with contrasting “B” sections (see table 3 and Example 23) that break its shape and flow. The contrast with this second set of ideas could not be more radical: while the *yaraví* melody is constantly moving away from its

³³ ABAS PXAT82.

tonal centre (C minor, E flat major, F major, B flat major), the B sections seem static, always in C minor and always returning to the same simple idea marked by the use of “classical” arpeggios in the accompaniment. These B sections work as a sort of “anchor” for the entire piece, their immobility not being explained solely in harmonic terms, but in contrast to the A sections of the *yaraví* melody.

My contention is that, particularly because of the strange way in which Ximénez uses these sections to break the *yaraví* melody in fragments, they are there to be listened to explicitly as something opposed and different from the *yaraví*. That opposition, I believe, was framed by Ximénez as cosmopolitan, through a European musical language that could have been understood by his contemporaries as such. This is not only because of its symmetrical, classical character, and its clear tonal normativity, but also because of the use of arpeggios to define its tonality, as well as an imitative canon between the voices (see bar 36 of Example 23, p.531). Even more, it is just after this canon that the most radical presentation of the *yaraví* is given, in bar 45, full of all types of ornaments that seem to accentuate its “rarity”, its “difference”.

If the pairing of A and B would have continued symmetrically through the piece until the end, the movement would finish with the last fragment of the *yaraví* melody. Idea “B” comes back for a last time in bar 65, however, as if trying to resolve the duality that fragments the entire movement. Here, both ideas converge, with the two violins and the viola giving a final statement that is symmetrical, in parallel thirds and octaves, and adorned by the *appoggiaturas*, while accompanied by the cello in a way that seem to resemble the guitar bourdon of the *yaraví*. Is this, perhaps, a musical encounter of two different worlds?

We are left with this question and the implied power relations it necessarily embodies. Would the *yaraví* melody have been read as a sign of *criollo* appropriation of the indigenous, or as a *criollo* genre itself? Is the *yaraví* being overtaken or overwhelmed here by the cosmopolitan classicism? In this conflict of two worlds, was the formal European manner subdued to the *yaraví* style, or vice versa? Ximénez leaves us with something of an answer: the final statement is clearly a variation of idea “B” and not the *yaraví*, followed by a cyclical Coda, obviously resembling the first few

chords that opened the piece. The end, expressive in its dissonance, leaves us in C minor, where we began, and the following minuet and rondo does not seem to give much of a solution to the problem presented here. Is it possible to bridge the gap between both styles and sections? Is there a solution to this problem, which is here presented fifty years before it began to be developed by nationalist composers in Latin America: the problem of being at the same time Andean/American and cosmopolitan?

6.3. *Costumbrismo* and the guitar

An interesting feature of Ximénez's use of the *yaraví* in the second movement of this string quartet is the fact that the melody is presented -as far as one can observe- in the same way as it exists in the copy of the *Yaraví a Duo* score: the music is not elaborated in a way that sees it as a material to be adapted or transformed in some way (apart of fragmenting it by interpolating a different musical idea). In other words, the quartet is written in the same language as these two other pieces, and thus Ximénez's intellectual procedure appears to be shaped by his "breaking" of the material rather than by distressing or transforming its style or aesthetic.

This echoes in the other "large" instrumental piece in which he used a distinctive, clearly recognisable *yaraví*: his *Divertimiento* op.43. Here, there *yaraví* is used as a slow "interlude" halfway through the final "rondo", which has a contrasting energetic rhythm based on constant syncopations (see Example 24, p.535). The *yaraví*, which appears in a section titled "adagio" (again, with the indication of *con sordina*) in bar 48 (p.538), serves as a parenthesis in the *perpetuum mobile* push of the Finale. The material, in this sense, seems again to be rather static, not regarded as something to be presented developed or adapted, as would commonly be the case in later nationalist music composition. It is instead an irruption from a different genre, and not "material" to be used by the composer for the discursive structure of the piece.

The appearance of these Andean genres in Ximénez's music has led to him being described as an early or proto-nationalist by performers in Bolivia and Peru, but I would rather argue that in the way he uses the music, Ximénez seems to be

understanding this material in a different manner from “nationalist” composers. There seems to be more affinity between Ximénez’s use of these features when comparing him to Haydn or Pleyel, who sometimes used similar “popular” rhythms for the final rondo of an instrumental work.³⁴ This was common too for other composers of the period working in Europe who, as discussed before (see Chapter 2), were evident influences on Ximénez and on his generation. As I mentioned, for Ximénez’s Peruvian contemporaries, as is clear from many of Ximénez’s songs and their literary sources, the *yaraví* had been already appropriated as a white-creole style that was urban in character. That appropriation does not mean, necessarily, that it was already fixed as a romanticised, idealised “Inca” melody; rather, perhaps, that it was a contemporary, everyday genre that connoted a sense and sign of locality and Peruvianness when applied to a learned context.

I believe it might be easier to understand Ximénez’s use of these musical ideas not in terms of a romantic nationalist, but rather under the category of late-neoclassical *Costumbrismo*, of the kind prevalent in the first half of the nineteenth century. *Costumbrismo*, sometimes referred in English as costumbrism, but most commonly used in its Spanish form, is, in the words of Jill Meredith, “in its broadest definition, [...] any description of a particular social or cultural custom which gives attention to realist detail; while the term is usually reserved for literary practice, it can easily be applied to the visual and performing arts as well”.³⁵ It has, however, rarely been used in the field of music, where I think it makes as much sense as for other arts.³⁶ *Costumbrismo*, at least in the format studied here, was central to the development of early nineteenth-century arts in both Iberia and Latin America. In the words of Christa Olson, we have to understand its importance in the “emerging political culture that

³⁴ There are multiple instances of this use of popular elements in Haydn’s music, from the landler figures in the first movement of his “Emperor” String Quartet, to the Piano Trio in G major (with its “Rondo à l’Ongarese”) and the drone bass in the finale of Symphony no.104. There has been much written on the subject, but in terms of using these elements to establish a dialogue with audiences, see Simon McVeigh’s *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 134-135.

³⁵ Jill Meredith Lane, “Anticolonial Blackface: The Cuban Teatro Bufo and the Arts of Racial Impersonation, 1840-1895” (PhD diss. New York University, 2000), 71.

³⁶ María Esther Pérez Salas, *Costumbrismo y litografía en México: Un nuevo modo de ver* (Ciudad de México: UNAM, 2005), 13.

defined republican identity as distinct from access to citizenship. *Costumbrista* images participated in normalising that division, providing a vision of the nation that incorporated popular figures and types of national identity without implying practices of political citizenship.”³⁷

Costumbrismo should also be understood, in the words of José Manuel Lozada, as different from “earlier depictions of customs and manners”, because it is rooted on the social turmoil and difficulties in defining identity in the “first decades of the nineteenth century”.³⁸ There is much here that is obviously close to early romanticism and, for example, the work of Herder in Germany, but there are also strong differences with central-European movements in the first half of the nineteenth century. One of the most visible differences is that while central-European romanticism tended to search for a mythical past or an idealised -somewhat eternal- depiction of the nation, *costumbrismo* focuses on everyday life scenes and characters, searching for realism. Thus, a central part of the appreciation of *costumbrismo* radicates in its “careful depiction of local customs and color [which] takes [in literature] precedence over the nuanced development of plots and characters”.³⁹ *Costumbrismo*, certainly, considers a level of anachronism, but this is not as much in temporal terms as it is in depicting elements that convey the locality beyond the frames of contemporary global modernity and modernization and the urban models of the modern experience.⁴⁰

There is a strong sense of *costumbrismo* in the way Ximénez sets the *yaraví*, including the fact that he is using contemporary melodies and that he never seems to convey them as something eminently indigenous, nor “Inca”, nor from the past; rather, they come here as careful depictions of everyday musical life. Importantly, the way he uses the instruments also seems to serve as a careful depiction of how the *yaraví* is

³⁷ Christa J. Olson, *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 33.

³⁸ José Manuel Lozada, “Costumbrismo in Spanish Literature and its European Analogues”, *Nonfictional Romantic Prose: Expanding Borders*, ed. Steven P. Sondrup et al. (Amsterdam: John Benjamin’s Publishing Company, 2004), 333.

³⁹ Adam Lifshy, *Specters of Conquest: Indigenous Absence in Transatlantic Literatures* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 109.

⁴⁰ Jean Franco, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin American in the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 222.

performed, with contrasting melodic appoggiaturas, doublings of violins and flutes, always at least two voices in the melody (in thirds or sixths), and the viola and cello supporting the group in imitation of the guitar, in a way that is remarkably similar to how the *yaraví* is even today performed in Arequipa. This careful depiction, then, would have been probably valued higher than the elaborate construction or realisation of the “material” that would have been expected of later nationalist aesthetics, where the primacy is on the artist’s individual voice and creative use of the “local” materials.

Interestingly, too, I believe it is possible to connect Ximénez’s compositions directly with the movement of *costumbrismo*. One of the most evident connections is in his familiarity with the works of the Argentinian poet Esteban Echeverría (1805 - 1851), who was a leading voice in the South American adoption of *costumbrismo*, particularly in his famous novel *El Matadero* (published posthumously). Ximénez set various poems by Echeverría into songs, and knew his works well.⁴¹ Their close affinity perhaps also came through their shared love of the guitar. Echeverría wrote and sang of the guitar, and he was central in the diffusion of the works of Fernando Sor in Buenos Aires, after his return from Europe in 1830.⁴²

That guitar connection, and the symbolic role of the instrument, might have been stronger than it would seem to us today. Appreciations of the guitar were rapidly changing in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and anyone who dared to consider it as his “principal” instrument, was sending a very specific message to his musical peers. Across Spanish America, members of the elite were dropping the guitar as their preferred instrument in favour of the piano, looked upon as more civilised and modern. The guitar, increasingly, was considered more as a symbol of the popular world, an instrument meant to be used as an accompaniment to singing, rather than as a model of virtue and learned knowledge: guitars would be relegated to houses

⁴¹ For example, among them, two in the collection now found as ABNB 1426 (songs 12, *Serenata* and 13 *A tu amor*).

⁴² On Echeverría’s relation to the guitar, and broader problems of the use of the guitar in Buenos Aires in this period, see Melanie Plesch’s “The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires: Towards a Cultural History of an Argentine Musical Emblem” (PhD diss. University of Melbourne, 1998). On Echeverría, specifically, see pages 164 to 166. One of Echeverría’s longest writings on the instrument is *La guitarra o primera página de un libro* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Librería de Mayo, 1870).

outside urban centres, and to repertoires that were not compatible with the Europeanised elites.⁴³

What did this mean to those who played the guitar? Melanie Plesch, for example, has discussed how the guitar was central to the conformation of *criollo* identities in the area of Buenos Aires for contemporaries of Ximénez. According to Plesch, it is the binary condition of the guitar between the learned and the popular, between the “civilization and barbarism” dichotomy famously proposed by the Argentinian Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in 1845,⁴⁴ that gave the instrument such a central role in “the tensions of this formulation”.⁴⁵ In the case of Buenos Aires, there was a bitter fight over the aesthetic value of the instrument, caught between its definition as either uncivilised or a popular symbol in a civilised context. For Juan Bautista Alberdi, in the 1830s, “it would be very difficult to choose the best among instruments, but it is extremely easy to choose the worst”:⁴⁶ the guitar.

Alberdi was not alone with his ideas in the region: The same tone can be perceived in the way the Limenian theatrical scene is discussed in an article of the *Telégrafo de Lima* in 1827, in which it is said that art should be accompanied “by the lyre of Sophocles, or Corneille, and not by the guitar of a Martínez”, a clash between Classical-French (European) culture and Spanish-American identities and models.⁴⁷ But while the lyre was mythical, the guitar was alive. The root of the problem was much more explicit: the guitar was not able to represent the new literate, Enlightened-European world -and repertoires- that the elites wanted to make part of Latin America, even if an important part of those same elites still knew how to play the guitar. In that sense, those that promoted the guitar usually displayed it as an instrument that could bridge the local in a complex (and dialogic) way.

⁴³ Alejandro Vera, “La música entre escritura y oralidad: la guitarra barroca, el guitarrón chileno y el canto a lo divino”, *Revista Musical Chilena* 225 (2016), 17-18.

⁴⁴ Domingo Sarmiento, *Civilización y Barbarie: Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* (Santiago: Imprenta del Progreso, 1845).

⁴⁵ Plesch, “The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires”, 6.

⁴⁶ Alberdi, *Obras Completas*, 19.

⁴⁷ Mónica Ricketts, “El Teatro en Lima: Tribuna Política y Termómetro de la Civilización (1820-1828)”, in Scarlett O’Pehlan Godoy, *La Independencia del Perú, de los Borbones a Bolívar*. (Lima, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2001), 452.

Ximénez's guitar seems to address that same bridge between the learned and the popular, the civilised and the barbarians. That bridge appears, for example, in *Mis Pasatiempos al pie del Volcan*, or "My leisure-time at the foot of the volcano", which was printed in Europe probably, in the 1830s.⁴⁸ The piece consists of an Andante and a Rondo, both *inéditos* (previously unpublished) and, perhaps more importantly, written "to Peruvian taste". There is much to gather here: the mention of the *volcán* is most probably a reference to Arequipa's towering volcano, the Misti. The use of the words *pasatiempos*, means that this is music played for leisure. He writes of "Peruvian taste" (not style), but the pieces are an Andante and a Rondo. Intriguingly, there is nothing that one could regard as essentially Peruvian here in musical terms, with two pieces that idiomatically do not depart from European music from the period. Perhaps the "Peruvian taste" could be in the fact that the guitar is in *scordatura*, with the fifth string in G and the sixth^h in D?⁴⁹ While *scordatura* was common in this period, perhaps this specific tuning was read by local audiences as "Peruvian". Another way of looking at it, however, would be to understand that this is the sort of piece that Peruvians like (which is the other possible translation for "gusto"), meaning that it does not have to differ from whatever Europeans like.⁵⁰

But if taste (*gusto*) was not explicitly different, style (*estilo*) certainly was. Ximénez composed several pieces for the guitar, including dozens of waltzes, of which one of them strikes out for its title: *Vals en Estilo Americano*, or "Waltz in an American style". The *Vals en Estilo Americano* survives today in three different versions, of which

⁴⁸ The edition, sadly, has no name of editor or place of printing, nor any number that would help us identify it. It can be found as ABNB 1330. There is a digitized copy in ISMLP.

[http://imslp.org/wiki/Mis_Pasatiempos_al_pie_del_volc%C3%A1n_\(Abril_Tirado,_Pedro\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Mis_Pasatiempos_al_pie_del_volc%C3%A1n_(Abril_Tirado,_Pedro)) (Accessed 10 December 2016).

⁴⁹ The guitarist Mauricio Valdebenito, after reading some transcriptions I made, including that of Sonata 1 for the guitar (Example 6 of the Appendix), that the music seems suited to a *guitarra séptima*, which would have included a lower seventh string. This instrument was fading away from popularity, but Alejandro Vera has suggested to me that it was still being used and sold in Peru in late colonial times.

⁵⁰ An interesting point of comparison could be a set of variations that, according to Escolástico Andrino, the composer and virtuoso guitarist Domingo Sol published also in 1839 in Paris, "in his Guatemalan style". Andrino, writing in the late 1840s, mentioned that Domingo Sol had thus "immortalised his name", probably a similar aspiration to the one Ximénez had when printing his own music in that European capital. Was there any connection between the two? See Igor de Gandarias, *Escritos de José Escolástico Andrino (1817?-1862). Pedagogía, Periodismo, Crítica e Historia Musical Centroamericana en el Siglo XIX* (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos, 2007), 62.

only two have this title: one is a piano arrangement in an album from, most probably, the 1840s, which is in the hands of a private owner in La Paz.⁵¹ The second one is a late copy in the three volumes of his guitar works. It appears there as no.23 in the third collection, *Tercera Colección de Valses y Contradanzas*, which today is kept in the Universidad San Francisco Javier, in Sucre.⁵² The version I suspect is the earliest is kept in the private collection of Juan Conrado Quinquiví Morón in Sucre.⁵³ In this copy, again, the title used is that of *Vals al estilo Americano*, now numbered in this collection as piece no.149, as can be seen in Figure 24:

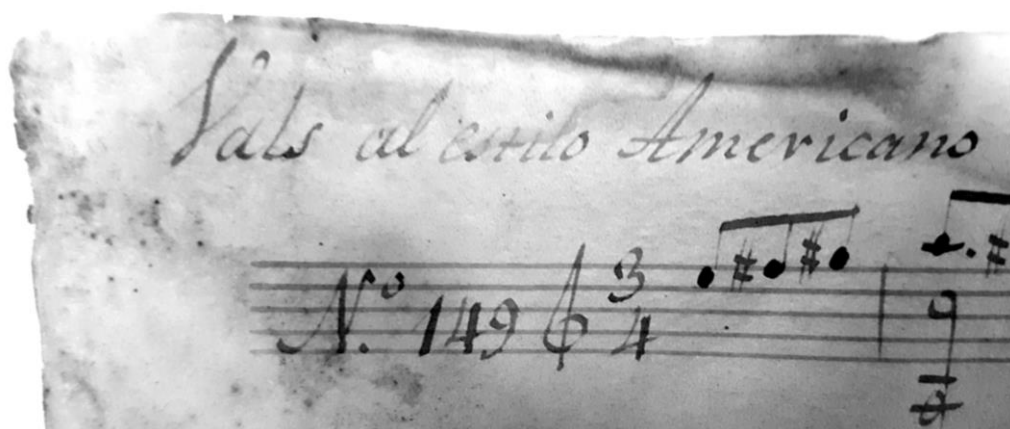


Figure 23: “Vals al Estilo Americano”, Private Collection of Juan Conrado Quinquiví Morón

It is from this last copy, from the collection of Quinquiví Morón, that I made the transcription that is found in the Appendix (Example 25, p.556). The first thing that seems evident from this piece is that, in opposition to the previous work with “Peruvian taste”, here Ximénez clearly tries to use music that, one assumes, was listened by his contemporaries as inherently American, in the sense the word was used before it had been entirely appropriated by the United States and the idea of “Latin America” had been coined in opposition (which started to happen the same year

⁵¹ I was only able to see a photocopy of it, which was shown to me by Pedro Broggini. He uploaded a performance of it in his YouTube channel:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3YVmutMfRo> (Accessed 12 August 2016).

⁵² CDSFJ, G1B1 FDI0065.

⁵³ A set of photographs of the piece were handed to me by Juan Conrado, to whom I am deeply grateful. His collection is in the process of being catalogued, and so no numbers were given.

Ximénez died). “American” here, thus, necessarily means something that sounds more explicitly non-European, which is what Ximénez gives us in the waltz.

The main way in which Ximénez achieves a sound that could be listened as non-European in style is by using a -heavily adorned- anhemitonic pentatonic scale. There has been much discussion -and problematization- about the act of describing traditional Andean music as “pentatonic”, particularly in regarding pentatonicism as “Inca” or Andean. It was, indeed, considered as such in many influential theories of the twentieth century, gaining global recognition after the 1925 publication of the work of French scholars Marguerite and Raoul d’Harcourt on the subject.⁵⁴ Julio Mendívil, however, has discussed that the idea of Andean music as “Inca” and “Pentatonic” was -more or less- an imagined construction whose origins can be traced directly to this earlier period.

I would argue that while the concepts -and the relation to an Inca past- seem to be imagined constructions, the fact that the pentatonic scale was already being regarded by Ximénez as “American” in style is significant in tracing identity values to pentatonicism that arguably go earlier than the solely “erudite” recognition that Mendívil supposes, or the use of the word “pentatonic” to describe the scale.⁵⁵ The scale Ximénez uses is, in fact, one that is also frequently used in later nationalistic repertoires, more than half a century after his death.⁵⁶ That he does not regard it as Inca, Peruvian or Andean, but rather as American, seems significant, as are also the ways in which he uses it to construct an elaborate musical discourse in what could be considered the epitome of a modern European dance: the waltz. As we saw in the case of his String Quartet op.55, Ximénez seems to have been keen to create these conscious intercultural dialogues in his music, even if only in a handful of his pieces. Figure 25 shows the scale on top and three variations of it used by Ximénez in his waltz.

⁵⁴ Raoul and Marguerite d’Harcourt, *La Musique des Incas et ses Survivances* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925).

⁵⁵ Julio Mendívil, “Wondrous Stories. El descubrimiento de la pentafonía andina y la invención de la música incaica”, *Resonancias* 31 (2012), 61-77.

⁵⁶ For example, it appears in various pieces by Claudio Rebagliatti from the 1860s and 1870s, including his still popular overture *Un 28 de Julio en Lima*, which also uses elements from Alzedo’s songs.



“American” connection in terms of a *divertimiento* (as he titles his op.43) or *costumbrismo*, is difficult with the sources we have available. That being said, there are multiple proofs that he accepted that “American” element as something at least relevant, and as a meaningful concept. One can see this idea too in other works, and even in some larger collections.

For example, in the fragmented album of songs by Ximénez which is now archived as ABNB 1426 in Sucre, Bolivia, a continuous selection of texts (to songs numbered 11 to 19) are taken from contemporary Latin American poets from different countries, including Francisco de Figueroa Acuña, Esteban Echeverría, José María Heredia, José Fernández Madrid, Manuel Navarrete and José Rivera Indarte. This fact intrigued me, and the connection seems to lie in the fact that all those poems were published in a single volume, the one titled *América Poética*, edited by Juan María Gutiérrez in 1846, as a “selected collection of compositions in verse written by Americans from the present century”.⁵⁷ It is intriguing too that the selection conveys such a powerful sense of belonging in a shared geographical and cultural space that separates itself from the Anglophone America (from Anahuac -the valley of Mexico- to Argentina, as stated by the editor). Perhaps, Ximénez found affinity in the description of the volume, the author wanted to let the “sounds of the lyre of America” be heard above “the great concert of the Spanish ones”.⁵⁸

6.4. “A mere chapelmaster of South America”

It was probably in the same period that Ximénez composed these songs, in the 1840s and 1850s, that José Bernardo Alzedo wrote his *Filosofía elemental de la música*, a book to which I have returned many times, and the last paragraphs of which I used as an epigraph to this dissertation. I want, now, to go back to those paragraphs, to look at how Alzedo was also building a discourse of what the “American” might be. His *Filosofía elemental de la música* was published when the idea of a culturally independent

⁵⁷ Juan María Gutiérrez, ed., *América Poética: Colección escojida de composiciones en verso, escritas por americanos en el presente siglo. Parte lírica*. (Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1846).

⁵⁸ Gutiérrez, *América Poética*, VII.

region that was also part of the “West” was in full swing, at least among liberal intellectuals. As I mentioned before, it is only in the 1850s that the conceptualization of “Latin America” as a different entity, independent from the industrial north and the transatlantic “Old world”, takes shape, particularly through the writings of Francisco Bilbao and José María Torres Caicedo.⁵⁹

Between the years Alzedo finished his book (in February 1861)⁶⁰ and printed it (in 1869), much had changed. The 1860s were a decade of change, and of increasing convergence of interests, as well as stabilization of economies and politics in the Andean region, with many countries united against Spain in a new War of the Pacific.⁶¹ Bilbao published his *America is in Danger* in 1864, a call to arms that had large political and cultural repercussions: he speaks, perhaps for the first time, of the “civilization of America” being in danger of being attacked by the “barbaric Europeans”, who use war and science for their own inhuman means, turning -as Melgar did- the logic of Europe as the civilised party upside-down. Perhaps even more important, Bilbao would start to include the United States among those “new barbarians”.⁶² In fact, the division between Anglophone and Latin-speaking America was going to become the central issue that would foster the use of the concept “Latin America” for the entire region, much more than any specific separation with Europe.

The concept of Latin America surged, then, from a larger and deeper conflict of identities and politics, and one in which Alzedo must have been immersed through the 1850s and 1860s, as was anyone who read the newspapers. In fact, those debates around identity would play an important role in his return to Lima, in 1863. He left his job as chapelmaster in Santiago with the promise of overseeing the Peruvian military bands and the dream of developing a conservatoire on the image of the one that had been developed in Chile in 1850.⁶³ However, his arrival would be overshadowed by a

⁵⁹ Miguel Rojas Mix, “Bilbao y el hallazgo de América Latina: Unión continental, socialista y libertaria” *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brésilien* 46/1 (1986), 36.

⁶⁰ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 213.

⁶¹ It is better known in Anglophone historiography as the Chincha Islands War (1864-1866).

⁶² Rojas Mix, “Bilbao y el hallazgo de América Latina”, 39 and 42.

⁶³ The *Conservatorio Nacional* in Chile was created with the support of several musicians, including Clorinda Pantanelli, Isidora Zegers, José Zapiola and Alzedo himself.

public fight with another composer, a certain Carlos Eklund. Eklund had printed an edition of the Peruvian National Anthem without Alzedo's permission, and the copy was selling well in the capital and the provinces, infuriating Alzedo, who wrote to the local newspaper announcing his own edition of the official, unadulterated anthem.⁶⁴

This Eklund is not mentioned extensively in the Peruvian bibliography, and as far as I have been able to follow his trail, his full name was Carl Johan Eklund, born in Norrköping, Sweden, on April 15, 1824. He apparently studied oboe in Stockholm, and later learned the clarinet while still being in the military in Sweden. In August 1850, he decided to respond to an advertisement by a certain Gustav Norman, who wanted to hire "four or five musicians who desire to go to California and who can perform with brass instruments and can furnish good music. Free transportation is provided, with the stipulation that they furnish music during the journey whenever the captain so desires".⁶⁵ Eklund, however, decided to abandon his group of colleagues when they arrived in Valparaíso, and, after travelling Chile, he finally settled in Lima around 1855. There he gave concerts as a virtuoso clarinetist and composed abundant music for the local Peruvian salons, mostly songs and piano pieces.

Eklund publicly answered Alzedo's letter, accusing him of "vanity" and "resentment", alongside other epithets; he even dared to show, with technical jargon, Alzedo's various harmonic and melodic "errors" in the anthem -according to Eklund- and described some parts of the piece as of being in "bad taste". Finally, Eklund says that "it does not give me great honour to fight with someone who is just an organist, a chapelmaster of South America, a practical musician who has no schooling in these matters", a man of a region "where all art and science is dead".⁶⁶ Alzedo replied soon afterwards, saying that "being an organist only honours me [*me engrandece*]" and

⁶⁴ *El Comercio*, Lima, 28 May 1864.

⁶⁵ Eklund's history, unknown until now in Peruvian sources, can be found in Erik Wikén's article "August Wetterman and his Fellow Musicians", *Swedish American Genealogist*, VIII/2 (1988), 85 to 87. There is a book on the leader of the group, August Wetterman, that tells of his later life in California and that includes some details of this travel alongside Eklund. See Kenneth Brungess, *Gold Rush Maestro: The Journal of August Wetterman* (N.P.: Kenneth Brungess, 2013).

⁶⁶ *El Comercio*, Lima, 20 June 1864: "[...] entrar en lucha de esta naturaleza, con un organista, (y maestro de capilla de la América del Sur), un práctico puramente como U. sin escuela en esta materia" [...] "estas rejiones lejanas del mundo donde todo arte y ciencia está muerta".

mentioning various talents from Chile and Peru, as well as asking Eklund: "Have you ever written a Mass, a Motet, a Psalm or at least some miserable *coplas*?"⁶⁷ Eklund would fight back, mentioning none of these pieces, but rather his popular songs (mostly in Swedish) and an opera he apparently had performed in March 1850, before leaving for America. He continued the discussion:

Between an organist formed in Europe and one in America, there is the same difference as between an elephant and a mouse [*pericote*]. In my country, even the last and most miserable organist is examined and approved by the Royal Conservatory of Music in Stockholm [...] And you, if I may ask: In which conservatory, school or similar have you studied? [...] You believe that everywhere it is like in Chile and Peru, the only parts of the world you know and, because of your education, you were only able to know the musical midgets [*enanos musicales*] that comprise your family.⁶⁸

While it would certainly be interesting to outline this argument in more detail, here I want to focus on a single aspect of their debate: the definition of Alzedo as a mere "chapelmaster from South America". Eklund being European, even if -arguably- from the periphery of the continent, he attacked Alzedo in two separate ways: on the one hand for being a musician from South America, and on the other as a church musician (thus, one guesses, below the theatre and salon composer). The gulf in appreciation of what a composer is or should be between them was just too big. Eklund had been trained as a virtuoso and lived as a private teacher and composer of salon pieces. Alzedo, forty years older, had learned his craft from what he believed was a prestigious background: the church, old masters, a long tradition, liturgical knowledge, the organ. When he asks Eklund for compositions to show his value as a

⁶⁷ *El Comercio*, Lima, 10 Julio 1864.

⁶⁸ First part on *El Comercio*, Lima, 8 August 1864. The second part was published in *El Comercio*, Lima, 12 August 1864. It is at the beginning of this second part that he asks: "Sepa U. desde ahora si no lo sabe que entre un organista de Europa y uno educado en América, hay la misma diferencia que entre un elefante y un pericote. En la tierra que yo he nacido, el último y mas atrasado organista que se destine en el mas miserable pueblecito del interior, es un organista que sale examinado y aprobado del Conservatorio musical Real de Stockolmo. [...] ¿En qué conservatorio, u otra escuela de algun concpeto y crédito, ha estudiado U.? [...] U. se ha figurado que todo el mundo es igual a Chile y el Perú, únicas partes del mundo que U. conoce, por cuyo model de educación, e instrucción musical, cree U, siempre encontrarse con enanos músicos de su familia".

composer, he still wants masses, motets, psalms; Eklund can only respond with what he believes is important: opera, songs and piano works for the salon.

Eklund attacked Alzedo for being South American, and had no problem in saying that nothing written there was of any value. How did this discussion affect Alzedo? As far as I know, he did not reply to the final two lengthy articles by Eklund, where he also starts addressing more personal rumours surrounding the life of the Peruvian composer.⁶⁹ Eklund's job in the military had been given to Alzedo, and this most probably contributed to his hatred of the Peruvian composer. On the other hand, I believe this fight must have had an impact on Alzedo's final decision to publish his *Filosofía elemental de la música* a few years later. For the final edition, he added both a Preface and a final Appendix that are dated later than the original text. In these two additions, the fact that he is writing from America is mentioned explicitly, in contrast with the the original text of the work from 1861. It is in the preface, for example, that he remembers his old teachers, and the ways in which the church gave him and education, as well as praising the Chilean conservatory of music, without forgetting that it was organised by a brotherhood, the *Cofradía del Santo Sepulcro*.⁷⁰ He finishes by reminding the reader that this "is the first [treatise of its kind] that appears in America", whose "sole object is to present a Technological-American [*tecnológico-americano*] system" of music studies.⁷¹

In the Appendix,⁷² Alzedo also praises his fellow Peruvian musicians, including Ximénez, and "forgives" M. Fétis for not including any Ibero-American composer in his long catalogue of musical biographies (see p.x). Alzedo, conscious about this last point, questions why Latin America is left out of books that were supposed to offer a comprehensive view of musical culture. It is, I believe, a moment of conscious confrontation with the reality of the problem that he faced as a composer: that while he felt part of a global cosmopolitan and civilised culture, he -nor anyone in Latin America- was being considered in equal terms by Europeans. By the 1860s, Eklund is

⁶⁹ Those previously mentioned from 8 and 12 August 1864.

⁷⁰ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, xix.

⁷¹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, xxiii-xxiv.

⁷² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 210-212.

attacking Alzedo not only as an American, but as a South American, and Alzedo responds, as Bilbao, condemning the European as barbarian and praising the American as civilised.

However, while Alzedo criticises Fétis from an evidently Americanist point of view, and as part of a longer discussion on the merits of American authors, he never tries to convey the idea that American composers should be included in works like his *Biographies* solely because they are American or Peruvian: he is not arguing for “quotas” of exoticism, or different identities here. For example, in Alzedo’s praise of Ximénez there is no hint of singling him out to be included in histories *because* he is a Peruvian author, but rather because, as a Peruvian, he could write cosmopolitan works, including symphonies, comparable to those of his contemporaries in Europe. The nature, then, of being American is not marked by the desire of being regarded as different, but rather in a more flexible way of looking at differences in a broader discussion of global learned musical life.⁷³

6.5. Beyond exoticisms

So, how can we then consider the notion of “American” used by both -or either- Ximénez and Alzedo? Perhaps, I would argue, we can fare better if we try to understand the contemporary use of the concept, and its musical implications, in terms of a borderline rather than a single fracture or a gap. A borderline reflects not a frontier, but a larger possibility of dialogue, a flexibility in the definition of concepts and identities and, accordingly, in what we can define as American or not. To try to understand these works and debates only in terms of a radical difference is not helpful, even if the pressure and the temptation to do so is there. Ximénez’s Quartet op.55 does include a *yaraví*, but it also includes a first movement in sonata form, a minuet and a charming rondo. The *yaraví* is only a small part, perhaps less than 10%, of the musical

⁷³ I believe that his point could lead to some interesting comparisons with antebellum musical scenes and ideas in the United States. However, as I previously mentioned in the introduction, I believe that a more detailed comparison with history and historiography of music in the States goes beyond the framework of my dissertation.

material of his quartet. His waltz, meanwhile, is an example of the epitome of nineteenth-century European dance music, but appropriated and translated as something central to Latin American dance and music culture.⁷⁴ To try to clinically separate what we perceive as Latin American, through its exotic difference, from other traits and elements, only obscures the fact that, at least during the period studied here, discussions of the “national” or “American” were framed mainly in cosmopolitan terms, as a distinction that does not radically transform musical values or aesthetics.

However, looking back from the knowledge we have gained on the subject in the last 150 years, it seems that there is indeed a certain progression in the conceptualization and use of the concept of the “American”, which had become notorious by the time that Alzedo printed his *Filosofía elemental de la música* in 1869. To describe this book as “American”, which would have been rather insignificant only a decade earlier, was now so essential that it becomes a central matter in the prologue and the conclusion of his *magnum opus*. But by then, Alzedo was a man of a previous generation, in his eighties; Ximénez was long dead. Alzedo was becoming a “relic of our Independence”,⁷⁵ and thus someone to be considered more as a symbol of the past than an influence for the rising nationalisms that would be central to later musical developments at the turn of the new century.

Claudio Rebagliatti, a young Italian who met Alzedo in Lima in the 1860s and reworked the National Anthem under his supervision, serves as a good contrast. Rebagliatti, influenced by the recent visit of Louis Moreau Gottschalk to Lima,⁷⁶ wrote and premiered his overture *A 28th of July in Lima*,⁷⁷ which used various local melodies of both *criollo* and indigenous character. The central themes of the piece are both *La*

⁷⁴ Still today, the waltz is an important part of Latin American dance and music culture. Perhaps one of the most evident cases is that of the popular *vals peruano* from the region of Lima.

⁷⁵ *La Patria*, Lima, 20 August 1872. That was the day of *San Bernardo*, the reason for his name. It was common for natural sons to be named after the saints of the day they were born, as was also the case of Bernardo O’Higgins, leader of Chilean independence.

⁷⁶ He visited Lima in 1865 and, as was common in his concerts, presented various “mixes” of popular local tunes to gain the favour of the audience. In Peru, as in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, Gottschalk was a key figure in showing the value of the orchestral concert as a public spectacle.

⁷⁷ The orchestral manuscript has been digitised by the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional del Perú:

<http://repositorio.cultura.gob.pe/handle/CULTURA/220> (Accessed 2 January 2017).

Chicha and the National Anthem by Alzedo, elaborated alongside other popular melodies from Peru. The overture was soon being called “quasi-fantasia on Peruvian themes” by its critics,⁷⁸ and regarded as a new style of musical appropriation of the national. It is in Rebagliatti, an Italian who accepted Peruvian nationality, that we can see the traces of the new ways of thinking about music that shaped the rising nationalism of following decades. Here the “national” elements are taken as objects to be manipulated, symbols to be recognisable by people as eternal in their portraying of the nation. Alzedo by this time was rather accepted as more of a “living heritage” than an influential voice in aesthetic terms.

This music, like that of Rebagliatti, was from and for a different generation, fully embedded in the national and Latin American discourses that had taken root by the 1860s, and thus considered largely as the most common depiction of how “nineteenth-century Latin American music” sounds. Thus, the idea that Ximénez’s music -or Alzedo’s ideas- can relate to, in the words of Beatriz Rossells, an “academic effort” to incorporate the “native and/or the national”, as a “bridge between the use of native rhythms by colonial musicians and the new generations that would use such ideas at the end of the nineteenth century”,⁷⁹ should be taken with more than a grain of salt. More than a bridge in the search for the -always elusive- historiographical continuity of a certain “Americanism” in music, I believe that the efforts of Ximénez and Alzedo are clear examples of the cultural expectations of the period in which they lived, integral to the ambivalent feelings of identity of that period, and which cannot be understood in abstract binary difference with Europe. Perhaps, they do the opposite: they reinforce that, at the end, while writing from Latin America, their musical discourses and ideas had grown from multiple sources that rightfully aided the transitions of both their lives and the historical period they lived in.

⁷⁸ *El Comercio*, Lima, 18 September 1868.

⁷⁹ Beatriz Rossells, “El gran maestro Pedro Ximénez Abril y Tirado en Chuquisaca”, *Revista Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia* 42 (2006), 19.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation has attempted to provide several perspectives on the matter of being a musician, and specifically a composer, in a certain region during a certain period. While I believe its most straightforward contribution is in the study of the sources, biography and music of two largely unknown composers from an evidently understudied period in Latin American music history, I hope that there are multiple threads here that spill out well beyond the two central cases. I have tried, for example, to offer some new approaches to thinking about Latin American nineteenth-century music in general, including the importance of understanding nineteenth-century music beyond secularist models of historiography and the study of Latin American music beyond notions of exoticism or explicit difference.

At the same time, alongside the various insights into the careers and music of Ximénez and Alzedo in relation to their cultural, economic, political and geographical circumstances, I have tried to better situate and understand nineteenth-century Latin American repertoires in context, in relation to various themes: the possibility of the development of local “schools” in Peru in the early nineteenth century; the revolution caused by the increasing arrival of scores from Europe around 1800; the ways styles are appropriated and debated in terms of modern influences; the idea of the composer in this period not only as an artisan worker or a chapelmaster but as a *letrado*; how the early nineteenth-century theatre served as a place for aspiring composers through songs and *tonadillas*; the ways in which opera failed in becoming part of composers’ careers and had to be translated and appropriated in other musical terms; the complexities of being a chapelmaster in Catholic republics; or the ways in which Latin American musicians had to deal with their identities and influences in both cosmopolitan and local/regional/national terms.

How can it be that the extensively studied era of “Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn” has had almost no correlate across the Atlantic?¹ Perhaps the “popular” view is still that “Latin America’s societies, with some exceptions, were mostly lacking in

¹ It has intrigued me that, given the amount of resources for music research in the USA, the case is not entirely different there from Latin America, in the sense that so little has been studied from this early period, perhaps for similar reasons to those in Latin America: the apparent lack of self-evident identity markers that can distinguish local musics from developments in a cosmopolitan perspective.

the fundamentals of European musical culture”, as a comprehensive and well-known music website states.² Beyond aspects of prejudice and discrimination, however, cultivated from a position of colonial dominance, it is evident too that the repertoires created in this period in Latin America have lacked interest for scholars and performers for reasons I have touched on at various points (its lack of exoticism, the evident use of derivative models, its cosmopolitanism, and its material and archival reality). And in this context, I think that my own situation of being a Latin American writing a dissertation in Cambridge, has given me meaningful and inescapable insights into this problem, and I would like to turn my attention to this topic in these last few paragraphs.

In some way, I believe that we never entirely escaped from the expectations of those that repeatedly, in the early nineteenth century, called for the proclamation of an “American Haydn” or an “American Rossini”. That search, based as it is on the background of aesthetic comparisons, is doomed to fail, mainly because it can only show that, indeed, there is no “American” Haydn or Rossini. Obviously, this is part of a larger debate over the weight of the classical-romantic “canon”, well-known probably to most of those reading this dissertation.³ European composers, of different periods and qualities, are also deeply affected by this model, by the fact that the music of composers like Beethoven or Mozart remains so central to musicology as a discipline, and to the way music is studied in most universities.

The short way of escaping this problem would therefore be to study the contemporaries of the “classical masters” from a very conscious hermeneutic of “unremarkable composers”, as Sumner Lott has recently proposed in her studies of

² MusicWeb International, discography of “Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Latin American Symphonies from the 19th century to the Present” by Michael Herman: http://www.musicweb-international.com/Ntl_discogs/Latin_symphonies/Latin_Symphonies.htm (Accessed 10 April 2016).

³ From Lydia Goehr’s *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Clarendon Press, 1992), through Marcia Citron’s *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), to William Weber’s “Canon and the Traditions of Musical Culture” in *Canon vs Culture: Reflections on the Current Debate*, ed. Jan Gorak (New York: Psychology Press, 2001), discussions on the musical canon and its reflections on performance and academia have a long tradition.

Onslow and Spohr.⁴ Indeed, the idea of some musicians being remarkable and others not, is evident in much historiography, even after decades of critique of the canon and the notion of the “masterwork”, and it certainly helps us to accept the multiple contradictions that arise from the clash between the aspirations of this research and the appreciations of musicians at different periods. As Michael Spitzer has said, even today “musical scholars of the classical style are generally comfortable with the notion of a ‘big three’ of mature artists (Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven) crowning a pyramid of *Kleinmeister*”.⁵

However, the use of the canon as the only point of comparison for other musical scenes can lead us to multiple, unexpected flaws in our appreciation of lesser-known musicians. For example, it would become very difficult to ascertain whether what seems different in other authors is a sign of originality (since it departs from the works of certain accepted “masters”), or is borrowed from authors that might have been relevant at a certain point in time and now are almost completely forgotten.⁶ We cannot understand aesthetic “differences” solely as signs of “isolation”, and in many cases we do not have the comparative tools to recognise what could be “considered as choices”.⁷

This problem has, quite obviously, become central in my study of the music of Ximénez and Alzedo. For example, recognising the importance Pleyel and Gyrowetz played in the development of Ximénez’s voice as a composer is not as simple as recognising the influence of Mozart or Haydn in his works. There is much less research on someone like Gyrowetz, and fewer recordings, editions or books to aid appreciation of his music. It is much more difficult to ascertain what might make his style unique, or influential, since mostly he is nowadays considered neither unique nor influential. What is perhaps most striking, is that in both cases (Gyrowetz and Pleyel) we are talking about significant composers who sold thousands of scores and circulated extensively at the turn of the nineteenth century.

⁴ Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

⁵ Michael Spitzer “Six Great Early Symphonists” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. Julian Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 133.

⁶ Lucas Robatto, “Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia’s Orchestral Works”, 122.

⁷ Lucas Robatto, “Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia’s Orchestral Works”, 123-24.

Moreover, influences in a transatlantic perspective are not linear, and rarely - almost never- can be traced to direct specific influences, because there are no personal connections that are explicitly visible. We cannot trace the sort of connections that shape the historiographical accounts of influence of Haydn on Beethoven, or Mozart on Haydn, and so on. In Alzedo's writings, as I have discussed before, this is quite explicit. His own model of music history, that divides the antique and the modern by reference to Haydn, and proposes a continuity of the "modern" period of music history from Haydn through Rossini (as its centre),⁸ provides a perspective on music history that is irreconcilable with the fully standardised model of Beethoven as the acknowledged breaking point of that "age of revolutions". Alzedo is conscious of a model to historicise himself that is created from that "detached" reception of music in Latin America.

Alzedo's proposition of Rossini as the centre of that modernity, meanwhile, is quite relevant in historiographical terms. In his influential *Beethoven Hero*, Scott Burnham argued that "the heroic style controls our thinking to the extent that it dictates the shape of alterity: it is the daylight by which everything else must be night [...] Beethoven's heroic style, while musically representing something like destiny, itself became the destiny of music".⁹ Nothing of this is evident in Latin America, in terms of reception or influence, and the silence of Beethoven in the region, explicit in Alzedo's writings, is relevant. Beethoven is not discussed, not presented; almost entirely absent in comparison with Italian opera and previous "classical" authors. Not relevant. The enormous weight German teleology has had for the history of music, as Gundula Kreuzer has discussed, the idea of a "perpetual progress" that after Beethoven has no turning back,¹⁰ is simply absent in both music and debates about music in the region in this period, with rare exceptions.

⁸ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 52.

⁹ Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 155.

¹⁰ Gundula Kreuzer, "Heilige Trias, Stildualismus, Beethoven: on the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Germanic Music Historiography" in *The Invention of Beethoven and Rossini: Historiography, Analysis, Criticism*, ed. Nicholas Matthew and Benjamin Walton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 80-82.

Looked at from our perspective, which is still heavily influenced by such a teleological model, Rossini seems like a response from Alzedo, an argument against Beethoven; a binary opposition. Alzedo, however, never implies that dichotomy. In Alzedo's remarks, Rossini is not an anti-Beethoven, he simply is, in a God-like fashion that is accompanied by galactic acclamations: "hero of our century",¹¹ "revolutionary star".¹² The duality of the *stildualismus* model proposed by Dahlaus has no place here,¹³ even if it has been so important in later rejections (and opposite appreciations, particularly of the salon) of nineteenth-century repertoires from the region by current scholars, like Ricardo Miranda.¹⁴

So, if not positioned in a binary structure, what role does Rossini fulfil here? I believe that the answer to this question bridges many of the problems discussed in this dissertation, and its main argument: that while composing in a transatlantic, cosmopolitan style, and influenced by European models, composers in Latin America reacted to those parameters in active ways mediated by their materialities, ideas, personalities and the specific circulations and appropriations that took place on the western side of the Atlantic. Rossini, here positioned as the centre of a galaxy, shows both the ways in which Europe is referenced as cosmopolitan sameness, and how that sameness could be easily transformed into difference. In this case, that difference is an historiographical one: observed from Latin America, music history sounds, looks and is written differently, even if not necessarily because of being exotically different.

Perhaps, it is simply that teleological models of modernity do not work in perfect synchronies, that perhaps they do not even exist beyond our historical

¹¹ Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 52: "Examinando el curso de la música desde Palestrina, regulador del bárbaro contrapunto gótico, hasta Haydn, y desde éste hasta Rossini, héroe de nuestro siglo, hallaremos una serie de estilos sucesivamente progresivos".

¹² Alzedo, *Filosofía elemental de la música*, 41: "El siglo XIX, cuya vigorosa influencia ha fecundado con asombro la mayor parte de las ciencias y las artes", "pudiera apellidarse, el aureo-musical por sus progresos. Jamás se contó un número tan abundante de distinguidos luminaires que, siguiendo la brillante huella del astro revolucionario, no obstante jirar cada uno dentro la órbita singular de su propio estilo, parece que todos juntos se dejan ver como diversas modificaciones de Rossini; o que éste difunde su espíritu en diferentes transformaciones, embelleciendo las ideas de cada compositor; o que éstos se empeñan en rejenerar y eternizar la existencia moral de su primer luminar".

¹³ Formulated in his (in English translation as Twyn Styles) *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 8-9.

¹⁴ Ricardo Miranda and Aurelio Tello, *La música en Latinoamérica*, 34.

imaginations. Julio Ramos, in his *Desencuentros de la Modernidad en América Latina* (later translated as *Divergent Modernities*), made it clear that to study what is “modern” in Latin America can lead to a reconfiguration of the concept of the modern, as well as its chronologies, geographies and global possibilities.¹⁵ Since then, the conceptualisation of those radical divergent modernities has exploded in scholarly terms, and Latin America has become a centre of that process. As Nicola Miller has discussed, this is a radical, relevant debate of evident cultural and political importance, and one with multiple implications for Euro-American relations. For example, did Latin America enter modernity in the fifteenth, nineteenth or twentieth centuries?¹⁶ Did it ever enter it, or is it only slightly attached to it, or perhaps has rediscovered modernity in other, fragmentary ways?

This debate, obviously, reflects the important fact that certain aspects of modernity, like its materiality, could have happened without the presence of other modern aspects, and this fragmentation of modernity as an integral whole is essential for the study of Latin America, and one which has multiple echoes in music history. What are the elements we use to understand the “classical style” or *bel canto* opera, and what happens when we only find some of those elements in looking at other repertoires? Can the symphonies of Ximénez be considered “classical”? Can Alzedo’s *Passions* be regarded as “romantic”?

This fragmentation is directly related to Latin America’s historical conditions and the colonial dominance over its geography and peoples. Timothy Taylor has argued, for example, that we must understand the rise of tonality in Europe as a consequence of the discovery and dominance over a new colonial world.¹⁷ For Taylor, the structure of centre and periphery is deeply embedded in tonality itself, in direct relation to the new assumptions of Europeanness derived from the discovery of the New World, and theorised in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸ As Kofi

¹⁵ Julio Ramos, *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Nicola Miller and Stephen Hart, eds., *When was Latin America Modern?* (New York: Springer, 2007), 2.

¹⁷ Timothy Dean Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 18.

¹⁸ Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism*, 27-28.

Agawu has discussed, tonality itself has been a colonising force. Agawu, however, can only perceive the irruption of tonality as a negative force, one that was not adopted, but imposed, “pervasive” and ultimately “disastrous”.¹⁹

However, I do think these ideas, apart from being perhaps slightly far-fetched, also sustain the model of culture as something that is only passively imposed over others, thus not giving those “others” a chance of determining their own agency. Agency is key, and transformations of modernity are acted by local musicians, with implications for music history. To follow the “Beethovenian” model of music history, with all its implications of European progressive modernity, leads to problems when writing music in Latin America. In his recent book *Out of Time*, Julian Johnson has written about the way by which the “modern” European composer searches for a way in which “every piece must embark on a journey of discovery in order to circumnavigate the harmonic globe”.²⁰ But Latin Americans of this period, and until very recently, were not the ones navigating the world: they are not in the quest to find new lands or discoveries. Their condition of active receptors implied that those travels were not entirely necessary, and that perhaps to write music that did try to go to new places, overstepping its own past, was not necessarily desirable, or perhaps even conceived as part of what a composer should do.

The nineteenth- and twentieth-century model of music history, in which each new style and idea had to be changed or surpassed by new conceptions, following the scientific ideals and methods of the period, seems to have been largely irrelevant to composers from the generation of Alzedo and Ximénez. Scores, as discussed in Chapter 2, crossed the ocean, and shaped new ideas, whether in opposition or in appropriation. That sense of novelty and change permeates not only style, but also discourses and ideas, and affects directly on the circulation of works and their influence, but in a way, that does not imply a desire for continuous transformation in a modern, progressive sense. Perhaps the most evident example of this is the fact that

¹⁹ Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 8-9.

²⁰ Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 69.

so much music in Latin America was still sounding like Haydn by the 1840s -like Ximénez's symphonies-, even when composers like Beethoven or Mendelssohn were already known and performed in the region.

Perhaps it was that contrast between appropriating certain aspects of the "classical" period -like its style, and instrumental ideas- while being unable to appropriate others for material and structural reasons -like public concerts, a music market of scores, locally created opera- that created the growing consciousness of difference that would take place, in different ways, for both Alzedo and Ximénez. Looked at from a distance, those tenuous differences -described as American, or national in Chapter 6- are only fragmentary, and it is much easier to understand them in terms of divergences, alternatives, variations, complements. Ximénez's string quartets and Alzedo's motets are not radically different aesthetic projects from counterparts in Europe; they are not determined by an effort in "being Latin American" (and/or Andean, and/or Peruvian) that could be used as a sign of difference and, thus, as a way of carving a niche in a global concert repertoire and/or canon. They seem to be rather more interested in constructing a language that is meaningful inside that divergence, whether conscious or not, both globally and locally.

Was this a common prospect, shared by many musicians? Is Latin America an exception to Europe, or is it rather that, because of its distance, Latin America makes for a more explicit case in showcasing the narrow selection that makes for music histories? Is the subject of this debate the historiographical relevance of these musicians, or just a case of "looking through a glass, darkly"? Naturally, this depends on what we consider music history, and from which perspective we consider it. What and who defines the criteria of relevance? What has defined the criteria of remarkable? Is it not something remarkable that a composer was writing symphonies in a small city in the Andes, or that another, being a mulatto, fighting against the prejudices of his time, was writing what is arguably one of the most intriguing books on the philosophy of music of the nineteenth century? And if that is remarkable, what does that say about the interests of music history in a global perspective? Just to try a version of an answer: the fact that it is global, means necessarily that it should be understood in terms that

are not defined solely by hierarchies of power, but convey the multiplicity that necessarily informs the global.

The notion of *Alzedo, Hero* would not have been strange or radical to Peruvians in the late nineteenth century, and even less a few decades later when, in 1929, he was interred in the Pantheon of Lima with thousands singing his National Anthem in the streets, and a grand military parade. He was, indeed, a hero; one who had fought in the Wars of Independence. Lima, Sucre, Arequipa and Santiago are constantly in very similar searches for what is unique, what is prestigious, what is heroic. But when the question is turned into “who was our local Beethoven”, the problem of relevance as determined in modern European terms is inescapable. While in this dissertation I have focused my interest in composers (rather than performers or members of the audience), in no way have I intended to create or contribute to a new canon.

In fact, I believe that the possibilities offered by Latin America for new research can lead us to rethink how to engage with different criteria of relevance. Would this dissertation have been possible using other composers as the primary subjects of research? With the right material and archival conditions to do the necessary biographical and analytical research, I do think this might have been the case. A different question is, obviously, if it would also have been different, in its structure and conclusions. Most probably. In fact, that question was key in leading me to study not one but two composers, which is rarely done, and while similarities do abound between them, there is also much that is markedly different, and that led me to very different approaches, insights and conclusions.

This is research that has been unavoidably shaped by the complex relations between heritage, nation and academia that permeate much of Latin American scholarship on arts and history. There are three reasons for this: one is my previous experience (with UNESCO, restoration projects and several archives in the region), another is the way funding for research in Latin America is deeply dependent on notions of “national” heritage that must be “rediscovered”, and the third one is how those notions shape local musicological education, where students are constantly in the search of what is “ours”, of reconstructing a meaningful past. Many scholars and

students in Latin America are always on the search not only for what is our “own” culture, but also in trying to prove its significance. Of course, this shapes our debates about value, and meaning, and the historical problem of understanding the art of the past in relation to academic and patrimonial conceptualisations of our days.

I have tried to be very conscious about these ideas and the way they shape our search for problems and answers, and have tried to escape those constraints, at least in the act of writing. But I’m conscious of the double edge of this practice: on the one hand, local music histories have been shaped more by archives than by a tradition of performance or a canon of works or authors; on the other hand, it is impossible to go beyond such a model without cataloguing and studying more works, and going back to the archives. In that sense, while the problems presented here are not dependant on ideas of heritage, the dissertation has been informed by it: music has been catalogued and “recovered”, performed and rediscovered to a new generation of musicians. But the process of editing, cataloguing and finding music -by Ximénez and Alzedo, as well as others-, has served as a “well” from which the historical analysis of the ways in which they worked as composers in the Andean region in the nineteenth century springs. The opportunity of writing in England, has meant that my research could also -I hope- escape the hitches of studying this period and these repertoires only in a national framework (whether Peruvian, Chilean or Bolivian).

What becomes key is how the careers, choices and musics of Alzedo and Ximénez, as well as other Latin American musicians, are meaningful in both local and global terms. How they highlight the multiple conflicts of modernity, of music history, of the convergences and divergences of our narratives. And how through those problematics they might even illuminate other alternatives that have been lost in the efforts to create a single music history, marked by either progressive transformation or radical differentiation. The music of Ximénez and Alzedo is neither radically exotic or different, nor is it a great example of transformative innovation. This is not a criticism, but a statement that allows us to go beyond the models of relevance in most music history, to understand other possibilities of music creation, practice, appreciation, and of being a composer.

I started this dissertation with Alzedo's epilogue to his *Filosofía* (p.10), because I believe that in his emotional effort to promote other Peruvians -and himself alongside them, one supposes-, Alzedo contradicts and reinterprets many of the assumptions on which we base the determinacies of what is, or is not, relevant to music history. The multifocal nature of "relevance" is made explicit, but only if we put an effort to look beyond the obvious. And, if nothing else, I hope this dissertation has conveyed my essential belief that there is much in this period, its repertoires and its composers that is not only not obvious, but that has been lost. Recovered, they present alternative propositions to music history (local and global), beyond the usual linearities of schools, models and centres, while we gain new meanings, then and now. These two composers were not able to sustain a dialogue with their global contemporaries, but now they can easily shed light into the multiple, divergent possibilities offered by the culture of the larger transatlantic nineteenth century, proposing new ways in which our historiographies of music can embrace the global not only to search what is exotic or different, but to help us accepting a world of multiple (and non-binary) agencies, ideas, temporalities, creativities and necessities.

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Appendix

A1. Introduction to the Appendix

This Appendix provides three different things. The first is a chronology of important moments in the lives of Alzedo and Ximénez in parallel to the developments in culture and politics in the Andean region. The second is a list of their works. They are separated by composer, and include the names of the pieces, the archives in which they can be found, and their instrumentation. The third section includes all the scores that serve as Examples for the dissertation.

The chronology includes four parallel columns, considering the lives of Alzedo, Ximénez, the year each event happens, and a comparative selection of important Andean events in the period. The selection is arbitrary, but I believe it can be helpful to the reader because of its eminently visual structure. In relation to the lists of works, I have decided to keep them simple: they are not intended as a “catalogue”, and they provide the names of the pieces as they appear in the front-pages (of the full score, or the violoncello/bass part),¹ listed in alphabetical order. Apart from titles, I include inventory numbers (as used in the archives at the time of visiting and consulting the scores), and the instrumentation is mentioned with RISM codes for instruments in English (e.g., violin/vn). Dates for the scores are not given, since certainty about the dates of the compositions of both Ximénez and Alzedo is scarce; dates are mostly omitted in the scores themselves and thus conjectural on my part. As discussed in the dissertation, in most cases I could only suggest a possible period of composition rather than an exact date, rendering the information unnecessary (I believe) for these lists that are more focused on the materiality of the surviving scores.

Finally, the scores provided here have been included in the order they are discussed in the dissertation itself, serving as examples of pieces that are treated more extensively or in which the full score is necessary to make some of the points in the argument. In that sense, these are not “complete” editions, and in many cases only

¹ The cello or bass part is the most common one to use as cover to a set, a tradition probably inherited from doing so in the part of the continuo during the eighteenth century.

sections from larger works have been used. They have not been selected because of their aesthetic value and do not try to create a comprehensive picture of the work of either composer. All scores have been transcribed by myself, even if in some cases I had the chance to compare with transcriptions made by others. I am particularly grateful to Bernardo Illari, Víctor Rondón and José Conrado Quinquiví for letting me see some of their own transcriptions of these pieces. All information related to sources and changes in the transcription from the manuscripts, is discussed for each case respectively in section A5 of the Appendix, “Editorial remarks to the scores”.

A2. Basic chronology of the lives of Alzedo and Ximénez, and of relevant events in Andean History during the same period.

ALZEDO	XIMENEZ ABRILL	YEAR	ANDEAN HISTORY
		1778	Free Trade Decree decentralising commercial relations between Spain and America (19 ports).
		1780	Rebellion of Túpac Amaru II against Spain in Peru.
	Probable year of his birth in Arequipa.	1784	
August 19, born in Lima, natural son of a free slave (Rosa Retuerto).		1788	
		1789	
		1791	The <i>Mercurio Peruano</i> starts circulation, until 1795.
Professes as Dominican friar.		1807	
		1809	First proclamations of independence (Sucre and La Paz).
	Melgar writes his Patriotic March.	1814	
		1815	The poet Mariano Melgar is killed in Umachiri.

Composition of “La Cifra”, an opera.	Probable travel to Lima?	1816	
		1818	Bernardo O’Higgins proclaims the independence of Chile
	January 7, gets married to Juana Bernedo.	1819	
Composition of Peruvian National Anthem		1821	San Martín proclaims Peruvian Independence in Lima.
Joins the army, as musician, in Battalion N°4		1822	
Arrives to Chile as band member of the liberation army.		1823	Andrés Bello edits the <i>Biblioteca Americana</i> in London. Mariano Rosquellas arrives in Buenos Aires.
		1824	Battles of Junín and Ayacucho consolidate Independence
	Is accepted as member of the Academia Lauretana in Arequipa.	1825	Bolivia declares its Independence from both Argentina and Peru.
	Appears among those signing the Constitution of Peru for Arequipa.	1826	First constitution of Bolivia redacted by Bolívar. Philharmonic societies are created in Santiago and Lima.
Return to Lima for a few months		1829	Andrés de Santa Cruz assumes presidency of Bolivia.
		1830	University of La Paz is founded. Schieroní’s opera company performs in Santiago (and later in Lima).
Teacher in Versin school in Santiago, Chile		1832	
	Assumes role as chapelmaster of the Cathedral in Sucre,	1833	

	invited by president Andrés de Santa Cruz. He starts teaching in two local schools.		
Joins the cathedral choir in Santiago as bass.	Buys his house in Sucre, “La Perascancha”, signalling a desire to stay in the city.	1835	
		1836	Peru-Bolivian confederation is created, war is declared by Chile and Argentina against it. The Spanish parliament recognises American independence formally.
		1839	Santa Cruz loses the war and flees into exile. <i>El Comercio</i> newspaper starts circulation in Lima.
Tries to return to Lima for a second time.		1841	Battle of Ingavi in Peru.
Overture “La Araucana” is performed in Lima.		1842	Universidad de Chile is founded
	Music is taken out of the curriculum and Bolivia and Ximénez loses his position as teacher.	1843	
	His 100 Minuets are published by Richault in Paris.	1844	
Assumes as chapelmaster (interim) in Santiago cathedral.		1846	
Conducts his <i>Miserere</i> and <i>Friday Passion</i> for Easter.		1847	
		1851	First railway in Chile and Peru
Archbishop praises his job and raises his salary.		1852	

	June 12, dies in Sucre.	1856	Francisco Bilbao proposes the idea of "Latin America" in Paris.
Marries to Juana Rojas, from Chile.		1857	"Cuestión del Sacristán" in Chile, break between church and state.
Finishes <i>Filosofía de la Música</i> .		1861	Conservative government loses in Chile after three decades of ruling.
Presents a Project for the Conservatory in Lima, and goes back to Peru.		1863	
Creates his own official edition of the National Anthem.		1864	War starts between Spain, Peru and Chile for the Chincha Islands starts.
<i>Filosofía de la Música</i> gets printed in Lima.		1869	
The Society of Independence gives him a medal as hero.		1871	
Dies in Lima on 28 December.		1878	
		1879	War of the Pacific starts between Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

A3. List of known surviving works by José Bernardo Alzedo (1788-1878)

The following list of surviving works by José Bernardo Alzedo has been compiled considering materials directly consulted in the following archives:

ACS: Archivo Catedral de Santiago de Chile

ACS/UCh: Music that belongs to the Catedral de Santiago de Chile, was catalogued in the 1970s, but has been lost since then and can be found in Samuel Claro's microfilms of the Cathedral archive from that same decade in the musicology department of the Universidad de Chile, Facultad de Artes, in Santiago.

BNP: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima

BPRD: Biblioteca Patrimonial Recoleta Dominica Santiago de Chile

SPM: Seminario Pontificio Mayor de Santiago de Chile

The scheme is very simple, in three columns: it includes a Title for the work, an Inventory Number for the piece as used in the archive at the time of visiting, and a simple description of the instrumentation of the piece according to the manuscript and RISM codes. An Inventory Number in square brackets designates a secondary source for the same piece, even if it may diverge in certain minimal aspects (for example, in part of the instrumentation or text).

Title of the Work	Inventory Number	Instrumentation
Ave Stella Matutina ²	BNP, 5:26	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, 1vc, db, 1org
Benedicta et Venerabilis ³	ACS065, ACS177, ACS294	5vv [also 4 and 6], org
Caidas de N[ues]tro Redemptor	BNP, 5:30	2vv [also 4], 2vn, 1fl, 2hn, bc
Canción a la Batalla de Ayacucho	BNP, SN	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 1tbn, timp, 1vc, db [There is also a piano reduction]

² The same piece as Victimae Paschalis, but with orchestra and different text.

³ The same melody as the Himno a Grande Orquesta, see below.

Canción Nacional “Somos Libres” ⁴	BNP, 7	2vv, pf [Various editions and copies]
Cántico a Moisés	BNP, 8:4 ACS278 [organ]	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 1fl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 1tbn, 1crt [<i>clarín</i>], db, 1 Snare Drum
Christus Factus ⁵	ACS336 [BNP, 3:19]	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 2bs, 1tbn, timp, 1vc, db, 1 Snare Drum
Credo ⁶	BNP, 8:22	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 2bs, 1tbn, timp, 1vc, db
De la Casa de David ⁷	ACS, SN SPM, PMI_001	4vv, org
Dixit Dominus	BNP, 5:25	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc
Domine ad Adjuvandum	BNP, 1:6	4/8vv, ⁸ 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 1crt [<i>clarín</i>], 2hn, 2bs, 1tbn, timp, org, db
El Dos de Mayo	BNP, 8:5	3vv, pf
Gloria Laus ⁹	ACS353 BPRD, SMC_07 [BNP, CB3:1]	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, 1vc/db
Grandes obras que en su hechura	ACS/UCh_194-195	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc
Himno a Grande Orquesta ¹⁰	BNP, 8:6	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 2hn, 2bs, 1tbn, db
Himno Ave Maris Stella ¹¹	ACS/UCh_192-193 ACS_293 [BNP, 2:14]	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc
Himno de los Maitines de Navidad	ACS281	[Fragmented] 4vv?, 1vn [second lost], second cl [first lost], timp
Himno de Pentecosté[s]	ACS/UCh_189	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc

⁴ The most common arrangement of the piece is the one made by Claudio Rebagliati in the the mid-1860s, approved by Alzedo, and thus copies of his original version are difficult to find.

⁵ Peruvian copy is integrated with the Miserere.

⁶ As is common in the period, the Mass includes Kyrie and Gloria and the Credo includes also the Sanctus and Agnus Dei.

⁷ A copy is found in Sucre in Pedro Ximénez’s archive, in MUS 1431 (ABNB). Another copy has been found also in a convent in Talca, a city to the south of Santiago, another sign of the important circulation of this piece. See José Miguel Ramos “El corpus musical de la Iglesia del Hospicio de Talca: una aproximación a la actividad musical en la ciudad antes del Concilio Vaticano II”, *Neuma* 3/3 (2010), 46.

⁸ This combination is common in Alzedo’s works, with a choir of eight of which four can take soloist parts.

⁹ Peruvian copy is integrated in the Pasión del Domingo

¹⁰ Same melody as Benedicta et Venerabilis.

¹¹ There are many similarities with Lauda Sion and Venid Coros del Empíro, ACS_293, as well as BNP, 2:14 where it is mentioned as “Villancico N°2”.

Himno de San Pedro	ACS/UCh_190	3vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, bc [org, db]
Himno Encomiástico ¹²	SPM SMC_002 [BNP, 8:9]	3v [4v], 2vn, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, 1vc, 1db, Drum
Himno Encomiástico a Enrique Meiggs	BNP, 8:8	4vv, pf
Himno Guerrero en La Vuelta de los Españoles a las Islas Chincha	BNP, 8:1	3vv, pf ¹³
Himno inaugural al General San Román	BNP, 8:2	3vv, 2vb, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 2tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 1tbn, timp, 1vc, 1db
In Memoriam	BNP, 3:17	3/4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1vc, 1db
Invitatorio de Difuntos	BNP, C2	4vv, 3vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, 1vc, 1db, timp, org
La Araucana	BNP, 6:32	3vn, 1vla, 1fl, 1picc, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 1tbn, timp, 1vc, 1db ¹⁴
La Chicha	BNP, 8:10	1vv, pf
La Cora	BNP, 1:5	1vv, pf
La despedida de las chilenas...	BNP, 8:11	1vv, pf
Lauda Sion	ACS145 ¹⁵	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc
Letanías a la Virgen	ACS160	4vv, org
Manus Tue	BNP, 4:21	4vv, 2vn, 2cl [ob], ¹⁶ vla, 2hn, bc
Misa de Requiem	BNP, 4:24	3vv, 1vn, 2bs, 2hn, 1db
Misa en Fa	BNP, 4:23	4vv, org
Misa en Fa a la Santísima Virgen del Rosario	BNP, 9:1-2	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 2hn, 2tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, timp, 1vc, org, 1db
Misa en Re Mayor	BNP, CB1	4/8vv, 3vn, 2ob, 1fl, 2hn, 1crt [<i>clarín</i>], 1tbn, org, bc
Miserere mei Deus	ACS335	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, 2bs, Snare Drum, Bass Drum [<i>Tan-tan</i>], 1vc, 1db

¹² Same piece as the another Himno Encomiástico in Perú, and very similar to the Villancico “Venir Pastorillos”, which is kept in the ACS (see below).

¹³ There is also a version for military band in the same folder, in full score

¹⁴ There is a separate, probably later, part for one oboe which is not mentioned on the titlepage and is probably a later addition, given that it is a duplicate of one of the clarinets.

¹⁵ While slightly different, it seems evident it is the same piece in various formats and other texts with Himno Ave Maris Stella and Venid Coros del Empíreo.

¹⁶ As discussed in the dissertation, it is common to see oboes reused as clarinets, and in this case there is one older copy of a part that states “oboe” instead of clarinet.

Motete a la Purísima Concepción	BNP, 2:11	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, timp, db
Motete a la Santísima Virgen a 4 y 8	BNP, 2:12	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, timp, 1vc, 1db
Motete a la Santísima Virgen en Re mayor	BNP, 1:4	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tbn, [timp,], ¹⁷ db
Motete al Santísimo Sacramento ¹⁸	BNP, 1:7	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tbn, timp, 1db
Motete Penitencial N° 1	BNP, 5:28	4vv, 2vn, 2ob, 2hn, bc
Motete Penitencial N° 2	BNP, 5:29	4vv, 2vn, 2ob, 2hn, bc
Motetes de Corpus	ACS178	3vv [a Capella]
Pange Lingua	ACS098	4vv, org
Pasión del Domingo	ACS334	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, Drum, 1vc, 1db
Pasión del Viernes Santo	ACS333	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, 2bs, S. Drum, 1vc, 1db
Plegaria al Señor Supremo	BNP, 2:15	3vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 1vc, 1db,
Posui Adjutorium	ACS279 BNP, 1:3	4vv, org
Que dulces emociones	BNP, 7	2vv, 2vn, [1picc,] ¹⁹ 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, bc
Responso a 4 voces	BNP, 3:16	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 2hn, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, timp, Snare Drum, 1vc, 1db
Salve Regina	BNP, 10:2	4vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1tbn, db
Tantum ergo a 4 y 8 voces	BNP, 2:10	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 2hn, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 1tbn, timp, Snare Drum, 1vc, 1db
Tota Pulcra a 3 voces	BNP, 1:8	3vv, 2vn, 1fl, 2cl, 2hn, bc
Trisagio a tres voces	ACS224 BPRD SMC_09	4vv, org
Trisagio Solemne a 4 y 8 voces	BNP, 10:4 y 5 [BPRD SMC_10]	4/8vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1picc, 2cl, 1tpt [<i>pistón</i>], 2hn, 1tbn, 1vc, 1db, timb
Venid Pastorcillos	ACSSN	4vv, org
Victimae Paschalis	ACS323	4vv, org
Villancico Rara Inventiva de Amor	BNP, 2:13	3vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc
Volad, volad amores	ACS/UCh_196	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, org, bc

¹⁷ In the full score this seems like a later addition, added below the rest of the instruments.

¹⁸ Very similar to Posui Adjutorium, but with slight changes in harmony and particularly in the voices.

¹⁹ Seems like a later addition, it says “with the clarinet”, for the most part.

A4. List of known works by Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado (1784-1856)

The following list of surviving works by Pedro Ximénez has been compiled considering materials directly consulted in the following archives:

ABNB: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia (usually, the music collection is numbered fully as ABNB Música, but simplified here).

ABAS: Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos Monseñor Taborga, Sucre

ACS: Archivo Catedral de Santiago de Chile

CDSFJ: Centro de Documentación Universidad San Francisco Javier de Chuquisaca

CAOB: Colección de Andrés Orías Blüchner (Geneva, Switzerland)

JCQM: Colección de Juan Conrado Quinquiví Morón (Sucre, Bolivia; not catalogued)

PC: Private Collection that cannot be published (unless stated in footnote).

As for Alzedo's works, the scheme is very simple, in three columns: it includes a Title for the work, an Inventory Number for the piece as used in the archive at the time of visiting, and a simple description of the instrumentation of the piece according to the manuscript and RISM codes. An Inventory Number that is in square brackets designates a secondary source for exactly the same piece, which may diverge in certain respects (for example, in part of the instrumentation or text).

A different aspect of this list, in relation to that of Alzedo, is that it includes works that are complete (in **bold**), incomplete (simple text) and lost (*italic* and with no inventory number). The consideration for the material "status" of each work can be assumed from two different elements. On the one hand, the *Listado* of Ximénez's works discussed in the dissertation (see Figure 10) provides us with works that Ximénez composed and that have not been found today. On the other hand, the covers of the scores of each work mention the list of instruments, and thus it is possible to know if some parts are missing. This is particularly important, since in many cases parts have been divided between various institutions and it has taken a lot of effort to relate them

to each other. In cases where there is a [?] sign, this means that further lost instruments are unknown, in most cases because the cover of the piece itself has been lost.

In this inventory, the works for guitar and the songs have not been considered, because my work on those two groups of works is still in progress. Nevertheless, the known sources for both repertoires are mentioned in this catalogue, only that in terms of groups of works, on as single pieces.

Title of the Work	Inventory Number	Instrumentation
Acto de contrición “Mi Piadoso Dios”	ABNB 1294	2vv, 2vn, 1vla, 2fl, db
Acto de Contrición a Dúo	ABNB 1291	2vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1vc, 2fl
<i>Acto de Contrición a Dúo y a Sólo [5 faltantes]</i>		
Acto de Contrición que compuso San Francisco Javier a Dúo	ABNB 1292	vn2, 1vla, 1vc, 2fl, [2vv, vn1], [2vv], [vn1],
Acto de Contrición que compuso San Francisco Javier a Solo	ABNB 1293	1vla, 1vc, fl2, [1vv, 2vn, fl1]
Acto de Contrición que compuso San Francisco Javier a Solo	CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065	1vv, 2vn, 2fl, 1vla, 1vc
Álbum de Valses ²⁰	ABNB 1416	Pf
Andante con Variaciones y Rondó²¹	ABNB 1295	Pf
Antífona a Dúo a la Asunción [sic] “Quae es ista”	ABNB 1427	Bc, [2vv, 2vn]
Audi Benigne Conditor, para los jueves de Cuaresma	ABNB 1296	cl2, org, bc, [3vv, 2vn, cl1]
Ave Maris Stella a 3	ABAS PXAT01	3vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, 1vla, org, 1db, 1vc

²⁰ This is a collection with waltzes that is mentioned in the *Listado* and that evidently became fragmented. Only three waltzes survive in the ABNB and I know of others that are kept in private collection in La Paz and Santa Cruz, probably from the same original album.

²¹ In his *Listado* Ximénez mentions two different Andantes con Rondón. I have seen copy of a second one in a private collection I was not allowed to check for the dissertation, which also includes a slightly different version from the same pieces listed here.

Ave Maris Stella, Himno de Nuestra Señora a dúo	ABNB 1318	2vn, bc, [2vv, 2cl, org]
Ave Maris Stella, Himno de Nuestra Señora a dúo	ABNB 1319	vn1, cl1, org, db [vn2, 2vv, cl2]
Canción Graciosa	ABNB 1297	2vv, [pf?]
Varios álbumes de canciones sueltas para piano y voz ²²	ABNB 1425, 1426, 1429, 1430	1vv, pf
Colección de 100 Minués²³	ABNB 1329	gtr
Colección de Piezas para Guitarra, Tres Álbumes ²⁴	CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065	gtr
<i>Concierto de Violín Obligado</i>		
Coplas a solo a Nuestro Señor Jesucristo	ABAS PXAT03	2vn, 2fl, 1vla, 1vc, [1vv]
Cuarteto Concertante op.55	ABNB 1299	2vn, 1vla, 1vc
Cuarteto Concertante op.56	ABNB 1301	2vn, 1vla, 1vc
Cuarteto Concertante op.68²⁵	ABNB 1300	2vn, 1vla, 1vc
<i>Cuarteto para Guitarra, Flauta, Violín y Violoncello concertante</i>		
Diez Números de Música	ABAS PXAT05	2vn, 2cl, 2hn, 1vla, 2db
<i>Divertimiento²⁶</i>		
Divertimiento ²⁷ [E flat major]	ABNB 1433	1vc, [?]
Divertimiento [D major]	ABNB 1435 ABAS PXAT06	ABNB: 2cl, 2bs, hn2, db ABAS: hn1 Missing: [vv, vn, ?]
Divertimiento Concertante op.17	ABNB 1304	vn1, ob1, [vn2, vc, db, fl, ob2, 2hn]
Divertimiento Concertante op.43	ABNB 1305	1gtr, 2vn, 2fl, 1vla, 1db¿
Divertimiento Concertante op.48	ABNB 1307 ABAS PXAT07	ABNB: vn2, 2vl, 1vc, 1db, 1fl, 2cl, hn2 ABAS: hn1 Missing: vn1

²² These are fragmented albums with songs for voice and piano. A completely separate list trying to address this repertoire would be needed in future work, given the repetition of the same songs (or texts) in various pieces, and the enormous number of them (probably over 200).

²³ This is the famous set of 100 Minuets printed by Richault in Paris.

²⁴ Of these three albums, only two are found in this archive, and a third one is probably kept in a private collection in Sucre, since some pieces purportedly from it have been performed in recent years.

²⁵ I believe this opus number should be 58 instead, 68 being his violin divertimiento.

²⁶ According to the numbers in Pedro Ximénez *Listado*, there should be at least one more Divertimiento which has not been found.

²⁷ This sole cello part is clearly from a different Divertimiento from those known with opus number, but nothing else survives.

Divertimiento op.49	ABNB 1303 ABAS PXAT08	ABNB: 2vn, 2vla, 1fl, cl1, db, hn2 ABAS: hn1 Missing: [cl2]
Divertimiento Concertante op.59	ABNB 1308	1gtr, 2vn, 2fl, 1vla, 1vc
Divertimiento Concertante op.68	ABNB 1309	2vn, 2cl, 2hn, 1vla, 1vc, 1db
Divertimiento Concertante op.46	ABNB 1306	2vn, 2vla, 2fl, 2hn, 1cl, 1vc, 1db
Divertimiento Concertante op.52	ABNB 1434 CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065	ABAS: vn2, 1vla, 1db, 2fl CDSFJ: vn1, 2gtr²⁸
Domine ad Adjuvandum	ABAS PXAT09	3vv, 2vn, org, db
Dos Sonatas y un Rondo	CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065	gtr
Dueto²⁹	ABNB 1420	2vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2ob, 2hn, 1vla, 1bs, 1vc
Dueto 1°	ABNB 1313	2vv, 2vn, bc
Dueto 2° para Nuestra Señora del Carmen “Grande hermoso Luminar”	ABNB 1315	2vv, 2vn, bc
Dueto 3° para la Natividad del Señor “Tierno Dios Jesús”	ABAS PXAT10 ABNB 1479	ABAS: 2vv, 2vn, ob2, 2hn, 1bs, 1vc ABNB: ob2 Missing: 1vla
Dueto 5° para Nuestra Señora	ABNB 1314	vv2, vn2, fl2, 2ob, 2hn, [vv1, vn1, fl1, bs, vla, vc]
Dueto 6° compuesto para dos violines y bajo	ABAS PXAT11	2vv, 2vn, bc
Dueto 14	ABNB 1436	vn2, [¿]
Dueto 15, Para Nuestra Señora	ABNB 1310	2vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1db, 2fl, 2ob, 2bs, 2hn
Dueto para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor	ABNB 1311	2vv, vn2, vla, vc, [vn1, 2cl, 2hn, db]
Dueto para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor “Ángeles y Hombres”	ABNB 1312	3vv, 2vn, 1vla, 1vc, 2cl, 2hn, db
Dueto para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor “Venid Pastor Santo”	ABNB 1438 ABAS PXAT12	ABNB: 2vn, vla, fl2, hn2 ABAS: fl1, vc Missing: [2vv, hn1]

²⁸ This is the only one of the *Divertimientos* with guitar that includes 2 guitars.

²⁹ It states “reformado por Pedro Ximénez”, which signifies it is only an arrangement by him.

Dúo de Ramona y Roselio	ABNB 1437	2vn, 1vla, 2cl, 2hn, db [vv?]
El Desdén a Dúo	ABNB 1432	1vla, 2db, 2cl, 2hn [2vv, 2vn]
El No a Dúo	ABNB 1457	1vv, pf
El sueño de un amor tierno	ABNB 1398	1vv, gtr
Gloria Laus	ABNB 1317	3vv, 2vn, 1vla, db, 2ob, 1bs
Grande Rondo para Guitarra Sola	CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065	gtr
Himno "Santa cruz tu presencia querida"	ABNB 1466	3vv [sketch?]
Himno de Nuestra Señora a Dúo, "Quenterra Pontus"	ABAS PXAT14	2vv, 2vn, org, db
Himno de Nuestro Amo a 3 Voces "O Salutaris Hostia"	PXAT13	3vv, vn1, db [vn2, org]
Himno de San Pedro a 3 Voces, "Decora Lux"	PXAT15	3vv, vn1, hn1, ob2, db, [vn2, ob1, org, bs, hn2]
<i>Invitatorio a 3 voces</i>		
Invitatorio a 4 voces con violines, órgano y bajo	ACS 129	4vv, 2vn, org, bc
<i>Invitatorio de Navidad</i>		
Invitatorio Parce Mihi, Tedet y Misa de Requiem a 3 y 4 voces	ABNB 1320	vn2, 2fl, 2ob, 2hn, org, 1vla, db, bs, [3/4vv, vn1]
Invitatorio, Misa de Requiem	ABNB 1463 ABAS PXAT16	ABNB: vv1 ABAS: vv2/3, vn1 Missing: [vn2, db, ?]
La Travesura a 4 voces	ABAS PXAT17	2vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, vla, 2db
Lamentación del Jueves Santo, primera	ABNB 1321	2vv, 2vn, 1vla, 2fl, 2cl, bs, 2hn, bascorn, db, [vc incomplete]
Lamentación del Jueves Santo, segunda	ABNB 1323	1vv [tenor], 2vv, 1vla, vc, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn, db
Lamentación del Jueves Santo, segunda	ABNB 1440	vn1, vla, fl1, [?]
Lamentación del Jueves Santo, tercera	ABNB 1326	1vv [tiple]. 2vn, vla, vc, 2fl, 2ob, bs, db
Lamentación del jueves Santo, tercera	ABNB 1325	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, db, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn
Lamentación del Jueves Santo, tercera	ABNB 1441	2vv, 2vn, vla, db, 2fl, 2ob, 2hn [?]
Lamentación del Miércoles Santo, primera	ABAS PXAT18	2vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2ob, vla, 2hn, bs, vc, db, [1vv, tiple]
Lamentación del Miércoles Santo, segunda	ABNB 1324	1vv, 2vn, vla, vc, db, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn

Lamentación del Viernes Santo, primera	ABNB 1322	2vv, 2vn, vla, 2fl, 2ob, 2hn, bs, db, vc
Lamentación del Viernes Santo, tercera	ABNB 1327	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, db, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn
<i>Lamentaciones³⁰</i>		
[Larghetto - Allegro - Cantabile in C minor]	ABNB 1424	ob1, 2hn, db [?]
Letanía de Nuestra Señora N°1 a 5 Voces	ABNB 1442/43 ABAS PXAT20	ABNB: vla, fl1, bs, 2ob, hn2 ABAS: 4vv, vn1, vc Missing: vn2, hn1, fl2, org, bs
<i>Letanía de Nuestra Señora N°2</i>		
Letanía de Nuestra Señora N°3 a 5 Voces	ABNB 1328 ABAS PXAT21	ABNB: vv2, vla, vc, 2hn ABAS: 2vv Missing: 2vn, 2fl, 2ob, bs, org
Letanía de Nuestra Señora N°4 a 5 Voces	ABAS PXAT22	5vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, vla, vc, org, bs, db
<i>Mirabilia a 3 voces</i>		
Mis Pasatiempos al Pie del Volcán, Andante y Rondó	ABNB 1330	gr
Misa a 3 voces	ACS 146	3vv, 2vn, 2ob, bc
Misa a Dúo y a 3 voces	ACS 322	2/3vv, 2vn, org, bc
Misa de Requiem a 3 voces	ABNB 1348 ABAS PXAT25 CDSFJ: CDU0065	ABNB: vv1, vc ABAS: vv3, 2vn CDSFJ: hn2 Missing: vv2, 2ob, 2fl, vla, hn1, org, bs
Misa de Requiem a 4 voces	ABAS PXAT26	4vv, 2vn, ob2, 2hn, vla, org, db. [ob1]
<i>Misa N°01 - 03, 05, 07, 09³¹</i>		
Misa N°04 a Dúo y a 3	ABAS PXAT27 CAOB MV13	ABAS: db CAOB: 2vn, org Missing: 2/3vv
Misa N°06 a 3 voces		
Misa N°08 a 3 voces	ABNB 1452 ABAS PXAT28	ABNB: 3vv, 2vn, vla ABAS: db, 2vn, cl1, 2hn, vla
Misa N°10 a Dúo	ABAS PXAT29	2ob, org, 2hn, vla, vl1, [?]
Misa N°11 a 3 voces	ABNB 1341	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2vl, bs, 2hn, org
Misa N°12	ABNB 1454 ABAS PXAT30	ABNB: vn2, hn2 ABAS: vn1, vla, ob1 Missing: [?]

³⁰ The *Listado* mentions 18 Lamentations composed, of which eight appear to be missing.

³¹ It might be that one of the Masses found in the ACS is one of these early Masses from Ximénez.

Misa N°13 a Dúo	ABNB 1335 ABAS PXAT31	ABNB: 2vn, 2cl, org, db ABAS: vv2 Missing: vv1
Misa N°14 a Dúo y a 4	ABNB 1337 ABAS PXAT32	ABNB: 2vn, vc, ³² db ABAS: hn2, 2vv Missing: vla, 2ob, hn1, org
<i>Misa N°15 a 3 voces</i>		
Misa N°16 a 3 voces	ABNB 1448B ABAS PXAT33	ABNB: vv2 ABAS: vv1, vc Missing: 2vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2ob, 2hn, vla, org, bs
<i>Misa N°17 a Dúo</i>		
Misa N°18 a Dúo	ABAS PXAT34	2vn, db, [2vv, org, 2ob]
Misa N°19 a Dúo	ABAS PXAT35	2vv, 2vn, org, 2ob, db
<i>Misas N°20 - 23 a 3 voces</i>		
Misa N°24 a 3 voces	ABNB 1342 / 1448D ABAS PXAT36	ABNB: vla ABAS: ob2, vn2 Missing: [?]
Misa N°25 a Dúo	ABAS PXAT37	2vv, 2vn, org, db, 2ob
<i>Misa N°26 a Dúo</i>		
Misa N°27 a 3 voces	ABAS PXAT38	3vv, 2vn, 2ob, 2hn, org, vla, bs, db
Misa N°28 a Dúo	ABNB 1336	2vv, 2vn, 2ob, 2hn, vla, org, bs, db
Misa N°29 a solo y a 3	ABNB 1338	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn, org
Misa N°30 a solo y a 3	ABNB 1339	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn, org
Misa N°31 a 3 voces	ABNB 1343	2vn, vla, vc, ob2, hn2, 2fl, bs, org, [3vv, ob1, hn1]
Misa N°32 a solo y a 3	ABAS PXAT39	3vv, 2vn, vc, [2cl, 2hn, vla, org, bs]
Misa N°33 a solo y a 3	ABNB 1340	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2ob, bs, 2hn, org
<i>Misas N°34-35 a solo y a 3</i>		
Misa N°36 a solo y a 3	ABAS PXAT40	3vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, vla, org, bs, vc
Misa N°37 a 3 voces	ABNB 1344	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2cl, bs, 2hn, org
Misa N°38 a 3 voces	ABNB 1345 ABAS PXAT41 CAOB MV17	ABNB: 3vv, 2vn, vc, bs, org ABAS: 2cl, 2hn CAOB: vla

³² The cello part is incomplete.

Misa N°39 a 3 voces	ABAS PXAT42	3vv, 2vn, cl1, vla, org, vc [cl2, 2hn, db]
Misa N°40 a 3 voces	ABNB 1346 / 1448C ABAS PXAT43	ABNB: vc, vv2 ABAS: hn2, vv3 Missing: vv1, 2vn, 2cl, hn1, vla, db, org
<i>Misa N°41 a 3 voces</i>		
Misa N°42 a 3 voces	ABNB 1448A ABAS PXAT44	ABNB: vv2/3, 2vn, vla, 2cl, hn1 ABAS: vv1, hn2, org, db
Misa N°43 a 4 voces	ABNB 1331 ABAS PXAT45	ABNB: 2fl ABAS: 3vv, 2vn, vla, db, 2cl, bs, 1hn, org Missing: hn2, vc, 1vv
Misa N°44 a 4 Voces	ABNB 1332 ABAS PXAT46	ABNB: vc ABAS: bs Missing: 4vv, 2vn, vla, db, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, org
Misa N°45 a 4 voces	ABAS PXAT47	vv2, [3vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, vla, bs, db, org, vc] ³³
Misa N°46 a 4 Voces	ABNB 1333 ABAS PXAT48	ABNB: vc ABAS: db, bs, vla, vn1, fl2 Missing: 4vv, vn2, fl1, 2cl, 2hn, org
Misa N°47 a 4 Voces	ABNB 1334 ABAS PXAT49	ABNB: 3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, org, cl1 ABAS: fl1 Missing: 1vv, cl2, fl2, 2hn, bs, db
Misa N°48 a 3 voces	ABNB 1347	vn1, vla, vc, [3vv, vn2, db, 2cl, 2hn, org]
Misa N°49 a 4 voces	ABNB 1455 ABAS PXAT50	ABNB: db ABAS: 1vv, vn1, vc Missing: 3vv, vn2, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, vla, org, db]
<i>Misa N°50</i>		
Miserere a 3 voces	ABNB 1449 ABAS PXAT52	ABNB: db, 2hn ABAS: 3vv, vc Missing: 2vn, 2fl, 2ob, vla, bs]
Miserere a 4 voces	ABNB 1349 ABAS PXAT53	ABNB: db ABAS: vn2 Missing: [?]

³³ With only one available part, it is particularly difficult to attest to the construction of this Mass.

O Gloriosa Virginum a 3	ABAS PXAT54	3vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2cl, 2hn, vla, org, db, vc
Oración de Jeremías, Lección Tercera a Solo	ABAS PXAT55	1vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2ob, 2hn, vla, db, bs, vc
<i>Pasión del Domingo de Ramos</i>		
Pasión del Martes Santo	ABNB 1350 / 1351	4vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2ob, 2hn, bs, org
Pasión del Miércoles Santo a 4 Voces	ABAS PXAT56	4vv, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, vla, db, org, vc
Pasión del Viernes Santo	ABNB 1352 / 1459 ABAS PXAT57	ABNB: 4vv, 2vn, vla, db, 2ob, 2hn ABAS: hn1, vc Missing: bs, org
Premio a la Virtud	ABNB 1353	2vv, 2vn, 2ob, db, pf
Primera y segunda lección N°1 del Parce Mihi y Tedet	ABNB 1354	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2ob, bs, bc
Primera y segunda lección N°2 del Parce Mihi y Tedet	ABAS PXAT58	3vv, 3vn, bc
Primera y segunda lección N°3 del Parce Mihi y Tedet	ABNB 1355	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2ob, bs, db
Primera y segunda lección N°4 del Parce Mihi y Tedet	ABAS PXAT59	3vv, 2vn, vla, 2cl, bs, db, vc
Quince meditaciones para el Quinario	ABNB 1444 ABAS PXAT60 CAOB MI13	ABNB: vn1, fl1 ABAS: vn2, fl2, vc CAOB: vn2 ³⁴ Missing: vla
Quinteto V op.37	ABNB 1356	2vn, 2vla, db
Quinteto VI Concertante op.38	ABNB 1358	2vn, 2vla, vc
Quinteto VII op.24	ABNB 1357	vn2, 2vla, [vn1, db]
<i>Quintetos I - IV³⁵</i>		
Salmo 5° Vírgenes, Lauda Jerusalem a Dúo	ABAS PXAT19	db, [2vv, 2vn, org, vla, 2ob, 2hn, bs]
Salmo Dixit Dominus a 3	ABNB 1359	2vv, 2vn, org, bc
Salmo Magnificat a 3	ABNB 1360	3vv, 2vn, org, bc
Salmos de Vísperas para Corpus Cristi [para nuestro Amo]	ABNB 1361	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, db, 2vl, 2cl, bs, 2hn, org
<i>Salmos de Vísperas para Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe</i>		

³⁴ It is the part from "Day 1" that was missing from the other source of vn2.

³⁵ There is no other sign about these pieces, not even in the *Listado*, but it is strange that the three surviving ones are numbered from 5 to 7, meaning that four other must have existed at one point.

<i>Salmos de Vísperas para San Pedro</i>		
Salmos de Vísperas para Santos	ABNB 1362	3vv, 2vn, vc, hn2, [2ob, hn1, bs, org]
<i>Salmos de Vísperas de Santos</i> ³⁶		
Salmos de Vísperas para Santos ³⁷	ABNB 1302	[3 voces, 2 violines, 2 oboes, 2 trompas, órgano, bajón] y cello
<i>Salmos de Vísperas para Vírgenes</i> ³⁸		
Salmos de vísperas para vírgenes [four]	ABNB 1417	3vv, 2vn, ob1, bs, hn2, vc. [ob2, hn1]
Salutación a las Cinco Llagas de Nuestro Señor para el quinario	ABNB 1363	2vv, 2vn, vla, 2fl, vc
Salve a 3 voces	ABNB 1465 ABAS PXAT61	ABNB: vla, fl2, bs ABAS: 3vv, 2vn, 2fl, 2cl, trp [pistón], 2hn, vla, org, db, bs, vc
Salve N°01 a 4 Voces sacada del Stabat Mater de Rossini ³⁹	ABNB 1423	
Salve N°02 a Dúo	ABNB 1364	2vv, 2vn, vla, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn, org, db
Salve N°03 a 3 Voces	ABNB 1369	3vv, 2vn, vla, 2ob, bs, 2hn, org, db
Salve N°05 a 3 Voces	ABAS PXAT62	3vv, 2vn, fl, 2ob, 2hn, vla, org, bs, vc
Salve N°07 a Solo	ABAS PXAT63	1vv, vc [obligado], 2vn, 2ob, 2hn, fl, org, vla, bs
Salve N°09 a 3 Voces	ABNB 1370	3vv, 2vn, 2ob, org, db
Salve N°10 a Dúo	ABAS PXAT64	2vv, 2vn, 2ob, org, db
Salve N°11 a Solo	ABAS PXAT65	1vv, 2vn, 2vl, 2ob, hn1, vc [hn2, vla, org, bs]
Salve N°13 a Dúo	ABNB 1365 / 1464	2vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2fl, 2ob, bs, 2hn, db
Salve N°14 a Solo	ABNB 1367	1vv, vc [obligado], 2fl, 2vn, 2cl, 2hn, vla, org, bs, db

³⁶ Another collection of four that has not survived apparently.

³⁷ There should be four in total, but given that almost no parts survive it is difficult to say.

³⁸ Two other sets of Psalms existed and have not been found.

³⁹ It is stated as an arrangement of Rossini, but it looks more like a sketch, and thus it is difficult to understand its current structure. Only the cello survives almost complete.

Salve N°15 a Dúo	ABNB 1366 ABAS PXAT66	ABNB: 2vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2fl, 2cl, bs, 2hn, trp [piston], org, db ABAS: 2fl, vv2
Salve N°16 a 3 Voces	ABNB 1368	2vv, 2vn, vla, vc, db, 2fl, 2cl, bs, 2hn, trp, [vv1].
Segunda lección del Viernes Santo	ABNB 1468	1vv, bs, db, hn1, [?]
Seis cavatinas a Solo, con acompañamiento de fortepiano	ABNB 1298	1vv, pf
<i>Siete Palabras de las Tres horas del Viernes Santo</i>		
<i>Sinfonías 1 - 6</i>		
Sinfonía 7	CAOB MI47	2vn, 2cl, 2hn, vla, db
Sinfonía 8	ABNB 1371	db, cl2, hn1, [2vn, vla, cl1, hn2]
Sinfonía 9	ABNB 1372	ABNB: vn1, vn2, vla, db, hn1 ABAS: db, 2cl Missing: hn2
Sinfonía 10	ABNB 1373 CAOB: MI06	ABNB: 2vn, vla, db, 2cl CAOB: 2hn, db
Sinfonía 11 Concertante	ABNB 1374	2vn, 2vla, 2cl, 2hn, 2bs, fl, vc, db
Sinfonía 12	ABNB 1375	2vn, db, cl2, hn2, [vla, cl1, hn1]
Sinfonía 13	ABNB 1376	Vn1, cl2, 2hn, vc, db, [vn2, vla, fl, cl1]
Sinfonía 14	ABNB 1377	2vn, 2vla, 2cl, 2hn, db
Sinfonía 15 Concertante	ABNB 1378	2vn, vla, fl, 2cl, hn1, db [hn2]
Sinfonía 16	ABAS PXAT68	2vn, 2cl, 2hn, vla, db
Sinfonía 17	ABNB 1379 CAOB MI14	ABNB: 2vn, fl, 2cl, bs, hn2, db CAOB: hn1
Sinfonía 18	JCQM	2vn, 2cl, fl, 2hn, vla, db
Sinfonía 19	ABNB 1380	2vn, 2vla, vc, [db, 2cl, 2hn, fl, bs]
Sinfonía 20	ABNB 1381	Vn2, vla, vc, fl, cl2, 2hn, [cl1, vn1, db]
<i>Sinfonía 21</i>		
Sinfonía 22	ABNB 1382 / 1469	Vn1, vla, vc, db, fl, 2cl, bs, 2hn, [vn2]
Sinfonía 23	ABNB 1383	2vn, vla, fl, 2cl, 2hn, db, bs

Sinfonía 24	ABNB 1384	2vn, vla, vc, db, fl, 2cl, bs, hn2, [hn1]
<i>Sinfonía 25</i>		
Sinfonía 26	ABNB 1385	2vn, vla, 2fl, 2cl, vc, db, [2hn, 2bs]
Sinfonía 27	ABNB 1386	2vn, 2cl, 2hn, fl, vla, db
Sinfonía 28	ABNB 1387 ABAS PXAT69	ABNB: 2vn, vla, db, cl2, hn1 ABAS: cl1, fl Missing: hn2
Sinfonía 29	ABNB 1470 ABAS PXAT70	ABNB: vn2, vla, db ABAS: vn1, 2cl, 2hn, fl
Sinfonía 30	ABNB 1388	2cl, vla, fl, 2cl, 2hn, db
Sinfonía 31	ABNB 1389	2vn, vla, 2cl, 2hn, fl, db
Sinfonía 32	ABNB 1471 CAOB MI07	ABNB: 2vn, 2cl, hn2 CAOB: hn2 Missing: ? ⁴⁰
Sinfonía 33	ABNB 1390	Vn2, vla, vc, 2cl, 2hn, db, [vn1, fl]
Sinfonía 34	ABNB 1391	2vn, vla, vc, fl, 2cl, 2hn, db
<i>Sinfonía 35</i>		
Sinfonía 36	ABNB 1392	2vn, vla, vc, db, vl, 2 cl, 2hn
Sinfonía 37	ABNB 1393	2vn, vla, vc, db, fl, 2cl, [2hn]
Sinfonía 38	ABNB 1394 ABAS PXAT71	ABNB: 2fl, 2cl, 2vn, vla, vc, db ABAS: 2hn Missing: 2bs
Sinfonía 39	ABNB 1395	Vla, 2cl, hn1, vc, [2vn, hn2, bs, db]
Sinfonía 40A ⁴¹	ABNB 1396	ABNB: vn2, cl1, db, vc CAOB: hn2, cl2 Missing: vn1, vc, 2fl, hn1, bs
Sinfonía 40B	ABAS PXAT72	2vn, vla, 2fl, 2cl, 2bs, 2hn, vc, db
Solo para nuestro Señor Jesucristo	ABNB 1397	1vv, 2vn, 2fl, vla, vc
Sonata para violín y piano ⁴²	ABNB 1472	Vn, pf
[Sonata Para flauta] ⁴³	ABNB 1473	Fl, pf
Tantum Ergo a 3 voces [arreglo]	ABNB 1421	Vn2, vc, [2vv, vn1, 2cl]

⁴⁰ The list of instruments is not present.

⁴¹ This seems to be an earlier versión of symphony 40, of which the first movement is the only one that can be partly reconstructed (albeit if without the first violin).

⁴² It is not clear if this is Ximénez's work.

⁴³ It is not clear if this is Ximénez's work.

Te Deum Laudamus	ABNB 1399 ABAS PXAT73	ABNB: vc ABAS: 3vv, 2vn, 2fl, ob1, 2hn, vla Missing: org, ob2
<i>Te Deum Laudamus</i>		
Terceto N°01 “Celebrad o Criaturas” para cualquier devoción	ABNB 1405 / 1406	3vv, 2vn, 2ob, db
Terceto N°02, Para la Natividad del Señor [Cualquier Devoción]	ABNB 1409 ABAS PXAT74	ABNB: 3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2ob, 2hn ABAS: 3vv, 2vn, 2vl, db Missing: bs
Terceto N°03 para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor, “Se pasma y se asombra el cielo”	ABNB 1408	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2cl, 2hn, db
Terceto N°04 “Tus clemencias oh María”	ABNB 1400 / 1475 / 1476	ABNB 1400: vla, 2fl, vc ABNB 1475: 2ob, 2hn ABNB 1476: 2vv, vn1 Missing: 1vv, vn2, bs
Terceto N°05, para Nuestra Señora	ABNB 1407	Db, [3vv, 2vn, vla, 2ob]
Terceto N°06 para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor “En un pobre pesebre”	ABNB 1402 ABAS PXAT75	ABNB: 3vv, 2vn, vla, 2cl, 2hn, db ABAS: vc
Terceto N°07, para la Natividad del Señor, “Ya tomó el verbo divino”	ABNB 1410 CDSFJ G1B1 FDI0063	ABNB: 3vv, 2vn, vc, db, 2ob CDSFJ: 3vv, 2vn, 2cl, bs, 2fl, 2hn, vla, db
Terceto N°08	ABAS PXAT76	3vv, 2cl, db, 2fl, 2hn, vla, db
Terceto N°09 “Oh Piadosa, oh Dulce”	ABNB 1403 ABAS PXAT77	ABNB: 2vv, db, vn1, vla, 2fl, 2ob, bs, hn1, db ABAS: vv2 Missing: vn2, cl, hn2
Terceto para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor [SN]	ABNB 1404	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, db, 2cl, 2hn
Terceto para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor “Duerme, duerme mi niño” [SN]	ABNB 1401	3vv, 2vn, vla, vc, 2cl, 2hn, db
Terceto para el Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor, “Este niño Tierno”	ABNB 1439	Tenor, ? ⁴⁴

⁴⁴ No other identification has been possible.

Terceto para la Natividad del Señor, “Zagales, hoy es el día”	ABNB 1477	3vv, 2vn, vla, 2ob, 2hn, bs, db
Terceto, “eterna sabiduría del primer hombre”	ABNB 1478	Tiple 1 ⁴⁵
Tonadilla a Dúo: “El Convenio”	ABNB 1411	2vv, 2vn, 2cl, vla, 2hn, db
Tonadilla de los Negritos	ABNB 1480 ABAS PXAT80 CAOB MV12	ABNB: 2vn, vla, cl1, db ABAS: cl2, hn1 CAOB: vv
Tonadilla N°03 a dúo: El Estudiante Pobrete	ABNB 1316 ABAS PXAT78	ABNB: db ABAS: 2vn, 2hn Missing: 2vv, 2fl, vla
Tonadilla N°04 a Dúo: El militar retirado en triunfo y la patriota pastorcita	ABAS PXAT79	2vv, 2vn, db
Tonadilla No identificada [Viejo, Tutor, Pupila]	ABNB 1484 / 1461 / 1481	ABNB 1484: Viejo ABNB 1461: Pupila ABNB 1481: Tutor
Tota Pulcra a 3 voces	ABAS PXAT81	Vn2, db, ? ⁴⁶
Tres Cuartetos Concertantes	ABNB 1412	Vn1, vla, [fl, vc]
Tres Cuartetos Concertantes	ABNB 1413	Fl, vn, vla, vc
<i>Tres Cuartetos Concertantes</i>		
Tres dúos compuestos para violoncelo y guitarra	ABNB 1414	Vc, [gtr]
Tres valeses para piano-forte	ABNB 1416	Pf
Trisagio a solo	ABNB 1415	1vv, 2vn, 2ob db, [org]
Trisagio, “Ya se aparta el Sol ardiente”	ABNB 1486	1vv, fl2, ? ⁴⁷
Valses para piano forte	ABNB 1483	Pf
Valz de la Reina de Prusia puesto en guitarra	CDSFJ G1B1 FDI0065	Gtr
Villancico a 4 voces para la natividad del señor	ABNB 1419	Vn1, 2ob, db, org, [4vv, vn2, 2hn]
Villancico a 4 voces para la natividad del señor, “Oh portento de bondad”	ABNB 1418	4vv, 2vn, 2ob, 2hn, vla, db, bs
Vísperas	ABNB 1485	Vla ⁴⁸
Yaraví a Dúo	ABAS PXAT82	Vn2 ⁴⁹

⁴⁵ No other identification has been possible.

⁴⁶ No other identification has been possible.

⁴⁷ No other identification has been possible.

⁴⁸ No other identification has been possible.

⁴⁹ No other identification has been possible.

A5. Editorial remarks to the transcribed scores

All transcriptions made for the sake of this dissertation try to respect the original manuscripts as far as possible, without larger alterations. The few changes, when they exist, are discussed here. In the scores themselves I used only two signs to identify my editorial changes or additions. One is the use of parenthesis and square brackets, and the other one is the punctuated slurs. Instruments that are today transposed have been kept in their original keys, as is the case of horns and clarinets. Voices have been maintained in their original keys, and when instruments seem to have been added in later versions, the original has been preferred. For all other types of information, see below.

1) Alzedo: Motete Penitencial no.1: “Cuando señor de los hombres”

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP 5:28

While the cover of the score mentions two “obues” [sic], the parts say “clarinet”, which is a clear sign that these are later parts, probably copied in conjunction with other added instruments. The voices seem to have been copied at the same time as the cover was made. The cover includes an incipit for the voice. There are two surviving parts for bass, without differences as far as I can see. Horns set in the original of C.

b.23, violin 1: The first note of the bar cannot be read because of an ink blot. I decided to use a silence, as in the second violin.

b.26, clarinet/oboe 1: An ink blot at the end of the bar does not allow to see the notes. I followed clarinet/oboe 2 as a model.

2) Alzedo: Motete Penitencial no.4: “Acabe ya mi penitencia”

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP 5:29

It is written on vertical rather than horizontal sheets, which seems like an indication of a later copy. It includes pencil annotations of bar-numbers in some of the parts. Another difference with the first motet is that it includes the denomination of “clarinetes” on the cover itself. However, that they were originally meant for oboes can

be seen in that the woodwind solo in bar 114 is marked in the conductor first violin part as “oboe”. An incipit can also be found on this cover. Horns are set in the original of C.

b.24: The entry of the second soprano is mis-counted at bar 25 instead of bar 23 in the original part.

b.48: The original entry of the horns is marked after fourteen bars’ rest, but it does not fit with the harmony. It does fit with twelve bars of silence, which is the solution used here.

b.97-98: The original first and second violins state: “Pmo” and “Fmo”, which I believe means “Pp” and “Ff”, which was what was used here.

3) Alzedo: Misa en Re mayor: Introducción, Kyrie and Christe

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP CB1

The very clean copies of this Mass suggest that it was reused later on, probably during Alzedo’s years in Chile. Some new suggestions for instruments were added, as well as a further “Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei” in the same tonality and similar style. Given that only this part of the piece is discussed in the dissertation, I included only the instrumental Introduction, Kyrie and Christe (Kyrie *da capo*). Indications of Solo and Tutti reflect the traditional structure of a4/a8, which means that the choir of 8 gets divided into four soloists in some sections.

4) Alzedo: Rara inventiva de amor

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP 2:13

This score is very strange in that only a Full Score survives, with no original parts for its performance. In the case of this piece, I was able to contrast my own transcription with one that Bernardo Illari did ten years ago, and that he shared with me. The scores show some changes made by Alzedo during the copying, but it has only minor mistakes, showing that it was conceived thus as a clean copy.

b.6, second violin originally had the same figure as violin one, but there is a correction on top.

c.26, Alzedo seems divided here about using C# or A for the last note in the bass, I used C# which seems to have been his original idea (see same in bar 19).

c.43, Alzedo scratched his original idea for the two violins and wrote a new figuration underneath, at the bottom of the page. I used this last idea for the transcription.

c.82, Alzedo seems to have used another figuration for the two violins here; since it seems he simplified it, I have left only notes among those sections scratched.

5) Ximénez: Cuarteto Concertante op.55: First movement

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, ABNB 1299

The score is kept complete in four parts, one for each instrument, and in excellent condition. The copy appears to be fully in his own hand, and to be clean, as if never used. Mostly, it is difficult to know what the differences between the parts are due to an aesthetic proposal by Ximénez's himself, or rather to mistakes in the copy.

b.2, while in some occasions this figure in the violins (and later in all instruments) seems to be marked with a dashed line, I am not entirely sure it can be read like that; and since most of the time it looks like a staccato dot, I prefer to maintain it throughout the transcription.

b.61, it is difficult to say whether the cello has to play in the G clef as written or an octave lower (as would have been done in some contemporary pieces). Given that Ximénez was also a cello virtuoso, it might be that it was a real sounding G clef, and thus I left it as copied in the original manuscript.

b.65, it is difficult to know whether all voices are supposed to be forte here or not.

b.126, in the original the first violin is the only one with "ff" which might be an indication of a specific sound over the other three instruments.

b.138, it is probable that the second violin should have the same markings as the first violin, but it could also signify a contrast between both instruments.

6) Ximénez: Sonata N°1, for the guitar

Source: Centro de Documentación San Francisco Javier, CDSFJ: G1B1 FDI0065

This Sonata is the first of a set of pieces, collected together under the title of “two sonatas and one rondo”. It is comprised of a single movement, and almost no changes had to be made from the original copy. The way the different strings should be played, keeping the voices apart, has been preserved from the original, including all annotations. Of these, perhaps the most peculiar one is the “with the left hand” in bar 59, which a few guitarists to whom I have sent the score cannot fully interpret, since there is nothing similar in pieces from this period. One possibility, as suggested by guitarist Mauricio Valdebenito, is that it was meant for a guitar with seven strings which, as Alejandro Vera mentioned to me, is perfectly possible given the sources and documentation about guitars in the period in Peru.

7) Ximénez: Sinfonia 15, *Concertante*: First movement

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, ABNB 1378.

Ximénez’s symphony no.15 I edited originally for a concert in Valdivia in 2014, which included also his symphony no.27 and Alzedo’s overture *La Araucana*. It is that same edition which is included here, which offers a direct transcription of the manuscript rather than any adjustments on my part. In that way, the orchestra could decide for itself whether the differences between parts were a mistake in the copy or rather subtle differences that were relevant to the performance itself. An important aspect of this copy is that the “concertante” solo violin is not separate from the tutti violin, meaning that it was probably played with one instrument per part, as was common during the period. I decided to suggest where the “solos” are considering the structures in Davaux concertante symphonies, but these are only a suggestion.

8) Ximénez: Diez Números de Música

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos de Sucre, PXAT05.

The horn in D has been adapted to its sounding register, using an octave sign below the G clef, but in the original it is written without the octave sign. Almost no changes were made from the original, but it is evident that there are problems in terms of balance of the instruments, e.g. some fortes against fortissimo. This has been kept as

in the original. The only evident change is that when it said “pianísimo”, fully written in Spanish, this was changed in all cases to “pp”.

9) Ximénez: El Convenio [First Number]

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, ABNB 1292.

With most pieces by Ximénez, there were not many changes to be made to this edition, and most of them are commented in the score itself. For both horns, on the same line, an octave G clef has been applied, in their sounding register, which the original did not have. It is probable that the vocal part would have been sung an octave lower, since it appears to be for a male singer, but I left it in the original octave from the manuscript. Cello and bass part were put together in a single stave, since they play the same. It is worth noticing that while the strings and voice are mostly in 6/8 in the “B” section (from bar 49 on), the winds appear to give the contrast rhythm in 3/4. Since in this section the other (first) voice is not used, I omitted it.

10) Ximénez: El Militar retirado en triunfo y la patriota pastorcita

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos de Sucre, PXAT79

The transcription of this score was made for the Otto Mayer Serra award in 2015, and was made without changes from the original manuscripts. This also included the passages for spoken text which was left in the same places as the original vocal part, here introduced in the score. The original clef for the voice was changed to the most commonly read G.

11) Alzedo: La Cifra [First Number]

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos de Sucre, O01

To fully represent the original score of *La Cifra* is particularly difficult, even if only one number is transcribed. The main reason is that the original score (which is a full score) seems to be more of a sketch than a clean copy, and thus presents many problems for the reader. I transcribed the scores without the seemingly later additions, including the horns and flutes (at the bottom of the manuscript in a later hand). I decided to keep

this structure of the score for this copy. Also, there is a serious lack of dynamics and expressive notations of all kinds (including a tempo mark for the beginning), and I decided to maintain these details to accurately represent to the reader the condition of this piece.

c.13, the viola part is marked as Eb-Bb, changed to D-Bb

c.63, from the third beat, a set of crotchets starts on the two violins on E flat, omitted here since they belong to the next number.

12) Alzedo: La Chicha

Source: Biblioteca Nacional de Perú, BNP, 8:10

Leipzig, Chez les fils de B. Schott, N°19351.

As mentioned in the dissertation, *La Chicha* was published by Alzedo in the 1860s and it is from that copy that this transcription was made. No changes were made from the original printed publication, and the decision to put the rest of the lyrics at the end of the song was maintained, given the number of verses.

13) Alzedo: La Cora

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP, 1:5

The version of *La Cora* that survives is in manuscript, and I was able to consult a transcription by Víctor Rondón of the same before doing my own version. There are two different copies of the song in the same folder; one that looks as though it comes from the 1820s and the other from the 1860s; perhaps Alzedo planned to reuse it during the war with Spain in 1865. The earlier version has various sections of the piano accompaniment missing, and so the later version has been used as a reference.

14) Alzedo: Domine ad Adjuvandum [First Section]

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP 1:6

The *Domine ad Adjuvandum* survives in an interesting manuscript, which includes both the full score (which Alzedo orchestrated) and the parts for the various instruments, which seem to come from different periods, all in his hand. The full score has been

used as the basis for the transcription. Alzedo also included a conductor's score, which includes only violin and the voices, which has also been consulted. Only the first part of the score, the "Domine ad Adjuvandum" itself, has been transcribed. The flute, two valveless trumpets, trombone and snare drum have not been transcribed, since I consider that these are later additions.

15/16) Alzedo: Miserere: Benigne Fac Domine and Quoniam

Source: Archivo Catedral de Santiago, Chile, ACS 335

This was my first Alzedo transcription, made in 2010 and supported by a grant from the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes from the Chilean Government. It was performed alongside Trisagio Solemne and a villancico in a concert in Santiago Cathedral in 2012. The three pieces have been transcribed, thus, from the parts surviving in Santiago Cathedral and not from the version that exists in Lima, which is certainly better copied, probably as a clean manuscript to take back when he left in 1863. However, after multiple comparisons, I believe that at least in the case of these three sections, Alzedo did not make any changes between the two versions. I kept the use of a side drum, and not the timpani which is evidently a later addition.

17) Alzedo: Pasión del Viernes: Eggo Nullam

Source: Archivo Catedral de Santiago, ACS 333

Alzedo wrote at least two passions, one for Holy Friday and another for Holy Sunday. The first which has been transcribed here. The *Eggo Nullam* is a single aria, which I situate as number 6 in the order of movements. The original manuscript, consisting of both the full score and the instrumental and vocal parts, shows the year 1848. For the transcription, the parts were checked, but the full score was used as the relevant reference, with no important differences noted between the two readings.

18) Alzedo: Volad, volad amores

Source: Archivo de Musicología Universidad de Chile, ACS/UCh_196

As mentioned in the dissertation, after Samuel Claro did his catalogue of the music in the Catedral de Santiago in the 1970s, an important part of that music became lost in the following decades. Luckily, copies of the microfilms he made survive both in the Universidad Católica and Universidad de Chile. These last ones were the ones checked for the edition of the score, which survives in a version accompanied by organ, and another by a small orchestra. For easier reading, here the version with organ was used for the transcription, while the voices were copied from the original parts. It seems evident that the piece was originally meant for orchestra, but the parts are copied in many different hands, including later additions in Alzedo's own (for example, for an extra side drum which is not noted on the cover).

19) Alzedo: Cántico de Moisés

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 8:4

Archivo Catedral de Santiago de Chile, ACS278

There are two surviving versions, one for orchestra and one for organ, of this motet by Alzedo. The version for orchestra, in Peru -which seems later- is the only one that includes the parts for the voices, which are missing from the copy in Santiago (for organ). For this edition, I have used the voices from the BNP copy, and the organ part of the ACS to reconstruct the possible original version. The indication of "Tiempo de Marcha" appears in Alzedo's hand in the organ part.

20) Alzedo: Posui Adjutorium

Source: Archivo Catedral de Santiago, ACS 279

Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1:3

Both copies, in Peru and in Chile, are for organ and voices. The title in Lima is not the incipit of the anthem, but rather according to its use: "Motete para la Recepción del Presidente de la República". The same detail is pointed out in the copy in Santiago, but with the title being the incipit. The Lima copy includes the voices and organ part in a single score, while the one in Santiago has the voices copied separately.

21) Alzedo: Victimae Paschalis

Source: Archivo Catedral de Santiago, ACS 323

As mentioned in the dissertation, the copy in Santiago includes a score of the organ and voices which describes its dedication to Rafael Valentín Valdivieso. Parts for the voices are also included in the volume. In Peru, there is a different version of the piece which is titled *Ave Stella Matutina*, for full orchestra and copied in full score. I used the version in Santiago for the transcription.

22) Alzedo: Himno Encomiástico a don Enrique Meiggs

Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP 8:1

The Himno survives in a manuscript copy in the hand of Alzedo in Peru. It includes only the piano version, but with a beautifully detailed manuscript cover, which might indicate it was meant to be given rather than kept by the composer. The lyrics of the piece are by Patricio del Río.

b.12, piano right hand the second chord is F# minor, which sits uneasily with the other voices. I lowered both F sharps to E, to make an A major chord.

b.37, in the left hand of the piano, the E#+G# to F#+A are marked as semiquavers, but should go with the rhythm of the upper hand, as quavers.

23) Ximénez: Cuarteto concertante op.55: Adagio con Sordina

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, ABNB 1299

The differences in the way Ximénez wrote appoggiaturas and ornaments, particularly between the first and second violin, have been maintained (see, for example, bars 7, 19, 23 and 46). I believe this is related to an effort to make both voices expressive in the way the *yaraví* is sung.

b.4, v2: staccato and slur added

b.4, v: dolce has been added

b.20, v1: “f” added

b.51, v2: both the “f” and “p” have been added, resembling the viola

b.64, v1: added “f”

b.69, v2-vla: staccato added to compensate the first violin

b.80, v1: the articulation of violin 2 has been added

24) Ximénez: Divertimiento Concertante op.43, “Allegretto”

Source: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, ABNB 1305

This *divertimiento* or divertimento for guitar, strings and two flutes has been one of the most popular and attractive pieces for scholars and performers since it was first copied, probably around 2010. Its small instrumental size, its use of the guitar and “traditional” elements recognizable as Latin American, sparked a series of versions. It has been performed in its original version, with cello instead of double bass, and with chamber or full orchestra, in Bolivia, Germany, Argentina and Peru. In the process of realising my transcription, I consulted both previous performances and copies by other scholars, particularly Harold Beizaga and Zoila Vega.

25) Ximénez: Vals al Estilo americano

Source: Colección Juan Conrado Quinquiví Morón

There are three surviving versions of this waltz, and only one of them is in a public collection, that of the Centro de Documentación of the University in Sucre. However, this is the only one that does not say “al Estilo Americano”. The other two are in private collections, one for piano in La Paz (which I have only seen in photocopies), and another in the collection of Juan Conrado Quinquiví Morón. I have decided to use this last one, written in 3/4 and not in 3/8, as the basis for my transcription. For comparison, I used a transcription made and sent to me by Harold Beizaga.

b.73, in the version from the Tercera Colección (Vals no.23), this bar is missing. It could be considered a mistake by Ximénez, since it disrupts the symmetry of the phrase, but perhaps that is also an intention, given that it is new idea (a pedal).

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

1. Cuando señor de los hombres

José Bernardo Alzedo

Largo

2 Oboe

2 Horns Eb

Soprano [Voz] 1

Soprano [Voz] 2

Alto

Bass

Violin I

Violin II

Double Bass

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

8

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

15

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

Cuan - do se - ñor se - ñor de los hom-bres la mal - dad ce-sa-rá de i-ri-

Cuan - do se - ñor de los hom-bres la mal - dad ce-sa - rá de i-ri -

Cuan - do ____ ñor de los hom-bres la mal - dad ce-sa-rá de i-ri-

Cuan - do ____ ñor de los hom-bres la mal - dad ce-sa-rá ____ de ____ i - ri -

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

21

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

tar vues-tra bon - dad y cuan - do del do - lor de sus pe - ca - dos se -

tar vues-tra bon - dad y cuan - do del do - lor del do - lor de sus pe - ca - dos se -

tar vues-tra bon - dad del do - lor de sus pe - ca - dos

tar vues-tra bon - dad y cuan-do del do - lor de sus pe - ca - dos

27

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

rán se - rán se - rán sus co - ra - zo - nes tras-pa - sa - dos?

rán se - rán se - rán sus co - ra - zo - nes tras-pa - sa - dos?

se - rán se - rán se - rán sus co - ra - zo - nes tras-pa - sa - dos?

se - rán se - rán se - rán sus co - ra zo - nes tras-pa - sa - dos?

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

33

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

E - a pues Se -

E - a pues Se -

E - a pues Se -

E - a pues Se -

39

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

ñor Se - ñor se - ñor se - ñor vi-brad vi-brad un dar-do un

ñor Se - ñor se - ñor se - ñor vi-brad vi-brad un dar-do un

ñor Se - ñor Se - ñor Se - ñor vi-brad vi-brad un dar-do un dar-do

ñor Se - ñor Se - ñor Se - ñor vi-brad vi-brad un dar-do un dar-do

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

44

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

dar-do dar-do pe-ne-tran-te y ha-ced queos a-me-mos al ins - tan-te pa-ra

dar-do dar-do pe-ne-tran-te y ha-ced queos a-me-mos al ins - tan-te pa-ra

dar-do pe - ne - tran-te y ha-ced que os a-me-mos al ins - tan-te

dar-do pe - ne - tran-te y ha-ced que os a-me - al ins - tan-te Pa - ra

50

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

que se — gún nues-tro de-li-to te o-fres-ca-mos un co-ra-zón — un co-ra-

que se — gún nues-tro de-li-to te o-fres-ca-mos un co-ra-zón — un co-ra-

pa-ra que se - gún nues-tro de-li-to un co-ra-

que se - gún nues-tro de-li-to te o-fres-ca-mos un co-ra-zón co-ra-

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

55

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

zón con - tri - to

zón con - tri - to

zón con - tri - to

zón con - tri - to

55

61

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

quien te a - ma - rá quien te a - ma - rá o Je -

quien te a - ma - rá quien te a - ma - rá o Je -

quien te a - ma - ra quien te a - ma - ra o Je -

quien te a - ma - ra quien te a - ma - ra o Je -

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

66

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

sús due - ño de — mi al - ma co - mo los San - tos co - mo los An - ge - les y vues tra

S 2

sús due - ño de — mi al - ma co - mo los San - tos co - mo los An - ge - les y vues tra

A

sús due - ño de — mi al - ma quien te a - ma - ra quien te a - ma - ra y vues - tra

B

sús due - ño de mi al - ma quien te a - ma - ra quien te a - ma - ra y — vues - tra

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

71

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

Ma - dre os a - ma se - a pues nues - tro a - mor nues - tro a - mor tan fir - me fir - me y

S 2

Ma - dre os a - ma se - a pues nues - tro a - mor nues - tro a - mor tan fir - me fir - me y

A

Ma - dre os a - ma se a nues - a - mor tan fir - me fir - me y

B

Ma - dre — a - ma se a nues - tro a - mor tan fir - me fir - me y

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

Example 1: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

77

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

fuer - te que co - mien-se co - mien-se o tra vi-da con la muer-te o-tra

S 2

fuer - te que co - mien-se o tra vi-da con la muer-te o-tra

A

fuer - te que co - mien-se o tra vi-da con la muer-te — tra

B

fuer - te que co - mien-se o tra vi-da con la muer-te — o -

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

83

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

vi-da con la muer - te con la muer - te.

S 2

vi-da con la muer - te con la muer - te.

A

vi-da con la muer - te con la muer - te.

B

vi-da con la muer - te con — muer - te.

Vln. I

Vln. II

D.B.

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

4. Acabe yo mi penitencia

José Bernardo Alzedo

Larghetto

Oboe

2 Horns in Eb

Soprano [Voz] 1

Soprano [Voz] 2

Alto

Bass

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Double Bass

f

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

[illegible]

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

21

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

- rrar pa - ra siem-pre pa - ra siem-pre mi pe - ca - do a - ca - be ya a -

A - ca - be ya a -

A - ca - be ya a -

27

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

- be de__ bo - rrar mi pe - ni - ten - cia de__ bo - rrar pa - ra siem-pre pa - ra

ca - be ya a ca - be ya

ca - be ya a ca - be ya

ca - be ya a ca - be ya

ca - be ya a ca - be ya

(p)

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

32

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

39

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

32

siem-pre mi pe-ca - do y en es-te re - du - cir-me re - du - cir-me a nue-boes - ta-do se co-

mi pe-ca - do

mi pe-ca - do

mi pe-ca - do

f *(p)* *f* *(p)* *f* *(p)* *f* *pp*

39

no - s-ca se-ñor tu gran cle - men - cia tu gran cle - me - n - cia se co - nos - ca se -

se co - nos - ca se -

f *f* *f* *f*

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

45

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

51

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

Re bel - de te o - fen -

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

57

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

64

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

re - bel - de te o - fen dí de tu pa - cien - cia — mil

re - bel - de te o - fen - dí de tu pa -

re - bel - de te o - fen dí te o - fen - dí te o - fen -

di Re - be - de te o - fen - dí Re bel - de te o - fen - dí te o - fen - dí te o - fen -

ve - ces me bur - le me bur - le tor - pe y o - sa - do o - sa - do mas

cien - cia — mil ve - ces me bur - le tor - pe y o - sa - do o - sa - do mas

di mil — ve - ces me bur - le tor - pe y o - sa - do o - sa - do

di mil — ve - ces me bur - le tor - pe y o - sa - do o - sa - do

p *f* *p* *f*

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

70

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

76

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

ya a tus pies con - tri - to y hu - mi - lla - do aun ha - lla - re con -

ya a tus pies con - tri - to y hu - mi - lla - do aun ha - lla - re con -

aun ha - lla - ré con - tra -

aun ha - lla - ré con - tra -

p *f* *p* *f*

tra - ria aun ha - lla - re con - tra - ria la sen - ten - cia

tra - ria aun ha - lla - re con - tra - ria la sen - ten - cia

ria aun ha - lla - re con - tra - ria la sen - ten - cia

ria aun ha - lla - re con - tra - ria la sen - ten - cia

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

81

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

86

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

solo

dolce

O mi Dios no _ ba - ci - le en su es-pe -

O mi Dios no _ ba - ci - le en su es-pe -

ni ve - a des-pre - ciar ni ve - a des-pre-

ran - za no no mi Dios ba-ci-le en su es pe-ran - za

ran - za no no mi Dios ba-ci-le en su es pe-ran - za

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

[illegible]

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

104

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

109

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

pen - da seel ri - gor de tu ven - gan - za y mas seen-zal sa -

gor el ri - gor de tu ven - gan - za y mas seen-zal sa -

pen - da seel ri - gor de tu ven - gan - za y mas seen-zal sa -

rá y mas seen-zal-sa - rá tu nom - bre San - to

rá y mas seen-zal-sa - rá tu nom - bre San - to

rá y mas seen-zal-sa - rá tu nom - bre San - to

rá y mas seen-zal-sa - rá tu nom - bre San - to

Example 2: Cuatro Motetes Penitenciales

114

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

120

Ob.

Hn.

S 1

S 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

mien-tras fue mas ho-rren-do mien-tras fue mas ho-rren-do mi de-li - to

mien-tras fue mas ho-rren-do mien-tras fue mas ho-rren-do mi de-li - to

mien-tras fue mas ho-rren-do mi de-li - to

mien-tras fue mas ho-rren-do mi de-li - to

mi de-li - - - to mi de-li - to,

mi de-li - - - to mi de-li - to,

mi de-li - - - to mi de-li - to,

mi de-li - - - to mi de-li - to,

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

Introducción - Kyrie - Christe

Jose Bernardo Alzedo

All[egr]o Mod[erato]

2 Oboes

2 Horns in D

Voz 1

Voz 2

Alto

Bajo

Violin I

Violin II

Double bass

Organ

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

f

p

pp

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

Ob. 30

Tr. 30

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Ob. 36

Tr. 36

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Ob. 41

Tr. 41

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Ob. 46

Tr. 46

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

50

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

54

Ob.

Tr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

59 **Kyrie: Largo**

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e e - le-i-

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e e - le-i-

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e e -

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e e -

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

65

Ob.

Tr.

65

V. 1

son e - le-i - son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son

V. 2

son e - le-i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

A

son e - le-i - son Ky - ri - e le - son Ky - ri - e le - son

B

son e - le-i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

71

Ob.

Tr.

71

V. 1

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e

V. 2

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e

A

71

son

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e tutti

B

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

71

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

[illegible]

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

Christe: Fuga

86

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

Chris - tee - - - - - le - i -

V. 2

Chris - te - - - - - e - lei -

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

95

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son e - - - - -

V. 2

son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son e - - - - -

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

95

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

103

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

112

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

le - i - son

le - i - son solo

Chris - te

Chris solo

Chris - te e - - - -

le - i - son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son e - - -

le - i - son e - le - i - son e - le - i - son e - - -

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

120

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

tutti

Chris - Chris - e - lei - son e -

Chris - Chris - e - lei - son e -

lei - son Chris - Chris - e - lei - son e - e -

lei - son Chris - te e - lei - son e - e -

130

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

lei - son Chris - te Chris - te

lei - son Chris - te Chris - te

lei - son Chris - te Chris - te

lei - son Chris - te Chris - te

lei - son Chris - te Chris - te

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

[illegible]

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

[illegible]

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

[illegible]

Example 3: Misa a 4 y 8 voces

191

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

199

Ob.

Tr.

V. 1

V. 2

A

B

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Org.

chris - te e - le - i - son e -

chris - te e - le - i - son e -

chris - te e - le - i - son e -

chris - te e - le - i - son e -

le - i - son e - le - i - son e - lei - son

le - i - son e - le - i - son e - lei - son

le - i - son e - le - i - son e - lei - son

le - i - son e - le - i - son e - lei - son

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

Villancico

José Bernardo Alzedo

All[egr]o Mod[era]to

2 Clarinets

2 Horns in D.

Voice 1

Voice 2

Bass

Violin I

Violin II

Bass

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

10

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

14

Cl.

Hn.

f

f

Ra - ra in - ven - ti - va de a - mor, ser Cor - de - ro y ha-

Ra - ra

Ra - ra

Vln. I

p

Vln. II

p

B.C.

p

f

p

The musical score is written for a chamber ensemble of Clarinet (Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Bassoon (B.C.). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system (measures 10-13) features a rhythmic melody in the Clarinet and Horn, with Violins I and II playing a fast, repetitive eighth-note pattern, and the Bassoon providing a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system (measures 14-17) introduces vocal lines. The vocal parts enter in measure 14 with the lyrics 'Ra - ra in - ven - ti - va de a - mor, ser Cor - de - ro y ha-'. The vocal lines are supported by the instrumental ensemble, which includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano), *f* (forte), and hairpins for crescendo and decrescendo. The Violins I and II play a fast, repetitive eighth-note pattern, while the Bassoon provides a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

19

Cl.

Hn.

19

cer - se Pas - tor, im - po - si - ble es en - ten -

Ra - ra

Ra - ra

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

24

Cl.

Hn.

24

der - lo, que cui - de de mi sus - ten - to, el mis - mo que es

im - po - si - ble, mi sus - ten - to,

im - po - si - ble, mi sus - ten - to,

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

24

f *p* *f* *p*

f *p* *f* *p*

f *p* *f* *p*

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

29

Cl.

Hn.

29

mi a - li - men - to, que cui - de de mi - sus - ten - to a -

mi a - li - men - to, mi sus - ten - to

mi a - li - men - to, mi sus - ten - to

29

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

f *p* *f* *p* *f*

34

Cl.

Hn.

34

qui hai un gran Sa - cra - men - to en que to - dos el ma - mayor

34

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

364

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

40

Cl.

Hn.

40

40

Ra - ra ra - ra in - ven - ti - va de a - mor,

Ra - ra ra - ra in - ven - ti - va de a - mor,

Ra - ra ra - ra in - ven - ti - va de a - mor,

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

44

Cl.

Hn.

44

44

ser Cor - de - ro, ser Cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se Pas - tor,

ser Cor - de - ro, ser Cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se Pas - tor,

ser Cor - de - ro, ser Cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se Pas - tor,

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

48

Cl.

Hn.

48

ser Cor - de - ro, ser Cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se Pas - tor, ser Cor -

ser Cor - de - ro, ser Cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se Pas - tor, ser Cor -

ser Cor - de - ro, ser Cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se Pas - tor, ser Cor -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

48

Fine

52

Cl.

Hn.

52

de - ro y ha - cer - se pas - tor, ser cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se pas - tor.

de - ro y ha - cer - se pas - tor, ser cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se pas - tor.

de - ro y ha - cer - se pas - tor, ser cor - de - ro y ha - cer - se pas - tor.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

52

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

57

Cor - de - ro de nues - - tros cam - pos, el Bau - tis - ta
Cor - de - ro en ro el que tro - no em la pi - reo vi - no a Juan ser le - do -

57

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

62

le a - do - ró ru - bri - ca - do por el más -
ve ne - ró yaun que muer - to en el cal -
mi na - dor se ha que - da do con no -

62

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

66

se - ñas con su mis - mo Ber ve me llón. Tam -
va - rio has - ta vi - vi a y su - ve has - ta hoi Pas -
so - tros has - ta la con - ve ma - ción Pas -

66

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

70

Cl.

Hn.

70

bién por su mis - ma bo - ca, nos per - sua - e que es Pas -
tor es de las o - ve - jas que su Pa dre le en - tre -
tor y cor - de - ro a un tiem - po tron - co es - pi ga fru - to y

70

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

p

Example 4: Rara Inventiva de Amor

73

Cl.

Hn.

73

tor, go flor nos per - sua - de que es Pas - tor, y fal -
que su Pa - dre le en - tre - go tan
tron - co es - pi - ga fru - to y flor hos - tia y

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

76

tar la tie - rra y Cie - lo pue - de su pa - la - bra no y fal -
fiel que por su par - te nin - gu - na se le per - dió y tan
a - ra - le a - do - ra - mos val - ga me el po - der de Dios hos - tia y

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

80

D.S. al Fine

tar la tie - rra y Cie - lo pue - de su pa - la - bra no.
fiel que por su par - te nin - gu - na se le per - dió.
a - ra - le a - do - ra - mos val - ga me el po - der de Dios.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.C.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

1. Allegro

Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado

The musical score is for a quartet, featuring Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello. The key signature is E-flat major (three flats), and the time signature is 4/4. The tempo is marked '1. Allegro'.

System 1 (Measures 1-6):

- Violin I:** Starts with a half note G4, followed by eighth notes A4-B4, C5-B4, A4-G4. Dynamics: *f* (measure 1), *p* (measure 2), *f* (measure 3), *p* (measure 4). Measure 5 has a *dolce* marking.
- Violin II:** Starts with a half note G4, followed by eighth notes A4-B4, C5-B4, A4-G4. Dynamics: *f* (measure 1), *p* (measure 2), *f* (measure 3), *p* (measure 4).
- Viola:** Starts with a half note G3, followed by eighth notes A3-B3, C4-B3, A3-G3. Dynamics: *f* (measure 1), *p* (measure 2).
- Cello:** Starts with a half note G2, followed by eighth notes A2-B2, C3-B2, A2-G2. Dynamics: *f* (measure 1), *p* (measure 2).

System 2 (Measures 7-12):

- Violin I:** Measure 7 has a trill (tr) on A4. Measures 8-12 show various melodic lines with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Violin II:** Measures 7-12 show various melodic lines with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Viola:** Measures 7-12 show a continuous eighth-note accompaniment pattern with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Cello:** Measures 7-12 show a continuous eighth-note accompaniment pattern with dynamics *f* and *p*.

System 3 (Measures 13-18):

- Violin I:** Measure 13 has a trill (tr) on A4. Measures 14-18 show various melodic lines with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Violin II:** Measures 13-18 show various melodic lines with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Viola:** Measures 13-18 show a continuous eighth-note accompaniment pattern with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Cello:** Measures 13-18 show a continuous eighth-note accompaniment pattern with dynamics *f* and *p*.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

19

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

pp

pp

(pp)

25

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

p

f

f

p

29

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

f

f

f

32

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

35

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p dolce

dolce

39

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

3

45

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

dolce

51

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

55

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 55-57. Vln. I and II play a melody in G-flat major. Vla. plays a bass line. Vc. plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

58

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 58-62. Vln. I and II play a melody in G-flat major. Vla. plays a bass line. Vc. plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

63

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

f

dolce

f

tr

f

Measures 63-66. Vln. I and II play a melody in G-flat major. Vla. plays a bass line. Vc. plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Dynamics include dolce, f, and tr.

67

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

(p)

Measures 67-71. Vln. I and II play a melody in G-flat major. Vla. plays a bass line. Vc. plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Dynamics include (p).

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

73

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

77

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

80

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

83

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

tr

p

f

p

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

86

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 86-88. Vln. I plays a rapid sixteenth-note run. Vln. II, Vla., and Vc. have sparse accompaniment.

89

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 89-92. Vln. I continues with melodic lines. Vln. II, Vla., and Vc. provide harmonic support.

93

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 93-96. Vln. I features a complex sixteenth-note pattern. Vln. II, Vla., and Vc. have sustained notes.

97

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 97-100. Vln. I has a trill. Vln. II, Vla., and Vc. have rhythmic patterns.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

102

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

tr

106

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

109

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

112

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

f

p

f

p

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

117

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

122

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f *ff* *f* *f*

127

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p *f* *p* *f* *(p)*

p *f* *p* *f* *p*

p *f* *p* *f* *p*

p *f* *p* *f* *p*

132

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

pp *pp*

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

138

Vln. I

pp

Vln. II

(pp)

Vla.

(pp)

Vc.

pp

144

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

149

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

The image shows a musical score for measures 149 through 154. The score is for four instruments: Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 3/4. Measure 149 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat major. Vln. I plays a half note G4. Vln. II plays a dotted quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, Bb4, and C5. Vla. plays a dotted quarter note G3, followed by eighth notes A3, Bb3, and C4. Vc. plays a half note G2. Measures 150-154 show various musical developments, including melodic lines in Vln. I and Vln. II, and sustained notes in Vla. and Vc.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

161

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

f

p

f

p

f

f

167

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f *p*

dolce

tr

(p)

173

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

α

178

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

pp

The image shows a musical score for measures 178-182 of 'The Swan' from 'The Nutcracker'. The score is for four instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 4/4. Measure 178 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat major. The Violin I part has a melodic line with a fermata on the first measure. The Violin II part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violoncello part has a single note. The score ends with a double bar line and a *pp* (pianissimo) marking.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

183

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

pp

(pp)

189

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

fp

f

fp

f

f

195

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

fp

fp

fp

fp

200

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

fp

fp

fp

fp

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

205

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

fp

p

p

(p)

pp

211

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

p

dolce

218

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

3

224

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

230

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

(p)

234

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

239

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

f

f

tr

243

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

solo

f

p

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

250

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 250-253. Vln. I and II play a melody of eighth and quarter notes. Vla. plays a complex sixteenth-note pattern. Vc. provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

254

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 254-257. Vln. I and II play a melody of quarter notes. Vla. continues with a sixteenth-note pattern. Vc. provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

258

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 258-261. Vln. I and II play a melody of quarter notes. Vla. continues with a sixteenth-note pattern. Vc. provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

262

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Measures 262-265. Vln. I and II play a melody of quarter notes. Vla. continues with a sixteenth-note pattern. Vc. provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

266

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

p

270

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

274

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

279

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

283 *tr*

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f *p* *(p)* *f* *(p)*

286

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

289

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

tr *f*

293

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce *p* *p* *p*

Example 5: Quarteto Concertante op.55

298

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

302

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

306

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

310

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 6: Sonata para Guitarra Sola [Nº1]

Pedro Ximenez Abrill y Tirado

Pedro Ximenez Abrill y Tirado

Guitar

f

3

dolce

5

Gtr.

9

Gtr.

13

Gtr.

17

Gtr.

ff

21

Gtr.

3

25

Gtr.

p

f

p

29

Gtr.

f

33

Gtr.

dolce ff

p

38

Gtr.

43

Gtr.

f

Example 6: Sonata para Guitarra Sola [Nº1]

46 Gtr.

49 Gtr.

52 Gtr.

55 Gtr.

58 Gtr.

61 Gtr.

64 Gtr.

67 Gtr.

71 Gtr.

75 Gtr.

79 Gtr.

83 Gtr.

con la mano izquierda

con la mano derecha

dolce

p

Example 6: Sonata para Guitarra Sola [Nº1]

87

Gtr.

91

Gtr.

95

Gtr.

98

Gtr.

102

Gtr.

106

Gtr.

110

Gtr.

113

Gtr.

116

Gtr.

119

Gtr.

124

Gtr.

129

Gtr.

p

f

fr

dolce

p

f

p

f

p

f

ff

pp

Example 6: Sonata para Guitarra Sola [N°1]

Gtr. 134

Gtr. 139

Gtr. 145

Gtr. 150

Gtr. 155

Gtr. 160

Gtr. 163

Gtr. 167

Gtr. 170

Gtr. 173

Gtr. 177

Gtr. 181

Gtr. 185

f

dolce

f

dolce

f

p

3

dolce

f

p

Example 6: Sonata para Guitarra Sola [N°1]

Gtr. 189

Gtr. 192 *ff*

Gtr. 195 *ff*

Gtr. 198

Gtr. 201 *p*

Gtr. 204

Gtr. 208

Gtr. 212

Gtr. 216 *f*

Gtr. 219 *p* *f* *p*

Gtr. 222

Gtr. 224

Example 6: Sonata para Guitarra Sola [N°1]

Gtr. 226 *dolce*

Gtr. 230

Gtr. 234

Gtr. 238

Gtr. 242

Gtr. 246 *f* *p*

Gtr. 249 *tr*

Gtr. 253 *f* *p*

Gtr. 257 *f* *p*

Gtr. 260

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

1. Adagio - Allegro

Adagio

Pedro Ximénez Abril

Flauta

Clarinetas

Horns in E

Violín I

Violín II

Viola

Bajo

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

f

dolce

p

pp

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

Musical score for Example 7: Sinfonia N°15, measures 14-18. The score is written for a symphony orchestra. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The instruments are arranged in two systems. The first system includes Flute (Fl.), B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Cb.). The second system includes Flute (Fl.), B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Cb.). The score begins at measure 14, marked with a rehearsal mark. The first system features a *dolce* marking above the Flute part. The second system features a *dolce* marking above the B♭ Clarinet part. The Cello part in the second system is marked *p* (piano). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

24

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

p

3

[illegible]

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

Allegro

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

36

p

pp

p

p

pizz.

(p)

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

46

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

50

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

55

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

59

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

p

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

64

dolce

3

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

69

3

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

74

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

79

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

85

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I [solo]

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

89

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

94

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

arco

arco

arco

98

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

103

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

107

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

This musical score is divided into two systems, each containing seven staves for different instruments. The first system covers measures 112 to 116, and the second system covers measures 117 to 121. The instruments are Flute (Fl.), B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, stems, beams, and dynamic markings like *ff* (fortissimo). Measure numbers 112, 117, and 122 are indicated at the beginning of their respective staves. The notation is in a standard Western musical style, with a focus on the woodwind and string sections.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

The musical score for Sinfonia N°15, measures 121-125, is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 121-124, and the second system covers measures 125-128. The instrumentation includes Flute (Fl.), B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The score features a variety of musical elements, including melodic lines, harmonic support, and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *8* (octave).

Measure 121: The Flute plays a melodic line starting on a half note, followed by eighth notes. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 122: The Flute continues its melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 123: The Flute plays a melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 124: The Flute plays a melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 125: The Flute plays a melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 126: The Flute plays a melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 127: The Flute plays a melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Measure 128: The Flute plays a melodic line. The B♭ Clarinet and Horn play chords. The Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello play a similar rhythmic pattern.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

130

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

135

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

p

dolce

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

141

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

f

f

f

f

145

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

8

8

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

148

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

152

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

[solo, dolce]

pp

pizz.

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

158

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

164

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

arco

(p)

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

170

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

fz

[tutti]

[illegible]

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

180

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

184

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

189

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

194

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

198

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

p

203

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

dolce

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

208

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

f

f

f

f

213

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

8

8

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

217

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

dolce

p

p

223

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

p

p

p

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

229

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

234

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

ff

ff

ff

ff

ff

ff

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

239

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

244

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

249

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

p dolce

254

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

259

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

263

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

The musical score is divided into two systems, each containing staves for Flute (Fl.), B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Cb.).

Measure 268: The woodwinds (Fl., B♭ Cl., Hn.) are silent. Violin I plays a melodic line starting on G4, moving up stepwise to B4, then down to A4, with a dynamic of *p*. Violin II plays a sustained note on G3. Viola plays a sustained note on G2. Cello plays a sustained note on G2. The dynamic for the lower strings is marked *(p)*.

Measure 269: Violin I continues its melodic line, now marked *pp*. Violin II, Viola, and Cello remain on their sustained notes.

Measure 270: Violin I continues its melodic line. Violin II, Viola, and Cello remain on their sustained notes.

Measure 271: Violin I continues its melodic line. Violin II, Viola, and Cello remain on their sustained notes.

Measure 272: The woodwinds (Fl., B♭ Cl., Hn.) enter with a strong, accented note on G4, marked *ff*. Violin I continues its melodic line, marked *ff*. Violin II, Viola, and Cello continue their sustained notes, marked *ff*.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

277

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

281

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

285

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

289

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

p

p

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

294

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

294

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

3

299

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

dolce

Hn.

299

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

p

Cb.

p

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

304

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

309 *dolce*

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

315

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

320

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

325

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

330

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

334

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

337

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

dolce

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

342

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

f

[tutti]

346

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

350

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

354

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

358

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

363

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

dolce

p

p

p

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

369

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

374

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

pp

pp

pp

pp

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

380

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

385

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

fz

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

390

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

f

p

f

p

f

394

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

p

f

p

f

Example 7: Sinfonia N°15

The musical score for Sinfonia N°15, measures 398-403, is presented below. The score is written for a full orchestra, including Flute (Fl.), B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two systems, with measures 398-403 in the first system and measures 403-408 in the second system. The dynamics range from *ff* (fortissimo) to *p* (piano).

Measure 398: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 399: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 400: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 401: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 402: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 403: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 404: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 405: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 406: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 407: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Measure 408: Flute (Fl.) plays a half note F#4. B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.) plays a half note F#3. Horn (Hn.) plays a half note F#2. Violin I (Vln. I) and Violin II (Vln. II) play a half note F#4. Viola (Vla.) and Cello (Cb.) play a half note F#3. Dynamics: *ff*.

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado

Magestuoso

Clarinet *ff* *solo* *dolce*

Horn in D *ff*

Violin I *ff*

Violin II *ff*

Viola *ff* *p*

Double Bass *f* *p*

Cl. *p*

Hn. *p*

Vln. I *(p)*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. *p*

D.B. *p*

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

12

Cl. *ff*

Hn. *ff*

Vln. I *ff*

Vln. II *ff*

Vla. *ff*

D.B. *f*

18

Cl. *pp* solo

Hn. *pp*

Vln. I *ppp*

Vln. II *(ppp)*

Vla. *pp*

D.B. *pp*

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

24

Cl. *ppp* *Adagio* *pp*

Hn. *perdendosi* *pp*

Vln. I *pp* *Adagio*

Vln. II *pp*

Vla. *ppp* *pp*

D.B. *ppp* *pp*

29

Cl. *ff* *Presto*

Hn. *ff*

Vln. I *ff* *Presto*

Vln. II *ff*

Vla. *ff*

D.B. *ff*

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

33

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

Andante Magestuoso

37

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

dolce

(p)

p

(p)

p

(p)

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

43

Cl. *Largo afectuoso*
pp

Hn. *Largo afectuoso*

Vln. I *dolce*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. *p*

D.B. *pp*

48

Cl. *dolce*

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

53

Cl. *f*

Hn. *ff*

Vln. I *ff*

Vln. II *ff*

Vla. *ff*

D.B. *ff*

Allegro

59

Cl. *ff*

Hn. *ff*

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *ff*

Vla. *ff*

D.B. *f*

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

63 **Adagio grave** **Marcha**

Cl. *p*

Hn.

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. *p*

D.B. *p*

69

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

Adagio lento

75

Cl. *f*

Hn. *f*

Adagio lento

75

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Vla. *f*

D.B. *f*

Cor Sordina Adagio

81

Cl. *p* *perdendosi* *pp*

Hn. *pp*

Cor Sordina Adagio

81

Vln. I *p* *pp* *pp*

Vln. II *p* *pp* *pp*

Vla. *p* *perdendosi* *pp*

D.B. *p* *perdendosi* *pp*

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

88

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

95

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

Example 8: Diez Números de Música

101

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

107

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

Example 9: El Convenio

Tonadilla a Duo

Pedro Ximenez de Abrill

[illegible]

Example 9: El Convenio

[illegible]

Example 9: El Convenio

19

B \flat Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

23

B \flat Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cuan-to

The musical score for Example 9: El Convenio, measures 19-23, is presented below. The score is for a full orchestra. Measures 19-22 show a buildup of intensity with various instruments playing. Measure 23 is marked 'Cuan-to' and features a prominent B-flat Clarinet and Horn melody. The score includes dynamic markings like 'f' and 'f'.

Example 9: El Convenio

28

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

28

mas va-le vi - vir — sol — te voy sin cer a man — te sin mu - ger mi chi-chis

Vln. I

p

Vln. II

p

Vla.

p

Vc.

p

33

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

33

ve - o quel Buey suel - to bien se la - me.

Vln. I

ff

Vln. II

ff

Vla.

ff

Vc.

ff

Example 9: El Convenio

38

B♭ Cl. *p*

Hn. *ff*

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. *p*

Vc. *p*

Sin mu - ger ni chi - chis ve - o quel Buey suel - to bien se

43

B♭ Cl. *f* *p*

Hn. *f* *p*

Vln. I *f* *p*

Vln. II *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Vc. *f* *p*

la - me sin mu - ger³ ni³ chi - chis ve - o quel Buey suel - to³ bien se³ la -

Example 9: El Convenio

48

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

48

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

me. Quien su - fre ca - ram-ba tan-tas ne-se - da-des quien su - fre ca -

48

54

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

54

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

ram-ba tan-tas ne-se - da-des de mu - ger de hi-jos de sue-gray de Za-pe!

Example 9: El Convenio

61

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

De mu - jer de hi - jos de - sue - gray de Za - pe! No

67

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

hay que dar - le vuel - tas el Dia - blo que a guan - te mas va - le es - tar

8

ff

pp

pp

pp

pp

pp

Example 9: El Convenio

72

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

li - bre si mu - cho mas va - le mas va - le es - tar li - bre si -

77

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

mu - cho mas va - le si mu - cho mas va - le.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

Tonadilla a Dúo

Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado

Moderato

Voces

Violín I

Violín II

Bajo

5

S

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

12

S

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

18

Militar

S

Di - cho - sos los dí - as fe - li - ces las ho - ras en que nos re -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

p

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

24

S

na - ce u - na nue - ba Au - ro - ra Ha - gan dul - ce Sal - va las A - ves can -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

30

S

to - ras de la Pa - tria al triun - fo en can - ción so - no - ra de la Pa - tria al

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

36

S

triun - fo en can - ción so - no - ra de la Pa - tria al triun - fo en can - ción so -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Allegro

42

S

no - ra. Vi - va vi - va vi - va nues - tra li - ber - tad vi - va vi - va vi - va

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

50

S

la no - ble i - gual - dad vi - va vi - va vi - va nues - tra li - ber - tad vi - va vi - va vi - va

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

58

S

la no-ble i - gual - dad vi - vi vi - va vi - va la no-ble i - gual - dad.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Andante

66

S

Pastorcita

Has - ta cuan-do cie - los ha - brá de du -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

73

S

rar la o - pre - ción ti - ra - na y el tris - te pe - nar mi in - fan - cia o - cu - pa - ba en

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

80

S

a - pa - cen - tar un cor - to re - ba - ño que hoy me qui - tan ya un cor - to re -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

87

S

ba - ño que hoy me qui - tan ya.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

Sale el Militar.

Pastorcita:

Pastorcita Representando:
Ay de mi infelice!

Militar Representando:
No me huyas bella zagala
que yo no te he de dañar;
¿O juzgas que soy acaso
del cruel Exército Real?

Por tal te tube ahora
¡O gallardo Militar!
pero si eres de la Patria
mi temor depongo ya.

Allegro

92

S

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

97

Militar

S

Soy de - si - di - do Pa - trio - ta que triun - fan - te ben - go — ya: su-cum-

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

(p)

102

S

bio la ti - ra - ni - a ya — res - pi - ras li - ber - tad gus - to - so me re - ti -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

(f)

(p)

107

S

ra - ba a mi ca - sa a — des - can - sar pe-ro ha - bien do - te ya vis - to im-po-

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

112

S

si - ble me - se - ra y a - si de - ce - o me di - gas dul - ce bien si me - que -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

117

S

rras. y a - si de - ce - o me di - gas dul - ce bien si me que - rrás.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

122

Pastorcita

S

Ju - la - la - la - lay que ri - sa me

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

129

Militar

S

da no - soy tan fa - cil Mi - li - tar vi - da mi - a yo no

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

135

S

di - go que ten - gas fa - ci - li - dad vi - da mi - a yo no di - go que ten - gas fa - ci - li -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

141

S

dad vi - da mi - a yo no di - go que ten - gas fa - ci - li - dad.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Pastorcita:

Pues entonces como quieres
que yo te llegue á otorgar
un SI pronto sin saber
si acaso me engañaras.

La mano mi bien te pido
mira que será leal.

Pastorcita:

Solamente te la doy
por ver tu mucha humildad.

Militar:

No te engaño dueña mia
como ya lo advertiras
y veras como a tu obsequio
alma y vida pongo ya

147

Allegretto

S

Y en dul - ce Hi-me - ne - o dos

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

153

S

al - mas u - ni - das di - cho sas ya - man - tes fe - liz - men - te

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

158

S

vi - van fe - liz - men - te vi - van Y en dul - ce Hi-me - ne - o dos

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

163

S al - mas u - ni - das di - cho - sas ya - man - tes fe - liz - men - te vi - van di -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

169

S cho - sas ya - man - tes fe - liz - men - te vi - van.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Allegro

174

S

Allegro

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

182

S Vi - va vi - va vi - va nues - tra li - ber - tad vi - va vi - va vi - va nues - tra li - ber - tad

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

190

S vi - va vi - va vi - va la no - ble i - gual - dad vi - va vi - va vi - va la - no - ble i - gual - dad.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

Example 10: El Militar Retirado y la Patriota Pastorcita

198

S

vi - va vi - va vi - va nues - tra li - ber - tad vi - va vi - va vi - va nues - tra li - ber -

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

205

S

tad vi - va vi - va vi - va la no - ble i - gual - dad vi - va vi - va vi - va la

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

212

S

no - ble i - gual - dad la no - ble i - gual - dad la no - ble i - gual - dad.

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.

The musical score is written for Soprano (S), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Bass (B.). The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are in Spanish. The score is divided into three systems, each starting with a measure number (198, 205, 212). The vocal part (S) has lyrics under the notes. The instrumental parts (Vln. I, Vln. II, B.) provide accompaniment. The first system (measures 198-204) ends with a repeat sign. The second system (measures 205-211) ends with a repeat sign. The third system (measures 212-218) ends with a final double bar line.

Example 11: La Cifra

[First Number]

José Bernardo Alzedo

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

2 Clarinets

Soprano 1

Soprano 2

Bass

Double Bass

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

Que es a - ques-to quien me lla-ma que so - ni - do me des-
Que fu - nes - to que ho-ro - ro-so que del hom - bre el tris-te

Example 11: La Cifra

[illegible]

Example 11: La Cifra

23

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

mi - o yo es-toi tem - blan - do Pa - dre mi - o yo es-toi tem - blan - do
so - la la in - ma - cu - la - da ma - dre de - mi re - den - tor

que tu - mul-to que gran di - cha que tu - mul-to que gran di - cha

que al bo - ro-to que ex - ce - len-ci que al - bo que ex - ce -

28

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

Pa - dre mi - o se - gún no - to na - die na - die na-die na-die vie - ne es - te lu - gar na - die
a tan al - ta pre - mi - nen - cia na - die na - die na-die na-die le pue - de i - gua - lar na - die

ro - to
len - cia

Example 11: La Cifra

32

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

na-die na-die na-die vie-ne a e-te lu - gar sin em - bar - go a to - da pri - sa sin em - bar - go a
na-die na-die na-die le pue - de i-gua - lar sien - to el al - ma en un mo - men-to sien - to el al - ma en

S 2

sin em - bar - go a to - da pri - sa sin em - bar - go a
sien - to el al - ma en un mo - men-to sien - to el al - ma en

B

sin em - bar al - go a to - da pri - sa sin em - bar al - go a
sien - to el al - ma en un mo - men-to sien - to el al - ma en

D.B.

37

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

to - da - pri - sa sin em - bar - go a - to - da pri - sa el su - ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho - sa a - re que sar a - la -
un - mo - men - to sien - to el al - ma en un mo - men - to con el go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien - sa a es - pi - rar que co -

S 2

to - da - pri - sa sin em - bar - go a - to - da pri - sa el su - ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho - sa a - re que sar a - la -
un - mo - men - to sien - to el al - ma en un mo - men - to con el go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien - sa a es - pi - rar que co -

B

to - da - pri - sa sin em - bar - go a - to - da pri - sa el su - ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho - sa a - re que sar a - la -
un - mo - men - to sien - to el al - ma en un mo - men - to con el go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien - sa a es - pi - rar que co -

D.B.

Example 11: La Cifra

42

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

Cho - sa el su - ce-so nos pre - ci - sa sin em - bar - go a to-da pri - sa el su -
 mien - ce con el go-zo y el con - ten-to sien-to el al - ma en un mo - men - to con el

Cho - sa el su - ce-so nos pre - ci - sa sin em - bar - go a to-da pri - sa el su -
 mien - ce con el go-zo y el con - ten-to sien-to el al - ma en un mo - men - to con el

- el su-ce-so nos pre - ci - sa a la Cho-sa a re-gre - sar sin em-bar-go a to-da pri-sa
 - con el go-zo y el con - ten-to que co-mien-sa a res-pi - rar sien-to el al - ma en un mo-men-to

47

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho-sa a la Cho-sa a re-gre - sar sin em - bar - go a to-da
 go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien-sa que co-mien-sa a ter-mi - nar sien-to el al - ma en un mo -

ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho-sa a la Cho-sa a re-gre - sar sin em - bar - go a to-da
 go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien-sa que co-mien-sa a ter-mi - nar sien-to el al - ma en un mo -

el su - ce-so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho-sa a la Cho-sa a re-gre - sar sin em-bar-go
 con el go-zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien-sa que co-mien-sa a ter-mi - nar sien-to el al - ma

Example 11: La Cifra

52

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

57

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B♭ Cl.

S 1

S 2

B

D.B.

52

pri - sa el su - ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho - sa a la Cho - sa a re - gre - sar a
men - to con el go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien - sa que comien - sa a ter - mi - nar.

52

a to - da pri - sa el su - ce - so nos pre - ci - sa a la cho - sa a la Cho - sa a re - gre - sar
en un mo - men - to con el go - zo y el con - ten - to que co - mien - sa que comien - sa a ter - mi - nar

57

a la cho - sa a re - gre - sar
a la cho - sa res a re - gre - sar
a la cho - sa res a re - gre - sar
a la cho - sa res a re - gre - sar

57

a la cho - sa a re - gre - sar
a la cho - sa res a re - gre - sar
a la cho - sa res a re - gre - sar
a la cho - sa res a re - gre - sar

Example 12: La Chicha

Canzoneta Peruana

José Bernardo Alzedo

Sheet music for "La Chicha" (Canzoneta Peruana) by José Bernardo Alzedo. The score is written for Voice and Piano (Pno.).

The music is in 2/4 time, key of D major (indicated by two sharps: F# and C#). The tempo/mood is marked with a symbol resembling a stylized 'S' or a musical note.

Voice Part:

Pa trio tas el ma te de chi cha lle nad, ya le gres brin
de mos por la li ber tad, ya le gres brin de mos
por la li ber tad, ya le gres brin de mos por la li bert
tad. Cu bra nues tras me sas el chu pe y que si llo
y el a ji a ma ri llo y el ro sa do a ji. ji

Piano Part:

The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords and melodic lines in the right hand, often using triplets and arpeggiated figures.

Measure numbers 6, 11, 16, and 21 are indicated at the start of their respective systems.

Example 12: La Chicha

26

Y a nues tras ca be zas la chi cha se vue le la que ha cer se

26

sue le de maiz o ma ni la que ha cer se sue le

31

de maiz o ma ni la que ha cer se sue le de maiz o ma ni

36

de maiz o ma ni la que ha cer se sue le de maiz o ma ni

Pno.

Pno.

Pno.

§

2a. Esta es mas sabrosa
que el vino y la Cidra,
que nos trajo la hidra,
para envenenar.
Es mui espumosa
y yo la prefiero
A cuanto el Ybero
pudo codiciar.
Patriotas...

3a. El Ynca la usaba
En su regia mesa
con que ahora empieza
que es inmemorial.
Bien puede el que acaba
pedir que se renueve
el poto en que bebe
o su caporal.
Patriotas...

4a. El sebiche venga
La guatia en seguida
que tambien convida
y escita a beber.
Todo Yndio sostenga
con el poto en mano
que a todo tirano
lla de aborrecer.
Patriotas...

5a. O licor precioso
tu licor peruano
licor sobre humano
mitiga mi sed.
O nectar sabroso
de color del oro
del Yndio tesoro
Patriotas bebed.

6a. Sobre la falea
del agi untada
con mano enlazada
el Poto apurad.
Y este brindis sea
el signo que damos
a los que engendramos
en la libertad.
Patriotas...

7a. El elixir amargo
de tantos disgustos
sucedan los gustos
suceda el placer.
De nuestro letargo
a una despertamos
y también logramos
libres por fin ser.
Patriotas...

8a. Gloria eterna demos
al heroe divino
que nuestro destino
cambiado ha por fin.
Su nombre grabemos
en el tranco bruto
del arbol que el fruto
debe a San Martin.
Patriotas...

Example 13: La Cora

Canción Peruana

José Bernardo Alzedo

Andante Sostenuto

Voice

Piano

1.En el
2.Un a

6

tem - plo - del sol - Co - ra - be - lla tu - sem - blan - te di - vi - noyher - mo - so y - tu -
ca soho rro ro so y te rri ble dul ce Co ra te pu so ensus bra zos des deen

Pno.

10

ta - lle gen - til y - gra - cio - so a tua - man - teel a - mor - ins - pi - ró en el
ton ces con es - tre chos la zos el a mor en tus pe chos u nio mas, ¡ay

Pno.

14

tem - plo del sol - Co - ra - be - lla tu - sem - blan - te di - vi - noyher - mo - so y tu -
Dios! que un fie ro e ne mi go en vi dian do tu dí - cho sa suer te te pre

Pno.

Example 13: La Cora

18

ta - lle gen - til — y - gra - cio - so a tua - man - te el a - mor - ins - pi - ró en tus
pa - ra la más cru - da muer - te de u - naho ge - ra el pa ti bu loa tros

Pno.

22

ma - nos lao - fren - da más pu - ra a las plan - tas del In - ca lle vast - te y la

Pno. *ff*

26

vis - ta que A - lon — so fi - jas - te cua - un ra - yo su pe - choa - bra -

Pno. *f* *p*

29

zó y la vis - ta que A - lon - so fi - jas - te cua - l un ra - yo su pe - cho a - bra -

Pno. *f* *ff* *p*

33

so cua - l un — ra - yo su pe - choa - bra - só

Pno. *pp*

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum [First Section]

Jose Bernardo Alzedo

All[egr]o giusto

Clarinetes

Horns in D

Soprano

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Bajo

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Contrabajo

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

f

f

f

f

f

f

f

f

f

f

p

dolce

p

p

p

p

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum
[First Section]

11

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

15

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

mf

mf

mf

mf

19

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

pp

pp

pp

pp

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum
[First Section]

23

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

f

27

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

ff

30

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

[First Section]

34
Cl.

34
Hn.

34
Vln. I

pizz.

arco

ff

Vln. II

pizz.

arco

ff

Vla.

pizz.

D.B.

[illegible]

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum
[First Section]

43

Cl.

Hn.

S

van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na Do - mi - ne Do - mi - ne

solo

T 1

van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

T 2

van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

B

van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

48

Cl.

S

ad ad - ju - van - dum me ad ad - ju -

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

474

[First Section]

51

Cl.

51

S

van - dum me fes - ti - na fes - ti - na ad ad - ju -

51

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

[illegible]

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum
[First Section]

60

Cl.

Hn.

S

ti - na Do - mi - ne ad ad - ju - van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

T 1

ti - na Do - mi - ne ad ad - ju - van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

T 2

ti - na Do - mi - ne ad ad - ju - van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

B

ti - na Do - mi - ne ad ad - ju - van - dum ad ad - ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

65

Cl.

Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

dolce

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum
[First Section]

70

Cl.

S.

T 1

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

solo

espress.

Do - mi - ne Do - mi - ne ad ad - ju -

p

pizz.

73

Cl.

S.

T 1

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

D.B.

van - dum___ me Do - mi - ne

van - dum___ me Do - mi - ne

Example 14: Domine Ad Adjuvandum
[First Section]

76

Cl. *p* *f*

S
Do-mi - ne ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad-ju - van - dum me fes - ti - na fes - ti - na *f*

T 1
Do-mi - ne ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad - van - dum me fes - ti - na fes - ti - na *f*

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. *p*

D.B. *p*

81

Cl.

Hn.

S
Do - mi - ne ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad - ju -

T 1
Do - mi - ne ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad - ju -

T 2
f Do - mi - ne ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad - ju -

B
f Do - mi - ne ad ad-ju - van - dum me ad ad - ju -

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Vla. *f*
arco

D.B. *f*

[First Section]

479

[First Section]

480

Example 15: Miserere Mei Deus

10. Benigne fac.

José Bernardo Alzedo

Andante

2 Clarinetes

2 Cornos

Trompeta Sola

Soprano

Violin 1

Violin 2

Cello y Bajo

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

B♭ Tpt.

C

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

mf

f

ff

mp

p

pizz.

Example 15: Miserere Mei Deus

This musical score is for measures 12 through 16 of the piece. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The score includes parts for Bb Clarinet (Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Bb Trumpet (Tpt.), C Bass (C.), Violin 1 (Vln. 1), Violin 2 (Vln. 2), and Viola (Vc.).

- Measures 12-13:** The Clarinet, Horn, and Trumpet are silent. The Bass plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The Violins play a continuous sixteenth-note figure. The Viola plays a simple eighth-note accompaniment.
- Measure 14:** The Clarinet, Horn, and Trumpet enter with a melodic line marked *f* (forte). The Bass continues its accompaniment. The Violins continue their sixteenth-note figure. The Viola continues its accompaniment.
- Measures 15-16:** The Clarinet, Horn, and Trumpet continue their melodic line. The Bass continues its accompaniment. The Violins continue their sixteenth-note figure. The Viola continues its accompaniment.

[illegible]

Example 15: Miserere Mei Deus

23 24 25 26 27

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

B♭ Tpt.

C

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

in bo-na vo-lum - ta - te tu - a Si - arto ut e-di-fi-

f *p* *mp* *f* *p*

tr *arco* *arco* *arco*

3 3 3 3 3

Example 15: Miserere Mei Deus

33

B♭ Cl.

Hn.

B♭ Tpt.

C

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

f *pp* *p*

f *pp* *p*

f *pp* *p*

Fi - - - sa - lem Be - nig - ne

[illegible]

Example 15: Miserere Mei Deus

44

B \flat Cl.

Hn.

B \flat Tpt.

C

cen - tur ut e-di - fi - cen - tur mu - ri je-ru - sa -

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

48

B \flat Cl.

Hn.

B \flat Tpt.

C

lem mu - ri je-ru - sa-lem mu - ri je-ru - sa-lem mu-ri je-ru - sa-

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

pp

pp

pp

ff

pp

pp

ff

Example 15: Miserere Mei Deus

53

B \flat Cl. *ff*

Hn. *ff*

B \flat Tpt.

C

lem mu - ri je - ru - sa - lem mu - ri je - ru - sa - lem mu - ri je - ru - sa - lem je - ru - sa -

Vln. 1 *ff*

Vln. 2 *ff*

Vc.

57

B \flat Cl.

Hn.

B \flat Tpt.

C

lem je - ru - sa - lem je - ru - sa - lem

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

9. Quoniam

José Bernardo Alzedo

Larghetto

Larghetto

Flauta

2 Clarinetes

2 Fagotes

2 Cornos

Trompeta

Soprano Coro

Alto Coro

Tenor Coro

Bajo Coro

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Cello

Contrabajo

p Quo - ni *f* am si vo *f* luis - ser

p Quo - ni *f* am si vo - *f* luis - ser

p Quo - ni *f* am si vo - *f* luis - ser

p Quo - ni - *f* am si vo - *f* luis - ser si vo - luis -

p *mf* *mf* *mf*

p *mf* *mf* *mf*

p *mf* *mf* *mf*

p *mf* *pizz.* *mf* *mf*

p *mf* *pizz.* *mf* *mf*

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

8

Fl. *mf*

B♭ Cl. *mf*

Bsn. *mf*

Hn. *mf*

B♭ Tpt. *mf*

C 1 *p* sa - cri *f* fi - cium *p* de dis - sem *f* u - ti - que de

C 2 *p* sa - cri *f* fi - cium *p* de dis - sem *f* u - ti - que

C 3 *p* sa - cri *f* fi - cium *p* de dis - sem *f* u - ti - que

C 4 *p* sa - cri *f* fi - cium *p* de dis - sem *f* u - ti - que

ser *p* sa - cri *f* fi - cium *p* de dis - sem *f* u - ti - que

Vln. 1 *p* *mf* *mf*

Vln. 2 *p* *mf* *mf*

Vla. *p* *mf* *mf*

Vc. *p* *mf* *p* *mf*

D.B. *p* *mf* *p* *mf*

pizz. *arco* *pizz.* *arco*

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

[illegible]

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

22

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

B♭ Tpt.

C 1

C 2

C 3

C 4

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

caus - tis non non non non non de - lec - ta - be ris non de - lec - ta - be - ris non de - lec -

ho - lo - caus - tis non non non non non de - lec - ta - be ris non de - lec -

caus - tis non non non non non de - lec - ta - be ris non de - lec - ta - be - ris non de - lec -

ho - lo - caus - tis non non non non non de - lec - ta - be ris non de - lec -

p *f* *mf* *p* *f*

p *f* *p* *p* *f*

p *f* *p* *p* *f*

p *f* *p* *p* *f*

p *f* *p* *p* *f*

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

30

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

B♭ Tpt.

C 1

C 2

C 3

C 4

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

ta - - - be - ris ho-lo-caus - tis non non non *f* non non *mp* non de - lec-ta - be-

ta - be - ris *p* ho-lo-caus-tis non *f* non non *mp* non de - lec-ta - be-

ta - - - be - ris *p* ho-lo - caus-tis non non non *f* non non *mp* non de - lec-ta - be-

ta - be - ris *p* ho-lo-caus-tis non *f* non non *mp* non de - lec-ta - be-

p *f* *mf* *p* *f* *p*

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

37

Fl.

B♭ Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

B♭ Tpt.

C 1

C 2

C 3

C 4

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

ris non de - lec - ta - be - ris *f* non de - lec - ta - be - ris non de - lec - ta - be -

ris

ris non de - lec - ta - be - ris *f* non de - lec - ta - be - ris non de - lec - ta - be -

ris non de - lec - ta - be - ris *f* non de - lec - ta - be - ris non de - lec - ta - be -

ris

ris

p *f*

p *f*

p *f*

f

f

Example 16: Miserere Mei Deus

43

Fl.

p

pp

B♭ Cl.

p

pp

Bsn.

p

pp

Hn.

p

pp

B♭ Tpt.

p

pp

C 1

ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris

p

C 2

ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris

p

C 3

ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris

p

C 4

ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris non de-lec - ta - be - ris

p

Vln. 1

p

pp

Vln. 2

p

pp

Vla.

fp

pp

Vc.

fp

pp

D.B.

p

pp

Example 17: Pasion del Viernes Santo

6. Ego nullam invenio

Jose Bernardo Alzedo

And[an]te

2 Horns in F

Bass

Violin I

Violin II

Bass

7

Hn.

B

7

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

13

Hn.

B

13

E - go nu - llam E - go nu - llam in - ve - nio

13

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Example 17: Pasion del Viernes Santo

18

Hn.

B

E - go nu - llam e - go nu - llam in - ve - nio in e - o

Vln. I

Vln. II

arco

p

arco

p

arco

p

Db.

p

23

Hn.

B

ca - u - sam Est au - tem con-sue-tu-do vo - bis est au - tem con-sue-tu-do

Vln. I

f

p

Vln. II

f

p

pizz.

Db.

f

28

Hn.

B

vo - bis ut u - num di-mit-tam vo - bis ut u - num di - mit-tam

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

Example 17: Pasion del Viernes Santo

33

Hn.

B

vo - bis in Pa - s - cha in pas - cha in pa - s - cha vul-tis e - r-go vul-tis

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

f *p* *f*

39

Hn.

B

er - go di-mit-tam vo-bis re-gem ju-de - o - - - rum ju -

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

f *p* *f* *fp* *fp*

arco Vlo - Vla

46

Hn.

B

de - o - rum ju-de - o - rum ju - de - o - rum

Vln. I

Vln. II

Db.

fp *fp* *f* *p* *f* *p*

Example 18: Volad, volad Amores

Villancico a 3 y 4 voces

José Bernardo Alzedo (1788 - 1878)

Allegro Moderato

Organ

Org.

S 1

S 2

B

Org.

S 1

S 2

B

Org.

Vo - lad vo-lad a - mo - res a pe - ne - trar los

Vo - lad vo-lad a - mo - res a pe - ne - trar los

Vo - lad vo-lad a - mo - res a pe - ne - trar los

cie - los que a es - po - so que a vo - la - do no al - can - za - reis sin

cie - los que a es - po - so que a vo - la - do no al - can - za - reis sin

cie - los que a es - po - so que a vo - la - do no al - can - za - reis sin

Example 18: Volad, volad Amores

16

S 1

vue - lo del cie - lo des - cen - da - mos que aun - que ha vo - la - do al cie - lo con la

S 2

vue - lo del cie - lo des - cen - da - mos que aun - que ha vo - la - do al cie - lo con la

B

vue - lo

Org.

16

21

S 1

fe le mi - ra - mos a - cá en el Sa - cra - men - to con la fe le mi -

S 2

fe le mi - ra - mos a - cá en el Sa - cra - men - to con la fe le mi -

B

con la fe le mi -

Org.

21

26

S 1

ra - mos a - cá en el Sa - cra - men - to

S 2

ra - mos a - cá en el Sa - cra - men - to

B

ra - mos a - cá en el Sa - cra - men - to

Org.

26

Fine

Example 18: Volad, volad Amores

31

S 1

Org.

31

Recitativo

34

S 1

Org.

37

S 1

Org.

40

S 1

Org.

43

S 1

Org.

a tempo

p

Alli es - tás y lle - nan - do la in - men sa cre - a
Lle - na el co - ra - zón mi - o de un ar - dor ce - les -

ción, so el al - to em - pí - reo ve - la - da en luz te a - sien - tas y tu glo - ria i - ne - fa -
tial, que a cuan - to ex - is - te co - mo tí se de - rra - me y o Dios in - men -

ble aun tiem - po os - ten - tas Ya to - dos da - di -
so en tu u - ni - ver - so te a - me To - dos tus hi - jos

vo - so a - co - ges Dios in - men - so en to - das par - tes y por siem - pre pre - sen - te ¡A - y! o - ye aun hi - jo
so - mos, el Tár - ta - ro el Ja - pón el In - dio ru - do y el tos - ta - do A - fri - ca - no Es un hom - bre es tu i - ma - gen

en su ro - gar fer vien - te La her - mo - su - ra del Pa - dre
y es mi her - ma - no De tus dul - ces a - mo - res

Example 18: Volad, volad Amores

47

S 1

ra - yo del sol — pri - me - ro vo - ló al cie - lo tri - um - fan - te — Je -
im - pe - tu - o - so el fue - go si ca - lla la — dul - zu - ra — ma -

Org.

51

S 1

sús ga - lan - te y be - llo de — a - lli lla - ma a - lli es - pe - ra a - llá a -
ni - fies - ta el es - fuer - zo cir - cun - da el mun - do en - te - ro te —

Org.

55

S 1

mo - res vo - le - mos que en - tre es - tas cria - tu ras di -
bus - ca so - bre el Cie - lo ní a - qui ní a - lli te ha - ras lo ya

Org.

59

S 1

ver - ti - da — me — pier - do di - ver - ti - da me — pier - do ¡A - y!
quí ya - lli — te — ten - go y a - qui — y a - lli te ten - go

Org.

63

S 1

due - ño de — mi vi - da tu — a mor me in - fla - ma el pe - cho ya

Org.

Example 18: Volad, volad Amores

67

S 1

si tras tus a - mo - res ca - mi - no ya muy pres - to muy pres-to pres-to pres - to vo -

S 2

vo -

B

vo -

Org.

67

D.S. al Fine

72

S 1

lad vo-lad a - mo - res a-mo - res vo - lad a pe-ne - trar los cie - los vo - lad Vo

S 2

lad vo - lad vo - lad Vo

B

lad vo - lad vo - lad Vo

Org.

72

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

Cantemus Domino Glorioso

José Bernardo Alzedo (1788 - 1878)

Tiempo de Marcha

Organ

Org.

Org.

Org.

5

10

14

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

18

S *f* Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim - mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

A *f* Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

T *f* Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

B *f* Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

Org.

22

S est e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma re

A est e quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma - re

T est e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma re

B est e quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma - re

Org.

p

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

27

S

e - quum et as-cen - so - rem de - je — cit in ma - re e - quum et as-cen - so - rem de -

Org.

33

S

je — cit in ma - re e-quum et as-cen - so - rem de - je - ci - in ma -

A

e-quum et as-cen - so - rem de - je - ci - in ma -

T

e-quum et as-cen - so - rem de - je - ci - in ma -

B

e-quum et as-cen - so - rem — de - je - cit in ma -

Org.

38

S

re e - quum et as-cen - so - rem — de - je - cit in ma - re *p* in

A

re e - quum et as-cen - so - rem — de - je - cit in ma — re *p* in

T

re e - quum et as-cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma - re *p* in

B

re e - quum et as-cen - so - rem — de - je - cit in ma - re *p* in

Org.

38

Org.

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

43

S
ma - - - re in *p* ma - - -

A
ma - - - re in ma - - -

T
ma - - - re in ma - - -

B
ma - - - re in ma - - -

Org.

43

S
re quis si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne? quis

A
re quis?

T
re quis si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne? quis

B
re quis?

Org.

48

Trio

pp

p

f

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

53

S

si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne *ff* Quis -

A

si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne *ff* Quis

T

si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne *ff* Quis -

B

si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne *ff* Quis

Org.

p *f*

57

S

si - mi - lis tu - i mag - ni - fi - cus in Sanc - ti -

A

si - mi - lis tu - i mag - ni - fi - cus in Sanc - ti -

T

si - mi - lis tu - i mag - ni - fi - cus in Sanc - ti -

B

si - mi - lis tu - i mag - ni - fi - cus in Sanc - ti -

Org.

3 3 3 3 3 3

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

60

S ta - te te - rri - bi - lis at - que lau - da - bi - lis fa - ciens mi - ra - bi - li -

A ta - te te - rri - bi - lis at - que lau - da - bi - lis fa - ciens mi - ra - bi - li -

T ta - te te - rri - bi - lis at - que lau - da - bi - lis fa - ciens mi - ra - bi - li -

B ta - te te - rri - bi - lis at - que lau - da - bi - lis fa - ciens mi - ra - bi - li -

Org.

64

S a Quis si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne? quis

A a quis?

T a Quis si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne? quis

B a quis?

Org.

507

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

69

1.

S si - mi - lis tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne Quis -

A Quis

T si - mi - lis - tu - i in for - ti - bus Do - mi - ne Quis -

B Quis

Org. *p* *f*

73

2.

S ne. Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

A Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

T ne. Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

B Can - te - mus Do - mi - no glo - rio - se e - nim mag - ni - fi - ca - tus

Org.

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

77

S
est e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma re

A
est e quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma - re

T
est e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma re

B
est e quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma - re

Org.

77

82

S
e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je ³ - ³ cit in ma ³ - re e - quum et as - cen -

Org.

82

87

S
so - rem de - je ³ - ³ cit in ma - re e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de -

A
e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de -

T
e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de -

B
e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de -

Org.

87

509

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

92

S je - ci - in ma - re e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma -

A je - ci - in ma - re e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma -

T je - ci - in ma - re e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma -

B je - cit in ma - re e - quum et as - cen - so - rem de - je - cit in ma -

Org.

92

piu mosso

S re de - je - cit i - n ma - re in ma - - -

A re de - je - cit i - n ma - re in ma - - -

T re de - je - cit i - n ma - re in ma - - -

B re de - je - cit i - n ma - re in ma - - -

Org.

97

Example 19: Cántico de Moisés

103

S

re de - je - cit i - n ma - re i - n ma - re de-je - cit in ma - - -

A

re de - je - cit in ma - re in ma - re de-je - cit in ma - - -

T

re de - je - cit i - n ma - re i - n ma - re de-je - cit in ma - - -

B

re de - je - cit in ma - re in ma - re de-je - cit in ma - - -

Org.

103

S

re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re.

A

re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re.

T

re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re.

B

re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re in ma - re.

Org.

110

Example 20: Posui Adjutorium

Para la Recepción del Presidente de la República

José Bernardo Alzedo (1788 - 1878)

Allegro Moderato

Organ

5

Org.

10

S

A

T

B

Org.

14

S

A

T

B

Org.

f Po - su - i Po - su - i Po - sui ad - iu - to - ri - um

f Po - su - i Po - su - i Po - sui ad - iu - to - ri - um

f Po - su - i Po - su - i Po - sui ad - iu - to - ri - um

f Po - su - i Po - su - i Po - sui ad - iu - to - ri - um

Po - su - i Po - su - i ad - iu - to - ri - um su - per po - ten - tem

Po - su - i Po - su - i ad - iu - to - ri - um su - per po - ten - tem

Po - su - i Po - su - i ad - iu - to - ri - um su - per po - ten - tem

Po - su - i Po - su - i ad - iu - to - ri - um su - per po - ten - tem

Example 20: Posui Adjutorium

18

S
su - per po-ten - tem *p* et ex - al-ta - bi e - lec - tum de

A
su - per po-ten - tem *p* et ex - al-ta - bi e - lec - tum de

T
su - per po-ten - tem *p* et ex - al-ta - bi e - lec - tum de

B
su - per po-ten - tem et ex - al - ta - bi e - lec - tum de ple - be de ple - be

Org.
p

23

S
ple - be de ple - be me - a. et ex - al - ta - bi de ple - be me - a. de

A
ple - be de ple - be me - a. et ex - al - ta - bi de ple - be me - a de ple - be

T
ple - be de ple - be me - a. et ex - al - ta - bi de ple - be me - a de ple - be de

B
me - a. et ex - al - ta - bi de ple - be me - a de ple - be

Org.

27

S
ple - be de ple - be e - lec - tum e - lec - tum de ple - be me - a

A
de ple - be de ple - bee - lec - tum e - lec - tum de ple - be me - a

T
ple - be de ple - be e - lec - tum e - lec - tum de ple - be me - a

B
me - a e - lec - tum e - lec - tum de ple - be me - a

Org.
f

Example 20: Posui Adjutorium

33

S
Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

A
Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

T
Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

B
Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

Org.

38

S
lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i

A
lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i

T
lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i

B
lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i

Org.

43

B
In - ve - ni In - ve - ni Da - vid ser - vum me - um: In -

Org.

Example 20: Posui Adjutorium

48

B

ve - ni In - ve - ni Da - vid ser - vum me - um: o - leo sanc - to

Org.

53

B

me - o un - xi un - xi e - um. o - leo sanc - to me - o un - xi un - xi

Org.

59

B

e - um. o - leo sanc - to un - xi un - xi e - um. un³ - xi³ e - um.

Org.

66

S

f i Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au -

A

f i Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au -

T

f i Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au -

B

f i Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au -

Org.

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Posui Adjutorium'. It is written for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Organ (Org.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), indicating G major. The time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into four systems, each starting with a measure number (48, 53, 59, 66). The lyrics are in Latin. The organ part provides harmonic support with chords and melodic lines. The vocal parts enter at measure 66 with a forte dynamic.

Example 20: Posui Adjutorium

71

S
xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - - - -

A
xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - - - -

T
xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - Glo - ri - a Glo - ri - a

B
xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - - - -

Org.
p

77

T
Glo - ria Pa - tri et Fi - li - o Glo - ri - a Pa - tri Glo - ria Pa - tri et Fi - li - o

Org.
f

83

T
et Spi - ri - tui et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to

Org.
f

88

S
f Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

A
f Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

T
f Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

B
f Ma - nus e - nim me - a Ma - nus e - nim me - a au - xi - lia - bi - tur au - xi -

Org.
f

Example 20: Posui Adjutorium

93

S

lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i ex - al - ta - bi - tur ex - al - ta - bi - tur ex - al -

A

lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i ex - al - ta - - - -

T

lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i ex - al - ta - bi - tur ex - al - ta - bi - tur ex - al -

B

lia - bi - tur au - xi - lia - bi - tur e - i ex - al - ta - bi - tur ex - al - ta - bi - tur ex - al -

Org.

99

S

ta - bi - tur ex - al - ta - bi - tur e - - - - i

A

- - - bi - tur e - - - - i

T

ta - bi - tur ex - al - ta - bi - tur e - - - - i

B

ta - bi - tur ex - al - ta - bi - tur e - - - - i

Org.

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

Dedicado a M. Rafael Valentín Valdivieso

José Bernardo Alzedo (1788 - 1878)

All[egr]o Mod[era]to
Met. 120

Organ

Ped 8vi

Org.

S

A

T

B

Org.

Ped

8vi

Vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis lau - des im - mo - lent Chris -

Vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis lau - des im - mo - lent Chris -

Vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis lau - des im - mo - lent Chris -

Vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis vic - ti-mae pas - cha - lis lau - des im - mo - lent Chris -

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

27 *tutti*

S to - res. pec - ca - to - res. re - con - ci - lia - vit pec - ca - to - res.

A to - res. pec - ca - to - res. re - con - ci - lia - vit pec - ca - to - res.

T lia - vit pec - ca - to - res. re - con - ci - lia - vit pec - ca - to - res.

B to - res. pec - ca - to - res. re - con - ci - lia - vit pec - ca - to - res. pec - ca - to - res.

Org. *ff* *Swell* *Basson*

31 *solo*

B Mors et vi - ta vi - ta vi - ta Due - llo,

Org. *Cremona* *Basson* *f*

35 *tutti*

S Mors

A *tutti* Mors

T *tutti* Mors

B *tutti* Mors *solo* Mors et vi - ta vi - ta vi - ta

Org. *Gt. org.* *Basson* *Cremona*

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

39

S et vi - ta

A et vi - ta

T et vi - ta

B Due - llo, et vi - ta con - fli - xe - re mi - ran -

Org. Gt. Org. Swell Cremona

44

S tutti con - fli - xe - re mi -

A tutti con - fli - xe - re mi -

T tutti con - fli - xe - re mi -

B do mi - ran - do con - fli - xe - re mi -

Org. Gt. Org.

48

S ran - do mi - ran - do mors et vi - ta mors et vi - ta Due - llo con - fli - xe - re mi -

A ran - do mi - ran - do mors et vi - ta mors et vi - ta Due - llo con - fli - xe - re mi -

T ran - do mi - ran - do mors et vi - ta mors et vi - ta Due - llo

B ran - do mi - ran - do mors et vi - ta mors et vi - ta Due - llo

Org.

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

53

S ran - do mi - ran - do: Dux vi - tae Dux vi - tae mor-tu -

A ran - do mi - ran - do: Dux vi - tae Dux vi - tae mor-tu -

T con - fli-xe-re mi - ran - do mi-ran - do: Dux vi - tae Dux vi - tae mor-tu -

B con - fli-xe-re mi - ran - do mi-ran - do: Dux vi - tae Dux vi - tae mor-tu -

Org.

53

S us reg - nat reg - nat vi - vus reg-nat vi - vus.

A us reg - nat reg - nat vi - vus reg-nat vi - vus.

T us reg - nat vi - vus reg-nat vi - vus.

B us reg - nat vi - vus reg-nat vi - vus.

Org.

Ped

62

Org.

65

S solo Dic no - bis Ma - ri - a, Quid vi - dis - tiin

T solo Dic no - bis Ma - ri - a, Quid vi - dis - tiin

Org.

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

69

S vi - a? Se - pul - crum Chris - ti vi - ven - tis, et glo - riam vi - di re - sur - gen - tis: tutti An -

A

T vi - a? Se - pul - crum Chris - ti vi - ven - tis, et glo - riam vi - di re - sur - gen - tis: tutti An -

B

Org.

69

74

S ge - li - cos tes - tes, su - da - rium et ves - tes. Su -

A ge - li - cos tes - tes, su - da - rium et ves - tes. Su -

T ge - li - cos tes - tes, su - da - rium et ves - tes. Su -

B ge - li - cos tes - tes, su - da - rium et ves - tes. Su -

Org.

Ped

78

S rre - xit Chris - tus spes — me - a: prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det tutti

A rre - xit Chris - tus spes — me - a: prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det

T rre - xit Chris - tus spes — me - a: prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det

B rre - xit Chris - tus spes me - a: prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det vos prae - ce - det

Org.

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

82

S vos in Ga - li - le - am. Sci-mus Chris - tum su - rrex - is - se a mor - tu - is mor - tu - is

A vos in Ga - li - le - am. Sci-mus Chris - tum su - rrex - is - se a mor - tu - is mor - tu - is

T vos in Ga - li - le - am. Sci-mus Chris - tum su - rrex - is - se a mor - tu - is

B vos in Ga - li - le - am. Sci-mus Chris - tum su - rrex - is - se a mor - tu - is

Org.

82

S ve - re mor - tuis ve - re: tu no - bis Vic - tor Rex, mi - se - re - re, mi - se -

A ve - re mor - tuis ve - re: tu no - bis Vic - tor Rex, mi - se - re - re, mi - se -

T mor - tu - is re mor - tuis ve - re: tu no - bis Vic - tor Rex, mi - se - re,

B mor - tu - is re mor - tuis ve - re: tu no - bis Vic - tor Rex, mi - se - re,

Org.

88

S re - re, mi - se - re - re. A - men, a - men, *pp*

A re - re, mi - se - re - re. A - men, a - men, *pp*

T mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re - re. A - men, a - men, *pp*

B mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re - re. A - men, a - men, *pp*

Org.

94

Example 21: Victimae Paschalis

99

S
men, a - men, a - men, a - men, A - lle-lu - ia, a - lle-lu *ff* ia, a - lle - lu -

A
men, a - men, a - men, a - men, A - lle-lu - ia, a - lle-lu *ff* ia, a - lle - lu -

T
men, a - men, a - men, a - men, A - lle-lu - ia, a - lle-lu *ff* ia, a - lle - lu -

B
a - men, a - men, A - lle-lu - ia, a - lle-lu *ff* ia, a - lle - lu -

Org.

99

S
ia, a - lle - lu - - ia, a - lle - lu - ia, a - lle - lu - ia.

A
ia, a - lle - lu - - ia, a - lle - lu - ia, a - lle - lu - ia.

T
ia, a - lle - lu - - ia, a - lle - lu - ia, a - lle - lu - ia.

B
ia, a - lle - lu - - ia, a - lle - lu - ia, a - lle - lu - ia.

Org.

105

Org.

110

Org.

114

Org.

Ped

Example 22: Himno Encomiástico

Al Honorable Señor Enrique Meiggs

José Bernardo Alzedo

All[egr]o Moderato

Score for Tenor, Bass, and Piano.

Tenor
8

Bass

Piano
f

Pno.

T
8

B

Pno.

T
8

B

Pno.

En u - ní - so - nos cán - ti - cos yar - mó - ni - co ru -

mor que re - sue - ne en los ám - bi - tos a Meiggs glo - ria y ho -

Example 22: Himno Encomiástico

16

T

8

B

Pno.

16

8^{va} - - -

20

T

8

B

Pno.

20

8^{va} - - -

24

T

8

B

Pno.

24

28

T

8

B

Pno.

28

8^{va} - - -

f

nor En u - ní - so - nos cán - ti - cos y ar - mó - ni - co ru -

mor que re - sue - ne en los ám - bi - tos a Meiggs glo - ria y ho -

nor que re - sue - ne en los ám - bi - tos a Meiggs glo - ri - a y ho -

nor que re - sue - ne en los ám - bi - tos a Meiggs glo - ria y ho -

Example 22: Himno Encantístico Duo

32

T

8

nor

Ved cual A - guí - las

B

8

Pno.

32

35

T

8

rá - pi-das des - li zar - se cien tre - nes al im - pul - so de

B

8

Pno.

35

8va--

39

T

8

má - qui-nas de sil - van - te sil - van - te va - por En fan -

B

8

Pno.

39

f

43

T

8

tás - ti - co - vér - ti-go a sus pies de - sa - pa - re - ce de los

B

8

Pno.

43

p

mf

p

mf

p

Example 22: Himno Encomiástico

47

T 8 An - des es - plén - di-dos el ne - va - do ver - dor de los

B 8

Pno. 47 *p* *mf* *p* *ff*

8^{va} 8^{va}

51

T 8 An - des es - plén - di-dos el ne - va - do ver - dor de los

B 8

Pno. 51 *p*

55

T 8 An - des es - plén - di-dos el ne - va - do ver - dor En u

B 8

Pno. 55 *f*

Example 23: Quarteto Concertante op.55

2. Adagio con Sordina

Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Cello

dolce

dolce

[*dolce*]

p

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

p

f

p

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

p

Example 23: Quarteto Concertante op.55

18

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

dolce

f

p

f

[p]

22

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

f

p

27

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

f

p

Violins I and II, Viola, and Cello, measures 31-34. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. Measures 31-34 show a variety of rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes, with dynamic markings of *f* (forte) and *p* (piano).

Example 23: Quarteto Concertante op.55

36

Vln. I *dolce*

Vln. II *dolce*

Vla.

Vc. *p*

40

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

44

Vln. I *dolce*

Vln. II *dolce*

Vla. *dolce*

Vc. *f* *p*

49

Vln. I *f* *p*

Vln. II *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Vc. *f* *p*

Example 23: Quarteto Concertante op.55

53

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

p

dolce

f

p

57

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

The musical score for measures 57-60 is presented in four staves. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). Measure 57 begins with a treble clef for Violin I and a bass clef for Violoncello. Violin I plays a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note Bb4. Violoncello plays a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a half note Bb2. Violin II and Viola play eighth-note triplets. In measure 58, Violin I plays a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note Bb4. Violoncello plays a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a half note Bb2. Violin II and Viola play eighth-note triplets. In measure 59, Violin I plays a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note Bb4. Violoncello plays a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a half note Bb2. Violin II and Viola play eighth-note triplets. In measure 60, Violin I plays a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note Bb4. Violoncello plays a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a half note Bb2. Violin II and Viola play eighth-note triplets.

61

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

[illegible]

Example 23: Quarteto Concertante op.55

69

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

74

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

78

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

82

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

5. Allegretto

Alleg[ret]to

Flauta 1

Flute 2

Guitar

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Cello

8

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

f

f

f

f

f

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

15

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

22

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

p

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

This image displays a musical score for measures 29 through 36 of the piece 'The Swan' by Maurice Strakosky. The score is arranged for a full orchestra, with parts for Flute 1 (Fl. 1), Flute 2 (Fl. 2), Guitar (Gtr.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 29 to 35, and the second system covers measures 36 to 42. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Dynamics such as *f* (forte) are indicated. The score is presented in a clean, black-and-white format, suitable for printing.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

43

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

48 **Adagio**

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Muy piano

Muy piano

p

Muy piano

con sordina

pp

Muy piano

con sordina

pp

f

p

3

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

53

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

59

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

p

dolce

f

p

539

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

This musical score is for Example 24, 'Divertimento Concertante op.43'. It consists of two systems of staves, each containing six parts: Flute 1 (Fl. 1), Flute 2 (Fl. 2), Guitar (Gtr.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system covers measures 65 to 69, and the second system covers measures 70 to 74. The score features a variety of musical textures, including rapid sixteenth-note passages in the flutes and guitar, and more melodic lines in the strings. A double bar line is present at the end of measure 69, separating the two systems. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

75

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

80

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

Alleg[ret]to

85

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

89

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43'. The tempo is marked 'Alleg[ret]to'. The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 85 to 88. In these measures, all instruments (Fl. 1, Fl. 2, Gtr., Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., and Vc.) are active. The second system covers measures 89 to 92. In these measures, the flute parts (Fl. 1 and Fl. 2) are marked with a whole rest, indicating they are not playing. The guitar (Gtr.) continues to play a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The violin (Vln. I and Vln. II), viola (Vla.), and cello (Vc.) parts are also marked with whole rests, indicating they are not playing in this section.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

96

Fl. 1 *f*

Fl. 2 *f*

Gtr. *f*

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Vla. *f*

Vc. *f*

103

Fl. 1 *(p)*

Fl. 2

Gtr. *(p)* pizz.

Vln. I *(p)* pizz.

Vln. II *(p)* pizz.

Vla. *(p)* pizz.

Vc. *(p)*

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

110

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

110

This musical score is for measures 118 through 124 of the piece 'The Swan' from Swan Lake. The score is written for a full orchestra, specifically focusing on the woodwind and string sections. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The measures are numbered 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, and 124. The instruments included are Flute 1 (Fl. 1), Flute 2 (Fl. 2), Guitar (Gtr.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Vc.). The score features various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, half notes, and rests. Dynamics markings include *f* (forte) and *arco* (arco). The Flute parts are in the treble clef, while the Guitar, Violins, Viola, and Cello parts are in the bass clef. The Cello part includes a *f* marking at the beginning of measure 118.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

125

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

132

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

139

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

146

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

This musical score is for Example 24, 'Divertimento Concertante op.43'. It consists of two systems of staves, each containing seven parts: Fl. 1, Fl. 2, Gtr., Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., and Vc. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The first system covers measures 153 to 159, and the second system covers measures 160 to 166. The flute parts (Fl. 1 and Fl. 2) are in the treble clef. The guitar (Gtr.) is in the treble clef. The violin I (Vln. I) and violin II (Vln. II) parts are in the treble clef. The viola (Vla.) is in the alto clef. The cello (Vc.) is in the bass clef. The score shows a variety of musical textures, including melodic lines, harmonic support, and rhythmic patterns. The first system ends with a repeat sign, and the second system begins with a new measure number, 160.

153

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

160

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

167

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

174

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

181

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

pp

188

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

f

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

195

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

202

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

209

Fl. 1

Gtr.

pp

solo

550

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

216

Fl. 1

Gtr.

223

Fl. 1

Gtr.

230

Fl. 1

Gtr.

237

Fl. 1

Gtr.

244

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

244

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

251

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

258

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

dolce

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

265

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

272

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

[illegible]

Example 24: Divertimento Concertante op.43

299

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

305

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Gtr.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 25: Vals en Estilo Americano

Pedro Ximénez Abrill Tirado

Guitar

6

Gtr.

12

Gtr.

19

Gtr.

26

Gtr.

34

Gtr.

41

Gtr.

49

Gtr.

56

Gtr.

64

Gtr.

72

Gtr.

Example 25: Vals en Estilo Americano

80 1. 1.

Gtr.

87

Gtr.

94

Gtr.

101

Gtr.

107

Gtr.

114

Gtr.

121

Gtr.

126

Gtr.

132

Gtr.

138

Gtr.