

3. Representation

If we hold difference in reverence, will we not be led to insist upon it? Does placing a mental fence around others only protect them, or might it not confine them as well? And does it protect only them, or might it not also insulate our own practices from scrutiny?

Richard Taruskin

(in *Defining Russia Musically*, p. xxviii)

I walk beneath your pens, and am not what I truly am, but what you'd prefer to imagine me.

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

Ya naturalmente se sabe que somos mexicanos, y despertamos esa curiosidad y ese interés que los niños tienen por los parques zoológicos. No somos parques pero debemos parecer tipos exóticos. Las muchachas nos miran con curiosidad romántica. Creen con seguridad que tocamos guitarra, damos serenatas y somos "toreadores."

Silvestre Revueltas¹

1. *Latin American Art Music: Locating a Bundle*

In an article written for *The Times Literary Supplement*, the late Mexican author Octavio Paz provided a provocative, illuminating answer to the difficult question of whether or not one could talk about the existence of "Latin American" poetry. As overture to what became an extensive study into what Latin American poetry is not, rather than what it is, Paz offered the following disclaimer:

I am sure of the existence of poems written by Latin American poets, but I am not sure of the existence of Latin American poetry. I have the same doubt about similar literary expressions designated as "English" or "French" poetry. (Paz 1994, 69)

In this somewhat of a denial exercise, Paz conveys the difficulties inherent in characterizing the poetry written by twentieth-century Latin Americans as a coherent, all-encompassing category. As he explains, the problem is twofold. First, no one knows for sure what the word "poetry" means. Poetry is "irreducible to ideas and systems," writes Paz. Secondly, the term "Latin America" is only a tag which,

¹From a letter dated 1 July 1937, written to his wife Angela during his voyage to Europe (Revueltas 1982, 69).

far from identifying anything properly, hides an effervescent reality. This reality, says Paz, "doesn't have a name because it has not yet achieved an existence of its own" (ibid.).

The difficulty in articulating the "effervescent" reality, which occupied Paz's article, is the same difficulty that hinders attempts aimed at defining Latin American art music. In fact, one may borrow from Paz to argue that while art music compositions by Latin American composers certainly abound, Latin American art music, as such —categorically distinct from, let's say, European or North American art music—, does not exist.

It is reasonable to accept Paz's argument about poetry written in Latin America resisting broad categorization--and one should add to his argument the continent's linguistic heterogeneity and the effect it has upon the established geo-political boundaries.² But the claim that "Latin American" art music does not exist as a distinct category, independent of the West, is more elusive. This claim is sustainable solely under the pretext of the great stylistic plurality contained within this sphere of music. Style, not language, is at issue in this argument. The compositions by composers from Latin America are written using the same musical language of their European counterparts, that is, the *lingua franca* of Western music.³ What varies greatly among them is the different idiosyncratic modes of assimilation and transculturation undergone by these Western musical traits when set in a new geography. The result is a wide range of new and original "semantical" approaches to the same overruling Western music syntax.

In Latin America, even with composers of the same generation, the diverse approaches to Western musical practices cross over national, and even continental, boundaries. A clear manifestation of this reality is the fact that one encounters fewer stylistic similarities between South American composers such as the Brazilian Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) and his contemporary Enrique Soro (Chile, 1884-1954) than between the latter and a composer like Britain's Ralph Vaughan Williams. A more dramatic example of the degree of stylistic diversity among composers from the continent is

²Latin America speaks different languages: Portuguese, Spanish, and French, plus many native and syncretic tongues. Take, for instance, the case of poetry written in French. If one considers Haitian poetry as Latin American (which is in itself problematic), should one also consider the poetry written in French by French-Canadians "Latin American" as well?

³Here the term "language" is intended to mean a system of principles and syntactic relationships transmitted via a notational method used by Europeans and developed in Europe during the past five centuries or so. Fabio Dasilva's *All Music: Essays on the Hermeneutics of Music* (1996) is a good recent source on how the differences between language and speech relate and can be applied to music.

provided by the works of two prominent and influential composers belonging not only to the same generation but also to the same country, Mexicans Julian Carrillo (1875-1965) and Manuel Ponce (1882-1948). Both were associated with Mexico's National Conservatory of Music, and their careers peaked about the same time. Carrillo became well known as the father of the micro-tonal method of composing, while Ponce became the forefather of the so-called Mexican musical nationalism (Moreno Rivas 1994). There could not be two more incompatible approaches to composing, yet both Carrillo's and Ponce's works are commonly lumped together under the vague subject heading of Latin American art music. And what about the works by a single composer like Argentina's Alberto Ginastera (1919-83)? How does a vague, overarching subject heading account for a rich and complex font of works that swing widely between the deeply evocative, tonal style of his ballet *Panamby* (1937) and the extremely atonal, quasi-aleatoric sounding style of his 1973 *Serenata to Aurora*, Op. 42?

Despite of this huge stylistic diversity, the validity of Latin American art music as a well-defined and coherent musical category has gone almost unchallenged. Textbooks, journals, institutions, and music festivals thrive on this category, its vagueness and incoherence notwithstanding. The truth is that —borrowing again from Paz— the term "Latin America" does not denote a type or style of music but a historical concept, sociological and political in nature. Put simply, it designates items that belong to a group of nations. To reduce the styles of Villa-Lobos, Soro, Ponce, Carrillo, and Ginastera to a high-level superordinate category such as "Latin American" art music is as obtuse and complaisant as limiting to the category of European cuisine the meanings of the words rabbit, wine, egg, oven, and apple tart. Certainly these items could appear in the index of a book on French cooking, but the reach of their applications and implications far exceeds their association with European cuisine.⁴

Rather than a useful, concrete category, and despite its common usage, Latin American art music is an extremely abstract designation that must be understood strictly as a bundle, that is, a group of things fastened together only for convenient handling. In other words, Latin American art music is a mental construct that arises out of failure to differentiate or discriminate among its separate components; it is a category that exists by virtue of a handicap. This unfortunate necessity may explain the apparent fixity of the category, and this fixity, in turn, should persuade us to reformulate the question posed to

⁴In his classic article "How should a Thing Be Called?" (*Psychology Review* 65/1, 1958), Roger Brown explains how items become categorized and how hierarchical relationships of thought are embedded in this process. A concrete category arises from identifying an item at a subordinate level, like in *apple* or *banana*.. A more abstract categorization, like *fruit*, on the other hand, is the result of thinking at a superordinate level. However, "vocabulary is not built from concrete to abstract," writes Brown, and he goes on to assert that the best generalization seems to be that each referent is first given its most common name. This name will ordinarily categorize the referent so as to observe the equivalences and differences that figure in its usual utilization. "Abstraction after differentiation may be the mature process, and abstraction from failure to differentiate the primitive" (p. 20). Therefore, under Brown's logic, the preference of an abstract category such as Latin American art music over more concrete ones such as "Silvestre Revueltas's music" or "nineteenth-century Venezuelan piano music," is the result of a primitive thought process.

Octavio Paz and mentioned at the opening of this chapter. Instead of asking whether Latin American art music exists or not, the question should be *where* does this sphere of music exist, or, better yet, where is it located and how?

2. *Musicology as Representation*

When attempting to locate Latin American art music, one necessarily runs up against the practice of representation —the paradigmatic Western strategy, very much explored and critiqued in the social sciences, which plays a crucial role in the conceptualization of any sphere of life. Latin American art music does not exist as an entity in its own right. Rather, it exists in the form of a conceptualized bundle, framed by the old, yet tacit, project of representation. Before analyzing how this on-going project profoundly affects our perception of the art music from Latin America, let us take a moment to clarify the meaning of the term "representation" as it applies to music.

In this context, representation is not meant to refer to the mimetic potential of music, that is, its potential to imitate the outside world through sound —which places music closer to the representational arts, such as figurative painting and literature. This capacity of music is better referred to as "musical representation" and it has been amply explored by musicologists and theorists.⁵ The representation of music, on the other hand, refers to the many ways in which music is portrayed. The process is simple: in the attempt to describe, interpret, or delineate a certain type of music, one inevitably constructs a mental image of it, a mental representation, if you wish. It is a natural, culturally bound response to ephemeral stimuli, which eventually materializes in the form of verbal or written language. In the realm of music, representation is what David Burrows describes as "that tropism of the mind that seeks fixity and delimitation in the world, that tropism that has its fullest musical realization not in the music itself but in music's metamorphoses into words and pictures."⁶

While present since the very beginnings of music, until very recently representational practices were not taken into consideration as a field of study in and of itself. Perhaps one of the first music scholars to propose understanding musicology in these terms —that is, musicology as a form of representation— was Charles Seeger. In his 1947 article "Towards a Unitary Field Theory for Musicology," Seeger suggested that musicology, while certainly dependent on music, was a discipline

⁵The different sides of musical representation are wonderfully explored in articles such as Lawrence Kramer's "Music and Representation: The Instance of Haydn's Creation" (Kramer 1992); Kendall Walton's "Listening with Imagination" (Walton 1994); and in Peter Kivy's well-known book *Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation* (Kivy, 1984).

⁶As quoted by Lawrence Sbokowski in his "Charles Seeger's Unitary Field Theory for Musicology and Recent Theories of Linguistic and Cognitive Structure" (Sbokowski 1996, n.p.)

closer to the domain of speech. In fact, he defined musicology as "a speech study" based upon the amalgamation of mental sub-universes which together constitute what he called a "world view," or "a highly conceptualized, unsystematized, non-linguistic account of how things look to us" (Seeger 1947).

Of course, representations of music do not materialize solely in the form of methodical and accurate accounts written by musicologists. More often, they surface more casually, manifesting themselves as mental constructs, attitudes, even myths that live in people. A good example of this is the fetish created around the figures of Mozart and Beethoven. Bruno Nettl offers a wonderful interpretation of the comparisons commonly drawn between them: "The two composers occupy roles of heroic types widely used in the myths of Western culture: the hard-working leader of humanity, and the genius (with supernatural qualities) who is misunderstood, betrayed, becomes a victim" (Nettl 1994, 144). Nettl shows us how the Mozart-Beethoven paradigm is a product of the way Westerners conceive of the musical thought of composers. Mozart is seen as the inspired composer and Beethoven as the craftsman. The former is endowed with qualities very much appreciated, more so than the latter. This is perhaps why Mozart is represented as the "sweet composer," Beethoven as the bitter one. There are sweets, sweet liqueurs, sweet wines, and desserts named after Mozart, whereas for Beethoven Nettl could only find a meat-and-potatoes restaurant and a piano-moving company (let's not forget the Hollywood dog named after Beethoven!). He concludes that these representations tell us little about the historical figures of Mozart and Beethoven. Rather, they speak about the way society looks at the world—more specifically, the way in which composers "play major roles and become the symbols of important and competing values and of the tensions between them" (ibid.).

With the reach and impact of disciplines that study such phenomenological strategies, like cultural studies, cultural anthropology, and gender studies, musicologists and music theorists have become increasingly interested in understanding how the act of representation has been a fundamental agent in establishing Western music's hegemonic status. Certainly, scholars in music are no longer ignorant about one of the more malignant side effects of this strategy. Their awareness is aimed at dispelling the perpetuation of self/other, cosmopolitan/parochial, center/periphery asymmetrical dynamics.

Important recent milestones in this respect are Gary Tomlinson's *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* and Richard Taruskin's *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*. Taruskin's book is almost a follow-up to Tomlinson's approach. Indeed, the latter is woven very tightly into Taruskin's discourse. At the same time, both are a product of loosely applying to the realm of Western art music the methods developed by cultural anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz and Johannes Fabian, which aim at destabilizing the asymmetrical dynamics

mentioned before (self/other).⁷ Both Tomlinson and Taruskin focus a bright light on the way the "myth of otherness" prevails in conventional musicology. They call attention to the fact that, in the attempt at understanding the music that is outside of their cognitive field of appreciation—that is, music of the so-called non-Western nations—traditional musicology has resorted to "falsehood, as an operational fiction or assumption" (Taruskin 1997, xxix). The end results are broad, vague interpretations of this other music that either "absorb" or "silence" it altogether. Taruskin departs from this paradigm to build his case against musicology positing an "essential Russianness" upon Russian composers. "Ostensibly meant (however obtusely) as criterion of positive valuation," writes Taruskin, "[Russianness] functions nevertheless as a fence around the 'mainstream,' defining, lumping, and implicitly excluding the other." He reminds the reader that Verdi or Wagner are rarely praised, if at all these days, for their nationhood, whether manifested as Italianness or Germanness, "although they were as conscious of their nationality, and as affected by it creatively, as any Balakirev." Taruskin concludes that "in the conventional historiography of 'Western music' Verdi and Wagner are heroic individuals. Russians are a group" (ibid., xvi).

In this vein, the following sections of Part Two will focus on how the "myth of otherness," this deeply rooted Western paradigm, has profoundly influenced not only musicology's but the world's representations of the music composed by Latin American composers. I will demonstrate how the representation of music is nothing that can be found in the music itself but an exterior force that, unfortunately, greatly affects the perception of the musical object and its relationship to its context. To get at what is behind the "thick description," to use Clifford Geertz's words, we have to break through the layers of meaning and symbolism, the "piled up structures of inference and implications" (Geertz 1973). I will point out some important antecedents of this phenomenon, some recurring patterns of representation, and focus on some specific musicological sources through which one can trace how Latin American composers have been (mis)represented over time. More specifically, I will elucidate how nationalism has been used as a crutch to aid conventional musicology's inability to comprehend the subject in a more genuine and realistic manner.

3. *Occidentalism and the Territorialization of Music*

Exoticism is the easy explanation for the cause of the stereotypical representations made of Latin America's art music. Like the epigraph I chose by Silvestre Revueltas, many examples exist

⁷See Clifford Geertz's *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973 and Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

showing the effects of what Taruskin calls "the myth of otherness" upon certain music genres. Take for instance the following reviews, which appeared more than sixty years apart in two different newspapers:

. . . *La Rebambaramba*, a multicolored musicodrama by the fiery Cuban mulatto composer Amadeo Roldan, depicting an Afro-Cuban fiesta in a gorgeous display of Caribbean melorhythms, with the participation of multifarious fauna of native percussion effects, including a polydental glissando on the jawbone of an ass. . . . one needs to possess a certain amount of savagery to march with easy steps in this new kind of music administered by hammer blows. (Emile Vuillermoz, Paris *Excelsior*, June 8, 1931)⁸

The last piece played, *La Noche de los Mayas* [by Silvestre Revueltas] was theoretically this festival's starting point. . . . its four movements exude an elephantine wholly irresistible generosity. Booming pentatonic melody signals Mexico's pre-Columbian foundations. Brisk dances expressed in slippery meter changes describe a culture at play. Next a country broods. At the end it explodes: a jungle of percussion, a rhythmic tangle of volcanic energy. (Bernard Holland, *New York Times*, February 8, 1994)

Casual, exoticized portrayals of Latin American music have not ceased in more than sixty years. The colorful, almost caricaturized depictions of these works are symptomatic of a tacit process that is deeply rooted in today's historiographic discourses. But this process is much more complicated than exoticism. In fact, exoticism is a mere result of the root cause.

To start uncovering the cause of these capricious modes of representation one must begin by taking a close look at what is perhaps the only commercially available written source devoted to studying the art music of Latin America as a bundle; Gerard Béhague's *Music in Latin America: An Introduction*. Designed to be used as a textbook for courses on the subject, this publication is widely considered to be "the" reference source on the subject—not only by English-speaking institutions but also by Spanish-speaking scholars in its Spanish translation. This book indeed comes in very handy when attempting to find ready information like dates of composers and historical overviews. But from the very start of the book one is made aware of distortions endogenous to Western practices of representation. In the foreword to *Music in Latin America*, the editor of The Prentice-Hall History of Music Series, H. Wiley Hitchcock, writes:

⁸Quoted in Slonimsky 1994, 335-36.

Six books in the series present a panoramic view of the history of Western music, divided among the major historical periods —Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Classic, Romantic, and Contemporary. The musical cultures of the United States and Latin America, viewed historically as independent developments within the larger Western tradition, are discussed in two other books. . . . Each volume, moreover, may be read singly as a substantial account of the music of its period or area. (Béhague 1979, p. vii)

As a classificatory scheme, this arrangement spells out the problem clearly. The way the editor has structured this series is very characteristic of the paradoxical nature of Western representations of music: it arbitrarily consolidates European music as a historical continuum, builds a fence around it, and assigns a well-framed territory to all the other musics. This is the reason why the editor sees fit to distinguish between those volumes that better account for the music of a "period" and those that better account for the music of an "area," as though they were not interrelated. The infamous time/space polarity surfaces in this scheme: on the one hand, there are "major historical" periods of music, and on the other, there are "musical cultures." In short, there seems to be a tacit agreement by which the music of Europe becomes historicized, while that of the Americas becomes territorialized, "historically independent" but still tied, like satellites, to the "larger Western tradition."

The artificial, arbitrary distancing of musical developments in Latin America from those of Europe is the clearest manifestation of what anthropologist Fernando Coronil calls imperial geohistorical categories. Rather than graphic, these categories are discursive "maps" which, as he tells us, "seem to be the product of invisible hands laboring independently according to standards of scholarly practice and common sense." In his illuminating article "Beyond Occidentalism: Towards Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories," Coronil explains how these discursive maps produce consistent, almost "inescapable" mental pictures of the world, which spill over into everyday speech, as well as scholarly works, and surface in the usage of terms such as "West," "center," "First World," "periphery," "Third World," etc. Coronil also makes us aware of one characteristic of these referents, which is that, because they are metaphorical in nature, they possess remarkable fluidity. So, for example, Japan, which was once the "East," is considered nowadays part of the "West" because of its incorporation into the world's capitalist economy. In short, the "West" does not denote an actual geographical space, but a mental space that seems to be occupied, in Tzvetan Todorov's words, by "history's victors."⁹

⁹Fernando Coronil discusses in detail how the Hegelian dialectic between Master and Slave is appropriated and transformed into the interaction between Self and Other in Todorov's *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (1984 [1974]).

We will study Gerard Béhague's *Music in Latin America* in depth in the next chapter. First, however, it is necessary to sketch out different issues raised by Coronil in his article that will help us understand the tacit strategy responsible for the representations made of the music composed in Latin America. This will provide a theoretical backdrop with which to analyze and critique different written sources on the subject and to perceive various representational modalities.

Coronil's thesis is, in many ways, a response to Edward Said's monumentally influential *Orientalism*. But whereas Said diagnosed as "Orientalism" the deficiencies of the West's representations of all-things-Orient,¹⁰ Coronil goes a step further. He studies the implicit constructions of "Selfhood" that animate not only Europe's representation of the Orient, but Western representations of "Otherness" in general. Coronil calls this process "Occidentalism," and it entails, in his words, "relating the observed to the observers, products to production, knowledge to its sites of formation." Coronil makes it clear that "Occidentalism" does not involve a reversal of Said's "Orientalism," but only a refocusing (in emphasis) of it:

I would then welcome Said's call to include "Orientalists" in our examination, but I will refer to them as "Occidentalists" in order to emphasize that I am primarily interested in the concerns and images of the Occident that underwrite their representations of non-Western societies, whether in the Orient or elsewhere. This perspective does not involve a reversal of focus from Orient to Occident, from Other to Self. Rather, by guiding our understanding toward the relational nature of representations of human collectivities, it brings out into the open their genesis in asymmetrical relations of power, including the power to obscure their genesis in inequality, to sever their historical connections, and thus to present as the internal and separate attributes of bounded entities what are in fact historical outcomes of connected peoples. (Coronil 1996, 56)

It is in the light of "Occidentalism," as summarized here by Fernando Coronil, that I want to engage the representations of fine-art music from Latin America. In the course of my excursion through different sources of representation, the reader will become aware of how they contribute to tacit conceptions of the continent's art music as (1) a bounded unit, with internal differences minimized; (2) historically severed from Europe yet, paradoxically, (3) dependent upon European stylistic models; (4) anachronistically developed; (5) too dependent upon—even entrapped—by their local, vernacular socio-political contexts.

¹⁰Orientalism is defined as the process by which the West (i.e., Europe) constitutes itself ideologically and materially through imagining all-things-Orient as their object.

4. *Antecedents: Visions of Others' Music*

A brief excursion through different historiographic views of the music from Latin America indeed reveals a very long pattern of Eurocentric representations that could be studied as precedents to the firmly established Occidental project very much alive today. As ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman remarks, one of the first passages of ethnomusicological literature —attributed to the sixteenth-century French essayist Michel de Montaigne— is devoted to portraying the music of native South Americans living on an island in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro (Bohlman 1991). In the excerpt, dating back to 1580 and quoted by Bohlman, one witnesses Montaigne's attempt to emphasize the unfamiliar nature of the observed while at the same time depicting it in familiar ways in order to draw the exotic closer to his own perceptual realm. Thus the French essayist uses a specific prisoner's song, which according to him is an invitation for the captors to feast off his flesh (i.e., the prisoner's flesh), in order to show that "there is an amazing distance between their character and ours." At the same time, however, Montaigne compares another type of song—a love song—to the convivial and amatory poetry of the Greek Anacreon. "Not only is there nothing barbarous about this song," writes the essayist, "but it is completely Anacreontic. The language of these people, moreover, is a soft language, quite agreeable, somewhat like Greek in its endings" (Bohlman 1991, 131). Using this account by Montaigne, Bohlman is able to show a very early example of double fixation, which simultaneously seeks closeness and distance from the subject.

Another source that serves as testimony to the antecedents of Occidental representations is the writings of Fray Juan de Torquemada, who in 1615 published *Veinte i un libros rituales i Monarquía Indiana*. I quote a passage as it appears in Robert Stevenson's *Music in Mexico*:

With this I conclude (and this is an important observation): only a few years after the Indians began to learn the chant, they also began to compose. Their villancicos, their polyphonic music in four parts, certain masses and other liturgical works, all composed with adroitness, have been adjudged superior works of art when shown Spanish masters of composition. Indeed the Spanish masters often thought they could not have been written by Indians. (Stevenson 1952, 68)

One can understand why, taken as factual statements, Torquemada's descriptions of music-making in Colonial Mexico were praised more than 300 years later by Carlos Chávez as "a very important document, illustrating our understanding of pre-Cortesian music." But one should not ignore the reality that lies underneath: Torquemada's chronicles are one-dimensional portrayals made by Spaniards of a culture under Spanish submission. The reality behind this account is that Fray Torquemada, like any other member of the Catholic clergy, had a vested interest in convincing the Spanish Monarchy that the

natives were more than bodies who could be physically exploited: they were souls that could, and had the right to be converted to the Catholic faith. I do not doubt the musical talent of sixteenth-century natives. However, it is important to keep in mind that to a large extent the body and soul, coercion vs. conversion, force vs. persuasion dilemma inherent in the Spanish conquest tainted descriptions of the musical ability of the natives. Indeed, it is a fact well documented that through the performing and/or emulation of Western music and other sensual activities, the missionaries had sought to provide evidence of the natives' capacity to transform their "indio" consciousness and follow "the will of God." As Andrew Orta explains, "missionary strategy sought constantly to reconcile the demand for external signs of submission with the desire to inspire internal transformation of assent" (Orta 1995, 45). And in relation to the specific practice of music, which is essentially an aural expression, it is important to note what Vincent Rafael describes as the

“pervasive assumption among Spaniards that the voice had primacy over writing in the transmission of the Gospel. . . . [C]onversion placed special stress on the activity of speaking and listening to God's word (through sound and music). The voice was systematically ascribed a privilege position in the hierarchy of signs. Faith for this reason was based less on what one saw than on what one heard.”¹¹

In short, representations like Torquemada's, far from being taken as a favorable reality, even when they depict the natives as able composers of villancicos and polyphonic music, are only early examples of the "Other" serving as "a construct of desire and manifest of fiction," to use James Clifford's words (Clifford 1988, 155-56). Perhaps texts by Franciscan missionaries like those of Torquemada inspired the drawings by Franz Keller-Leuzinger, who in *The Amazon and Madeira River: Sketches and Descriptions from the Note-Book of an Explorer* (1874) creates wonderfully syncretic and idealized scenes that show native Indians accompanying a pipe organ performance with their native and ancient *Zampoñas*, or Andean panpipes.¹²

And while the Spaniards were busy constructing a self-serving image of the musical developments in the colonies abroad, at home, in Europe, seventeenth-century music theorists like Johann Beer were beginning, in turn, to build an image of the Spaniards. By this time, the musical sphere of Europe was taking shape, and the Iberian peninsula—and by extension any territory connected to it—was progressively being segregated. A good example of this predicament is a map in Beer's 1701 *Bellum*

¹¹Vincente L. Rafael, *Contradicting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Spanish Rule* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), cited in Orta 1995, 47-48.

¹²I am referring to Keller-Leuzinger's illustration that appears in Claro 1969.

*musicum oder musicalischer Krieg*¹³ which presents a picture of an imaginary world torn by different musical "cultures" (see plate 1). The most interesting aspect of this picture, however imaginary, is that it maps onto the different regions of eighteenth-century Europe according to representations of musical practices of the time. At the upper-right corner, where France, Austria and Germany would appear today on a geographical map of Europe, lies the land of instrumental music, or *Terra Instrumentistarum*, exhibiting towns with names such as Sonatina, Fagottburg, Ciaccona, Paukenhofen. At the lower-left corner, coincidentally where Portugal and Spain would be located today on a geographical map of Europe, is the land of choral music, or *Terra choralia*, separated from the other lands by the *Fluvius devotionis* and traversed by the *Flux tentatio*. The implications are not too subtle. It is not difficult to see how this imaginary geography alludes to a musically backwards eighteenth-century Spain, still trapped under the weight of Catholic dogmatism.

About this same time, the first music chronicles in the New World, written by Creoles, were appearing in South American newspapers. These chronicles are important sources for understanding the eventual consolidation of a pervasive mode of representation that emphasized the "us vs. them" polarity. The influx of European composers in the American vicerealties and the increasing reputation of native composers created the ideal setting for competitive comparisons, thus music criticism began in Latin America as early as the end of the eighteenth century. For instance, Peru's José Toribio del Campo, writing in 1792 for the newspaper *Mercurio Peruano*, compares native composer Esteban Zapata with the Italian composer Roque Ceruti (1683-1760) who arrived in Peru in 1708. According to Toribio del Campo, the former composed less proficiently and his songs, while "adequate to his voice," only worked when "coming out of his mouth and not coming out of others"¹⁴ (Estensoro 1989, 115). Intentionally or not, this judgment places Zapata's music within the context of the parochial, the archaic, suggesting a distance between it and the more prestigious and universally appealing compositions of the Italian Ceruti, which, as the critic suggests, work well no matter who performs them and where.

5. Revisiting Slonimsky, Chase, and Other Twentieth-Century Sources of Representation

Many more examples exist of representations of music in the Latin American nations during the colonial period and up to the beginning of the twentieth century. I provide only some significant examples as a prelude to what most concerns this part of my study: occidentalist representations of the art music created in Latin America. While it has been a slow process that began centuries ago, only in the

¹³Reproduced in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1:1507.

¹⁴The quote actually reads in Spanish as follows: "Miro al Licenciado Zapata componiendo menos perito unos cantos adecuados a su voz, y a un genio agradable y jocosos. Sus obras eran en sus labios, y no lo eran en los agenos."

twentieth century has the full territorialization of Latin America's art music been firmly established and epitomized. This phenomenon, of course, is not exclusive to the field of music and art. As Coronil's article on occidentalism reminds us, while Europe and, more recently, the U.S. are seen as the protagonists of history, Latin America has been fetishized as a geographical area—a fantastic construct that has become commonsensical or second-nature only because of our long familiarity with it.

Twentieth-century music scholarship has contributed in great measure, and in an almost systematic way, to the establishment and perpetuation of this fetish. But it is important to distinguish between scholarship by native authors and that by non-natives. Both portray Latin American art music within the parameters of space rather than time, but they do so in different ways. As we shall see, non-native scholarship has had a definite pro-active role in this endeavor while the native one has contributed with its acquiescent attitude toward outside scholarship that takes the bundle approach. Pioneering works by native Latin American scholars such as Lauro Ayesteran, Carlos Vega, Gabriel Saldivar, Samuel Claro, Vasco Mariz, Luis Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, Emilio Grenet, José Antonio Calcaño, and Fernando Ortiz, among others, were devoted to research confined to the music of their own respective countries. By contrast, all the well-known twentieth-century comprehensive studies of the art music of the entire continent have come from the pens of non-natives, their different degrees of active involvement in the continent notwithstanding.

After Eleanor Hague's 1934 *Latin American Music, Past and Present*, the first known source of this kind, other efforts in this direction soon followed. These were carried out entirely by scholars and authors from Europe and North America. We can trace the beginnings of this project to German-born musicologist Francisco Curt Lange, who settled in Uruguay in 1923. He became one of the pioneer scholars who passionately and actively pursued a continentally unified vision of the many different trends of musical arts in the South and North American nations. Under the banner of *Americanismo musical* (musical Americanism), and soon after his arrival in South America, Lange embarked on a mission to unify and strengthen what seemed to him at the time scattered and isolated efforts by composers who, in most cases, had no reach, much less impact, beyond their national borders.¹⁵ *Americanismo musical* became almost a doctrine, which included North American composers as well. In 1935, Lange almost singlehandedly launched the first important magazine to serve as an intellectual platform for this movement seeking continental interdependence, the *Boletín latinoamericano de música*, which survived until 1946. Today the *Boletín* consists of five thick, hard-to-come-by volumes (averaging 800 pages

¹⁵"Americanismo musical" literally became a crusade to draft composers and scholars from the continent in order to create a unified support network. This is evident in an introduction written by Curt Lange to Juan Bautista Plaza's *Temas de música colonial venezolana* (1990). In it, Lange describes how he met the author for the first time in Caracas in the 1940s during a stop in his tour undertaken, in his words, to "incorporate also Venezuela in the grid of Musical Americanism." On that occasion, the tour took Lange to other countries like Colombia, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Mexico, and USA.

each) containing all sorts of articles and scores.¹⁶ Lange is also responsible for perhaps the first commercially available collection of sheet music identified under the broad category of "Latin American art music," thus giving birth to what later became an established category. Indeed, following the foundation of another one of his initiatives in 1940, the *Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores*,¹⁷ Lange negotiated and edited two years later the 1942 G. Schirmer publication entitled *Latin American Art Music for the Piano*. The first publication of its kind, it contained works by well-known composers such as Manuel Ponce and Heitor Villa-Lobos as well as more obscure ones such as Venezuela's Juan Bautista Plaza, Peru's Andrés Sas, Chile's René Amengual, and Argentina's Roberto Garcia Morillo, among others.

Interestingly, and despite his good intentions, the Americanist efforts of this German expatriate living in the southern tip of the continent did more to create a hot new niche for scholars in the northern tip than to disseminate information among composers from the south and promote the advancement and impact of their works in concert halls around the world. By the middle of the 1940s, Lange's intense work took root in the U.S. and Mexico in the form of a series of books, guides, and catalogues on the subject by scholars not native to Latin America. Inspired by Lange's continentally unified vision, these sources aimed at putting forth a consensus-seeking picture—and sometimes even a common diagnosis—of the varied musical strands of the twenty republics that comprise Latin America. Of great significance is the fact that in 1945 two influential sources were published in the U.S. almost simultaneously: Gilbert Chase's *A Guide to Latin American Music*, issued by the Music Division of the Library of Congress, and Nicholas Slonimsky's *Music of Latin America*, published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. Only two years later, in 1947, Otto Mayer-Serra, another European expatriate (from Spain) who settled and wrote extensively about Mexican music, published his three-volume encyclopedia entitled *Música y Músicos de Latinoamérica*.¹⁸ Long out of print, these three sources—the first of their kind to be commercially distributed and fairly widely read—although far from being thorough surveys, were attempts at providing a means of orientation to an otherwise uncharted and very much invented field of study. But while both Slonimsky's and Chase's texts

¹⁶The fifth volume, produced in conjunction with Charles Seeger and dedicated to US composers, was 2,600 pages thick, 300 of which were occupied by music scores.

¹⁷ This became the first cooperative publishing house based in South America; despite its precariousness, it managed to publish and distribute successfully for several years. This cooperative endeavor did not go without criticism since the composers who were published had to pay one-half of the printing expenses, and the royalties, if any, went toward publishing other works. This might be the reason for its eventual demise.

¹⁸In her book *Felipe Villanueva* (Mexico: Cenidim, 1992), Consuelo Carredano mentions a magazine published toward the end of nineteenth century in Spain by Felipe Pedrell that might be considered a predecessor of all these sources. The magazine, *Ilustración musical hispano-americana*, was published in ten volumes between 1887 and 1897.

attempted to capture an immense topic in a bottle, so to speak—one which they both characterized as *terra incognita*—they approached the unprecedented task very differently. It is important to discuss how these older sources differ from each other in order to determine which viewpoint has prevailed in later, more recent discourses.

Chase's introductory essay to his annotated bibliography shows the signs of academic ambitions, which points toward a scholarly niche in the making. His *Guide to Latin American Music* is described as "an initial step towards the systematic organization of bibliographical materials which may form the basis for a comprehensive study of music in the Americas" (Chase 1962, 23). As I will show later, this academic approach presented serious problems from the start and it has served as springboard for more recent texts, like Gerard Béhague's 1979 *Music in Latin America*, which, following Chase's discourse, proposed broad generalizations, labelings, and diagnoses that, in the end, obscured rather than illuminated this sphere of music.

In contrast, Slonimsky took a casual approach, devoid of scholarly pretensions, and described his book as "not so much a work embracing the necessary information on the subject of South America generally as one that should create a desire to be informed." In the vein of a fun and interesting musical travelogue, and always in line with his good sense of humor, Slonimsky titled the introduction to his book "A Pan American Fishing Trip," quoting the headline of an article written by José Castañeda for Guatemala's *El liberal progresista* newspaper (17 January 1942). In this article the journalist makes fun of Slonimsky's talents as a music explorer and warns that the amiable nature of the said explorer might result in a lack of discrimination against mediocre works by "certain unworthy Latin American composers." "Pan American fishing should be done with a rod, and not with a net," recommends Castañeda (Slonimsky 1945, 2).

Whether with a rod or a net, the truth is that Slonimsky's *Music of Latin America* succeeds more in hooking the interest of its reader than in capturing the subject matter thoroughly, although he does provide a great deal of information. The advantage of such a loose take is that it avoids premature theorization or encapsulation of Latin America's diverse manifestations under categories while at the same time providing a wonderfully enticing image of this music and its social context. It is true, however, that this source allures the reader by painting an idealized portrait of the musical arts in Latin America, a picture that seems to possess the desirable qualities that, as he seems to suggest, are lacking in an artistically jaded Europe or in a war-busy USA of the mid-century. With an almost childish enthusiasm Slonimsky asserts:

There is a great diversity of styles among Latin American composers, ranging from the academic to the ultra-modern. Free from the inhibitions imposed on European and North America composers by considerations of economic and musical politics, and unimpeded by conventional professional

training, the most original among Latin American composers create their own styles, often improvisatory in character, and amazingly unlike any European-inspired type of harmony, melody, or rhythm. (ibid., 30)

More than fifty years later, in the midst of current, mostly condescending writings on the subject that focus only on the dependency of this music on Europe's models rather its dissimilarity and uniqueness, statements such as the one above are very refreshing and invigorating to read. However, this overly positive outlook becomes contradictory at times, making the book somewhat unreliable and dubious from a scholarly standpoint. For instance, Slonimsky asserts that "the creative musician occupies an exalted place in the social fabric of the Latin American countries . . . he is the pride of the nation" (ibid., 19) while all along he has been retailing anecdotes about his tribulations with Latin America's musical bureaucracy, institutional negligence, lost scores, untrusting composers, and composers who have side jobs as dentists in order to make ends meet.

But even though Slonimsky's book is perhaps of more value to amateur musicians or to sociologists and cultural anthropologists than to musicologists, it does provide an enormous amount of statistics (although some of it unnecessary) and information on musical life, publications, musical institutions, scholars, and composers, as well as cultural idiosyncrasies that still to this day prove valid and useful data for researchers. This is precisely the reason that I find Slonimsky's text more up to date than other later texts that deal with Latin American music strictly from a historiographic point of view. Furthermore, interesting issues of identity and categorization, very much in vogue today in the social sciences, surface in this early source by Slonimsky. For instance, in a section titled "Is Latin America Latin?" (pp. 64-67) the reader becomes aware of the controversy surrounding the adjective "Latin American" and the dangers of taking this category at face value. Even though I have dealt with this issue at length in chapter 2, I think it is important to quote an excerpt showing Slonimsky's concern in order to facilitate comparisons and contrasts with other twentieth-century modes of representation.

With the rising consciousness of national culture, the Latin Americans of the twenty republics prefer to speak of the quality of being Mexican, Chilean, Peruvian, and so on, in place of a vague Latin Americanism. The terms Mexicanismo, Chilenidad, Peruanidad, Brasilidade, Centroamericanismo (comprising the closely related cultures of the six Central American republics) are used more and more often in native literature. The combined quality of race and nation is suggested by the concept of Afro-Cubanismo. (ibid., 65)

The excerpt above shows the author's concern with issues of nationhood and musical identity that today seem very current topics of study. It is in its careful treatment of the problematic concept of

musical nationalism or national music as it applies to Latin America that Slonimsky's book differs sharply from not only other sources of the time but from newer ones currently in use. Despite of the fact that it was written more than 50 years ago, Slonimsky's circumnavigation of associations between musical creation and nationalism makes this text deserving of revisiting and reconsideration.