

María Gembero-Ustárrroz

Integrating musical Otherness in a new social order: indigenous music from Moxos, Bolivia, under Spanish Governor Lázaro de Ribera (r.1786–1792)

This article analyses the way that music was used in the region of Moxos (in today's north-eastern Bolivia) during the Spanish government of Lázaro de Ribera (1786–92) as a means of integrating the indigenous population into the new administrative system established in that Amazon region after the disorder provoked by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.¹ Moxos had been colonized by the Jesuits since 1682 (when the first mission or 'reduction' was founded in Loreto), was administered from the Audiencia of Charcas (with a capital in La Plata, today's Sucre), and was of great strategic interest to the Spanish Crown, since its borders with Brazil served as a barrier against frequent incursions by the Portuguese.²

The 85 years of Jesuit administration in Moxos are usually considered the period of greatest economic prosperity and cultural splendour of the region,³ whereas the following years under Spanish governors are frequently perceived as a 'vanished Arcadia', with loss of population, abandonment of villages and economic disruption.⁴ Music historiography reflects the same general perception to a large extent: most studies and editions focus on the Jesuit era,⁵ while music after 1767 has received little attention.⁶ Moreover, there has been an uncritical tendency to associate most of the extant early music in Moxos with Jesuit missions.⁷ However, abundant information provided by administrative documents from archives in Spain, Bolivia and Chile indicates not only the enormous musical interest of Governor Lázaro de Ribera's period, but also that of the post-Jesuit Moxos in general.⁸

Integrating Otherness: music in Lázaro de Ribera's new social order

In 1767, the administration of Moxos passed from the Jesuits to secular, ill-prepared priests, some of whom committed abuses against the indigenous population and engaged in smuggling of merchandise with the Portuguese, contributing to the impoverishment of the region.⁹ The government of Lázaro de Ribera (1786–92) brought about a substantial change. His enlightened policy had two main objectives: civilian control of Moxos administration (relegating priests to religious tasks only) and economic revitalization. In the ambitious reformist programme he initiated, music was not only a tool for evangelization or a playful entertainment, but also a fundamental element of social cohesion, economic development and political propaganda.

Immediately after his arrival in Moxos in 1786, Ribera visited all the villages (at that time there were eleven, not 15 as in 1767) and ordered them to make inventories of their trades and goods, including music and instruments. Although several organs had been lost,¹⁰ the musical infrastructure he found was considerable, and in some villages there were more instruments than those registered immediately after the expulsion of the Jesuits (see the case of Concepción de Baures, Table 1). In the same year, he organized a great feast for the Indians in the king's honour, inviting indigenous leaders and their wives for midday and evening meals; these events were accompanied by music, special lighting and general dancing.¹¹

Table 1 Music and instruments in Concepción de Baures, Moxos (1768–87)

1768 <i>Archivo Nacional de Chile, Jesuitas Bolivia, vol.233, fols.202r–207r</i>	1787 <i>Archivo General de Indias (= E:SEagi), Charcas 623, No.15</i>
1 drawer <i>con muchos papeles de solfa</i> (with many music papers) 18 musical instruments: 2 organs 7 violins 3 violones 3 new harps 1 recorder 2 oboes Other instruments: 8 bells of different sizes 6 altar little bells	<i>Barios papeles de música</i> (several music papers) 45 musical instruments: 1 organ (another had recently disappeared); bellows 13 violins 4 violones 1 harp 2 flutes 2 oboes 3 <i>monacordios</i> [clavichords] 12 shawms 2 trumpets (<i>clarines</i>) 2 trompets 3 dulcians Other instruments: 9 bells of different sizes 11 little bells

Music was an important element in the social structure of Moxos. There were two main groups in each village: the *Familia* (family) was the select group of nobles who held the highest-ranking positions in the community, among them musicians, sacristans, weavers, carpenters, smiths, tailors and other craftsmen; the remainder formed the *Pueblo* (people), divided into *parcialidades* (groups of people), each with its own captain. At the head of the village was a lifetime *cacique* (chieftain).¹² Ribera ratified the social recognition of indigenous musicians, considering them intermediaries between Indians and the new Spanish administration. In 1786, eleven indigenous musicians from Loreto (among them the chapelmaster Ignacio Guajare) made a declaration against the priest Manuel Guzmán, who had unjustly beaten several Indians (including the former chapelmaster Tomás Tibi, who died two months after the beating).¹³ Particularly eloquent was the complaint presented in the same year by Alberto Cujui, chapelmaster at Santa Ana of Moxos, against the priest Francisco Javier Chávez for his abuses of Indians and scandals with women; in a moving Spanish, with words almost without syntactic connections, Cujui described the brutal reality with poignant expressive intensity (illus.1).¹⁴ Several Indians from

Concepción also declared that the same priest had stolen music from that village before his departure for Santa Ana.¹⁵

The unlawful commercial trade between Moxos's Spanish priests and the Portuguese frequently involved indigenous musicians. In 1786, Antonio Peñalosa, Priest of Moxos, was asked to explain to the governor why he had ordered two bells for the Beyra Portuguese fortress without paying the Moxos Indian who had cast them.¹⁶ In 1778, Melchor Guillén, priest of Concepción and friend of the Portuguese *comandante* Rocha, had sent five Indian musicians to play in the Beyra fortress; the musicians' depositions in 1792, during Ribera's government, were decisive in demonstrating that the Portuguese had built the fortress illegally after the signing in 1777 of the border treaty (*Tratado Preliminar de Límites*, also called the San Ildefonso treaty) between Spain and Portugal.¹⁷

In Ribera's new Government Plan, approved by the Audiencia of Charcas in 1789, priests were confined to religious matters, the administration of each village was assigned to civil servants, and new bases were established for production and commerce profitable for Indians and the Spanish monarchy. In the 'Additions' (*Adiciones*) to the Plan, Ribera

N. 14.

Muy Señor mío y más Reverendo Duño y Señor
yo me alegro de verte bueno y para converte en qu-
anto me mandares lo que señalacion pero yo soy
ante Señor Dios lo grande Señor ya viene Usted
Señor ya mira Señor ahora ya viene aquí del
Pueblo Suteana de mi Señora Santa Ana vos
lo mando del Rey aquí del Pueblo de Moros Dios
olopague Señor estos hijos Señor todos Alegre
ser ahora vos Señor ya Siempre Nuestros Po-
bre yo soy Alento Cujui Ma estas Capilla Si-
empre mucho asistan Cinqüenta Siempre
dentra la sepo Señor yo soy Padre Siempre
Cope el Padre latigo saliva Sangre ya Padre Se-
ñor mucho ante su Muger mucho lloran
Siempre ya Tompio la cabeza señor y empal-
da y brazos todo cuerpo duele mucho Sangre
la Camigeta Siempre estos asistan este Padre
este Governador, este Ferrnando Sayas ahora Se-
ñor por Dios Caceme Señor estos trabajaren
Señor este Governador Juan Malate este Fer-
nando Sayas este Angelo y Maria esta Muger
su Muger Angelo su Muger sin malo pala-
bra de este Padre Señor Usted no Governador
dize el Padre Señor Usted malo Señor dize

1 Complaint ('Memorial') of Alberto Cujui to Lázaro de Ribera [1786] (beginning) (E:SEagi, Charcas, 623, No.14)

mentioned that Moxo Indians made excellent organs, violins, violones, flutes, harps and guitars that were very much appreciated in Perú's Viceroyalty, and he intended to commercialize them better, together with other products of Moxos.¹⁸ The 'Additions' also contemplated rewarding Indians (and their wives) who excelled in music and other trades both with fabrics (to make dresses in the Spanish style) and an income commensurate with their merits.

The 1790 regulations (*Reglamento*) to implement the Government Plan meticulously organized many aspects of the social, cultural, religious and economic life in Moxos into 57 articles. Each village had a good music ensemble (*una buena orquesta de música*), and it was specified how these ensembles were to perform in newly created festivities, such as those for saints' days and birthdays of the monarchs (article 8). Ribera designed an ambitious network of schools controlled by civil servants to teach Spanish to Indians, something that had received scarce attention during the Jesuit period. In each village he ordered the establishment of two schools, one in which Indian interpreters or those who knew Spanish would teach reading and writing in Spanish, which was supervised by a secular administrator, and the other a music school run by the local indigenous chapelmaster, for the instruction of ten or twelve boys. Ribera also ordered the establishment in San Pedro, then Moxos's capital, of two other schools for Indians from the entire region: a school of drawing, to which two boys from each village—selected by the lay administrators—would attend, and a school to teach how to read, write and count in Spanish. The latter school was intended to have two paid teachers (overseen by the governor) to instruct six boys selected from each village, who would have

their expenses paid and afterwards become teachers in their respective villages.¹⁹

Although Ribera did not stay long in Moxos after the approval of his new Government Plan, it bore fruit almost immediately. In the 1790s each village usually had about 2,000 inhabitants, and the churches of the region had ensembles with a considerable number of good singers and instrumentalists performing for free (see Table 2).²⁰ There were constant measures to improve the musical infrastructure. For example, in 1791 the lack of appropriate music meant it was not possible to sing the *Trisagio* (Sanctus) in La Magdalena, so this was requested from Concepción.²¹ The new village of San Ramón de la Ribera, founded by the governor, received numerous ornaments, pieces of silver, books, music and musical instruments in 1792.²²

In 1792, Ribera described the state of his government of Moxos in a report containing 62 points describing everyday life in the region and the consistent presence of music.²³ In point 6, for instance, the Governor stated:

Los músicos y cantores asisten puntualmente al coro, en donde celebran los oficios con el maior decoro y magestad. Un golpe de Música grave y sonoro se deja oír todos los días durante la misa, que mueve y eleba el alma a la contemplación del Criador [sic]. Siempre que hai que sacramentar a algún enfermo la misma Música acompaña al Señor con los yndios principales y sus mugeres, que van alumbrando . . .

Musicians and singers attend choir promptly, where they celebrate the Divine Office with the greatest dignity and majesty. A serious and sonorous sound of music can be heard every day at Mass, which moves and elevates the soul to contemplation of the Creator. Whenever a sick person needs the last rites the same music accompanies the Lord with the main Indians and his women who march with lights . . .

Table 2 Indigenous musicians in some churches of Moxos (1790) (E:SEagi, Charcas 446, No.52)

<i>Trinidad/San Javier (at that time united)</i>	<i>Loreto</i>	<i>San Pedro</i>
13 singers	8 adult singers and various young ones	23 singers
23 instrumentalists	16 instrumentalists	9 instrumentalists
Other occasional singers		
Total: more than 36 musicians	Total: 24 musicians	Total: 32 musicians
Performed on Thursdays, Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. The rest of the time they collaborated in community work.		

In all villages there were good musicians, and in some of them there were also composers and organ-builders (point 14). According to Ribera, Indians had a versatility unknown in Europe:

15. *La industria de los yndios no se limita a un solo objeto. Es muy común hallar quien sepa a un tiempo tejer, cortar y hacer un vestido y manejar el formón. Otros dejan el remo para tocar el violín o la flauta con la mayor destreza. Un zapatero en nuestros paíces [sic] no sabe hacer una mesa, y el carpintero ignora el arte de la fundición; pero aquí se encuentran oficiales cuia avilidad lo abraza todo de una vez. Causa admiración que unos yndios que ignoran hasta los primeros elementos de la arismética, manejen el compás, entiendan lo que es una proporción armónica y apliquen felismente los principios de la música para trabajar unos órganos tan buenos como los mejores de Europa.*

15. Indians' industriousness is not limited to only one object. It is very common to find someone who knows at the same time how to weave, to cut, to make a dress and to use a paring chisel. Others leave the oar to play the violin or the flute with utmost dexterity. A shoemaker in our countries does not know how to make a table, and a carpenter ignores the art of foundry; but here one finds workers whose ability embraces everything at the same time. It causes admiration that Indians, who ignore the first elements of arithmetic, use the compass, understand what a harmonic proportion is and apply successfully the principles of music to the building of organs as good as the best from Europe.

By the end of Ribera's tenure, the central administration of Moxos could count a considerable number of musical instruments, and four schools: of reading and writing, of drawing, of music, and of *organistas* (most likely *organeros*, organ-builders).²⁴

A new image for a new Moxos

Lázaro de Ribera took care to inform the authorities in peninsular Spain about his reformist work in Moxos through numerous reports, descriptions, maps, drawings, examples of calligraphic writing and musical compositions to prove the merits of the Government Plan, which probably influenced his promotion to other positions.²⁵ Several drawings made by Indians showed the progress accomplished in the drawing school created by Ribera.²⁶ Moreover, the governor personally took samples of animals and woods from Moxos to Spain, as well as diverse products cultivated and made in the region, and a resin drum

and other percussion instruments used in indigenous dances and entertainments.²⁷

Particularly beautiful are two manuscripts prepared by Ribera in Moxos and dedicated to King Carlos IV, *Las descripciones exactas y la historia fiel de los animales y plantas* and the *Libro de las maderas*. Bound in red leather and with magnificent drawings (many of them in colour),²⁸ these volumes were given in 1794 by Ribera to Manuel Godoy, Secretary of State, to be presented to the king.²⁹

In *Las descripciones exactas*, which has 86 annotated plates, Ribera described the inhabitants, animals and plants of Moxos, and included a basic vocabulary of 15 of the languages spoken in the region. This was based on information provided by Indians, who communicated with Ribera through interpreters, and included the governor's own contributions. Plate 7 depicts a Canichana Indian dancing (illus.2) and Plate 11 a player of *Ncopeg-Nhuaglé*, a Canichana term to describe the characteristic Moxos aerophone called *flautón de palma* by the Spaniards (illus.3).

Plates 9 and 10 show two Indian dances: one 'very violent', simulating a combat that lasted three or four hours, accompanied only by a drum; in the other, 80 or more dancers could participate and play aerophones (of various sizes) at the same time (illus.4–5). Ribera, describing Plate 10, did not conceal the attraction he felt for these dances:

Otro baile en que a un tiempo bailan y tocan con la mayor destreza y compás 80 o más indios. Estos instrumentos de viento tienen en longitud los más pequeños hasta 8 pulgadas; otros 10 ó 12; los terceros dos y medio y tres pies, y los mayores 5. Los dos primeros los hacen de caña, y los dos últimos con las hojas de la palma que llaman Motacú, que es la señalada con el Número 79. No es fácil explicar el son armonioso y belicoso que resulta de la consonancia total de estos instrumentos ni la gracia y compás con que los indios ejecutan el baile.

Another dance in which 80 or more Indians dance and play at the same time with utmost dexterity and rhythm. These wind instruments are up to 8 inches long for the smallest ones; others are 10 or 12; the third ones two feet and a half and three feet, and the largest ones five feet. The first two are made of reeds and the last two of Motacú palm leaves, the one indicated in Plate 79. It is not easy to describe the harmonious and bellicose sound resulting from the total consonance of these instruments or the grace and rhythm with which Indians perform the dance.



2 Canichana Indian dancing (Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Ms.2, Plate 7)

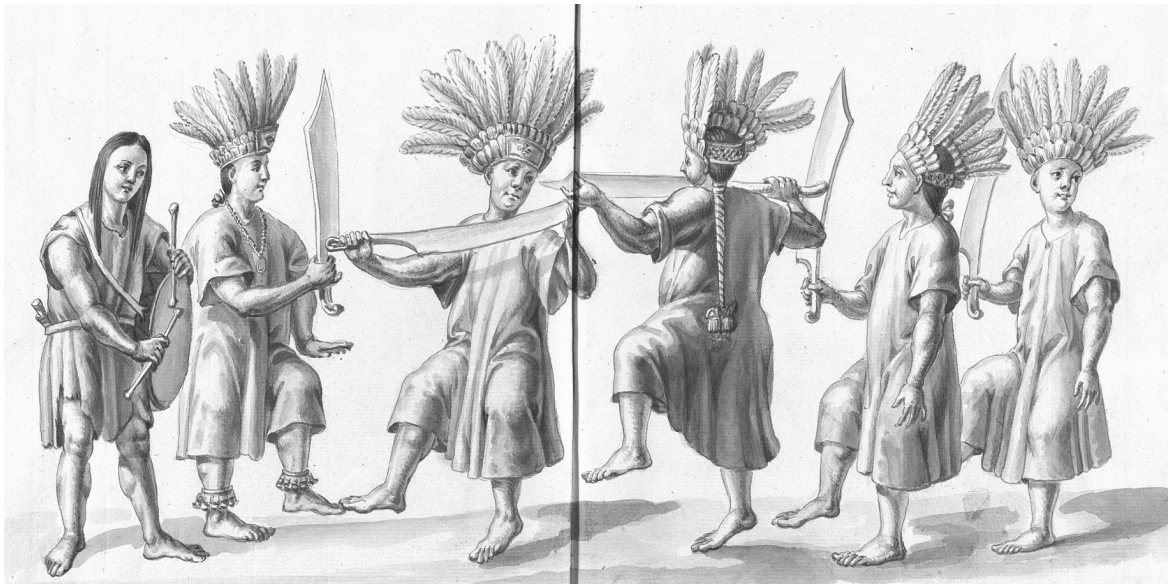
In the *Libro de las maderas*, Ribera described 86 trees from Moxos, providing their indigenous names, illustrations of their branches and leaves, as well as information from the Indians about the uses of different woods. Three of the trees listed served to make musical instruments: with *tahaule* wood (a Movima term) they made flutes, glasses and other objects; with *nicohonrebra* wood (a Canichana term) mallets and handles for several instruments; and with *mapoama* wood (a Cayubava term) they made violins (captions of Plates 10, 21 and 57).

Singing integration: indigenous compositions praising the Spanish monarchy

In 1790, Lázaro de Ribera sent nine manuscript compositions written by Indians in their languages, with European music notation, celebrating King Carlos IV, his wife María Luisa de Borbón and Governor Ribera, from Moxos to the Spanish court (Table 3). These compositions, preserved at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, include Spanish translations of the texts (see illus.6) to make clear Governor's Ribera main message to the king: the integration of Indians in the new system of government in Moxos. Eight of the nine pieces are anonymous with one vocal part (numbers 1–5, 7–9), although pieces 3, 7 and 9 also have some instrumental parts. Piece number 6 is an aria for six voices, violins and accompaniment, attributed by Ribera to the Indians Francico Semo, Marcelino Ycho and Juan José Nosa.³⁰



3 Indian musician of Moxos playing the *flautón de palma* (Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Ms.2, Plate 11)



4 Dance of Moxo Indians (Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Ms.2, Plate 9)

These nine pieces were sent to peninsular Spain in two separate deliveries. Five of them (nos.1–5), composed by Canichana Indians of San Pedro for the feast of Carlos IV’s proclamation, were sent by Ribera on 15 February 1790 to the state councillor Antonio Porlier, together with two drawings of some indigenous instruments and a report about the said festivities and the successful implementation of the new Government Plan (illus.7–8).³²

The other four pieces (nos.6–9) were composed by Moxo Indians from Trinidad and San Javier (villages at that time united) and performed in Trinidad on 25 August 1790 to celebrate Queen María Luisa’s saint’s day (illus.9); afterwards Ribera sent them to the king, together with a report on the festivities celebrated in Trinidad on that occasion.³³

These compositions by Indians were part of a comprehensive symbolic programme to highlight



5 Dance of Moxo Indians (Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Ms.2, Plate 10)

Table 3 Compositions in indigenous languages sent by Lázaro de Ribera from Moxos to peninsular Spain in 1790³¹

Original title	Spanish translation
Pieces composed by Canichana Indians of San Pedro for the royal proclamation feasts of Carlos IV of Spain, 1–3 February 1790 (E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 167)	
[1] <i>Buenas noche Señor Usía</i>	<i>Buenas noches, Señor Don Lázaro de Ribera</i>
[2] <i>Natom tanel hanchahatisi don Lazaro</i>	<i>Ya oimos Señor Don Lázaro tu palabra</i>
[3] <i>Nuasi hananem rama</i>	<i>Nada es comparable</i>
[4] <i>Sac ha chaune vema</i>	<i>Aquí venimos a festejar a nuestro Rey</i>
[5] <i>Encha va chuai hanau</i>	<i>Vamos alegrándonos en este día</i>
Pieces composed by Moxo Indians from Trinidad and San Javier for the saint's day of Spanish queen M ^a Luisa de Parma, 24–5 August 1790 (E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 168)	
[6] <i>Tiurisamu reco reri</i>	<i>Hoy día 25 todos tenemos la fortuna</i>
[7] <i>Bisa moro pona bore</i>	<i>Oigamos lo que hoy vamos a cantar</i>
[8] <i>Bihi rabau risa mure</i>	<i>Cantemos alegres</i>
[9] <i>Fiesta poviti Rey maye Don Carlos quarto</i>	<i>Hoy es la función del Señor Don Carlos 4º</i>

the new system of government in Moxos in two celebrations which were particularly emblematic: the royal proclamation of Carlos IV and the saint's feast of Queen María Luisa de Borbón. Carlos IV's accession to the Spanish throne in December 1789 was celebrated in San Pedro between 1 and 3 February 1790 with a combination of religious and civil ceremonies similar to those programmed in other Hispanic territories,³⁴ and perhaps seen for the first time in that region. During the three days of festivities, the Casa Real of San Pedro was illuminated and two ensembles of 35 musicians from San Pedro and Trinidad played violins, flutes, violones and other instruments in the corridors of the consistorial hall; musicians from Trinidad had travelled the considerable distance of 18 leagues to participate in the festivities. The monarchy's institutional spaces were thus sonorously filled with instruments of European origin performed by Indians. Moreover, people in the street played more than 200 indigenous instruments 'which formed a bellicose concert full of strength and majesty' (*que formavan un concierto belicoso lleno de fuerza y magestad*) and performed numerous dances. At times groups of 70 or 80 Indians danced and simultaneously played their *flautones de palma* with utmost harmony, dexterity and rhythm (*con la mayor armonía, destreza y compáz [sic]*). On the first day of the festivities there was a general peal of bells and a gun salute, and the royal portraits commissioned by Ribera

were exhibited and acclaimed with cheers and music. On the second day, the governor, secretary, administrators, the indigenous *Cabildo* (council), *caciques* and judges of other villages, all in military uniform, attended Mass and a Te Deum of thanksgiving. Ribera presented the Indians with gifts, and invited priests and Spanish and indigenous authorities to a banquet in which he twice toasted the king with a gun salute. During the third day, 20 head of cattle were given to indigenous women.³⁵

Impressed by the royal proclamation in San Pedro, the Indians of Trinidad asked Ribera to visit their village to celebrate the queen's saint's day on 25 August 1790, and over the course of 23 days they constructed a new building of adobe and wood to house the royal portraits, placed there on 24 August; above the church's door the royal coat of arms, carved by Canichana Indians, was placed with acclamations, a peal of bells and a 'harmonious sound of music' (*un armonioso golpe de música*). After Vespers, the whole village was illuminated, Indians visited the royal portraits, and in the square there was music and indigenous dances with more than 300 instruments. On 25 August, the church was decorated with 2,664 silver frames that the governor had ordered from Loreto, where they had been stored. After a thanksgiving Mass, Ribera distributed gifts and 40 head of cattle among the population, and gave a banquet for 56 *caciques* and indigenous captains who had come from neighbouring villages. The *caciques* and other

(a)

Composiciones Musicas que en Obsequio & nros.
Augustos Sabitanos hicieron los Indios Canichanas
del Pueblo de S. Pedro.

Handwritten musical score with multiple staves and lyrics in Spanish and indigenous languages.

(b)

Buenas noche Señora Señora v si a Buenas noche
Se ñor Se ñor v si a M^{te} Se ñor D^{no} Sa za ro
A i be za M^{te} Se ñor D^{no} Sa za ro A i be za
Va chuai hamaphacle chicule Teasa ma Va chuai ha
na pha cle chicule Te quegabe au ta te che bai ha
na - D^{no} Car los quarto au ta te che bai hu na
- D^{no} Car los quarto cu ha Capi ta uhal hona u ha Rey
Huasi ha na nem xau Cochuai hatana nuasi hana nem
xau Cochuai ha ta na O - Se ño ra D^{na} Maxi
a Suiza de Bon bon O - Se ño ra D^{na} Maria a
Suiza de Bon bon D^{na} Maria Maria Suiza Maria Suiza

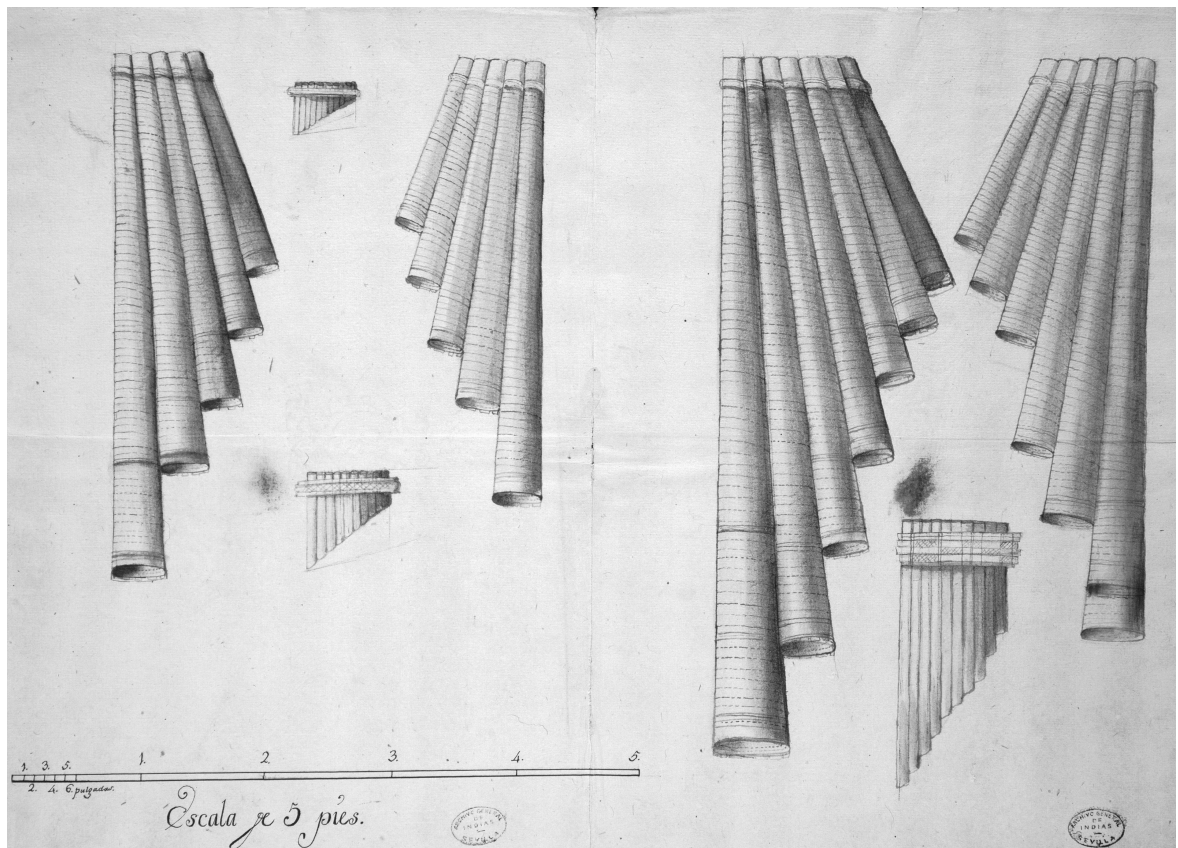
(c)

Traducción.

Buenas Noches S.^{or} D.^{no} Lazaro de Ribera. Queremos alegrarnos Hombras, y Mugeres, festepando al S.^{or} D.^{no} Carloy 4.^o Nuestro Capitan, n^{ro}. Gran Rey, y alegrarnos tambien por n^{ra}. gran Madre mi S.^a D.^a Maria Suiza.

Downloaded from <http://em.oxfordjournals.org/> at CSIC on September 18, 2012

6a-c Buenas noche, Señor Usía (title-page, beginning and Spanish translation of the text) (E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 167)



7 Several musical instruments from Moxos (E:SEagi, Estampas, 200)

indigenous authorities of Trinidad themselves asked Ribera to inform the king of these festivities.³⁶

The nine pieces composed by Indians for these celebrations, studied by José Vázquez-Machicado in 1932 and later by his brother Humberto and others, have been edited in full or in part several times.³⁷ Although simple, they contain metrical and notational irregularities. The transcriptions published to date lack a critical apparatus and contain some questionable solutions, although they have made the performance and recording of this repertory possible.³⁸

Some scholars have pointed out a lack of creativity in these pieces. Humberto Vázquez-Machicado found 'imitation and nothing else' (*imitación y nada más*) since they are based on the Italian models taught by Jesuits some 22 or more years earlier; for Patiño, the instrumental parts of the aria show the clear influence of Vivaldi's works for violin, and the vocal pieces share melodic similarities with Spanish

folksongs from Santander and La Mancha.³⁹ These comments ignore the creative richness found in elaborations of earlier models,⁴⁰ and the inadequate comparison of the Moxos 1790 pieces with European counterparts resonates with other colonialist historiographical constructions since the 18th century.⁴¹ To consider the pieces composed in Moxos in 1790 as mere copies of models from the Jesuit period also discounts interest in music after 1767 and musical developments during Lázaro de Ribera's period.⁴² On the question of creativity, the testimony of the governor is contradictory, since, on the one hand, he affirmed that Indians 'have no talent for invention, but imitate perfectly everything they see' (*no tienen el talento de la invención, pero imitan perfectamente quanto veen [sic]*),⁴³ but, on the other hand, he confirmed the existence of indigenous composers in several Moxos villages, and implicitly recognized an indigenous style of composition in the works sent



8 Indian musician of Moxos playing the flautón de (E:SEagi, Estampas, 201)

to Spain in 1790, when he described them as ‘fruit of the simple imagination of the Indians more used to paint the truth as is, instead of dressing it with concepts that sometimes disregard it’ (*fruto de la imaginación sencilla de los yndios, más acostumbrados a pintar la verdad como ella es, que a vestirla con conceptos que a veces la desayran*).⁴⁴

It is difficult to maintain that Indian musicians from Moxos were not capable of composing creative music, given knowledge of their constant musical activity, their social relevance and their presence in numerous administrative documents.⁴⁵ Twenty years after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Moxos, the presence of European music they had introduced and indigenous musical practices were both very strong. Lázaro de Ribera did not intend to undermine that rich heritage, but rather sought to strengthen it and transform its significance within a new political framework. Musicians themselves, belonging to the most influential stratum of indigenous society and confirmed in their privileges by the governor, were most likely powerful allies to underline the divine origin of royal power, as the text of the fourth Moxos composition proclaims: ‘Here we come to celebrate our King because God has placed

Aria Canto. I° Para La Reyna Ntra Sra

*Tu risa mure co xe xi ne bi mu tu Pojoe nani sa che pojoe nani pojoe nani sa che ve in te ycin
 Pi sa ma bi po se xo pa sa pa nuo bi pa sa pa nuo bi bi ti rey chu bi sa pa nu co re pi bo no ra no
 Nu poncha vi yo xe ta ye pio pe cu ta ye po so xo picu na ta ye po so no picu na ta picu cho co re se
 Sa tu pi bo xe xo batu pie no ta ye mae mu na si ra bi bi mo ro no si ra bo te se ra ray nico bi*

*co vi ti mu ri bau risa mure E su rey chu Rey na bi cu ri sa mu re cha E su
 bi Pi sa co pinabi be se ra ray xiabi Si cu ti rey chu Be no bi Be no bi pi sa pa nu ray Si cu
 ne Pi sa pa nu co se se ra po vi ti be se ra ray co bi ta ye po so ca E po que be se
 xi Si cu ti Machi cha no Si cu ti Machi cha no beo bi ti co mi cha bo xi Si cu*

*rey chu Rey na bi cu xi sa mu re cha
 ti rey chu ti cu ti rey chu Be no bi pi sa pa nu ray
 ra ray co bi ta ye po so ca E po que E boy xe vi se ro
 ti machi cha no beo bi ti co mi cha bo ri mae mu na si ra bi*

9 Aria Tiurisamu reco reri, beginning of the ‘Canto 1°’ (E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 168)

him on Earth to govern us in His stead' (*Aquí venimos a festejar a nuestro Rey porque Dios lo ha puesto en la tierra para que como Él nos gobierne*).⁴⁶

The true extent of indigenous integration accomplished by Lázaro de Ribera is difficult to ascertain. His successor in Moxos, Miguel Zamora, continued Ribera's work by favouring music as a means of social cohesion;⁴⁷ but other enlightened bureaucrats—like Francisco Viedma, Governor of Santa Cruz—criticized Ribera and tried to dismantle his reforms.⁴⁸ Curiously enough, the drawings

and paintings commissioned by Ribera have been used to illustrate modern publications about the history of Moxos both before and after Ribera;⁴⁹ his images have, to a great extent, become our visual representation of that region in the 18th century. Lázaro de Ribera's government in Moxos emerges as a particularly coherent, and most likely successful, attempt at integrating indigenous music in the colonial machinery of the enlightened Hispanic monarchy in the Amazon region.

Translated by Emilio Ros-Fábregas

María Gembero-Ustároz is Permanent Researcher at the CSIC (Spanish National Research Council), Milà i Fontanals Institution, in Barcelona. Her work focuses on 18th- and early 19th-century Spanish music and the relationships between Spain and colonial Latin America. She is currently responsible for the project The 'Other' in Spanish musical sources (16th–18th centuries): foreigners, women, and Amerindians, sponsored by the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia y Educación (HAR2009-07706), and for the Research Group Music, heritage and society, recognized by the Generalitat de Catalunya. Her publications include La música en la Catedral de Pamplona durante el siglo XVIII (1995) and the edition (with Emilio Ros-Fábregas) of La música y el Atlántico. Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica (2007). mgembero@imf.csic.es.

1 In colonial Moxos the population was basically indigenous (belonging to several ethnic groups) since, apart from priests and Spanish civil servants, all other Spaniards and foreigners were prohibited from settling or trading goods. This prohibition dated back to the Jesuit period and was renewed by Lázaro de Ribera; see the fiscal's report concerning the new Government Plan of 1789, point 83, in *Archivo General de Indias in Seville* (hereafter E:SEagi), Charcas 445, No.s, fols.21v–22r. The present article is part of more extensive work in progress on post-Jesuit music in Moxos; it is also part of the research undertaken for the R&D Project *The 'Other' in Spanish musical sources (16th–18th centuries): foreigners, women, and Amerindians* (HAR2009-07706), sponsored by the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación.

2 Moxos occupies approximately 70,000 square miles of plains between the rivers Beni and Guaporé (or Iténez), and has severe difficulties of access, since the massive floods during the long rainy season (approximately from October to April) leave roads impassable; see W. M. Denevan, *The*

aboriginal cultural geography of the Llanos de Mojos of Bolivia (Berkeley, 1966), pp.6–13.

3 On the general history of Moxos, see G. René-Moreno, *Catálogo del Archivo de Mojos y Chiquitos* (Santiago de Chile, 1888; ed. with a preliminary study and additional notes by H. Sanabria, La Paz, 1973); G. Desdèvis du Dezert, 'Les missions des Mojos et des Chiquitos de 1767 à 1808', *Révue Hispanique*, xliii/104 (1918), pp.365–430; E. Finot, *Historia de la conquista del Oriente boliviano* (Buenos Aires, 1939), pp.265–98 and 363–89; J. Chávez Suárez, *Historia de Moxos* (La Paz, 1944); G. A. Parejas Moreno, *Historia de Moxos y Chiquitos a fines del siglo XVIII* (La Paz, 1976); J. M. Barnadas, 'Introducción' to his edition of F. J. Eder, *Breve descripción de las reducciones de Mojos, ca. 1772* (Cochabamba, 1985), pp.iii–civ; D. Block, *Mission culture on the Upper Amazon: native tradition, Jesuit enterprise, & secular policy in Moxos, 1660–1880* (Lincoln, NE, 1994); J. L. Roca, *Economía y sociedad en el Oriente Boliviano (siglos XVI–XX)* (Santa Cruz, 2001); M. B. Gumucio,

Las misiones jesuíticas de Moxos y Chiquitos, una utopía cristiana en el oriente boliviano (La Paz, 3/2003); R. Gutiérrez et al., 'Historia urbana de las reducciones jesuíticas sudamericanas: continuidad, rupturas y cambios (siglos XVIII–XX)', in *Tres grandes cuestiones de la historia de Iberoamérica: ensayos y monografías*, ed. J. Andrés-Gallego (Madrid, 2005); J. R. Lozano Yalico and J. M. Morales Cama, *Poblando el Cielo de almas. Las misiones de Mojos: fuentes documentales (siglo XVIII)* (Lima, 2007); and M. Livi Bacci, *El Dorado nel Pantano. Oro, schiavi e anime tra le Ande e l'Amazzonia* (Bologna, 2007).

4 The evocative title of the book by R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *A vanished Arcadia; being some account of the Jesuits in Paraguay, 1607 to 1767* (London, 1901), referring to the loss of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, transmits a strong image that seems also to have been assumed for the post-Jesuit period of the Moxos and Chiquitos missions. For a more positive view of post-Jesuit Moxos, see Roca, *Economía y sociedad*, pp.360 and 368.

5 On colonial music in Moxos, see S. Claro-Valdés, 'La música en las misiones jesuitas de Moxos,' *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxiii/108 (1969), pp.7–31; C. Seoane, 'La música en las misiones jesuíticas de Moxos y Chiquitos,' in *Simposio sobre las misiones jesuitas en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1987); A. Eichmann and C. Seoane, 'El Archivo de San Calixto. Informaciones de la vida cultural de Mojos (ss. XVIII–XIX),' in *Data. Revista del Instituto de Estudios Andinos y Amazónicos*, vii (1997), pp.59–94; P. Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical de las reducciones jesuíticas. Vol. 1. Guaraníes, Chiquitos, Moxos* (La Paz, 2000), pp.79–104; P. Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical de las reducciones jesuíticas. Vol. 5. Cantos guaraníes y moxeños* (La Paz, 2000), pp.ii and 55–143; L. J. Waisman, 'La música en las misiones de Mojos: algunos caracteres diferenciales,' in *La Música en Bolivia. De la Prehistoria a la actualidad*, ed. W. Sánchez Canedo (Cochabamba, 2002), pp.529–45; S. Antón Priasco, 'La educación musical en el proyecto misional jesuítico. El caso de Mojos,' *Bibliographica Americana. Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios Coloniales*, i (2004), at www.bibnal.edu.ar/RevistaVirtual/Revista%20Real/o-Articulos/Art-Susana-Anton-Priasco-1.pdf (accessed 25 February 2009); and P. Nawrot, *Archivo Musical de Moxos: Antología*, 5 vols. (Santa Cruz, 2004).

6 After this article was finished, I learned about the publication of P. Nawrot (dir.) et al., *Misiones de Moxos: Catálogos*, 2 vols. in 3 (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, 2011), which includes 'Las Misiones de Moxos (1767–1842): algunos datos sobre educación, artes y música' by R. Tomichá Charupá, iii, pp.353–405; I thank the latter for sending me a copy of this contribution prior to publication.

7 The pioneering study by Claro-Valdés, 'La música', p.18, assumes that the music heard in Moxos by Alcide D'Orbiny and other 19th-century travellers came from manuscripts copied before the expulsion of the Jesuits, even though there is documentary evidence that after 1767 Spanish governors systematically brought new musical repertory to the

region. The numerous manuscript compositions from the villages of Moxos, today collected at the Archivo de San Ignacio, are usually considered a heritage of the Jesuit period (see, for instance, W. A. Roldán, 'Catálogo de manuscritos de música colonial de los archivos de San Ignacio y Concepción (Moxos y Chiquitos), de Bolivia,' *Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica Carlos Vega*, xi (1990), pp.225–478, at p.233), even though many of them are anonymous works without date, transmitted in copies from the 19th and 20th centuries. I was able to consult some of these works at the Archivo de Música de San Ignacio de Moxos in 2008, thanks to the parish priest Jorge Villalpando and the archivist Pedro Macapabi.

8 On the arrival of new music to Moxos during the government of Miguel Zamora (1792–1801), see M. Gembero-Ustároz, 'Enlightened reformism versus Jesuit utopia: music in the foundation of El Carmen de Guarayos (Moxos, Bolivia), 1793–1801,' in *Music and urban society in colonial Latin America*, ed. G. Baker and T. Knighton (Cambridge, 2011), pp.230–45 and appendices, pp.275–81.

9 The ecclesiastical authorities were aware of the poor preparation of the priests sent to Moxos, recruited in haste to substitute for the Jesuits; see, for instance, a report by Francisco [Ramón de Herbozo], Bishop of Santa Cruz, of 14 March 1770 (E:SEagi, Charcas 410, unnumbered file about the non-residence of previous bishops in San Lorenzo de la Barranca, capital of the bishopric); and the letter from Alejandro José Ochoa y Morillo, Bishop of Santa Cruz, to Lázaro de Ribera (Punata, 25 May 1787), E:SEagi, Charcas 445, No.k, fols.3r–8r.

10 E:SEagi, Charcas 445, No.J, Ribera's report about Moxos, San Pedro, 11 September 1788, fols.13v–14r.

11 E:SEagi, Charcas 445, No.B, 24 November 1786.

12 This social structure is described by Governor Ribera in E:SEagi, Charcas 446, unnumbered file, report about Ribera's government, 24 September 1792, fols.3v–4r, point 7.

13 E:SEagi, Charcas 445, unnumbered file, list of documents sent by Ribera to the *Audiencia of Charcas* in 1790, fols.26r–28r; E:SEagi, Charcas 623, unnumbered file, 'Autos' of the Moxos Governor and of the Moxos priest against Manuel Guzmán and José Manuel Ramos, first and second priests of Loreto, 1786–7, fols.23r–36r, 157r–158r.

14 Alberto Cujui's complaints are registered in E:SEagi, Charcas 623, No.14; Charcas 445, documents sent to the *Audiencia de Charcas* by Lázaro de Ribera, f.61r and Charcas 446, No.17; Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (hereafter E:Mah), Estado 4439, No.3, fols.1v–4r; and Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia in Sucre (hereafter BO:Sabn), Moxos, vol.8, xvi, fols. 209r–211r.

15 E:Mah, Estado 4436, No.6, f.4r–v.

16 E:SEagi, Charcas 446, No.25; E:Mah, Estado 4439, No.5; BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.9, xxv, fols.209r–219v.

17 The displaced musicians in 1778 were the chapelmaster Javier Valdivieso, Gaspar Aviyoreo, Luiz Omireji, Francisco Valdivieso and Miguel Avira, who stayed seven days in the Portuguese fortress, a palisade of mud and stakes which later became a much more solid fortress of stone and mortar: E:Mah, Estado 4387/ 6, No.12 and 4387/6, No.7.

18 Government Plan of Moxos, 22 February 1788 (E:SEagi, Charcas 445, No.g); 'Adiciones' to the Government Plan of Moxos, San Pedro, 15 April 1788 (E:SEagi, Charcas, 445, unnumbered file and E:Mah, 4436, No.13); Approval of the Government Plan of Moxos, La Plata, 14 September 1789, with some modifications added by the fiscal and the *Audiencia* (E:SEagi, Charcas 445, unnumbered file, fols.31r–44r and E:Mah, Estado 4436, No.11). Several documents of 1786 show that Moxo Indian Xavier Espinosa had built organs for the convent of La Merced in Santa Cruz and for Tarata, for which he had not been adequately paid (E:SEagi, Charcas 446, No.25, E:Mah, Estado 4439, No.5, and BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.9, xxv).

19 'Reglamento', 1 January 1790, articles 8 and 39–41, in BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.10,

xiii, 9 January 1790; and E:SEagi, Charcas 446, No.35. The *Audiencia* of Charcas approved the 'Reglamento' on 13 January 1791 (E:Mah, Estado 4436, No.17).

20 E:SEagi, Charcas 446, Ribera's answer to the report by the Bishop of Santa Cruz against the Government Plan, San Pedro, 18 May 1790, f.139r. About the population of Moxos villages in 1797, see Livi Bacci, *El Dorado*, p.166.

21 BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.10, xviii (1791), f.143r.

22 The materials sent to San Ramón, registered in San Pedro de Moxos on 5 September 1792, included 72 music papers (*papeles de zolfa*), eight violins (one of them old), one violone, two dulcians, two flutes, three trumpets (*clarines*, one of them old) and eight shawms (BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.10, xxiv, fols.222r and 260v).

23 E:SEagi, Charcas 446, unnumbered file, report about Ribera's government, 24 September 1792, fols.1r–27r, 24 September 1792 (document cited below); and BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.10, xxviii (1792), fols.312r–351r.

24 BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.10, xxx (1793), f.362r–v, report about Ribera's management of Moxos. Immediately after mentioning the music school there is a list of instruments probably for its students: 36 violins, five violones, four violas, 22 flutes, four dulcians, five shawms, ten *flautones*, a harp and one organ.

25 After his period in Moxos, Ribera was governor in Paraguay and Huancavelica (Perú); see M. Palau and B. Sáiz, 'Las reducciones jesuíticas de Moxos y el Gobernador Lázaro de Ribera', in *Moxos. Descripciones exactas*, ed. Palau and Sáiz, pp.38–63, at pp.58–9.

26 According to Ribera, in order to teach the Indians how to draw, they were asked to copy models by 'Le Brun, Annibal Caracholo' [sic] and other well-known painters (E:SEagi, Charcas 446, unnumbered file, report about Ribera's government, 24 September 1792, point 14). Some drawings by Indians sent to Spain by Ribera are preserved at E:SEagi, MP-Estampas, 133–8 (with the authors' signatures) and E:Mah, MPD 298.

27 E:SEagi, Estado, 81, No.1, 15 June 1794, letter from Ribera (then ex-Governor of Moxos) from Aranjuez to [Manuel Godoy], Duke of La Alcudia, conveying his intention of presenting him with these materials.

28 The painter was perhaps Pablo Oquendo, recruited by Ribera in September of 1789 to create a school of drawing in San Pedro; previously (1786–9), Ribera had brought to Moxos another painter who in a year had obtained great painting results from the Indians (BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.6, xxix, fols.321r–323v).

29 The two books lack title, date and original foliation. *Las descripciones exactas y la historia fiel de los animales y plantas* (Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Ms.2, 45 × 28.8 cms) includes Ribera's autograph signature; I use as title the beginning of the text after the initial 'Advertencia'. The *Libro de las maderas* (Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms.11/2769, 24.2 × 16.8 cms) is the title in the library catalogue; although Ribera is not mentioned in this volume, the caption of Plate 47 refers to another illustration in the 'libro grande' (*Las descripciones exactas*), which indicates that both works were by the governor; both are also attributed to Ribera in various administrative documents. The content and illustrations of these two books, together with other documents about Lázaro de Ribera, were published in *Moxos. Descripciones exactas e historia fiel de los indios, animales y plantas de la provincia de Moxos en el virreinato del Perú por Lázaro de Ribera, 1786–1794*, ed. M. Palau and B. Sáiz (Madrid, 1989).

30 The compositions, their translations and Ribera's reports accompanying the pieces (without original foliation) are now in E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, Files 167–8 (formerly in E:SEagi, Charcas 446). The attribution of the aria is in Ribera's report in File 168.

31 The number (in square brackets) I give to the pieces follows the order in which they appear in the files at E:SEagi. I use the separation of indigenous words presented in the

edition by Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical*, v, pp.55–143.

32 These five pieces with the report are in E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 167. The drawings are preserved in E:SEagi, Mapas y Planos, Estampas, 200–1 (formerly in E:SEagi, Charcas 446). Regarding Porlier's biography, see M. Guimerá, 'D. Antonio Porlier, marqués de Bajamar (1722–1813)', *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, xxvii (1981), pp.113–208, at p.155.

33 These four pieces and the report are in E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 168. From Trinidad the documents were sent to the *Audiencia* of Charcas on 18 September 1790; the *Audiencia* sent them in turn to Antonio Porlier (then Minister of Gracia y Justicia). On 21 May 1791 it was communicated from Aranjuez to the *Audiencia* of Charcas that the king had been informed about Ribera's report and the musical compositions.

34 On general aspects of these festivities, see M. J. de la Torre Molina, *Música y ceremonial en las fiestas reales de proclamación de España e Hispanoamérica (1746–1814)* (Granada, 2004).

35 E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 167.

36 E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 168.

37 H. Vázquez-Machicado and H. Patiño Tórrez, 'Un código cultural del siglo XVIII', published in *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía*, viii/4 (1958), pp.351–67; *Historia. Revista Trimestral de Historia Argentina, Americana y Española*, iv/14 (1958), pp.65–107; and *Facetas del intelecto boliviano* (Oruro, 1958), pp.69–100 (without the study by Patiño); edited as 'Un código cultural de Moxos. Siglo XVIII', in *Obras completas de Humberto Vázquez-Machicado y José Vázquez-Machicado*, ed. G. Ovando-Sanz and A. M. Vázquez (La Paz, 1988), iii, pp.1–40 (with Patiño's 'Estudio musical sobre el código mojeño' and edition of the polyphonic aria without text underlay); I. Cárdenas, 'Los festejos en la provincia de Mojos, con motivo de la coronación de Carlos IV', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, xxxiv

(1977), pp.759–73 (contains numerous errors and inaccurate data and a partial transcription of the pieces without text underlay); A. E. Lemmon, *Royal music of the Moxos* (New Orleans, [1987]) (brief introduction, complete edition of the pieces and reports preserved with them); C. García Muñoz, ‘Códices coloniales con música’, *Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica Carlos Vega*, xi (1990), pp.199–218; P. Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical*, v, pp.ii and 55–143 (complete edition of the pieces and reports preserved with them).

38 Lemmon, *Royal music*, p.30, presented seven vocal parts in the choir (even though there are only six extant original parts), called the aria ‘cantata’ (a term that does not appear in the original manuscript), and edited the other pieces without respecting the original order in E:SEagi (this order was not respected either in the study by García Muñoz, ‘Códices coloniales’, pp.214–16). Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical*, v, pp.97–130, edited piece no.6 as if it were four different arias instead of one. Some of the metrical decisions in these editions are questionable. Although the pieces are preserved in single sheets, Vázquez-Machicado, Patiño and García Muñoz referred to them as a ‘códice’.

39 Vázquez-Machicado and Patiño, ‘Un códice cultural de Moxos’, pp.20–2 and 25. García Muñoz, ‘Códices coloniales’, p.214, also assumes significant Italian influence in the aria (*la influencia italiana es notoria*), although she does not justify it.

40 The theory of creative emulation resonated with particular intensity among Spanish reformists of the Enlightenment, in art as in politics, as pointed out by G. B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, governance, and reform in Spain and its Empire* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp.2–7. On the transformations suffered by European music in the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos (Bolivia), in a process probably similar to the one in Moxos, see L. Waisman, ‘Transformaciones y resemantización de la música europea en América: dos ejemplos’, *Data*.

Revista del Instituto de Estudios Andinos y Amazónicos, vii (1997), pp.197–217; B. Illari, ‘Un *Laudate pueri* como antiobra (acerca de la invención de la música jesuitica de Chiquitos)’, in *Música barroca del Chiquitos jesuítico. Trabajos leídos en el Encuentro de Musicólogos. Santa Cruz de la Sierra, abril de 1996*, ed. B. Illari (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 1998), pp.11–41; and L. Waisman, ‘Corelli entre los indios, o Utopía deconstruye Arcadia’, in *Concierto Barroco. Estudios sobre música, dramaturgia e historia cultural*, ed. J. J. Carreras and M. A. Marín (Logroño, 2004), pp. 227–54 and 377–88.

41 For instance, Charles Burney (1726–1814) was reluctant to admit the existence of polyphonic singing in Polynesia which different travellers (among them his own son James) had witnessed, since polyphony was supposed to be distinctive of Western music, and it was assumed that complex forms of music could not appear among ‘primitive’ people; see V. Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus: the power of music in other worlds* (Oxford, 2008), pp.92–119.

42 Claro-Valdés, ‘La música’, p.18, referring to some of these pieces (he learned about them through a citation in the *Catálogo* by René-Moreno) affirmed: ‘There is no doubt that these manuscripts date from the time of the Jesuits or, if it is true that they were compositions made by Indians, they are the product of their teachings’ (*No cabe duda que estos manuscritos datan de la época de los jesuitas o, si es cierto que fueron composiciones hechas por los indios, son producto de sus enseñanzas*).

43 BO:Sabn, Moxos, vol.6, xxv, No.J, f.284r.

44 E:SEagi, Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, File 167.

45 On musical creativity of Moxo Indians, see Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical*, i, pp.93–5, and Roca, *Economía y sociedad*, pp.336–8.

46 As pointed out by Block, *Mission culture*, p.144, indigenous nobility

consolidated its power in Moxos during the period of Spanish governors. G. Baker, *Imposing harmony: music and society in colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC, 2008), pp.236 and 248, also confirmed the confluence of interests between the colonial Spanish administration and the indigenous elites controlling parish music in Cuzco (Perú).

47 See Gembero-Ustároz, ‘Enlightened reformism’.

48 See Francisco de Viedma, *Informe general de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, 1793, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms.11/1265.

49 Drawings commissioned by Ribera illustrate publications about the Jesuit period (for example, Eder, *Breve descripción*, ed. J. M. Barnadas; and Gumucio, *Las misiones jesuíticas*), and about other periods, such as in Roca, *Economía y sociedad*; and G. Ovando-Sanz, *Tadeo Haenke. Su obra en los Andes y la selva boliviana* (La Paz, 1974).

In the next issue

David Skinner, Stephen Rose, David R. M. Irving, Elisabeth Le Guin and Joyce Lindorff on Music and Diplomacy

John Patcai on the tabor pipe

Jason Stoessel on notation in *Aj, mare, amice mi care*

Peter Holman on a rediscovered Purcell manuscript

McDowell Kenley on the Matachin

singing voice and recommend learning *solfeggi* and arias by famous Italian voice teachers. Musicological literature about vocal performance practice is extensive, but the Iberian practice of this period has not yet received the attention it deserves. The works described are *El cantor instruido* (1754) by Manuel Cavaza; *Prontuario músico para el instrumentista de violín y cantor* (1771) by Fernando Ferandiere; *Dell'origine e delle regole della musica* (1774) by Antonio Eximeno; the poem *La música* (1779) by Tomás Iriarte; *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente* (1783–8) by Esteban de Arteaga; and *Arte de cantar* (1799) by Miguel López Remacha. Consideration is also given to the *solfeggi* published in the 18th century that have been found (and thus most likely used) in Spain. This research shows (not only the Italian influence on Spanish singers during the second half of the 18th century, but also offers new light on the problems that the adoption of a 'foreign' style of singing may have created at that time for the composition, performance and perception of 'Spanish' vocal genres.

Keywords: 18th-century music; Spain; Italian school of singing; Spanish voice treatises; vocal technique; Otherness

Juan Pablo Fernández-Cortés

¿Qué quita a lo noble un airecito de maja? National and gender identities in the zarzuela *Clementina* (1786) by Luigi Boccherini and Ramón de la Cruz

The lack of attention to, and historiographic manipulation of, the 18th-century zarzuela until very recently has resulted in the absence of this genre from studies of national and gender identities. This article explores the expressions of Spanish national identity and new models of femininity and masculinity as shaped in the zarzuela *Clementina* (1786), with music by Luigi Boccherini and libretto by Ramón de la Cruz; commissioned by María Faustina Téllez-Girón (1724–97), widow Countess-Duchess of Benavente, it premiered at her palace in Madrid on 3 January 1787. *Clementina* is a paradigmatic example of the hybridization found in Spanish music theatre at the end of the 18th century, where apparently antithetical musical styles and dramatic typologies in the Spanish tradition coexist with then-current European aesthetics of the time.

The characters in *Clementina*, underlined by their musical treatment, reveal the presence of roles of both the *ancien régime* and of a more progressive society. A woman constrained to the domestic space, represented

by Clementina and her governess Doña Damiana, is confronted by the character of Narcisca—Clementina's younger sister, the worldly counterpoint of a young aristocrat who enjoys certain freedom of movement and behaviour, which includes emulation of foreign customs (*petimetrería*, *chichisbeo*) and those of an inferior social class (*majismo*). Particularly interesting is Boccherini's use of the musical indication to perform *con smorfia*, a term associated with feminine characters who feign innocence, such as Narcisca and the maid Cristeta. The masculine characters in *Clementina* also include the opposition between the traditional Spanish roles (the *figurón* and the *abate*) and the new sentimental man, portrayed by Don Urbano, a refined Portuguese gentleman of extreme sentimentality and a paradigm of 'Otherness'.

Keywords: *Clementina*; Luigi Boccherini; Ramón de la Cruz; zarzuela; Spanish musical theatre; gender identity; Otherness

María Gembero-Ustárroz

Integrating musical Otherness in a new social order: indigenous music from Moxos, Bolivia, under Spanish Governor Lázaro de Ribera (r. 1786–1792)

This article analyses the way that music was used in the region of Moxos (in today's north-eastern Bolivia) during the Spanish government of Lázaro de Ribera (1786–92) as a means of integrating the indigenous population into the new administrative system established in that Amazon region after the disorder provoked by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The musical splendour of Jesuit missions in Moxos has been emphasized by musicological literature, but the period immediately after 1767 has been neglected, on the assumption that it was less important. However, many documents from archives in Spain, Bolivia and Chile show continuing musical activity in Moxos under Governor Ribera, and the presence of music and musicians as part of the economic and administrative reforms he initiated. The article also explores how Ribera strengthened the authority of Indian musicians to consolidate the social structures and create a new image of Moxos through the many reports, drawings, musical compositions and other documents he sent to peninsular Spain. It also proposes a re-examination of nine musical pieces (1790) preserved at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, written by Moxo Indians with indigenous texts and European musical notation, which

praise the Spanish monarchs Carlos IV and María Luisa de Borbón, as well as Governor Ribera. Although these pieces are known through several publications and recordings, their socio-political context has remained scarcely explored. These compositions, together with other documents, were sent to the Spanish king to show the advantages of the new Ribera's Government Plan in Moxos and are a paradigmatic example of the efforts made by the governor to integrate Amerindian musical 'Otherness' into the colonial machinery of the Hispanic enlightened monarchy. *Keywords:* indigenous music; Governor Lázaro de Ribera; Indians; Moxos, Bolivia; Spain; post-Jesuit Latin America; Spanish Enlightenment; reformism; Otherness; social integration

Frederick Hammond

Performance in San Marco: a picture and two puzzles

This article examines a painting by Alessandro Piazza long taken as a document of performance practice in San Marco c.1690, with special emphasis on two balconies for performers in addition to those added by Jacopo Sansovino in his refashioning of the chancel of the chapel in the mid-16th century. Closer examination of the picture (and a currently untraceable variant) suggests that it may not be a reliable document of a particular occasion but rather a composite, in line with at least one other musical depiction by Piazza. The question of the date of the addition of the secondary balconies and their removal is also considered. *Keywords:* Alessandro Piazza; Venice; San Marco; Francesco Morosini; Giovanni Legrenzi; Giandomenico Partenio; sword and bonnet ceremony

Andrew Pinnock

Deus ex machina: a royal witness to the court origin of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*

Towards the end of his reign Charles II initiated an ambitious cultural propaganda programme celebrating final victory over his political opponents. In 1683, work began on a new royal palace at Winchester, supposedly on the site of King Arthur's castle. At Windsor, meanwhile, a ten-year castle modernization scheme known as the 'Great Works' neared completion. The Windsor state apartments had been sumptuously remodelled. Antonio Verrio, the Neapolitan artist commissioned to paint every state apartment ceiling,

brought his work to a triumphant conclusion in St George's Hall, home to the Knights of the Garter (the neo-Arthurian chivalric order over which Charles II presided).

All but three of Verrio's ceilings were destroyed in the 1820s, but guidebooks published prior to that describe them in detail, and portions appear in the engravings illustrating W. H. Pyne's *The history of the royal residences*, i (1819). Pierre Vandrebanc produced engraved views of several in the 1680s. Verrio's blatantly allegorical designs are recoverable therefore. The extent to which they influenced masques and operas also intended to honour Charles II can be demonstrated.

This article argues that Purcell's *Dido* librettist, Nahum Tate, gathered visual-allegorical material from two Windsor ceilings and used it to generate singable text, including 'Phœbus Rises in the Chariot', at the start of the *Dido* prologue. Phœbus, riding the chariot of the sun in Verrio's ceiling portrait (an allegory of the Restoration, unequivocally), wore the 'Sacred Head' of Charles II, not that of James or any later monarch—an observation which future contributors to the *Dido* dating debate may wish to take into account. *Keywords:* Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, Antonio Verrio, Nahum Tate, Charles II, Windsor Castle, Restoration allegory

Margaret R. Butler

Time management at Turin's Teatro Regio: Galuppi's *La clemenza di Tito* and its alterations, 1759

Hitherto unexplored materials surrounding Baldassare Galuppi's 1759 setting of Pietro Metastasio's *La clemenza di Tito* for Turin's Teatro Regio shed new light on the work and how the theatrical administration's priorities influenced its performance. Three manuscript tables tipped into the back of a copy of the printed libretto contain precise durations of every portion of the opera as well as the performance's total running time. Markings in the tables and the libretto indicate cuts in many of the arias. This study considers the evidence in the tables together with that of other sources including the libretto text, manuscript scores, administrative documents and contemporary reports. It contextualizes the sources within Turin's operatic culture, yielding a clearer picture of the opera as it was likely performed and considering the implications of this view for 18th-century operatic production and performance practices more broadly. It demonstrates the decisive role a theatre's administration and production staff could play in shaping an 18th-century opera's form, character and performance.