

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SANTA CRUZ

**EARLY MUSIC AND LATIN AMERICA: TRANS-HISTORICAL VIEWS  
ON THE COLONIALITY OF SOUND**

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by

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# **Abstract**

## **Early Music and Latin America: Trans-Historical Views on the Coloniality of Sound**

Melodie Michel

This dissertation explores the Early Music history, practice, and repertoire from Latin America and places it in relation to recent challenges in musicology and ethnomusicology to decolonize our disciplines. This research is based on archival and ethnographic work conducted in Europe and Latin America in 2018 and 2019. I explore the geopolitics of knowledge that has placed Europe at the center of our historical narratives, and the strategies used by Europeans to maintain their privileged condition. I demonstrate how the racist and exclusive strategies that were at play in the Colonial music repertoire are still pervasive today in the ways we perform and listen to it.

By exploring transnational and trans-historical musical practices, this dissertation shows how some of the tools that have been used in the past to racially delimit whiteness are still in use today, especially in predominantly white circles of Early Music performers and audiences. However, I argue that some circles of Early Music also have the potential to propose a different approach. In this work, I focus on the processes of coloniality that produce and reproduce eurocentric hegemony.



Subsequently, I compare these processes to potential decolonial options from Latin America that seek to unveil and deconstruct these reproductions while simultaneously proposing other readings of Western Music history and ways to perform sounds from the past.

The musical practice called Early Music, or Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP), is a sub-field of Western Art Music (WAM), both of which have drawn on and projected ethnocentric, racist, and colonial attitudes by minimizing artistic and historical contributions from places not at the European center. While Early Music is itself filled with critical attitudes and generally works to subvert established practices, the Early Music movement that has emerged in Latin America proposes even more nuanced critiques of the eurocentrism operative in Early Music and WAM in general. In this dissertation, I interrogate this history of construction and reproduction of coloniality throughout Western Art Music history and in its current practice, through the specific lens of Early Music practice *in* and *from* Latin America.

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However, I feel that my most profound debt is to the persons from the field who accepted to take the time to talk to me, share their views, listen to some of my ideas and reflect on it, or to simply play music for or with me. I hope that this dissertation will go back to them and be of some use for the field, in some ways.

I also owe a lot to those who read my work and provided me unvaluable feedback on it, including the ones who accepted to edit or translate part of this piece of writing. Thanks to my committee members for their support and interest in my research, as well as for their reactions, which will help me construct future writing and future research in the best possible way.

Least, let me thank the innumerable family members and friends who never failed me during the long process of becoming a student again, passing my qualifying exams, researching, and finally writing this dissertation.

# Introduction

This dissertation explores the intersection between Early Music practice and the Latin American region. First, I interrogate the construction of Western Art Music (WAM) from the perspective of the place and role of Latin America. The Latin American continents represent more than a geographical zone: it is a space of encounters with other cultures and civilizations, the “discovery” of which provoked a major shift in Western European thought; Latin America would become an ambiguous symbol that represents both the West, historically in opposition to the Orient, and the South, contemporary in opposition to the United States and Europe; it is a region with practices that both problematize and enrich concepts such as modernity, race, and history. Looking at WAM from the vantage point of Latin American histories and encounters with WAM allows us to deconstruct and revisit long-accepted beliefs and creeds. I examine the ways Latin America, through its inclusions and exclusions, has indirectly contributed to the development of compositional processes, musical racializations, and canonical narratives in WAM. Second, I draw on ethnographic research to understand the symbolic place of Latin America in today’s Early Music (EM) circles -also called Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP)- on both sides of the Atlantic. I show the connections between Early Music scenes in Latin America and in Europe, and how these

connections evolved during the 20th and the early 21st centuries. Although one may think musical practices linked to WAM in Latin America are mostly an emulation of what happens in Europe and in the Global North, I demonstrate how some more complex tensions and negotiations allow a different approach to historical perspectives of WAM, as Early Music can propose, in the so-called New World.

Along with this trans-historical and transnational research, I trace the construction of whiteness across the Atlantic divide and how this ideology has permeated today. First I highlight the ways in which perceptions of whiteness have developed sonically, in particular within WAM. Then I demonstrate that the ways race was transcribed in musical scores from the 16th to the 18th centuries are still pervasive today in contemporary concerts and recordings. Indeed, the same sonic strategies of representing Blackness and more generally Otherness are used over and over again in order to delimit and perform whiteness in these different periods, even though the Other against which whiteness defines itself has changed. The Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (2000) argues that the concept of race, as it was developed in Europe during the Enlightenment period, actually emerged when Iberians discovered the American continents and their inhabitants. During this “first contact”, they were faced with an Other against which European identity had to be constituted and became then situated. This is how, I argue, WAM came into existence and began to sonically represent the White European, in negation to the American Other. In later centuries, we can observe the emergence of new geopolitical orders and mental mapping of the world with, among others, the constitution of the West

against the Oriental, and the development of the Black Atlantic. Progressively, the colonial divide between the European and the American shifted dramatically. Today, it took the form of a new separation, a one that marks differences between the Anglo world (or so-called First World, or Global North) and the Global South (or “Third World”) into which Latinity was propelled. This new North-South divide has different functions but basically observes the same rules, preconceptions, and mechanisms of relegation as the first colonial order, especially in its musical expressions. Interestingly, the Iberian world (European as well as American) once sat on the top of the color line, while it exists today below the language division of Anglo imperialism. For this reason, there is an immanent contradiction in all that regards both people and music from the Latin American region.

The Southern Cone is particularly worth looking at because it concentrates a population that thinks of themselves as whites, but which, from a European standpoint, still belongs twice to Otherness (for being on *that* side of the Atlantic as well as for being part of the South). I specifically observe how Early Musicians from the Southern Cone have dealt with this *betwixt* identity, and how Europeans have developed strategies to maintain these musicians in the realm of Otherness. I argue that these strategies function today exactly along the same lines Northern Europeans had previously discriminated against Spain, Spanishness, and any type of Iberian contribution to the constitution of a European identity. Moreover, a conflation between individual musicians, born in Latin America, and the Colonial repertoire

(Early Music corpus from Latin American archives) render them more vulnerable to stereotyping and discrimination.

The cross-cut between a musical practice and a geographical zone enables reflections on questions that have provoked different, but complementary, examinations. In order to complete this research, I am interrogating, among others, the concept of modernity—and who is included and excluded from it—whiteness, and Europe—as a continent as well as supremacy based on identity and cultural assumptions. Reading about Early Music *in* and *from* Latin America allows us to map certain place-specific concepts and reflections onto a musical tradition that has often been thought to be devoid of racial underlying and political implications.

The musical practice called Early Music (EM), or Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP), is a sub-field of Western Art Music (WAM), commonly known as “classical” music. Although classical music is generally thought of as an elite practice that, moreover, tends to assure the imperialistic function of disseminating Western music all over the globe, Early Music is a more complex field, filled with a critical attitude and generally subverting established practices (Michel 2017). Early Music, as practiced in Europe and in the Global North, is not decolonial by itself, as many practices and musicians reinscribe notions of eurocentrism and the universality of whiteness. I argue, however, that Early Music possesses the potential to support critical discourses and practices, due to its subversive essence, and even more when emerging from “peripheral” spaces such as Latin America. This

dissertation will explore, then, the multifaceted ways in which this larger movement called Early Music could simultaneously be complicit in reproducing the white-anglo canon and Eurocentric supremacy on the one hand, while also contesting those ideologies and even offering options for decolonizing WAM practices on the other.

Furthermore, I understand Latin America less as a geographical zone than as an ideological, transnational, and transcontinental space where the concept of coloniality of power was evidenced, as well as where the concept of race emerged, always through a very complex and specific expression. Moreover, I am using here the denomination “Latin American region” not in a strictly geographical sense but in terms of what constitutes a shared identity from a common history and language(s). I am looking at Latin America as a multilayered and evolving regional space, that is and has always been considered as marginal or peripheral to the category of “Western” classical music—if not of Western culture in general—even if it has taken a very large part in its construction and history. By an effort of reintegration of Early Music *in* and *from* Latin America within WAM practices, I am replacing this regional and cultural space as part of the Western world and as constitutive of its culture, and, as such, where a legitimate critique of coloniality can take place.

Indeed, Latin America has been historically conceived at the margins of the West, musically evolving outside of the core European canon but still as an extension of Western musical traditions in its popular practices, where remnants of rhythms,



structures, harmonies, and instruments from the European continent are present.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it is also part of the global South, as opposed to the Global North<sup>2</sup> by its dependence on the economy, politics, and cultural production of the latter. In order to examine the progressive construction of a Latin American musical identity within WAM, I need to define some concepts that have been central to its history. The elites that are in power in Latin America come from a historical mode of building societies that function as extensions of Europe, creating a co-dependency based on a highly unbalanced power relation (Galeano 1971, Munck 2013). Latin American elites, serving as a symbolic representation of Spain, the European continent, or the USA, according to different times in history, could not function without the existence of *whiteness*, a racial, social, and cultural ideology that forces the rest of the population into dominant paradigms. I argue that whiteness, as a social construction, has played a central role in the development and self-definition of WAM, a cultural expression that is sensorially separated from non-white worlds and aesthetics. Alongside the concepts of elite and whiteness, modernity has been a motor for the consolidation of the colonial system, albeit presenting only one side of the coin—the dominant one—while invisibilizing the atrocities perpetrated by colonial powers on non-white people (Mignolo 2005).

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<sup>1</sup> I would go further and state that the musical influences between Europe and the rest of the world (in this case, the Latin American area) were far from being unidirectional and reduced to musical borrowing.

<sup>2</sup> Generally, we think of the Global North as the US, Canada, Northern Europe, and Australia. Although this concept has been criticized for its little relevance today, I am still using the North-South division roughly according to the Brandt Line from the 1980's (Lees 2020). However, I am often referring, in this dissertation to Europe, and more specifically Northern Europe as a geographical and cultural abstraction to represent this historical North.

The ethnographic research was held between 2018 and 2020 on both sides of the Atlantic. In 2018, I conducted several interviews with Latin American musicians living in different countries of Europe: Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, and Switzerland. These interviews and dialogues allowed me to consider the relationship between these musicians and European nationals on the one hand, and their experience of the European reception to their activities on the other hand. I demonstrate how the concept of race, a term that is almost never used in this musical community, is actually central to understanding the issues faced by these musicians once they moved to live in Europe. Additionally, I conducted six months of fieldwork in Latin America (Chile, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Mexico<sup>3</sup>) to observe the ways in which Early Music is oriented either towards compliance with European musical, ideological, and political leadership or in opposition to or subversion of it.

As an Early Musician myself, I could access the field in an advantageous way. Although my past activities were much more centered in the European continent, and in particular Southern Europe, this position facilitated my introduction to Early Musicians in Latin America, even in places where I had never performed before. Still, I cannot consider myself fully an “insider” because of my French nationality and identity. I could nevertheless, through acquaintance with Latin American musicians and their experience, examine more clearly the community where I come

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<sup>3</sup> A grant awarded by the Research Center for the Americas (RCA) to spend a field trip to Cuba in Spring 2020 was cancelled due to the global sanitary situation.

from: European musicians, practices, and musical circles of Early Music. Rather than seeing Latin America Early Music circles as a mere “object” of study, I used this opportunity to learn more about my own position as a white European musician and about the circles I had evolved until undertaking this research. Moreover, my experience of nearly a decade with the Colonial repertoire (musical works written or performed in Latin America during the colonial period) empowered me to dedicate some reflection on the place of this repertoire within musical circles as well as among the larger audience. I am, thanks to this first-hand experience, much aware of the subtleties that mark and influence aesthetic choices when interpreting this repertoire, as well as of the musical habits and *topics* that surround this repertoire.

I visited archives in Europe and in the Iberian Peninsula with fellow Early Musicians. Although I would not call my current research archival *per se*, these visits were fundamental in understanding the process engaged by EM ensembles in accessing and selecting scores from the archive, as well as translating, transcribing, and orchestrating them for the stage. Following and taking an active part in this process, I could observe, in their various aspects, the performativities of Colonial music. My intimacy with the Colonial repertoire comes thus not only from listening to existing recordings and concerts. Beyond playing this music regularly, I gained intimacy with it through the examination of original scores and musical manuscripts. More importantly, I discovered these documents while accompanying in the archive musicians and musicologists from Portugal, Guatemala, Mexico, Ecuador, and Brazil, among others. The complex task of translating historical sheets into sound involves

complex decisions and selections that are both political and aesthetic. For example decisions about tempi, rhythm's interpretation, syllabic placement, or the constitution of ad-hoc orchestration (in particular the use of percussion) are fundamental in the reproduction of musical clichés and topics that may have racial underlying. This method of autoethnography, where I was both participant and co-creator, allowed me to engage in multiple conversations about the politics and aesthetics of musical selection, imagination, and creation. Conversations held in the archives or around musical manuscripts may not appear as such in my ethnography, because they were not crystallized under the form of formal interviews. However, they profoundly impacted the way I looked at and listened to this repertoire and my opinions about the implication of sounding practices on the coloniality of sound in history and the present. For this reason, I consider the methodology of the dissertation as auto-ethnography: I am studying a group of people with whom I am an active participant and from whom objective distancing would be virtually impossible. My words, acts, and sounds may have influenced the field as much as my reflections on and knowledge of the field has influenced my actions and my music. Each iteration in which I discover the hidden forces of "coloniality of sound" has emerged together with other practitioners, and my own discovery of it may have changed the way it was put into music, or vice-versa. Similarly, I have spoken to individuals who are my colleagues in our professional field, and I suspect that the camaraderie has sometimes taken over ethnography, notably restricting what these persons would feel confident sharing with me.

In academia, questions about decolonizing the musical fields are being raised with growing urgency, in particular concerning inclusiveness in both the subject matters and in the way research or publishing practices are conducted in the disciplines of musicology, ethnomusicology, and music theory. Some scholars have recently been more concerned with unveiling the strategies that secure white supremacy.<sup>4</sup> Still, there is no strict consensus about what “decolonial” means, and, if “decoloniality” is a goal, against which type of “coloniality” it may define itself. For instance, the concept of coloniality of power, as it was developed by mostly Latin American thinkers since the beginning of this century<sup>5</sup>, has often been treated in a superficial way, in my opinion, by a good part of scholars in the US-based music fields and is only peripherally referred to in scholarly arguments or debates.<sup>6</sup> In this dissertation, I place Western Art Music historiography in direct relation to the concept of Modernity/Coloniality as elaborated by these thinkers. By doing so, I discovered that the colonial order established by European nations, on the one hand, and the development of WAM in Europe as part of modernity, on the other, are intrinsically connected and inseparable.

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<sup>4</sup> See for example Dr. Danielle Brown’s “Open Letter on Racism in Music Studies,” that has provoked serious debates in the academic musical field. <https://www.mypeopletellstories.com/blog/open-letter> (accessed August 26, 2020). See also Philipp Ewell talk during the Society for Music Theory plenary in 2019: <https://vimeo.com/372726003>. We will discuss their contribution again in the section “race, racism, and the musical disciplines” below.

<sup>5</sup> The main scholars who have worked on this concept are the sociologist Anibal Quijano (2000), Mignolo 2005), Maldonado-Torres (2007), among others. We will examine their work in chapter 1.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Levitz 2017 “Decolonizing the Society for American Music.” (I would like to point out, here, the neocolonial attitude of naming “American” all what is strictly referring to the USA). We will discuss more examples in the literature review of this introduction “Music Scholarship and Decolonial methods”.

History is not frozen in time and, in spite of the persistence of coloniality of sound in our contemporary epoch, critical positions may emerge tomorrow, flourishing from today's movements, that can reverse the long-lasting hegemony of the so-called old continent. On the one hand, I have discovered that Early Music, if it does not preserve the critical attitude that is at the base of the movement, risks contributing to the preservation of hegemonic views and canonical reproductions that it had the potential to subvert. Moreover, when unquestioned, the racist and neocolonial strategies that have pervaded mainstream WAM can well be found again in Early Music, even when it presents a face of inclusiveness and openness. In the end, it is easy to maintain Latin America in a position of marginality, which contributes to secure whiteness and European (or, to some extension, Northern American) privilege. At the same time, I realized, through this ethnographic research, that there are a number of centers emerging *in* and *from* Latin America where positions, such as Eurocentrism and whiteness, are questioned, subverted, and deconstructed. In part, such movements work to reintegrate Iberian and Latin American contribution to the hegemonic historical narrative of WAM, while also highlighting moments in musical history where race has been a motor for musical creation and the sonic definition of whiteness. These new movements offer, to my opinion, an opportunity for decolonial views on WAM and processes of creating new historiographic narratives.

I add to this movement of decolonizing both WAM practices and the musical fields in Academia by personal choices made over the presentation of this

dissertation. While half of the chapters are in English, I chose to write the other half in different languages, including Spanish and Portuguese (languages in use in the region I am studying) as well as French, my mother tongue. I deeply believe that writing in languages, other than English, allows the author to think differently and that the content of these chapters would not have been the same, would I have written them in English. I am also aware that having the original of this dissertation in various languages makes its access easier for non-English natives, who are the main subject of this research. I hope that this choice will help this dissertation to make a greater contribution to the field, it has emerged from. Moreover, using these languages allowed me a deeper incursion into literature from Latin America. It became more natural to use contributions in Spanish or Portuguese, for instance, because they would get all their meaning in a chapter written in these languages. This, I hope, made also more evident the decentralization of my research, away from Anglophone privilege. A translation of the chapters is provided here. However, the reader will understand that as translation, they solely serve the purpose of transmitting the original idea, but are not intended to work independently as English pieces of writing. Besides, the translations of quotes or interviews that appear in the text are all mine, except when otherwise specified.

## Music scholarship and decolonial methods

Among the arguments for decoloniality, a first but necessary step is to unveil and bring to light structures of power and domination that have been naturalized, normalized, and internalized in the dominant discourse. In my opinion, few scholars have engaged entirely with the arguments developed by the coloniality/modernity line of thought, although the word “decolonizing” has been used in a myriad of intellectual practices. Still, some important contributions have followed lines, similar to the “decolonial option” as described in chapter 1, and provided the basis for my own reflection.

### The birdsong from Canada

Becca Whitla’s book *Liberation, (De)coloniality, and Liturgical practices*, has been published after I wrote this dissertation. Nevertheless, I would like to mention it because it does include an examination of scholarship on coloniality as developed by Latin American thinkers (Whitla 2020, 47-51), with an application of its concepts on the history of Canada. However, I explain in chapter 3 why I consider important to tighten back the history of coloniality of power to cultural practices from the 16th and 17th centuries, and in particular in the Iberian world. *Liberation* focuses on later history, which makes it very valuable but not necessarily determining for the present dissertation.



## Exoticism in occidentalism

Timothy Taylor, in his seminal book *Beyond Exoticism* (2007), proposed an argument similar to the one I develop in this dissertation. Although he does not refer directly to the “coloniality” intellectual current nor to the decolonial project as such, he nevertheless connects two important aspects of music history that share ideas and concepts with the modernity/coloniality idea. He sees, on the one hand, a long history of sonic domination by agents of Western culture that pervades today in the global capitalist order. On the other hand, he understands the cultural hegemony of Europe since the experience of colonialism as one of the conditions for the evolution of its specific musical forms. For Taylor, the modified conceptualization of space as a result of the encounter with the Other, and in particular with the “discovery” of the American continent and of its seemingly infinite lands, has led music of the European continent to elongate itself spatially. For example, tonal spaces, that were not relevant before the incursion of Europeans into the Americas, become central to the European conception of music. Taylor posits that the invention of tonality comes from this new way of looking at the world and its inhabitants. In chapter 1, I extend his analysis by introducing a fundamental notion of time to his idea of space. The sensibility for a unilinear temporality crystallized even earlier in the “long sixteenth-century”<sup>7</sup> or more generally, in the European Renaissance and that paralleled the development of the humanist thought. This new sense of temporality allowed not only a self-

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<sup>7</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein uses the term “long sixteenth century” to refer to the 1450-1650 years which were, according to him (and following Fernand Braudel’s idea) the period of formation of what he calls the “Modern World-System” (in Grosfoguel 2013, 74).

consciousness of unilinear history but also the invention of the singular musical “event,” without which the perception of tonality could not happen. I agree with Taylor’s argument that ties the emergence of tonality with the new colonial/modern system of domination; however, I would not refer to the paradigm of tonality as originating during the eighteenth century, with the “classical music ideology,” to use Taylor’s words (2008). In my opinion, there are two points, important to disconnect: one is the idea of tonality as an expression and practice that emerged in the sixteenth century, which is related to and dependent on the expansion of the two Iberian empires, particularly in the Americas, as discussed in chapter 1 of this dissertation. The other one is, in the eighteenth century, the formalization and institutionalization of the paradigm of tonality in Northern Europe, that diminished the Iberian role in constructing what now constitutes the European identity. Doing so, they created a historical narrative that erased tonality’s possible connection to colonial history, as we will see in chapter 3. Taylor’s contribution highlights the first point while it obscures the second one.

Is “difference” in the Other or in the Same?

More recent works have explored the integration of the concept of difference into Western Classical music scholarship, or historical musicology. In her important contribution *Race, Empire, and Early Music*, Olivia Bloechl (2014) invokes a

decolonial approach in the historiography of early music<sup>8</sup> in Europe. She argues that the normative historiography defends early music as inherently European, and therefore both “white” in our modern understanding of it, and independent from the process of colonization. She shows that, on the contrary, issues of race were fundamentally present in music-making, performance, and composition. Race indeed was largely present in early modern Europe, but contemporary construction of a “proto-modern” narrative has had the tendency to disconnect the study of early music from approaches informed by critical race studies. It is true that feminist and queer inquiries (namely by Susan McClary 1991 and Suzanne Cusick 1994) have done a better job of revealing microhistories or “histories from below” than critical race theory. This difference, according to Bloechl, occurs because European hegemonic thought is well attached to an image of early music as white, in the sense that it constitutes part of the shared heritage that forms European identity, claimed by white and lighter-skinned groups. Indeed, feminist and queer approaches managed to challenge hegemonic normativity by introducing counter-historiographies and by showing the untimeliness of early music repertoires. Distinctively, acknowledging the place of race in these musical expressions challenges much more than a hetero-patriarchism, on the one hand, and the reassuring idea of a temporal gap between modernity and the time represented in early music, on the other. Envisaging race in

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<sup>8</sup> Note that I use “early music” without capitalization when referring to a musical repertoire that is historically “early”, and Early Music (with capitalization) when referring to the HIPP movement.

early music also questions the very construction of European identities as homogeneous and white, in the modern sense of whiteness.

Bloechl draws on the work of both Quijano and Mignolo. She incorporates the argument that on the one side of the Atlantic, some people experienced modernity, while in other places in the world, some experienced the coloniality of power, and that the latter was a necessary component of the former. Moreover, she acknowledges Mignolo's idea that the colonial division of the earth and its inhabitants had some repercussions in the colonial metropole, and that racial mixing was much higher than the "whitened" imaginations of early modern Europe can suggest (Bloechl 2014, 101). I believe one could go further in the application of Quijano and Mignolo's concepts to music scholarship, first by integrating more of the decolonial option's arguments and second by shifting the lens of examination as well as the object of inquiry. Although contributions about representations and expressions of difference in music are fundamental, using them as a starting point allows me to push further the boundaries of what is at stake in the discipline of musicology. Moreover, I understand the importance of the notion of difference as shaping the idea of the Same, or the creation of collective identities.

Bloechl's essay here does challenge the pre-concept that early European music evolved independently from issues of race and from direct interactions with the Other, its scope shows that there are some marginal cases of racial encounters, real or imagined, even on the European continent, the ideally untouched metropole of colonial empires. Thus, this contribution suggests to musicologists and historically-

informed performers that early music as a field of inquiry potentially challenges normative discourses, namely about the whiteness of early modern Western Art Music. My intention here is different. Instead of challenging the assumption of whiteness in early music, I take it as a point of departure. I suggest that, because western art music was the preserve of whiteness, it took the specific sound that we know today. Tonal harmony and occularcentrism in music occurred because of the interaction of people of European descent with a newly discovered Other, whose humanity had not fully been recognized by colonizers. On another level, I see the time-space frame of Bloechl's article as going a step forward from a concept that it thoroughly denounces: the focus on the nineteenth century and on the British Empire as a space of origin for the modern conception of race. Bloechl challenges previous assumptions by engaging with earlier ideas and discourses about race. Still, I lament that she disregards earlier histories and by centering her investigation in France rather than on the Iberian Peninsula and its colonies. This habits of taking Northern or central Europe as the place of emergence of modernity is indeed what the contribution of the decolonial option brings to the usual discussion about colonialism: it shows that the coloniality/modernity system of domination has its roots in a much earlier period, that an overview on potentially decolonial music scholarship seems to admit.

How the shift from ‘music’ to ‘sound’ allowed a critique of the colonial order

Since the early twentieth century, scholars increasingly use the category of *sound* rather than *music* because the very construction of the term “music” is colonial by essence, as it refers to eurocentric views on sonic cultural practices. This is the reason why, in this dissertation, I prefer reading about “Coloniality of Sound” rather than “Coloniality of Music.”

Steven Feld and Charles Keil argue that the globalization of the music market promotes a neocolonial system where power and cultural imperialism (1994). Similarly, Sterne (2003) sees how recording technologies shaped the perceptions and productions of music. Their methods and approaches would be beneficial for the study I am undertaking here. Indeed, such theory could very well, in my sense, apply to the sixteenth century, understanding technology not as a recording industry but yes as repeatability and reproducibility of music through both the dissemination of written music and the strict institutionalization of religious musical practices with its hierarchies, its legal system, and so on. I argued elsewhere that the technology of sound reproduction has existed since the sixteenth-century because it was already a planned, efficient, and de-humanized method for sharing homogenized musical practices from the Metropolis to the colonies (Michel 2020a). I am here applying methods from these Sound Studies scholars in considering the staff musical notation as one of the reproduction technologies that emerged precisely during the colonial expansion of the Iberian empires.

For his part, Philip Bohlman (2004) studies the soundscape of the geographies of race in Europe. Again, he posits a methodology about geographical mapping and musical notation, in the sense that they both created some implicit racial delineations. This is an argument that I will borrow and expand in time and space, still displacing his vision to earlier European histories and their racial anxieties from the West, instead of from the East. Some other sound studies scholars, for instance, Blesser and Slater, or Cullen Rath (both contributions in Sterne 2012), examine ancient acoustic spaces and use concepts such as earcon (aural icons, or small unremarkable sound objects), or catacoustics, or “the study of how sound was instrumentally projected, reflected, dissipated, and otherwise manipulated once it had been produced” (Rath 2012, 130). Such methods prove attractive for the study of musical artifacts from the past without having to be trapped into the coloniality embedded in the musical score or other written source. Therefore, I believe in the importance of studying, in this dissertation, both musical manuscripts from the past and the various ways they are rendered into sound nowadays, or the processes of sonification.

#### Contributions from the margins

In spite of all the efforts by the practitioners of the musicology discipline in the US, it appears that some of the most challenging contributions are either produced in or focused on geographical regions that constitute the peripheral West. In particular, regions such as Latin America and South Africa had to engage with the decolonial option or a similar approach due to the very nature of their culture. For criollos and

heirs of Western cultures, these places offer something different than the European experience because of the proximity with the colonial Other, with whom they share the land.

Christine Lucia (2005) explains how the merge of musicology and ethnomusicology in South Africa comes from a practical reality of having to engage very directly with non-Western musics inside Academia. In her compilation of readings from the past (although here, only until the eighteenth century) it seems that descriptions of the Other are shaping the way they see the Same. They discuss the naturalness of certain musical intervals, thus provoking a self-inquiry about what is culturally constructed in their own society and what can be considered as universal. Likewise, the monograph *Music and Victorian philanthropy* by McGuire (2009) shows a postcolonial attitude in the study of a Western music tradition for various reasons. Not only it reserves one chapter to “the missionary work and the tonic sol-fa” in Madagascar, but it draws more general connections between music, religion, technology, and temperance. His reading goes ‘against the grain’ in the sense that he focuses on a musical genre that, far from being elitist, is considered amateur and therefore often disregarded by musicologists of the British nineteenth century. Nevertheless, McGuire shows how music played a role in the paternalistic attitude of the middle class toward both British working classes and colonial subjects. The instrumentalization of the tonic sol-fa system to promote Christianization as a civilizing project unveils the real economic and imperialistic issues at stake in the democratization of a musical system. The importance of singing in the proletarianization



process is supported by the argument that the control of the vocal practices reinforced controls of ways of life and of what Quijano would refer to as subjectivities. Still, I miss in this essay a discussion of how the use of the tonic sol-fa in subaltern contexts shaped the production of “high” or elitist music.

In her book *Aurality* about Colombia’s colonial past, Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier (2013) does an impressive work to break and blur several boundaries that so far have limited the expansion of Musicology into new fields of inquiry. She brings into her investigation disciplines that are open thought to evolve independently. In particular, the way Sound Studies inform her understanding of the role of music, sound, the oral and the aural, in the relationship between different strata of the Colombian society at the time of its formation as a nation-state. She explores moreover the intricate relationship between the oral and the text at the point of encounter between colonial ideology and Indigenous cosmology. For instance, she reveals the existence of a counter-enlightenment project in Germany and France, and she established the connection between this project and awareness of Indigenous knowledge in European intellectual circles. Follows critical regard on what Ochoa Gautier calls the “ocularcentric history” through the lens of Castro-Gómez’s concept of the “Hubris of Point Zero” (2007). She pushes back on the boundaries between human and nonhuman sound, with necessary consequences on the question of what constitutes humanity. Another of her striking arguments is the way in which she challenges the Western notion of relationality through auditory practices, as listening and voicing are often understood as collective human practices. With concepts such

as acoustic assemblages or transduction, she extends the geopolitics of knowledge to the geophysical and the ontological. This book is a compelling example of how Musicology can be decolonized.

#### Race, racism, and the musical disciplines

More recently, music scholars have denounced systemic racism in academia, and have generated heated debates around the invisibility of race in music studies. In the plenary session of the Society for Music Theory (SMT) 2019 meeting, the Black cellist and music theorist Philip Ewell delivered a talk that denounced the white premises of Western music theory, in particular, based on the celebrated and overly referenced work of the music theorist Heinrich Schenker (1868-1935). In reaction to his accusation, the *Journal for Schenkerian Studies* published a number of responses by white, well-established music scholars. As Megan Lavengood notes, most of the responses miss the point of Ewell's accusation, even reinforcing and proving the depth of systemic racism through their comments.<sup>9</sup> Another memorable event was the publication, in 2020, of Dr. Danielle Brown's "Open Letter on Racism in Music Studies" (Brown, 2020). In this letter, the author denounces the overwhelmingly white tone of the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) and the difficulties of pursuing a career for people of color due to the persistence of hidden -but assumed- systemic racism in the field. This publication provoked a rain of reactions, especially from

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<sup>9</sup> See Lavengood's twitter thread from July 26, 2020 <https://twitter.com/meganlavengood/status/1287441536372932608?s=20> and his blogpost from July 27, 2020 <https://meganlavengood.com/2020/07/27/journal-of-schenkerian-studies-proving-the-point/> Both consulted on December 26, 2020.

white-male identified scholars with advantageous positions in academia, to push back the idea that ethnomusicology was racist as a field.<sup>10</sup> The extent of these threads and the vehemence of its content from both sides of the conversation obliged the SEM to take significant actions by August 2020, such as blocking their listserv and their social media accounts, changing its board, and introducing new policies. These two examples show how, in spite of several scholarly interventions on race, coloniality, and whiteness, the musical fields in academia are still deeply embedded in racist premises and white supremacy. I hope that the course of the 21st century will see profound changes in these disciplines, and I wish that this dissertation would contribute to the awareness around race and coloniality in the realm of WAM.

## Methodology

In order to undertake this inquiry into possible decolonial aspects of the Early Music movement in Latin America, I am using a large array of methods, in a combination that aims to challenge the conception of separated musical disciplines, and assumptions about the subject areas of each of those. In particular, I borrow from both historical musicology and ethnomusicology sets of methods to examine a Western historical musical practice. The first three chapters are based on historical-critical readings of Western Art Music history and are more historical-theoretical in nature, although they also connect the past with the present and aim to present cross-

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<sup>10</sup> SEM-listserv email threads from approximately mid-june to mid-july 2020. Personal archive (unpublished).

historical readings of musical history and historiography. The three last chapters are more ethnographic in their nature, based on a three-year research project held both in Europe and in Latin America. The idea behind studying my own professional scene is to complicate the traditional power relations existing between the research subject and the author, placing myself in some degree of assumed dependence in regards to the professional relationships between the two. This is why I consider this project partly autoethnographic. Although not Latin American by origin, I can, to some extent, consider myself as part of the Latin American musical community, due to my professional activities in the region. Moreover, my aim here is less to objectively describe a musical scene from the outside than to provide reflections to Europeans themselves, through a “look at the mirror” that is made possible by this evidenced subjectivity of Early Music practitioners from outside the European continent. Because I am willing to examine whiteness in its construction and reproduction in the Early Music movement, I am confident that this inquiry on views held by Latin American actors will help visibilize the strategies of securing both white and European privileges in Early Music practices.

#### Ethnography and sociology of WAM practices, including Early Music

There has already been a large debate about whether ethnographic methods should be applied to the study of WAM. Starting in the 1960s around the debate of the definition of ethnomusicology as a discipline (Nettl 1965), the question re-emerged in the 1980s (McLeod 1980, Small 1998, Kingsbury 1988, and Nettl 1995, cited in

Cook 2008), the social and cultural aspect of WAM begins to be taken into consideration. Still, it is precisely with a study on Early Music that Kay Shelemay (2001) insisted on the need to merge methods from both disciplines of musicology and ethnomusicology. This Injunction has been retaken ten years later by Amanda Bayley in her ethnographic study of a string quartet (2011). In the meanwhile, a discussion about (ethno)musicology (Stobart 2008) was activated with the aim of removing the boundary between the disciplines, by a "cross-fertilization of methods" (Cook 2008). WAM is, since the wave of "new" musicology that started in the 1980s, has put an effort in placing the musical object of study into its social and cultural context; still, the methods often remain different and are more text-based than ethnographic, in spite of the above-mentioned attempts to find a disciplinary convergence. From another perspective, the contribution of Performance Studies allows a focus on the sound and the performance itself rather than on the abstract - and often logocentric - aspect of Western Music (Keil 1987, Rink 2003, Leech-Wilkinson 2002, Parmer 2007). A new focus on Popular Music also broaden the scope of musical research, with the inclusion of the recorded media as a musical "text" (Tagg 1982, Moore 2002), and the technological reproduction of music as a phenomenon to understand in the context of globalization (Taylor 2007, Cook 2008, Bayley 2010). I am stemming from these enlarged views because I work with musicians' communities, in which communication is in large part effected through media sharing platforms, such as Youtube, Spotify, Facebook, or Instagram. I also deal with musician individuals who spend some effort on being present on social

media, as one recognized practice for professional ascension. Beyond this, the transnational aspect I am studying could not happen without this important factor.

In parallel, a movement initiated in the 1990s by French sociologists focuses on the musician as a social element. The Early Music scene has, for some reason, a large presence in this literature. Eve Chiapello's *Artistes versus Managers* (1998) mentions an (unnamed) baroque orchestra as a typical example of the opposition of rigid practices observed in mainstream classical orchestras. Pierre Menger (2014) studied contingent artistic labor, although not exclusively by Early Musicians, from a sociological point of view. He poses the interesting question about whether the artist is an entrepreneur or simply a highly skilled contingent worker (Menger 2001, 249). In any case, it seems that short-term contracts, which are the norm in Early Music, are a perfect organizational model for the study of a new form of labor organization under late capitalist economies (see also Perrenoud 2008, Knight & Harvey 2015). Stemming on his research, Pierre François (2002; 2004) dedicated a long project on the social aspects of Early Music in France. Like Menger, François is interested in understanding the balance between different forms of competition and the extreme fluidity of the market. Unfortunately, his research is clearly established from the point of view of the employer (the baroque orchestra manager) and rarely from the standpoint of the musician.

On the other hand, the large literature corpus on Early Music as a practice and as an ideology is not dealing in depth with social, economic, or broader cultural views, and concentrates specifically on performance practice (Kerman 1985,

Taruskin 1995, Butt 2002, Haynes 2007). Among some articles about the ideologies in practice inside the Early Music movement, we can cite Kailan Rubinoff's "Orchestrating the Early Music Revival: The Dutch baroque orchestras and the mediation of commodification and counterculture." published in 2013. [*also mention Haines 2014 and Collyer 2010*] This literature is mainly focused on Europe. Still, the methods used there are influencing my comprehension of the issues at play in the Early Music movement. As such, the aim of this dissertation is to translate its approaches to the Latin American continent, which has a profoundly different social, historical, and economical context than the European one. To this, we could add my own contribution on the Early Music movement in South-Western Europe (Michel 2017, 2019a) and the examination of an Early Music event in Mexico (2019b).

#### Interviews and oral history

Coincidentally with the reflection on personal experiences, I conducted thorough ethnographic research on Latin American Early Music communities, what is to my knowledge unprecedented. The nationality of the interviewees includes Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. All are fluent in either Spanish or Portuguese, although this was not necessarily the language chosen for the interview (English, French or Italian may have been preferred). A primary criterion for selection was one's commitment to Early Music practice, either professionally or as dedicated amateurs, and self-identification with the Early Music movement.

Because music practitioners act as individuals as well as public figures, they were given the choice to decide whether they wanted to have their words anonymously published or if they wanted to have their names figure in the final version. As a default, all interviews were thought of as anonymous and the transcripts, as well as the original audio recordings of the interviews, were saved in an online folder that only I have access to, and is not to be shared with anyone else. The content of the interviews has no reason to not threaten the life or the well-being of the interviewees, still for some tactical professional reasons, one may prefer not to have their name disclosed publicly. I am respecting their will in any case, but it is noticeable that most colleagues had no issues with disclosing their identity.

I met members of the Early Music scene in various locations of Latin America, following preliminary research in Europe, where I interviewed several Latin American immigrants. I found colleagues to interview through already established contacts and through the method of snowball sampling. Moreover, the process of finding opportunities to perform and employment led me to meet other members and colleagues. As part of the community to some degree, finding colleagues to interview has not been an issue. Rather, I had to make a selection, due to the material impossibility of interviewing all the colleagues, who could have been relevant informants. Moreover, not all the interviews I conducted appear in this dissertation, due to the too large number of interviews and the huge quantity of information that I gathered. I wish I could have done justice to the time that all my colleagues spent with me during these meetings or interviews. I must say that all have



been useful in some ways, even those, which do not appear here. Unfortunately, I also had to discard some of the interviews because of the too low quality of the recording and/or of my own note-taking. Even so, I made some effort to balance, in the pieces of interviews I chose to publish here, different generations, nationalities, instruments or specialization, and degrees of fame. The newest generation is more balanced in terms of gender and race than the older ones. This is why, for instance, chapter 4 features many more white males than chapter 6, and this simple fact is in itself part of the arguments I make about the decolonization of the movement. Their sexual orientation may be varied, but heterosexuality is prevalent while not ubiquitous. The age varies between late teenagers (from 16 or 17) to retired or about-to-retire professionals. Although my colleagues' genders will be easily traceable by their names, their race is not made explicit here, unless the theme comes out in the interview. I chose indeed not to label my colleagues racially, when they do not assume a specific racial identity themselves—as I discuss in chapter 4, the concept of race is still highly taboo in the milieu and is rarely spontaneously discussed. A further investigation could deal more profoundly with this topic in the future. I raised questions about race in my own reflections and analysis, and these may not reflect how individuals identify themselves or others, which I made clear in my chapters, when this was the case. As a white person myself, I made my best to not represent racialized individuals in ways that would not correspond to their own definition. Indeed, the persons I racialize in this work are mostly white people: I aim to de-

invisibilize whiteness by doing so, and to destabilize the strategies that secure white privilege by not naming it.

The interviews' questions revolved around motivation for their commitment (initial and current) to the Early Music movement, the uniqueness of the practices and some comparison with other musical currents (de facto, mostly referring to the mainstream, or "modern", WAM practices), the ideologies that they see behind their activities, in the music and otherwise, and the qualities of the sound in Early Music. Another set of questions asked about their daily life, musical and extra-musical activities, main sources of income, and relational organization in the music practice itself. Some optional questions concerned instruments, access to historical sources, travels, or individual issues around musical practices. I also suggested the specific theme of Latin American Early Music Repertoire (LAEMR, see chapter 5). Interviews were individual and lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. Interviews were in majority happening in person but some video-call interviews have been set too, when in-person meetings proved impossible. They were mostly individual, but some group interviews have been set as well in some exceptional cases—after a rehearsal, for instance. I was both note-taking and sound-recording the interviews in the large majority of the cases.

Notes on auto-ethnography, and positionality of the author

This project can fit under the umbrella of "autoethnographies" for several reasons. My place as an active practitioner in the community I am studying; my positionality

and self-reflexivity in the ethnographic process; the artistic and aesthetic ends of the research product; and my will to place personal experience into a larger analytical, critical and theoretical project. I take part in the community I am studying through my professional orientation. I consider myself as an insider in the community I am studying (Maso 2001, Nettl 2015). Although I wouldn't qualify as a subject for this research because of my origins outside of the American continents, part of my research shows that, as an inclusion factor in this community, nationality is less relevant than activities. Although a French native and a researcher from a US academy, I still consider that I am "studying my own people" (Hayano 1979), or something I am part of, meaning that I "already know what it might take an outsider months to learn" (Faulkner & Becker 2008, 15), and take part in the activities under scrutiny (Becker 1953, Merriam 1964). Moreover, I am an easy traveler and I have been personally involved as a musician in a majority of my fieldwork places. For these reasons, I will use the term colleague as much as, or more than "informant", "participant", or "interlocutor." Notwithstanding, I am aware of my specific position as a researcher in a US-based university, and of the power dynamics that this situation may imply. Presenting myself as a Northern researcher rather than as a musician and potential colleague had some effect on some of my interviews, especially with musicians I didn't know before or I haven't collaborated with. This may have impacted the way some interviewees talk about themselves, and wish to represent their activities. Nevertheless, interpersonal communication on an equal standpoint was the base for these encounters, and I have sufficient insider knowledge

to perceive and produce communicational codes that allow fluid conversations. Interviewees offered me their precious time, and I acknowledge that I may not be able to give them back some equivalent to the resources they provided. Still, I hope that this dissertation will resonate with their personal and shared issues, and that it may help toward more inclusion in the scene. They all have been consulted for any mention of their words, and each of them had the opportunity to correct any misleading information or change their wordings (Denshire 2014).

The autoethnography process placed my individual personal experience as a primary data, providing space for reflection not only at the stage of data analysis but also giving a voice to the ethnographer while in the process. I may have included my own feelings from the field as a key to understand its meaning and at the same time, an element that can shape the field at its turn (McMillan & Price 2010, Ellis & Bochner 2000). As Tillmann puts it, " Ethnographic dialogue must proceed from a reflexive stance of mutuality, empathy, and understanding. [ . . . ] Our responsibility as ethnographers and performers includes making space for the reactions our work evokes—and to respond with a heightened and better-informed commitment to equality and justice" (2009, 558).

In conclusion, the basic methods of traditional ethnography are necessary for the good development of an autoethnography, with simply additional care in both its process and its product. As much the product that I present in this dissertation can be seen as an usual ethnographic result, I do not wish to foreclose the process that led me to change my point of view about my own professional practice and my personal

attitude toward others, and about the ones of individuals who resemble me. As such, the conversation with colleagues from Latin America has not been led as a study of this one sub-group of Early Musicians, but rather as a way to penetrate a reality that has been strategically invisibilized by Eurocentrism and white privilege. I hope this dissertation reads as much about Europe than it does about Latin America. So I placed myself in the position of someone looking at a displaced mirror in order to understand the self. I hope that this subtlety will transpire in the lines and pages that follow, for the reader who is ready to engage with such reflection—or reflexivity.

#### Research in the archive

Part of my research was archival: I examined manuscripts from the 17th and eighteenth century, in institutions that were either Ecclesiastic (such as the Guatemala Cathedral) or Academic (such as Coimbra University Library in Portugal or the CENIDIM in Mexico). Besides, I am using the archive as a special space for ethnography, understanding the dynamics that are emerging around the archive and its material. The process of bringing music sheets from the past centuries into sound and performance is precisely the highpoint of my research. Transcription work or textual analysis from the manuscripts are not the main objects of this dissertation. Nevertheless, the archival part of the research is important. Therefore, I understand the archive as a crucial entity where a transformation, a re-adaptation of history into the present conjecture is enacted, and how transhistorical social processes can be analyzed. Indeed, the study of how composers worked, how they manipulated sound,

and musical notation has to be examined through a social-historical lens. How their music is brought into visible projects by contemporary performers shows a continuity in the instrumentalization of music to shape intersubjectivities. I gained intimacy with historical sheet music in order to understand the interconnection between the music as written document, music as sound, and music as performance. The discourses and narratives that underline them are the threads that help me establish such connections (Akesson 2017). Therefore the archive has to be central to my project, although my relationship with the archive has little of a positivist historical musicology purpose. In the first part of my dissertation, which is more historically oriented, I base my reflections on positivist work made by other scholars, work that is absolutely necessary and important (Abreu & Estudante 2011).

Moreover, I shared to some extent archival experience with my colleagues as part of my ethnographic process. Being physically in the archive with fellow musicians and musicologists, observing their affective and intellectual relationship with archival material, and gaining insight on their own research goals, I could realize that the awareness of making specific choices in terms of musical aesthetics and their social or political impact in real life was guiding their archival research as much as their staged interpretation.

### Digital Ethnography

In the 21st century, boundaries between the real and the virtual, or between the private and the public sphere, have shifted a lot from what they used to be in the

previous century. Therefore, an ethnography of modern individuals cannot bypass the digital part of the production of identities and subjectivities. Moreover, I am studying a transnational community, with social media as their privileged mode of communication. Even while my fieldwork took place before the 2020 worldwide pandemic that radically changed our relationship with -and our dependency on- virtual communication, the virtual Early Music scene was already one important part of what brought people together, even when they lived thousands of miles apart.

If events such as concerts or classes are encountered in the physical world, they are in great terms decentered and reproduced through the media (Rothenbuhler 2005). This fact changes the dynamics of power that emerge through performances (Couldry & Hepp 2010) and this segment of the activity should not be underestimated. For example, one of my fieldwork sites El Viejo Ilaló in Quito systematically shares live performances through real-time streaming. As a consequence, ethnography cannot be bounded geographically, either in terms of participants or audiences (Lessig & Córdoba 2005). Events become hybrid and the ethnographer needs to do her research both off and online (Ardévol et al. 2010). One of the questions that emerged during the fieldwork is the notion of *community* (Shelemay 2011) when the physical individuals who compose this community are so far apart geographically. In Europe, the Early Music community is very much transnational too, but real-life contacts happen in temporally delimited performances. In Latin America, distances make it more unlikely for musicians from different nationalities to actually meet, except in punctual cases. Still, the sense of belonging to

one same group is very strong, and the virtual world is often a way to fight against cultural isolation. I thus pursued this research both in terms of traditional ethnography and of digital ethnography (Cooley, Meinzel & Syed 2008), following my colleagues' posts and media sharing, as well as the online and in-person discourses that accompany them. I paid particular attention to comments on virtual publications, as they are the best entry point to shared ideas in the community as a whole.<sup>11</sup> By following posts, videos, and comments from either private profiles or community groups, I could make recouplements about the relationships among people I had met individually or had known in a specific, isolated context. For example, following comments to and by some individuals I had met in Guatemala and who had complained about the ostracism their geographical location placed them, I soon realized they were actually in constant virtual contact with other individuals or groups from Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay, Peru, Argentina, and Chile, for example. Likewise, paying attention to comments on posts or videos from colleagues, I had just met once and knew little about, I could realize how many parallel connections we had through other colleagues and friends. It is significant that a lot of the activities that happen in Europe are tightly followed by the Latin American community thanks to social media. Even those who live in remote cities in the continent are perfectly aware of all the careers of the musicians or ensemble they follow. Besides, I suspect that quick research on my own profile may have helped some new informant to situate me professionally as a legitimate colleague—more than as a researcher!—

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<sup>11</sup> Michel 2017 deals in large part with the social media component of the Early Music scene in Europe.



before the interview, although I have no proof that this actually happened. My main media for the digital part of the ethnography was platforms, such as Facebook or private blogs. I use very little Instagram and no Twitter, not to speak about newer platforms such as TikTok. However, I assume that my informants were from a similar generational group as me and that they also preferred platforms, that younger people now qualify as “old fashioned”. I believe these restrictions did not lead me to lose any information, I would have had access to otherwise.

#### Connecting theory and practice

In many ways, I hope that the final product that represents this dissertation does some work to contribute to the decolonization of academia and of WAM in general, albeit within some inherent limitations. My efforts in this sense were multiple. First, I have tried to subvert the geopolitics of knowledge that takes for granted the imposition of English as a universal academic language. The exercise of writing in Portuguese, French, and Spanish alongside English, although they are all European languages, demonstrated to me how different ways of thinking can cohabit under one same general idea, and how important the mode of expression is to the final product. Language construction shapes ideas and thoughts, and if the English translations provided here seem unnatural in their reading, it is because some constructions of thoughts could not be done equally in different languages. I hope to prove, through this dissertation, the importance of multilingualism as well as to make the reading more accessible to some, with the eventual counterpart of rendering it less fluid for

those, who are used to being favored in their own idiom -English. Although colonial themselves, Spanish, Portuguese, and French still subvert a US-hegemony in the contemporary academic practice. Moreover, writing in these languages helped me to include in my citation politics as much as possible non-English authors. This meant to me having a different perspective on either facts or concepts that may have been studied extensively in the USA or Northern European academic circles, but which may appear under a different light when examined under a perspective, localized from elsewhere. Beyond my writing style, this dissertation is also part of a larger project that I conduct in my life and artistic activities. I could not write this dissertation while promoting whiteness and Eurocentric views otherwise. I have always tried, with more or less success, to avoid stereotyping and reproduction of coloniality in my performances, and even simply in the sound, I am producing with my instrument. Thanks to the process of researching and writing, I have eventually discovered how my music could reinforce discourses, I had wanted to avoid. My aesthetic choices are informed by this academic research as much as the reciprocal is true. I would not think of one, separated from the other. Still, it is a real challenge to convey a similar idea with words and with sound, and the contexts of production of each are essentially different. I hope that the longer term will prove some coherence exists between my academic standpoint and my artistic posture.

My interview processes were also developed with a sense of decoloniality in mind, hopefully, achieved. I have tried to interview musicians from different perspectives, from diverse backgrounds, and at different ages or stages in their

careers. I am doing the best possible to respect their words and ideas, checking with them a posteriori if they agree with the way I present their sayings. I hope to retribute them the time they offered me by presenting new insights on our daily lives, without being unfair to their faith and their truth. I wish that this dissertation will provide good help to a movement that is already marching, and that I will continue to bring people together in my life and through my writings.

#### Conclusion on the methods

I analyze the practices of Early Music through a combination of historical musicology, music performance, and ethnomusicology perspectives, using auto-ethnography, digital ethnography, archival work, and artistic production. Moreover, I add to the variety of methods a large extension in terms of topics and issues approached. The broad scope of my research, both in geographical and historical terms, is necessary to establish transnational and transcultural connections and comparisons. For the targeted community, categories such as nationality or musical practices are very fluid, as individual artists often cross physical as well as ideological borders. A sense of belonging to a community emerges nevertheless, mostly thanks to virtual networks. My position as a researcher is also fluid, given my double identity as a musician and as a scholar. Moreover, my identity as a white European (young-ish) female shaped the conversations and their tone in certain ways that I may not have been aware of at all time, in spite of my efforts to be. On top of that, my professional identity is largely marked by the fact that I have studied at

Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in Switzerland, one of the most recognized Early Music schools in the world. All these elements have without a doubt facilitated my immersion in the field and my ability to establish new contacts or maintain the ones I had. The gender of the ethnographer plays an important role in the field (Babiracki 1997/2008), and in my case, I believe that being a woman in a Latin-patriarchal community where seduction is often part of the communication, I was helped as much by my gender as by my position of educated, white European in order to obtain interviews. This positionality is an important point that I kept in mind throughout my research and writing, and I invite the reader to do so as well in this dissertation. Nevertheless, power relations among members of the community are complex. Conscious of this fact, my aim is to include and respect the individuals I was in contact with, and to foster a deeper reflection on the fairness of this academic project, as of any other one.

## Chapters description

### Chapter 1 - Coloniality of Sound

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I present the concept of coloniality and how this idea, which emerged from Latin American scholars (writing either from Latin America itself or from US universities) was developed into a set of different sub-categories: coloniality of power, coloniality of being, coloniality of time and of

gender, among others. Then I propose one possible reading of Western music history through the specific lens of the Coloniality/Modernity construction described in the first part. In particular, I argue that the moment Spaniards reached the American continent, there were some drastic shifts in European epistemology that led to a new form of identity and to what was later labeled as *modernity*. In musical production, we observe a change of paradigm, with the progressive verticalization of sound perception, which comes as a consequence of the coloniality of time (Vallega 2014) and the uni-linearity of temporal perception. The use of the *ficta* in sixteenth-century Iberian music is a mark of the passage from a modal understanding of polyphonic music to the assumption of tonality and the simultaneity of voices.

## Chapter 2 - The *villancico de negro*

Chapter 2 explores the historical construction of *villancicos de negros*, a musical genre that exemplifies the way race was represented, dealt with, and sonically invented in order to create a European identity, in negative from it. A binary opposition between the Being (Europeans) and the Non-Being (Others), that is typical of the coloniality of being as described by Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007) takes a musical expression in the *villancicos de negros*, short and theatrical musical pieces in the vernacular that represented Black people in religious contexts (mostly, celebrating the birth of the Baby Jesus). How did composers musically represent Blackness or any sort of Otherness? The study of the *villancicos de negro* tells us much about how white composers understood whiteness, in the way they purposefully avoid certain

compositional resources and use other ones in abundance. This is a space where we can understand how composers worked at establishing a race line through sound, with what I call *racial sonic markers*.

Moreover, in this chapter I explore the relationships between such racial sonic markers in the sixteenth and 17th centuries on the one hand, and racist cultures that can be found nowadays, especially in contemporary Brazil. I place in relationship the political and racial strategies that backed the compositions of vilancicos de negro with the modern construction of Brazil as a nation-State based on the ideology of racial democracy.

### Chapter 3 - Anglocentrism and the Erasure of the Iberian Past

In this chapter, I follow current debates on the Western Art Music canon and, in particular, the question of the place of Latin America in Western Art Music. While some argue that there should be more inclusiveness in the music curriculum and include Latin America in the mandatory repertoire, others see such inclusion as tokenism and argue for the dismantling of the canon altogether (Madrid 2017). Looking back successively in the 19th, 18th, and 16-17th centuries, I am revealing the origins of such marginalization of Latin America and, to some extent, Spain and Portugal in the historiography of European culture and WAM in general. Several layers of imperialism of different sorts and diverging political interests have progressively made this erasure possible. Indeed, if we agree with the arguments developed in chapter 1, we can get to the source of this erasure, which happened

during the Renaissance with the disavowal of any possible Iberian influence in European modernity and identity, because these were the marks of the European colonial experience. Assuming this relation would contradict the idealology of an autonomous European development into modernity.

#### Chapter 4 - Goings and comings back (1)

Now in the twentieth century, I explore the origins of the Early Music movement and its connection to the Bauhaus intellectual movement in Pre-WW2 Germany. In doing so, I make a connection between the birth of a formal Early Music movement in Latin America and the massive European migration to countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia, among others. Years later, the next generation of musicians, interested in the exploration of historical musical sources and in original instruments, and mostly sons of European immigrants, faced difficult political situations due to the rise of dictatorships in these countries. A large number of them fled to Europe, in some cynical way closing the circles of their parents' forced migration. I examine their reception by European musicians, and the issues around identity affirmation for these individuals, who share much of their parents or grandparents' culture, but who are not recognized as Same by their European peers, as it appears clear in the interviews. I argue that South Americans could activate the concept of race to prove their affiliation to the European continent. But because the idea of race became taboo in post-WW2 Europe, fostering the invisibility of whiteness, individuals born in the American continents could not claim their origins and therefore their ownership of

early Western musical repertoire or legitimize their own approach to its contemporary performance, in spite of the apparent inclusiveness of Early Music circles.

#### Chapter 5 - The Colonial repertoire

In chapter 5, I explore processes that led to the revival of Western Art Music from colonial Latin America (or Colonial repertoire) and its progressive integration into Early Music circles. On the one hand, musicologists from the American continent (including the USA) led musicological projects in Latin American archives from the 1960s and 1970s. This research was neither exhaustive, due to the immensity of the musical corpus, nor conducted in optimal conditions in terms of access, methods for cataloging, and quality of papers' conservation. Still, it permitted the "discovery" of a new repertoire. However marginal from the European canon, the large category of Western Art Music should include this repertoire. On the other hand, we have seen how the Early Music movement developed on both sides of the Atlantic, but mostly dealt with strictly European sources and repertoires. It is only by the 1990s that these two movements merged and we started seeing Historically Informed Performances of Latin American music from the colonial period. However, this application of a set of performance practices to a relatively new repertoire was not neutral. We could observe a widespread mode of "folklorization" of this music, representing it as essentially different and exotic (Marín López 2016; Baker 2008; Illari 2007). The racial sonic markers from the early Baroque period are creatively re-activated to separate Northern from Southern people (European or American), on top of an Old



World / New-World distinction. This distinction is, I argue, part of a strategy to maintain European supremacy and historical legitimacy. However, the existence of a “serious” Latin American colonial repertoire challenges eurocentric visions of a reserved modernity. Further, it provokes deep anxiety related to an often-erased European colonial past. I argue that Latin American musicians are subject to a conflation between their personal identity and the musical colonial repertoire even when little or no connection between them exists (for example, Argentinians of European descent feel little link with music from colonial New Spain -nowadays Mexico- centuries and thousands of miles apart). This conflation is another strategy to discredit Latin American musicians and limit them to a unique, legitimated repertoire, forbidding their access to European musical practices, at least on the ideological side.

#### Chapter 6 - Goings and comings back (2)

In chapter 6, I focus on the newest generations of Latin American musicians who are currently involved in the Early Music movement. Most of them have migrated to Europe in order to professionalize in this specialization, but this time without the racial/cultural connections that the first generation generally claimed. This generation is more diverse in terms of both country of origin (Mexico, Colombia, and Cuba are part of the emigration country more than ever) and of race (many are mixed-raced, some of them claim Indigenous or Black identities). After some years of education, they develop professionally and start careers in European countries: principally

Switzerland, Holland, and France, but also Italy, Spain, and Germany. More and more frequently, many musicians decided to move back to their origin country and to contribute to the local Early Music scene. Through ethnographic research, mostly based on individual interviews, I explore how these new scenes expand into real professional opportunities and grow until constituting an alternative musical market that does not need any more constant reference to Europe, European music, nor European practices. They claim different aesthetics and habits, promoting more and more interaction amongst Latin American countries, with the creation of new, legitimate references in terms of Early Music. I see here another circle that's been closed, but this time centering Latin America as a possible zone of Western cultural production, while critically revisiting their own musical past and taking agency upon their local repertoires.

# Chapter 1 - Coloniality of sound: Revisiting WAM history through the lens of coloniality/modernity.

## Introduction

In his influential article, Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano coins the term “coloniality” (2000). Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine Walsh expand “coloniality,” developing a “decolonial option” (2018). I write this chapter following his 2018 death as a tribute to his work on coloniality. I assert that “coloniality” and “the decolonial option” benefit each other in music scholarship. Philipp Ewell 2019 plenary talk and in the Society for Ethnomusicology around Danielle Brown’s “Open Letter on Racism in Music Studies” prove the urgency of a decolonial rethinking of music scholarship.<sup>12</sup> Music research broadens coloniality’s conceptualization because aurality plays an important role constructing colonial subjects (Ochoa Gautier 2014). As I write in late 2020, politics in the “Northern” hemisphere and Latin America demonstrate the necessity of historical discussions of race and the construction of whiteness. I argue sound is a key topic to theorize race’s development. Moreover, I

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<sup>12</sup> <https://www.mypeopletellstories.com/blog/open-letter> consulted October 17, 2020.

suggest that Latin American historical perspectives can inform analyses of race in the USA and Europe.

The academy has recently used “de-colonial,” “decolonizing,” or sometimes “decoloniality” with increased frequency. Music disciplines have not been an exception. Music scholars such as Timothy Taylor (2007), Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier (2014), Olivia Bloechl (2014) and Tamara Levitz (2017) acknowledge the decolonial project, referring to Quijano (2000), Mignolo (2005; 2018), or Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007). Still, I argue music scholars’ contributions only partially apply the decolonial project, leaving aside important aspects of this intellectual current. For Mignolo and Walsh,

Modernity, of course, is not a decolonial concept, but coloniality is.

Coloniality is constitutive, not derivative, of modernity. That is to say, there is no modernity without coloniality, thus the compound expression: modernity/coloniality. Our intent is to help the reader understand how the colonial matrix of power (cmp, of which modernity/coloniality is a shorter expression) was constituted, managed, and transformed from its historical foundation in the sixteenth century to the present. (2018, 3–4)

This chapter reads the decolonial project’s concepts and arguments in-depth, opening paths for further integration in music studies. The compound modernity/coloniality constitutes only part of the “modernity/coloniality/decoloniality” triad. However, I argue decoloniality is

impossible without a complete understanding of the modernity/coloniality diad and its implications on Western music historiography. Thinking of modernity as an exclusively European, autonomous process invisibilizes the relevance of non-European colonial experience for European culture and subjectivity. On the contrary to what has often been taken for granted in music historiography, Western music was not born by itself from the mere European artists' geniality.<sup>13</sup> It resulted from the need to define whiteness and invent coherent European identity.

Maldonado-Torres invites us to conceive of decoloniality as a collective project. As a contribution to this project, I examine "coloniality" through the perspective of a co-constitutive part of modernity in a global economic order since the sixteenth century. By doing so I aim to provide to the larger community new insights about the music that emerged from this modernity as well as about the sound that was not included in this modernity. I scrutinize the musical repertoire "Western Art Music" (hereafter, WAM), its canonization, and historiographical narratives. WAM is generally understood as sitting unequivocally in the discipline of historical musicology. Nevertheless, I borrow methods from sister disciplines ethnomusicology and sound studies. Historical scholarship still informs my work, directly or through the reading of others. Inevitably, I read historical musicology against literature emerging from the decolonial option.

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<sup>13</sup> For example, Burkholder et al (2019) has only a 20-pages section on "France, England, Spain, and the New World"; Christensen 2002 only traces Western music theory to its European and Greek roots; and Taruskin 2005 does not mention any non-European zone.

This chapter does not engage with race and ethnicity as objects of study within music scholarship.<sup>14</sup> Rather, it presents a retrospective on the construction of race and ethnicity to use it as a method for approaching WAM as an object of study. In other words, I explore not only how music represented race—as I will in chapter 2—but, conjointly, how the concept of race shaped music production even in spaces assumed to be unmarked by difference. Thus, I wish to differentiate two aims. On the one hand, historical musicology pushes disciplinary boundaries by broadening areas of inquiry (e.g. gender, race, sexuality, or ethnicity). On the other hand, scholars examine the impossibility of European music’s creation and tonal harmony’s development without considering encounters with other cultures or the invention of race. I argue music does not escape a trend evidenced in other areas of culture and thought; European specificity results from a sixteenth-century need to counter-identify with the cultural traits of other ethnic groups. By doing so, I want to add a sharp instrument to the theoretical toolbox of musicologists and scholars studying sound in the context of modern globalization.<sup>15</sup>

I therefore challenge Anglo-centric geopolitics of knowledge by looking at WAM history from the Iberian renaissance. Rare are the musicological inquiries engaging WAM’s coloniality that locate tonality’s advent at any period other than eighteenth-century France or Germany, or more recently, seventeenth-century Italy.<sup>16</sup> I examine reasons for such a partial vision of WAM in chapter 3. In this chapter, I

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<sup>14</sup> Although recent works have proved very beneficial in this sense (in particular, Bloechl eds, 2015)

<sup>15</sup> Being that I understand, according to scholars from the decolonial option, that modern globalization started in the sixteenth century.

<sup>16</sup> We have examined this scholarship in the introduction

start by questioning the “starting point” of music history. When and why did historians begin to think about WAM in these terms? How did this historicization mark race? Generally, postcolonial theory and subaltern studies crystalize issues of colonialism in the nineteenth-century British Empire.<sup>17</sup> Rather, I establish the construction of WAM’s origins in the sixteenth century in a geography where the Iberian Peninsula played an important role. In doing so, I examine “universalization” and “naturalization” processes in sixteenth-century European thought overseeing some of WAM’s formation. Walter Mignolo puts that “modernity, as a discourse and a practice, would not be possible without coloniality, and coloniality constitutes a dimension that could not escape modern narratives” (2007: 132). With this idea in mind, I explore how the “modern” expression of WAM developed as the “other face” of the coloniality coin. As I show, postcolonial music scholars center the nineteenth century (Lucia 2005; McGuire 2009; Ochoa-Gautier 2014, Whitla 2020), and rarely include the eighteenth century (Bloechl 2014; Taylor 2007), even less early times. This critique does not apply to scholarship on Iberian colonies (Baker 2008; Davies 2017; Irving 2010), however these —mostly anglophone— scholars tend not to examine *coloniality* as a central concept.

This reflection is about music, still I understand music as sound. This conceptualization broadens the meaning of music. It allows me to engage with the

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<sup>17</sup> I think specifically of the Subaltern Study group, in whose work “colonialism” is often taken for “British Empire” (see for example, Chakrabarty 2000). See also Mbembe 2001 for postcolonial inquiries.

aural<sup>18</sup> and embrace reflections on sound's physical perception.<sup>19</sup> If sounds are modified by technology and discourses describing them, I argue musical notation is one of the technologies that shaped music's production and understanding. Moreover, Philip Bohlman reminds us how the concept of music is a colonial project in itself (2000). Gary Tomlinson prefers the term "song" over "music," given music's colonial connotations (2009). Though I considered using "coloniality of music," as proposed by Whitla (2020, 80) the term contradicts Bohlman and Tomlinson's understanding of music. Therefore, I use "coloniality of sound."

I am interested in what I call "the sensoricide" that occurred parallel to European music's construction. The sensoricide refers to the implications of the musical staff in the development of Western musical notation, transforming human perceptions of sound. The rationality accompanying WAM's staff notation made possible a specific and differentiated evolution. This evolution changed WAM in a radically different way from other cultures' music. Among others, this differentiation led to a sound hierarchy between "music" and "non-music." This hierarchization progressively deprived humans of an aurality of "non-music." Rational elements in what constituted "music" became the only sonic features acceptable to hear, identify, and comprehend.

Particularly since the development of Sound Studies, music scholars discussing logo- and ocularcentrism explore issues of perception. I want to go further,

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<sup>18</sup> See in particular Ochoa-Gautier (2013).

<sup>19</sup> The fundamental work in this project is J. Sterne's *The Audible Past* (2003), but others have expanded on his idea of sound perception and production as transformed by technology, as well as on his critique of ocularcentrism, to which I come back later (Feld 2000, Taylor 2007).



elevating the shift between aural and rational music perception to the level of Ramon Grosfoguel's "four epistemicides" of European colonial expansion discussed below (2013).

## The Concept of coloniality

The Colonial/modern system of domination.

Although previous uses of "coloniality" exist in both English and Spanish literature, authors often cite Quijano's "Coloniality of Power" to reference the school of thought that developed the notion (2000). Quijano expands historian Immanuel Wallerstein's "modern world system," integrating a more informed vision of global capitalism's growth with Europe at its center (1990). As Quijano demonstrates, European domination of the world market resided in its application of a new human taxonomic system along racial lines. If ethnocentrism is the condition of imperialism, 'race'—as it emerges with European expansion and the discovery of the Americas—is somehow specific. 'Race' expresses ethnocentrism alongside a 'natural' distinction between humans in diverse categories where Europeans sit at the top. Racial theory's structure differs from earlier ethnocentrisms in European and other imperialist histories. Before the European experience in the Americas, cultural and religious Others—namely the Moors and Jews—were considered theological enemies. Despite these Others' heresies, Europeans did not question their humanity. Since the discovery of the

American continent and its native peoples, philosophical forms and ethical questions have emerged in Europe. Most are profoundly connected to an economic expansion that would become global capitalism. Some discursive dissociation has emerged in the hegemonic narratives because a contradiction inheres in capitalism. Capitalism requires individual freedom and access to private property. Yet, opposing individual freedom, it demands land appropriation and labor exploitation. This opposition established a schismogenesis<sup>20</sup> pervading cultural expression, especially music (discussed further in chapter 2). For Quijano, Eurocentric modern specificity is not only geographical expansion covering the planet, but also penetration into all cultural, political, and economic life. The various institutions guaranteeing the reproduction of dominance—such as the capitalist market, nation-state, bourgeois family, or academy—are not individual sources of power. Quijano asserts that they jointly consolidate the collective, intersubjective belief of the natural, universal—and as such, inescapable—superiority of Europeans. This consolidation secures European multi-layered privileges (2000). I contend that musical institutions and music performed in religious or political institutions reflect this burgeoning modernity in the way they secure whiteness and reinforce privileges.

The scope of Quijano's argument corrects conventional understandings of modernity. It proves that modernity is the new model of global power influencing material and intersubjective dimensions of all individuals in Europe and elsewhere.

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<sup>20</sup> The idea of schismogenesis in anthropology has been developed by G. Bateson in Naven 1936. Here we will expand on the idea of “cumulative interaction” in the sense that both aspects of the colonial/modern dynamic are actively participating in the reproduction of matrices of power and domination: individual freedom in the one hand and slavery on the other are only contradictory in appearance, as they actually support and co-constitute each-other

More precisely, coloniality is co-constitutive of modernity; one cannot be understood without the Other. As Mignolo insists, coloniality is not a consequence of modernity but the darker side of the same coin (2005). For this reason, scholars embracing “the decolonial option” speak of coloniality/modernity as one unique paradigm. They read the “Matrix of Power” to describe the global system building itself to maintain this paradigm’s functionality. Locating modernity’s emergence exclusively in Northern Europe has been a strategy to justify Eurocentric hegemony as a positive, natural, and independent evolution. This strategy does not account for how concentration of wages, capital, and culture in colonizing countries facilitated intellectual hegemony. For Quijano, modernity was “colonial from its point of departure” (2000, 348).

Like Quijano's article, Indian postcolonial theorist Dipesh Chakrabarty's 2000 *Provincializing Europe* points out modernity’s contradiction; capitalism needs freedom of and equity among competing individuals while it is based on exploitation and “primitive accumulation.”<sup>21</sup> The Enlightenment project was born from both imperatives. I see WAM’s development as one strategy to sonically mark a line of belonging. This capitalistic line confers on Europeans the legitimacy of standing on the ‘good’ side using a pretension of European musical rationality. WAM’s strategy also justifies appropriation of non-white culture by denying non-white humanity.

Quijano, however, brings the argument further by centering the historical emergence of this world-order in the sixteenth century—far before the eighteenth or

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<sup>21</sup> As both Quijano and Spivak (1985), I use the expression “primitive accumulation” in Marxian terms, meaning the forceful commodification and privatization of spheres that had previously been external to the market (see also Harvey 2004: 73-76).

nineteenth centuries. More, he shows how modernity and domination not only coexist, but that coloniality is co-constitutive of modernity. In other words, European modern rationalism and the consequent Enlightenment project could not have happened if not for European colonialism across the globe. I extend Quijano's thesis to European artistic expression. The debate about "absolute music" that comes from a romantic vision where artistic gestures are independent from their social and political contexts has been long deconstructed by the "New Musicology" wave since the 1980's. Still, many WAM practitioners erroneously conceptualize European music as outside of coloniality. Perhaps because ethnomusicology is an independent discipline, musicologists assume no responsibility to reckon with colonialism. This distinction creates a binarism in music scholars' daily professional life that reinforces the inherent racism and continues the coloniality of sound beginning in the sixteenth century. This music disciplinary binarism results from the distinction between the Being and the Non-Being.

#### Coloniality of being, and the colonial wound

In order to explain the Being versus Non-Being binarism under colonial terms, Maldonado-Torres (2007) proposes his understanding of the "coloniality of being." Like Quijano and Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres expands Argentine-Mexican philosopher Enrique Dussel's liberation philosophy. Maldonado-Torres re-examines Cartesian skepticism juxtaposed with what he calls racist/imperial Manichean misanthropic skepticism. This specific form of skepticism refers to Spanish doubt of

the American Other's humanity at their encounter. Indeed, as I examine later in this chapter, Dussel's *ego conquiro* affirms the colonizer as subject, corresponding to skepticism about the colonial Other. This skepticism is, according to Dussel and Maldonado-Torres, the origin of Cartesian skepticism affirming rational human self-consciousness by distinguishing between *res extensa* (extension, or the exteriority of the body) and *res cogitans* (the ability to think and reason). The underlying dualism expressed as mind/body, human/nature, or men/women was built upon the conqueror's anthropological difference; the conqueror thinks himself human and refuses the conquered's right to humanity. Considering this dualism, Maldonado-Torres reads the Cartesian formula: "I think (others do not think, or do not think properly), therefore I am (others are-not, lack being, should not exist, or are dispensable)" (252). This dualism brings the colonial Other into a state of sub-ontology, that is, not existing as much as the colonizer. It is a position similar to Frantz Fanon who, in his *damnés de la terre*, [the wretched of the earth] (1961), "deploys the existential expressions of coloniality in relation to the colonial experience in its racial dimensions" (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 242). For Maldonado-Torres, the "coloniality of being" refers to "the violation of the meaning of human alterity to the point where the alter-ego becomes a sub-alter" (257). Because of the integration of this dualism in European thought, Renaissance intellectuals made some efforts to transform WAM into an audible expression of rationality. This is what provoked, I argue, or at least made possible, the advent of tonality as the marker of European sound. The distinction between tonality and modality became indeed

mapped onto the Same/Other dualism. Simultaneously, Western sound's audibility as 'naturally' rational and superior required non-European sound to be ideologically anchored into the realm of the Other.

Concurrent paradigms: invention or discovery?

Walter D. Mignolo too bases his work on the assertion that modernity and coloniality cannot be separated. While "colonialism" refers to a period of imperial domination, coloniality "refers to the logical structure of colonial domination [. . .] and from there the control and management of the entire planet" (2007b, 27). Mignolo extends Mexican historian Edmundo O'Gorman's distinction between discovery and invention to assert that this divide creates "the coloniality of knowledge" (28). The 'discovery' paradigm belongs to Christians coming from centuries of belief in a world categorized into three peoples—the descendents of Noah's three sons: Shem (Asia), Ham (Africa), and Japheth (Europe). The narrow lens of eurocentrism invented and homogenized each of these three 'continents.' Though hierarchical, this triptych categorization includes the population of all three continents in an idea of a single humanity, sharing one ancestry. When Europeans 'discovered' the Americas, their concept of humanity did not include a category for these 'new' lands and peoples. Europeans thus appropriated land as part of the West—what Mignolo calls Occidentalism—and considered it a natural extension of Europe.

By contrast, paradigms opposed to Gorman's "discovery" emerge from those who suffered the colonial wound. These are the ones whose worlds have been

upended, a change in the order of things, close to the Aymara concept of Pachakuti, defined by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui as “the revolt or overturn of space-time, with which long cycles of catastrophe or renewal of the cosmos are inaugurated” (2010, 22). The colonized know the homogeneous continent “America” was ‘invented.’ They know this invention discarded and replaced all that had existed. This paradigmatic divide is an expression of the coloniality of power. It determines who decides truth and who categorizes. I extend Mignolo’s assertion that a peoples’ cultural categories were invented when their geographies of origin were renamed. The invention of race—which served economic and political purposes discussed earlier—normalized cultural essentialism. For instance, “Guinean” in musical scores could refer to any style from Africa or African descent. Similarly, “Indian” applied not only to all native people from the Americas but eventually other non-black colonized people (e.g. Indians from India, Malaysians, Philipinos).<sup>22</sup> Re-inventing musical sonorities—even sung languages—and homogenizing large groups of people in essentialized categories, such as Indios and Negros in particular, later expanded by the addition of a Mestizo group (Morales Abril 2013a) deprives them of voice both in a metaphorical sense and, in more than one case, a literal sense.

#### Coloniality of time and the invention of history

While Europeans traced a race line separating from the Other, they invented a historical temporality placing Europe at the end of its evolution (Quijano 2000). As

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<sup>22</sup> See for instance: Irving 2007.

Hegel put it, History proceeds from East to West, where the East represents the Other and the West an extension of Europe (Lander 2000, 20). Both O’Gorman’s “invention” and literary scholar Edward Said’s “orientalism” question similar geographical/historical conceptualizations (O’Gorman 1961; Said 1978). To examine this discourse’s construction, Chilean philosopher Alejandro Vallega coins “coloniality of time” (Vallega 2014). He complains that “[c]alculative instrumental reasoning” is a condition for appropriating goods and exploiting labor in the colonies (Vallega, 103). However those living in the metropolis read this condition positively, acceding to knowledge and truth. Within Enlightenment reasoning, there is an independent, autonomous yearning for freedom and a secularization of knowledge. However, cultivation of this yearning is actually Europe’s attempt at building epistemological mechanisms to secure domination. For Quijano, this model of world power could be established only through the construction of a global intersubjectivity involving “a process of historical re-identification” (2000, 540). This re-identification consisted in appropriating cultural discoveries of non-European people, repressing indigenous forms of knowledge, and reproducing hegemonic culture by forcing indigenous people to integrate dominant epistemology. Together, these processes instill belief in Europe's hierarchical superiority.

These processes creating global intersubjectivities to recognize European cultural superiority developed an aesthetic sensibility of domination. This sensibility occurs at the pre-linguistic, pre-rational, and pre-sensitive levels relative to perception of time (Vallega 2014, 105). Vallega argues that for Kant, the coloniality



of time is explicit, as time represents the first level of conscious reasoning in respect to empirical perceptions (Vallega, 106). While remaining unquestioned, the so-called “natural” perception of time underlies all cognitive possibilities. It is the criterion and sensibility framing all knowledge (Vallega, 101). By contrast, “Latin American temporality expresses the multiple directionality of a time-space in which single order is not possible because of a simultaneity that sustains concrete and contradictory polyvalences” (Vallega, 114–115). The coloniality of time operates at a historical, temporal level by placing civilization at different points on a universal and unidirectional line of development. For the colonized, this developmental line is the condition for rational thinking, unchallengeable by reason. Along with a new perception of sounds in time, this sensibility needs to be rehearsed in music. The passage from modality to tonality, as discussed below, secures the subject’s perception as unilinear. Tonality implies a uni-temporal sensibility. It requires “vertical” hearing—the synchronous perception of a simultaneity of voices. In “vertical” hearing, these voices signify only when heard together. They stop meaning anything alone. In WAM, this is called a chord. Progressively, tonal hearing deprives the listener of a multi-layered consciousness of simultaneous linear modal combinations.

The construction of the Kantian dualism

From the above discussion of coloniality/modernity’s expressions, I extend the “colonial wound” to observe its incidences in European philosophy. The separation

of mind from body—a necessary step in the developments of European rationality and Renaissance Humanist thought —originated from the encounter with the colonial Other relegated to sub-ontology (Maldonado-Torres 2007). By separating the rational mind supposedly freed from contingencies of the body, the Kantian dualism elevates the Christian soul’s abstract rationalism to the position of subject. Concurrently, the body— particularly the gendered and racialized body—becomes the object of knowledge, inquiry, and domination. Given that music is a physical phenomena thus located in the body, a new concept of music became urgent.

European rationality demanded a definition of music that secures a distinction between flesh and soul. This definition complicated the previous distinction “practical music” and “theory of music” originating in Greek musical theories and reproduced by medieval theorists such as Boethius (1491) and Tinctoris (1481). Although this previous binarism implies hierarchy, the mind/body dualism categorizes cultural practices and human groups producing them. In particular, the rational/physical binary (that tour de force of musical dualisms) reserved rationality for European cultures through the invention of a distinct music concept. Conversely the physicality of sound is de-naturalized then mapped onto the Other. This mapping seems to prove the Other’s inability to elevate their soul to rational thought. Ultimately, the dualism predicating most European philosophy takes its root from racial categorization of human beings, a categorization that derived from exploitation of these human beings’ land and labor. In combination with race, gender differences fortified this hierarchical categorization.

## Coloniality of gender and epistemicides

Argentine feminist philosopher María Lugones critiques Quijano's "coloniality" for its limited account of gender. For Lugones, Quijano sees gender through the lens of "organization of sex, its resources and products" (Lugones 2008, 2). He seems to take the man/woman binary for granted, reserving men's control over sex while sexual resources belong to women. Quijano's disregard for intersexuality and disavowal of gynocentrism are in themselves results of a form of coloniality. Lugones sees a coloniality of gender in patriarchal impositions into gynocratic or non-gendered egalitarian societies. This coloniality of gender looks beyond Quijano's exploration of economic organization and collective authority. Linking heteropatriarchy to the coloniality of power clarifies how the reorganization of sex and control over sexual resources participates in a greater colonial project to subordinate racialized bodies. While in the colonial/modern gender system white bourgeois women's status is inferior to men, women of color are further marked sexually as female, available, and sexually active (Lugones, 13). Women of color are refused feminine attributes but deemed strong enough to provide many kinds of labor. This coloniality of gender motivates restrictions in music, allowing only sonic expression of white feminine attributes: gentle, sweet, melodious, not too rhythmic, generally provoking aspiration to "pure love." This logic associates all embodied sounds that might provoke dance, anger, seduction, or other affects considered immoral with women only when indexing non-white bodies.

Grosfoguel's "four epistemicides" during the "long sixteenth century," too, explores the question of gender (2013). Drawing on Dussel more than Quijano, Grosfoguel connects discovery of the Americas, conflicts with Moors on the Iberian Peninsula, and African enslavement. In addition to "genocides/epistemicides" perpetrated on racial Others, Grosfoguel historicizes the epistemicide—accompanied by genocide—implicit in suppressing women's oral knowledge transmission. Because women's knowledge retained Eastern cosmological traces, its existence and transmission challenged the Church's establishment as a political and economic power in rural Europe. Moreover, Grosfoguel draws on feminist scholar Silvia Federici's connection between an intensifying witch-hunt and primitive accumulation. Federici's example demonstrates how linking modernity with colonial expansion under capitalist ideology facilitates considering elements otherwise thought independent. Gaining consciousness of such connections also helps to understand how this pervasive global system was rendered invisible and natural still holding today (2004). In the next sections, I discuss how Western music notation's invention participated in this first epistemicide inflicted on women. I contend that patriarchy used staff notation to control and rationalize oral tradition. When women were localized as the physical depository of oral knowledge, efforts to discredit oral knowledge erased that knowledge, contributing to a larger project to diminish women's power.

I put Lugones in conversation with Grosfoguel to demonstrate that "coloniality of gender" derives its meaning in combination with "epistemicide." More

than women's bodies were burnt during the long sixteenth-century witch-hunts; not only women's *bodies*, nor only *women's* bodies burnt. Affirming heteropatriarchy, coloniality of gender expands Kantian dualism by reserving rational thinking for a small group of European (racialized white) males.<sup>23</sup> Moreover the coloniality of power affirms itself both in terms of gender exclusion and in growing logo- or ocularcentrism by mapping orality and Indo-European oral knowledge transmission to female bodies.

## WAM History through Coloniality's Lens

Musical notation: an instrument of power

The invention of Western music staff notation was one early traceable epistemicide in WAM. Derived from the neumatic system, it introduced a new, revolutionary notion: fixed pitch. Having been invented—recall O’Gorman’s “paradigm of invention”—Western music staff notation initially spread during the eleventh century. It coincided with the Holy Roman Empire’s apogee, unifying Italy and Germany under loose political control. It followed the Cluniac reforms that proposed greater independence of the Church from the State. The historian James Westfall Thompson explains the political implication of the Cluniac Reforms:

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<sup>23</sup> Grosfoguel opens his article with this question (2015).

It was the Italian national party which saw the political advantage latent in the Cluny reform, abandoned open revolt for more insidious conspiracy, and began to agitate against lay investiture as a means of emancipating Italy from German rule. Then and there the Cluny reform became a formidable political movement against the German monarchy, all the more formidable because under the guise of religion it could pursue its purposes. "Reform" became a means to an end, and that end the liberation of Italy. [. . .] But if the independence of Italy could be so secured, why not also that of the church in the same way? And if the independence of the church, why not the supremacy of the church? It was this enormous possibility in the application of the Cluny reform which Hildebrand saw, as did no other man, while he was yet little more than a simple monk. He saw the tremendous implications in the issue: that by identifying the papacy with a war to abolish lay investiture, the papacy might not only emancipate the church from secular control, but subordinate, even demolish, the state. (Thompson 1918, 404)

Indeed the history of musical notation is far from devoid of political implication:

But by this time—we are within the eleventh century and in the reigns of Henry II and Conrad II—the Cluny reform in Italy had ceased to be so much a reform as an anti-German and nationalist propaganda. The Italian who first saw the Cluny reform in this new light was Guido of Arezzo. He voiced the earliest deliberate formulation of mediaeval Italian nationalism in a letter to

Herbert, archbishop of Milan and a bitter enemy of German rule in Italy, in 1031. He was clever enough, though, to conceal his political purpose under the drapery of religion, and inveighed against the "simoniacal" practices of the German kings in denunciatory fashion. But "simony" with Guido meant not the abuse by the German Kings of their appointive power to church offices in Italy, but the very exercise of that appointive power at all. He branded lay investiture as heresy and declared that countless thousands of Christians had suffered eternal damnation because of it. In this way the agitation was artfully made to gain the support of the ignorant and terror-stricken lower classes in the Lombard cities (Ibid., 406).

Guido of Arezzo attended both Western music notation's origin around 1030 and the independentist movement that would secure the Church's political, economic, and spiritual autonomy in medieval Europe (Otten 1910). To secure the Pope's power, it was important to work toward Christian unification in all European kingdoms regardless of political situation. The Pope's supporters aimed thus to establish a para-political power through religious affiliation. Withal, music plays an important role in Christian celebration. Unification of the Pope's power necessitated unifying the Rite and therefore the ways celebrants sang it. The Church's endless efforts to eliminate Hispanic liturgy across the Iberian Peninsula demonstrate this relationship between musical practices and political power. Fortunately the Church did not achieve total eradication of Hispanic liturgy (Vones 2007). Moreover the Crusades would soon begin. At their apogee was the unification of musical practices

through notation. I see here two historical lines recurring in WAM: the domination of one's same people, on the one hand (exemplified by the efforts towards the unification of the rite), and the disqualification of the Other, proving its exteriority through open wars, on the other hand (such as the Crusades and efforts toward the differentiation of European culture). I suggest that the radical, sixteenth-century shift in music production also evinces these lines. Still I argue paradigmatic changes operating in the eleventh century and later made this shift possible.

Musical notation affixing pitch was revolutionary in its time. Earlier neumatic notation served as mnemotechnic guidance, thus requiring oral pedagogy. Fixed pitch allowed passage from oral transmission to musical encoding, a condition for singing unknown melodies from a score. As an illustration, "Pope John was overjoyed at the ease with which he was enabled to decipher and learn the melodies without the aid of a master" (Vones 2007, 49). Elsewhere I argued that music notation can be seen as an early form of sound reproduction technology. In terms described by recent Sound Studies scholarship, notation constitutes three phases: an encoding of sound, storage of this encoding that can travel in time and space without suffering main transformation, and reproduction of the sound based on its two-dimension encoding (Michel 2020b). The fact that humans rather than machines elaborate the encoding and reproduction phases does not change the political potential of this technology, nor its colonial, imperialistic histories. Music and Sound Studies scholars, such as Johnathan Sterne (2003) or Martin Daughtry (2015), reveal sounds' uses to secure power, control bodies, and shape ideology. I argued (in Michel



2019) that musical printing from the 16th century served the same purpose as contemporary sound reproduction technology. Likewise, Steven Feld (1996) deplores the ocularcentrism pervading Western culture. I argue the imperialistic instrumentalization of sound has been in use in the Western world since the eleventh century. Additionally the sensoricide caused by Western music staff notation's invention and spread has been a powerful weapon for exterminating non-European cultures. We can see in Figure 1 the complexity of the neumatic musical notation, which encompasses melodic shapes, inflexions, and musical gestures. In contrast, one of the first examples of Western music staff notation in Figure 2 shows a much more simplified system, reduced to fixed pitch notation.

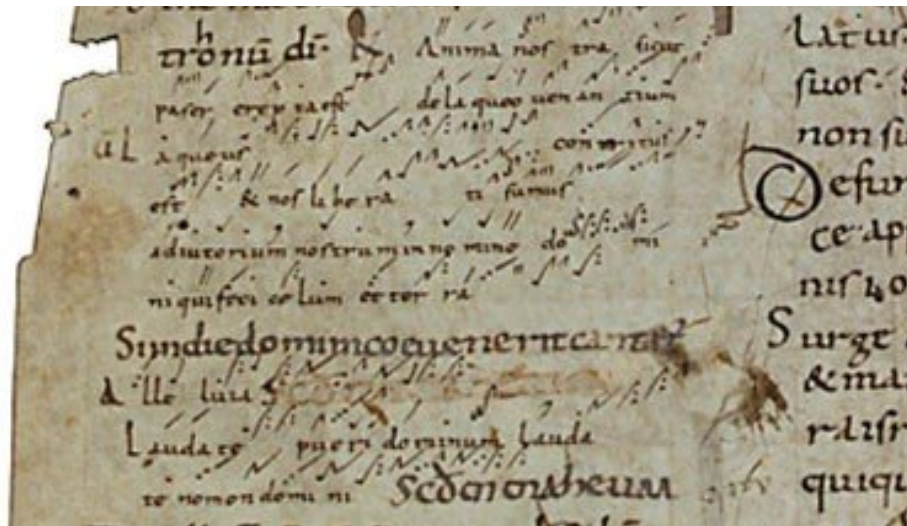


Fig 1. Bologna Neumes. MS. 105. Italy, eleventh century.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.schoyencollection.com/music-notation/bologna-neumes/missal-bologna-neumes-ms-105> consulted October 17, 2020.



Fig 2: The Guidonian hand in *Micrologus* by Guido d'Arezzo, Italy 1026.<sup>25</sup>

Simplifying neumatic notation into staff notation and passing from oral transmission to sight reading had a neurological effect on the brain. Reading music employs far fewer brain functions than repeating sound from hearing. I argued elsewhere (Michel 2013) that for example, *hearing*, *internal auditory memory*, *motoric system*, and *metacognition* processes activate during oral transmission and mimetic sound reproduction. By contrast, reading music may not involve, or involve to a lesser degree, these neurological processes (Michel, 4–10). This brain effect motivates my interpreting this shift as *sensoricide*; the shift inhibits certain hearing functions at the expense of visual cognition. Music is no longer a *sound* to be reproduced. It becomes encapsulated into the *sign* representing it. The *sensoricide*

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.arezzonotizie.it/foto/eventi/le-preziose-pagine-del-micrologus/micrologus-5.html> Consulted October 17, 2020.

functions in two ways subtly linked to the two imperialistic lines mentioned earlier: it homogenizes what is considered *music* and disembodies the sound to rationalize sound as a concept (i.e. of pitches and duration). Further the sensoricide drives the extermination of thinking, cultures, epistemologies, or relations to sound or music unwanted by authorities. Guido of Arezzo's contribution to Western music history, in particular the introduction of the staff notation, is a first form of sensoricide in Europe through a musical medium. It is certainly not the last. This shift to fixed pitch was only a first experiment that fostered sonic instruments of power through the centuries. In particular Europeans refined notation's sensoricide with European "discovery" of the Americas by the end of the fifteenth century and in the following era.

From a heretic Other to a sub-ontological Other: ways of encoding Sameness through sound

The decades following first encounters with Native American Peoples challenged European philosophy, ethics, and theology. Europe's identity as a continent emerged because of its need to make sense of an encounter with a new continent and peoples during the "long sixteenth century" known in Iberian arts as the 'golden century' (Grosfoguel 2013, Page). This period of deep transformation of thought corresponds to a productive peak in composed music and a radical change in the concept of music. I argue the lens conceiving the Other produced musical interventions during this

period. As such, construction of European classical music was neither autonomous nor autarkic but the result of paradigm shifts marking the first colonial period.

Polemics about Amerindians' 'humanity' emerged in differing terms from previous European relations with neighboring Others. Particularly Jews and Moors had been defined in categories not challenging Christian cosmology. Their status in Christian nations were ambiguous, situated in national margins. Though not fully accepted, they were tolerated. By contrast the discovery of Indigenous traditions—including practices Europeans judged beyond possible ethics (such as human sacrifice)—challenged the very category of human being. Artist and literary scholar Manuela Mourão argues that fifteenth-century Portuguese enslavement of black Africans establishes a starting point for colonial order before the American episodes (2011). The concept of race (i.e. mapping a cultural hierarchy and sense of superiority on skin color) pervaded the fifteenth century (Marcocci 2016, 40). However, dark-skinned Africans were considered heathens, therefore fully human. European slave traders whom the Pope supported did not question the existence of these Africans' souls. Rather acknowledgement of African souls supported the conversion argument to justify slavery. According to several Papal bulls from the 15th century, detained heathens would come into closer contact with Catholicism (the "right" religion), saving their souls for eternity despite their earthly lives' difficult physical conditions (Marcocci, 42–45). In short although Moors, Jews, and Africans were infidels and heretics receiving distinct treatments in the Iberian Peninsula and throughout Christian Europe, they were still accepted as humans.

With the first Spaniards/Native-American encounters and consequent “discovery” reports to the Spanish Crown, a new skepticism emerges among Spanish conquerors, rulers, and citizens which drastically modifies European anxiety about race.<sup>26</sup> In Dussel’s view, the *ego conquiro* (discussed above) needed to establish itself as a certainty to function as “an unquestioned ideal” of self-expression expanding its materiality to conquered lands (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 245). The division between the conqueror and the conquered is naturalized, providing the possibility, according to Maldonado-Torres (2007) for an establishment of a “non-ethics of war.” This non-ethics allows the conqueror<sup>27</sup> to resolve the schismogenic colonial/modern contradiction. It is in the development of his own freedom, individuality, and subjectivity that the conqueror creates the category of the sub-ontological Other. In the colonies, the conqueror’s Other is refused the same ethical treatments respected and promoted in the metropolis or parent-state. The emergence of “music” referring to art music as an exclusive practice establishes this division.<sup>28</sup>

The importance of these epistemic shifts bolsters examination of WAM history, particularly the emergence of musical practices integrated into an educated, literate, and exclusive “high culture.” From the differentiation between hierarchical good/bad (i.e. faithful/heretic) categorization of the Other which is naturally the basis

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<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Martínez, María Elena. *Genealogical fictions : limpieza de sangre, religion, and gender in colonial Mexico*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008.

<sup>27</sup> When referring to conquerors, I purposefully use masculine gender pronouns. See also the above section on the coloniality of gender.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Cullen Rath discussed Western Catholic architecture as offering a good acoustical space for only Gregorian chant while rendering any other musical expression inaudible.

for racial and cultural self-identification comes a defining, categorical opposition: being/not-being, as we have seen earlier.

Until the sixteenth century, Christian identity distinguished Same from Other, but all belonging to one paradigm. Following monotheistic unification of differing Mediterranean sects, each of these cultures understood music in terms of *modes*.<sup>29</sup> In the European Christian context, modes have an evident legacy from Ancient Greece. Moors and Orthodox Christians shared the concept “mode.” However, cultural differentiation justified conquest of lands and sometimes promoted ‘reconquest’—namely during the Crusades and in the Iberian Peninsula. Regardless it was an opposition recognizing the Other’s existence. The modal paradigm in which Mediterranean culture evolved at this time is not challenged. This paradigm was, however, expanded to affirm superiority over the Other (e.g. Moor, Jewish, or Byzantine). Guido’s solmization system, expanded by later theorists, gives the musician a way to express melodic gestures accompanying the syllable, or beyond fixed pitch, it sets melodies and intervals into the frame of a mode (Silva 2010). Simultaneously, polyphony was actually practiced by musicians, as theorists such as Tinctoris had discussed. Still at this point music theory is disjoined from musical practice. Moreover most relevant treatises describe each voice’s melodic evolution according to a mode. This paradigm remained predominant until the sixteenth century.

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<sup>29</sup> Although different names, theories, and concepts were used to define what we understand as ‘mode’ in each culture, the linearity of these concepts is the basis for common ground.

During the sixteenth century, diffusion of Zarlino's theories opens a new concept of sound (Mengozi 2010, 227). His hexachordal subdivision of the Gamut allows for fluid transpositions. The hexachord system supported Zarlino's integration of musical practice with speculative music, thereby reconciling theory and practice. In the mid-sixteenth century, Zarlino proposed a modal conception of music transposable to any of the octave's twelve tones (1558). This proposition secured his place as a forerunner in modern music theory's evolution. Still the idea had not yet been advanced that one might hear musical sounds as simultaneous voices in a singular event.

#### The Use of the ficta in the transitioning period

“Vertical hearing” of simultaneous sonic events originates before Rameau's 1722 *Taité de l'Harmonie*, though Iberian music's influence on Italian (and then French) theorists is still not commonly established. The point of contact catalyzing direct influence was the court of Naples. The Catalans governed the court of Naples until the mid-sixteenth century, then by the Spanish after the 1469 marriage of Felipe de Aragon and Isabel de Castilla. Tinctoris himself was present in Naples where his treatise *De inventione et Usu Musicae* was printed.<sup>30</sup> Scholarship cannot currently establish Tinctoris's connection with Iberian Peninsula music and musicians. But this printing presents anxiety about his reference musicians' origins. Tinctoris reassures the courts about his singers' Northern musical influence—his treatise presents most

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<sup>30</sup> Tinctoris, Johannes, *De inventione et usu musicae*, Naples (c.1481–3), lost, only extracts survive.

of these musicians as coming from Flanders or having received “Flemish erudition” (Mota 2012, 5). Potentially this anxiety signals concealment of other influences. For instance, Ramos de Pareja was a Spanish-born music theorist whose 1482 *Musica Practica* printed in Bologna caused scandal among Italians because he “dared to attack two veritable staples of medieval music theory: the Guidonian System and Pythagorean tuning” (Mengozzi, 185). Guido de Arezzo—with his revolutionary use of “hexachord,” and for the first time attached to the syllables ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la—was lauded *a posteriori* as the creator of a new musical law and as such, unattackable (185). Such an attack would critique Pythagoras diminishing this sacrosanct historical lineage with Ancient Greece. Consider also Gafori, similarly familiar with Tinctoris and the Aragon court in Naples, who published his 1492 *Theorica Musice* in Milan and 1496 *Practica Musicae* in Bologna. The important differences between these two books mapped the hexachord’s six syllables to the Greek letters of the Guidonian hand. These differences resolved tensions between musical theory and practice fundamental to Western culture. Still Gafori anxiously proves his theories’ Greek, Roman, and Christian lineage.

In contrast to claims that French, Flemish, and Italian music dominated the sixteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, much music performed was of Iberian origin (Abreu and Estudante 2011). Similarly Iberian music accounted for an equal portion of printed music in Portugal, Spain, and large European cities, such as Rome, Amsterdam, and Venice. Given this music’s prevalence, was Iberian music performed abroad? Did Iberian musical practice arouse change in Italian musical



theory? If not, could colonial expansion from the Peninsula have influenced Italian society at large? Formal arguments answering these questions would require deeper inquiry. However, many factors from the emergent colonial/modern structure of power and domination suggest Iberian influence on the radical shift propelling Western music into tonality.

To support this argument, I expand on ethnomusicologist Timothy Taylor's claim (2007) that tonality's creation centered the principle of space; territorial expansion of European colonial powers made possible a new spatial sense. In addition to this new sense of space, a radically different temporal perception emerges as a consequence of the colonial/modern order. Vallega (2014) sees the imposition of a pre-rational, shared sense of unilinear time as another form of the coloniality of power which he calls the "coloniality of time." This concept generates two concurrent outcomes.

First, musical uni-temporality changes the aesthetic sensibility of the dominated people. The dominated must conform to a linear temporal sense to articulate rational thought, the only articulations through which he/she can communicate with the conqueror. Second, "coloniality of time" implies a unidirectional sense of history that culminates in European modernity (the other face of the coin, coloniality, is well hidden). In the eighteenth century, this sense of history births the Hegelian historical sense, what Walter Benjamin calls the "homogeneous, empty time" always belonging to the dominant paradigm (2006, 395).

Without this unidirectional perception of time, the coloniality of power would lose efficacy and risk Europe's potential economic benefits. Indeed for Quijano, Eurocentric modernity not only expands geographic control to cover the planet, but "pervades into all forms of cultural, political and economic life" (2000, Page). For this power structure to spread, so too must Eurocentric modern aesthetics spread both in the colonies and as part of a new intersubjectivity shared with Europeans occupying the other end of the colonial spectrum. The temporal transformation from eschatological to a succession of individual events is humanism's logical consequence. This transformation links to its hidden face, the coloniality of time (Cohen 2000, check more in detail). Similarly the musical perception of sounds transformed from concurrent temporalities evolving and coinciding only incidentally to a perfect simultaneity of singular musical events succeeding each other, their meaning intrinsic to their expression.

Early Modern temporalities and its expression in Western music.

Tonal polyphony departed from modal polyphony through extensive ficta use. This increase in ficta indicates that linear time perception dominated other temporal sensibilities. Tonality thus imposed a new temporality in aural perception and raised its place as constituting the very representation of music. Music, in the tonal polyphonic sense, is more than coincidental lines of sound: the simultaneity of voices takes its modern/colonial sense as a uni-temporal sensibility of unique, non-repeatable events which creates a sense of harmony. Vertical hearing's invention of

‘chords’ supplements horizontal hearing that had been widespread in Europe and most neighbouring cultures. Presented as given, vertical hearing not only allows coloniality of time to enter the sensitive pre-rational, but distinguishes what constitutes music and not-music. In other words, tonality is the precondition for the sub-ontology of music: the Being or not-Being of a culture’s sonic expression.

Coloniality of time in music resulted in two different outcomes. First, Europe’s encounters with supposedly timeless societies occasioned development of historical consciousness. Musical practices could then connect to a real or imagined past, inscribing themselves in an evolutionary and teleological unitemporality. From this consciousness made establishing strong connections with Greece important. The discourse about such connections is often more important than their reality. Indeed, the first Italian Renaissance operas were not sung in Ancient Greek but Italian, as they aimed to create something new (Irving 2018). Second, there is an aspect more specific to the perception of music in real time.

Needing to increase control over colony subjectivities, the Church reacted to the Protestant threat in Europe with The Council of Trent. The musical aesthetics resulting from this Counter-Reformation were intended to create a more appealing music and make delivery of sacred texts audible. A consequence of emphasizing text was simplification (or cancellation) of the multi-temporality of modal polyphony’s concurrent voices, each with their independent meaning. On the contrary, homorhythm became a common practice because it allowed presentation of a single text at one time by all voices. Thus, uni-temporality. At one single moment, all voices

coincide on one syllable, sounding a musical event understandable only through vertical hearing. From homorhythm came the concept of chords and tonality. A comprehensive history of the transition from modal to tonal perceptions cannot be discussed here. However examining the complex ficta tradition on the Iberian Peninsula may evidence European music's shift toward tonality did not emerge autonomously in Italy or France. Such an examination might support the assertion that the tonality shift was indebted to practical needs and ideological transformation of imperial power expansion.

## Conclusion to chapter 1

The shifts described above in the European musical practices were accompanied by a trend in all Europe, the fundament of rational thinking. In his account of the colonality of knowledge, Grosfoguel adds to the *ego conquero*, the *ego extermino*. This concept dominates the colonized and destroys their forms of knowledge, their whole cosmology. By imposing the written word—particularly alphabetic writing—Europeans aimed to erase previous and alternative forms of transmission. In music, one can read a similar phenomenon.

Sterne argues that technologies linked to sound reproduction change not only the quality of the sound produced but the way we hear and discuss it. As argued earlier, the invention of the witten score according to staff notation—particular Zarlino's proposition to fix sound to a certain pitch according to the notation that

represents it (instead of picturing a relation between sounds, he represented each sound in a determinate way from its position on the musical staff)—can be considered a “reproduction technology” that breaks oral tradition. The contemporary ocularcentrism preoccupying Sterne was similarly expressed during the European Renaissance. I interpret these shifts as a sensoricide. Over the centuries, the simplification of the notation system (developed to disseminate hegemonic musical practices more easily) deteriorated European musicians’ and listeners’ ability to hear subtle variations in pitch, timbre, and rhythm that could not be represented in the modern musical score.

Musical staff square notation was created, at first, to control too divergent aural transmission. By creating a hybrid pedagogy, the Church could navigate tensions when relying on a notation that is neither too transparent nor too obscure. But the Church had difficulty maintaining this balance; European culture moved more and more toward *logocentrism*.

The importance given to the book—and thereafter its central role in the dissemination of knowledge (Irving 2010)—fostered music’s assimilation with the written text representing it. The *signa* progressively supplanted the signified. In musical terms, transmission relied less on aural transmission and more on reading, writing, and instrumentalizing -in all meanings- written musical text. The meaning of music is to be found in the score, not in the sound.

Nevertheless one must understand that, although sound was still the matter in a hard-encoded, textual-visual, and ritualized tradition, this tradition’s crystallization

around written transmission inevitably transformed musical practices. Because growing logocentrism situates truth in the signa rather than the sound itself, the meaning of what constituted music also shifted. The visual's predominance resulted in notes written with square notation eventually sounding square. Neume notation is not capable of indicating the exact pitch of a melodic line. But besides this limitation, neume notation can give significant information about the manner of singing, vocality, and melodic pattern.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, neumes share similarities with some Asian notation systems that specify pitch and duration less than performance style for each noted character.<sup>32</sup> The introduction of staff notation, for the purposes mentioned above, is the first step toward sensoricide; staff notation modifies perception of a sound into an encodable perception of a signal that is reduced *grosso modo* to pitch and duration.

This transition to logocentric transmission is one of the ways music was systematized and rationalized to become an art that serves “calculative instrumental reasoning” (Vallega 2014, 103). The transformation of sound into manipulatable objects permitted the transition from the intuitive to the rational, from the embodied to the spiritual, from the ontological Other to the legitimated Same. Coloniality *produced* WAM by Europeans' need to define whiteness in all possible, sensible realms.

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<sup>31</sup> A complete discussion of neumes and their notation is not envisageable in the scope of this essay.

<sup>32</sup> There are many discussions about the possible parallels between European Medieval music and other modal musical expressions from non-Western traditions (for example, McAlpine 2008, 26–28). Here, however, I am referring specifically to music notation. The example I have in mind is Japanese Gagaku, although one could find many other examples.

Tomlinson accounts for logocentrism in singing (he purposely avoids “music,” charged with colonial intentions) through Derrida’s reading of Rousseau (2007, 11–27). For Rousseau, the song occupies an ambivalent place in the history of civilization. On the one hand, songs result from cultivated society: tunes are not natural. On the other, song links us to human’s natural state: vocalized sound precedes speech. As much as writing, song can either add to or supplement speech, what Derrida calls a *supplément*. Rousseau, followed by Derrida, distinguishes between: pictograph writing (e.g. hieroglyphs, Chinese characters) representing the thing it refers to with much distance between sign and thing; and alphabetic writing representing much more accurately the spoken word that itself represents the thing. While pictographs reveal a true, preverbal gesturalism, the alphabet is the damage of civilization. Expanding this distinction, I understand staff notation to be an alphabetic writing in that it does not depict the sound of the music but the rational imagination extracted from the music. The hexachords—developed through consolidation of theory and practice—demonstrated greater accuracy in terms of exact pitch. Despite this accuracy, an intermediary *supplément* occurs in sound reproduction. A rational elaboration of the sound mediates the idea of music. Therefore, musical practices at the beginning of colonial expansion to the Americas are a situation of a new medium, new instrument, or new technology facilitating sound reproduction at unprecedented geographic distance and accuracy (if one limits “accuracy” to music’s rational aspects). Just as twenty-first century technology shapes music production according to its new possibilities and limits, so too was early sixteenth-century music

confronted with similar schizophonia. This schizophonia, or the distance between the musical source and its sonic reproduction, was happening at the span of continents, especially when the music was composed in the metropolis and sung in the colonies.<sup>33</sup>

As its representation in the technological medium of notation, music crossed oceans. It became reproducible, note-for-note, in the cultural contexts of people deeply foreign to European sonic practices. Thus it relevant to examine the development of the Golden Century in Spain through the lens of sound reproducibility -and its limitations. Doing so, one may discover the degree to which notational technology influenced Peninsular composers' style, and these composers' awareness that the music they wrote through media, such as printed books or manuscripts, would travel to the colonies. These composers too, I repeat, had great influence on the forthcoming development of WAM. Invisibilizing this history reinforces white supremacist views in which music and politics appear independent. The concept "absolute music" exemplifies naturalization of white culture. Having discussed coloniality/modernity integration, I examine in chapter 3 this invisibilization strategy's historical layers. Meanwhile, chapter 2 examines a case study of music that explicitly represented race to reveal musical encodings of whiteness: the Iberian *villancico de negro* from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

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<sup>33</sup> See also Michel 2020a.



## Capítulo 2 - Colonialidade do som, um estudo de caso: O *vilancico de negro* e a performatividade da branquitude

### Introdução

Com o fim de complementar o conceito de ‘colonialidade do som’ que apresentámos no primeiro capítulo, esta seção vai tratar do *vilancico de negro* tanto como exemplo para examinar a construção da raça através do som, como também para demonstrar as origens profundas da colonialidade do som e a sua continuidade em tempos e fenómenos mais recentes. Em particular, vejamos como essa continuidade foi parte integrante do contrato social durante a elaboração da nação multirracial na América Latina, tomando aqui o caso particular do Brasil, onde a presença negra é das mais fortes nos continentes americanos. A representação estereotipada do negro dentro do mito da democracia racial e que está ainda hoje predominante não é fruto de um fenómeno recente. Pelo contrário, tem uma história longa e reiterativa que permitiu ao longo dos séculos reforçar, insistir e consolidar uma visão deficiente da identidade negra, e simultaneamente, invisibilizar o *locus* de enunciação do homem branco como a fonte das representações sociais dominantes no Brasil.

A redação deste capítulo foi iniciada pouco tempo depois das eleições no Brasil do presidente de extrema-direita Jair Bolsonaro, em novembro de 2018. Neste contexto, golpeou-me a urgência de perceber quais foram os desenvolvimentos sociais, políticos, e ideológicos que permitiram uma tal radicalização do espectro político, assim como de distinguir a continuidade histórica dos problemas raciais no mundo lusófono, e em particular no Brasil. Para este efeito, achei importante olhar para trás na história cultural da região, até chegar aos primeiros séculos da colonização portuguesa. Assim, tomaremos um enfoque específico no gênero teatro-musical *vilancico de negro*, já que este, como argumento, foi central no esforço de construção duma linha imaginária entre as raças humanas, e coincidiu com a invenção e a concretização das demarcações raciais. O controle sobre a produção cultural sempre foi um lugar onde decorreram lutas de poder, assim como negociações, tensões e re-apropriações multidirecionais entre vários grupos culturais (Illari 2007). Desde os inícios da colonização europeia, o conceito de raça esteve no centro destes jogos de representação. Além disso, o direito de agência sobre a própria imagem foi muitas vezes recusado a grupos humanos que têm sido racializados por outros, chegando a formar categorias raciais que quase nunca foram pensadas desde dentro (Canclini 1989). O mito da democracia racial, na qual todos os grupos raciais se teriam misturado de maneira pacífica e homogênea, consolida a ideia que falar sobre raças seria prejudicial à harmonia social (Do Nascimento 1978). Mas é um mito sobretudo defendido pelas elites dominantes, em maioria brancas, que são longe de perceber a realidade cotidiana das pessoas racializadas. As eleições de Jair

Bolsonaro como presidente do Brasil em outubro de 2018 são o resultado de muitos anos de polarização respeito às representações e identidades nas esferas públicas, onde a direita promove o ódio e a intolerância com o objetivo de desarmar possíveis oposições à expansão global da economia neoliberal (Alves 2018). Este fenómeno está longe de ser isolado e restrito ao caso do Brasil, mas este fato torna ainda mais urgente a necessidade de perceber as origens das diversas narrativas racistas, e o contexto cultural que lhe permitiu ser abraçada com tanta facilidade, até nós, em nossos dias.

Com o objetivo de entender as questões raciais no mundo e em particular no Brasil, proponho usar elementos da história cultural portuguesa e lusófona, já que, por um lado, Portugal foi o primeiro poder político a promover o que chegou a ser a maior implementação concreta baseada na discriminação racial até hoje - o escravagismo e o comércio de escravos africanos no mundo transatlântico - e que, por outro lado, muito da história do Brasil é um legado dessa história particular.<sup>34</sup>

Tendo consciência que sou uma pessoa branca e europeia e que isso não pode deixar de influenciar profundamente o meu lugar de escrita, não intendo aqui fazer uma leitura crítica da história social, racial e cultural do Brasil - deixarei melhor aos brasileiros e brasileiras essa tarefa. Mas bem, ao contrário, espero demonstrar as origens da branquitude através dum estudo de caso do repertório da música clássica europeia, e com esse objetivo, basear-me sobre escritos de autores brasileiros (em

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<sup>34</sup> Não obstante, os exemplos tomados pela leitura dos vilancicos de negro poderão ser da América hispânica (hispanofalante) como explico mais adiante, dado a proximidade dos estilos musicais entre Portugal e Espanha nesta época.

grande maioria negros, algum deles mulheres) para ajudar-me a realizar uma leitura crítica dum fenómeno altamente racista -o vilancico de negro- mas que foi sobretudo discutido na academia até agora por homens brancos e através da literatura hegemônica.

#### Vilancico de negro: uma definição

Os vilancicos religiosos dos séculos XVII e XVIII no mundo ibérico eram peças para serem cantadas no Natal ou em outras celebrações cristãs entre as *leituras* das principais festas (ocupando assim o lugar dos *responsórios*), cuja função era a de tornar o rito em latim mais atraente dum lado, e mais acessível do outro (Hurtado 2006). Para cumprir estas funções, os *vilancicos* parafraseiam as partes mais descritivas do novo testamento, com teatralizações de episódios religiosos na língua vernácula, a qual permitia um alcance maior às diversas camadas da população. O episódio mais recorrente dos *vilancicos* é, sem dúvida, a cena do nascimento do Menino Jesus, e em particular a visita dos Reis Magos. A subcategoria de ‘vilancico de negro’ representa pequenas peças onde os personagens principais eram negros ou afrodescendentes presentes no âmbito ibérico (peninsular ou americano). A *língua de preto* com a qual os personagens se expressam nestas peças é uma deformação do português ou do castelhano a fins de paródia e de zombaria, imitando a fala supostamente deficiente dos negros africanos recém-chegados.

<< Musical example: “Tumbalagumba” de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, interpretado pelo ensemble Ars Longa de la Habana, 2017.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fm\\_08HfEurk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fm_08HfEurk) Consultado no 20 de novembro

2020 >>

Embora sabermos que os vilancicos de negros eram presentes no Brasil colonial, temos poucas fontes dos séculos 16 a 18 que incluem a parte musical (Santos 2009). Por esta razão, vamos elaborar o nosso argumento a partir de fontes portuguesas e da América espanhola, com a ideia que artefatos musicais semelhantes podem ter sido presentes no território brasileiro na mesma época. É óbvio que as situações sociais, políticas, e demográficas eram distintas, e não podemos efetuar uma transposição direta entre um espaço geográfico e outro. Embora, a leitura que proponemos está mais baseada sobre relações entre políticas raciais e culturas racistas ao largo dos séculos que sobre uma intenção de descobrir uma realidade passada e afirmar verdades sobre a história, em particular sobre a performance de vilancicos de negro no Brasil colonial. Neste sentido, argumento que o *vilancico de negro* dos séculos XVII e XVIII é uma prática de produção cultural que implica uma representação do Outro que antecipa por alguns séculos, numa forma proléptica, o mito da democracia racial. Este mito fundamentou a quase totalidade dos discursos sobre identidade no Brasil do século XX, e com repercussões evidentes no século XXI. Assim, vamos ver como o vilancico de negro anuncia, desde os séculos XVI a XVIII, a instrumentalização da cultura como fim de assegurar o poder da elite branca numa combinação de várias estratégias, que vão a seguir ser recorrentes na política brasileira.

Os temas religiosos são tratados nos vilancicos com alguma flexibilidade e leveza, o que criou constantes tensões entre a aceitação do género musical pelos poderes eclesiásticos e as suas proibições, regularmente reiteradas e raramente aplicadas (Laird 1992). Vê-se que a genuinidade do sentimento religioso é mais importante para os compositores e autores do que a fidelidade ao texto sagrado. Assim os Reis ou devotos que vão adorar o Menino Jesus podem mudar no seu número - às vezes são uma multidão. Examinaremos neste capítulo as contradições inerentes à performance de vilancicos de negro, e como esses servem propósitos que até podem parecer opostos. Por um lado, os vilancicos de negro operam uma suposta inclusão, com a ideia do universalismo da fé cristã, enquanto do outro lado, intentam polarizar a sociedade a partir duma divisão de tipo moral — o bom cidadão e o mau — que justamente se coloca acima duma linha de cor, de carácter racial. Longe de vir duma confusão por parte dos compositores, essas contradições são, justamente, devidamente elaboradas para a difusão duma mensagem ilógica, e por ente mais difícil de desconstruir. O racismo e a escravidão são justificados sobre retórica semelhantes, já que promovem dentro dum mesmo ideal, dum lado a liberdade individual e a propriedade privada, e do outro, a possibilidade de seres humanos de ser eles mesmos uma propriedade, e por ente, não-livres. Vamos ver como a contradição específica dos vilancicos de negro se vai expandir através do tempo, tendo repercussões massivas nos séculos seguintes.

## O universalismo: invisibilização da branquitude

Uma das funções sociais e culturais do vilancico de negro é de inculcar a ideia do universalismo, conceito que vai ser retomado e desenvolvido durante o período do Iluminismo dos enciclopédicos e da modernidade europeia. Vimos no capítulo 1 como a “descoberta” das Américas provocou um câmbio radical no modo de exteriorizar ou Outro, passando duma definição do Mesmo baseada na religião e as crenças à uma categorização étnica obrigada ao desenvolvimento específico do conceito de raça. Nesta seção, vamos ver como a religião agiu como princípio unificador de maneira a naturalizar a superioridade da cultura branca europeia (de fato cristiana). Logo estabeleceremos a relação entre, na época colonial, tal visão da religião supostamente unificada, e o mito mais recente da democracia racial. Ambos funcionam com o propósito de integrar o elemento negro (ou em geral, racialmente não branco) dentro da cultura branca, simultaneamente erradicando toda especificidade cultural relacionada com estas raças. Mais que todo, estas estratégias reforçam a ideia que o problema da sociedade é o elemento negro, e não a discriminação provocada pelo branco. Consolida-se esta crença através da invisibilização da branquitude, que nunca vem nomeada já que é considerada “normal”. A escritora negra Maria Aparecida Silva Bento escreve “A falta de reflexão sobre o papel do branco nas desigualdades raciais é uma forma de reiterar persistentemente que as desigualdades raciais no Brasil constituem um problema exclusivamente do negro, pois só ele é estudado, dissecado, problematizado” (Bento 2002, 26). Uma maneira de dissecar o “problema negro” foi através da linguagem,

em particular quando os compositores brancos usavam nos seus textos uma linguagem estereotipada -a *língua de preto*- que servia para demonstrar a deficiência linguística dos negros sem tiver de afirmar a língua portuguesa dos brancos como artificialmente imposta ao resto da sociedade.

#### A religião como unificador e a invenção da raça

Nos vilancicos de negro se pode perceber uma estratégia de reforço da ideia da universalidade da fé cristã: todos os grupos, até os racialmente distintos - em particular os negros ou *índios* [indígenas] - podem participar da celebração do nascimento do filho de Deus, ou Deus encarnado no Menino Jesus. Isso é a marca duma nova política da identidade, já que as demarcações entre grupos hierarquizados ultrapassam as questões religiosas. No âmbito da península ibérica, o Outro era o árabe ou o judeu até o século XV. Mas com a chegada do século XVI — marcado pelas assim chamadas “reconquista” da Andaluzia, “expansão” em África e o “descobrimento” das Américas — instala-se um novo modo de definir a alteridade, ou ‘Outridade’, com a invenção do conceito de raça (Quijano 2000).<sup>35</sup> Esta nova construção da identidade do Outro tem esta particularidade de promover a integração do Outro dentro da religião do Mesmo, em vez de ver o Outro como sinónimo de herético. Assim, desloca a antiga distinção étnica desde o reino espiritual até o reino biológico. Esta grande novidade que aparece na epistemologia europeia a partir dos séculos XV e XVI, a invenção da raça, é o que permite passar dum confronto direito

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<sup>35</sup> Também veja-se o capítulo 1.



com o Outro — guerras e competitividade comercial, à partida que implicam bases iguais e uma oposição não hierarquizada — a uma estratégia de apropriação das almas do outro grupo dentro duma realidade etnocêntrica, a qual vem pela mesma ocasião a ser normalizada. Este câmbio estratégico é importante no sentido que permitiu a justificação, durante séculos, da empresa de comércio dos escravos. A exploração dos corpos era invisibilizada pela justificação da salvação das almas. Ao mesmo tempo, tal estratégia dá à cultura europeia e à sua religião um carácter presumido, implícito, e supostamente aceitável como ponto de referência pela humanidade.

O vilancico de negro justamente faz este trabalho de consolidar a ideia da universalidade de maneira multimodal, ou seja através do texto, da música, e da scenografia. As histórias narradas nos vilancicos de negro descrevem numa grande maioria uma procissão de escravos negros e outros afrodescendentes ao berço do menino Jesus. Isso permite normalizar, no subconsciente colectivo, a inclusão dos negros dentro da fé cristã, justificando pelo mesmo a legitimidade dessa. A novidade desta representação é então de ir além da ideia duma ‘boa’ fé em oposição a uma heresia como nas guerras internas na Espanha, mas ao contrário, representa o cristianismo como religião *de fato* e incontroversa.

#### Continuidade no mito da Democracia Racial

Esta estratégia de ‘inclusividade’ foi repetida ao longo dos séculos, com vários graus de força. Entre todas as formas de legitimação da epistemologia dominante (de fato,

branca) que existiram, teve a sua maior expressão na invenção política da *democracia racial*. Este mito surgiu no Brasil ao início do século XX e baseou-se na invenção duma narrativa histórica onde sobressalta a ideia duma convivência pacífica entre brancos e negros na construção do Brasil. O fato de integrar os negros dentro da vida cotidiana e da afetividade da “Casa Grande”, na sua célebre revisão histórica, era para Gilberto Freyre (1933) uma maneira de incluir a cultura negra como parte das origens da nação brasileira.<sup>36</sup> No seu entendimento, e seguramente pela recepção na sua época, esta ‘inclusão’ era revolucionária e posicionava o Brasil tão longe do nazismo alemão como da segregação estadunidense. Como o nota Roberto Ventura em referência à narrativa de Freyre, a religião foi outra vez usada como espaço de convivência e de encontro:

Os escravos, sobretudo os domésticos, que serviam diretamente as sinhás e os senhores, se tornariam pessoas da casa, impregnadas da religião católica, que combinavam, de forma sincrética, com as divindades e os cultos trazidos da África. A religião atuou portanto como o grande ponto de encontro e de confraternização entre as duas culturas, a do senhor e a do negro, ao permitir a coexistência, ainda que conflitiva, do monoteísmo católico com a cultura fetichista e totêmica que os africanos conservavam e ostentaram em festas públicas (Ventura 2000, 50-51).

Os negros foram de fato incluídos nas narrativas nacionalistas brasileira a partir dos inícios do século XX, como geradores importante da cultura local — e que

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<sup>36</sup> O mito da “Casa Grande e Senzala” foi elaborado por Gilberto Freyre, e descreve a proximidade afectiva dos brancos e dos negros dentro a típica casa de engenho (plantação dirigido por brancos e que usava a força de trabalho dos negros, muito presente no nordeste do Brasil) onde os brancos viviam na “casa grande” e os negros na “senzala”, cabaña de pouco conforto situada no fundo da propriedade. Este mito de ‘proximidade’ foi central na constituição da ideia de “democracia racial” onde todas as raças contribuem à construção da nação brasileira.

a diferenciava da cultura estritamente portuguesa — mas essa inclusão foi feita a partir dum desenho imaginado pelas elites brancas, e onde estos últimos continuavam a habitar a “Casa Grande”. A ideia de democracia racial, que tem a Casa Grande como ponto de partida, repete a pretensão de inclusão que prometem os vilancicos de negros, embora esta inclusão sempre se basa sobre a aceitação da cultura dominante branca pelos outros povos, duma forma estritamente unilinear. Além disso, nos vilancicos de negro como no mito da democracia racial, se projeta um ideal de quase dissolução dos elementos culturais negros, assim como indígenas, dentro duma pretendida ‘modernidade’ branca. Os escritos do autor negro Abdias do Nascimento revelam este ponto de maneira muito clara:

Freyre cunha eufemismos raciais tendo em vista racionalizar as relações de raça no país, como exemplifica a sua ênfase e insistência no termo *modernidade*; não se trata de ingênuo jogo de palavras, mas sim de proposta vazando uma extremamente perigosa mística racista, cujo objetivo é o desaparecimento inapelável do descendente africano, tanto fisicamente quanto espiritualmente, através do malicioso processo de embranquecer a pele negra e a cultura do negro (Do Nascimento 1978, 43).

Assim podemos ver que a inclusão é mais que tudo formal, e não implica termos de respeito das culturas não-brancas nem de reciprocidade entre os grupos étnicos. É uma inclusão fundamentalmente epistemicídio, com o objetivo de normalizar o Outro baixo padrões brancos.

### A Língua de Preto

Nos vilancicos de negro, e fora de algumas exceções que veremos a seguir, a

língua usada é sempre português ou espanhol, mas com um certo grau de deficiência linguística de parte dos negros. De mesma maneira que a religião cristiana, apresentada como religião de fato mas que é transformada pelos sincretismos ou a pretensa ignorância dos negros, a língua portuguesa ou castelhana (segundo os países) é estabelecida como único modo de comunicação válido, e permite justificar uma hierarquia social baseada sobre o manejo mais ou menos eficiente dessa língua. Embora, se sabe que os negros que viviam em Portugal falavam um português fluido (Luis & Estudante 2016, 108-10).

Os compositores usavam uma estilização dessa fala nas suas peças, que chamamos a *língua de preto*, um português com algum grau de deformação linguística.<sup>37</sup> Os “erros” mais frequentes estilizados pelos compositores para representar a língua de preto eram a substituição de consoantes (v/b), rotacismo (d/r, d/l, or r/l), redução de consoantes (st/ss), bem como muitas simplificações ou uso indevido da gramática portuguesa dominante (94-107). Esses efeitos composicionais eram, em parte, uma herança do teatro do século XVI, quando já os negros haviam sido parte crescente da população portuguesa e começado a jogar um papel social inconfundível, e que o teatro se tinha apropriado da figura do negro como caráter típico estilizado. Por outra parte, Ana Luis e Paulo Estudante (2016) demonstram que um certo grau de convivência entre compositores e a comunidade negra fez adaptar esta estilização a uma língua de alguma maneira mais correspondente à realidade

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<sup>37</sup> O equivalente espanhol, a “habla de negro” segue basicamente as mesmas regras.

linguística vigente.<sup>38</sup> Pelo menos, é muito provável que tivesse alguma semelhança à língua efetivamente falada pelos Africanos recentemente chegados. Assim, representa-se o negro sempre dentro do paradigma lingüístico hegemónico dominante (português ou espanhol) mas, salvo algumas exceções (Sanchez 2017), não no seu idioma original.

Esta inclusão dentro de uma cultura dominante é, em grande parte, uma estratégia que serve mais que tudo a invisibilizar o homem branco, quem estabelece o seu ponto de vista como inquestionável e necessário. É o que Castro Gómez nomeia o Hubris do Ponto Zero, ou, a partir da sua leitura de Descartes, o “ponto de observação inobservado” (2007, 82). O fato de o homem branco quase nunca aparecer nos vilancicos de negro denota a não só a sua invisibilidade estratégica, mas também o seu distanciamento com a pessoa negra objetificada, que é duma vez e desumanizado, e naturalizado como sendo *na realidade* igual à sua representação musical.

Aqui pode ser interessante estabelecer um paralelo entre a língua de preto, estereotipização feita pelos brancos na época da colonização e o pretuguês atual, a fala afro-protuguese reivindicada pelos negros brasileiros. Embora língua de preto e pretuguês são fundamentalmente diferentes na forma como foram ativados para promover o racismo no primeiro e para valorizar a identidade negra no segundo, algum grau de semelhança entre essas duas variantes da língua portuguesa pela influência de alguns hábitos linguísticos africanos os tornam válidos para uma

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<sup>38</sup> Veja-se também Michel (2020b, 69-71) para uma examinação da língua de preto.

comparação e indagação de seus traços sonoros. Infelizmente, tal comparação ainda não foi estabelecida, e seu empreendimento vai além do alcance desta dissertação. Portanto, apenas podemos imaginar que o pretuguês vem de uma longa genealogia da fala negra nas comunidades afro-brasileiras, e que a língua de preto pode ter sido inspirada por esta realidade.

A principal intelectual brasileira que introduziu o conceito de pretuguês como reivindicação da identidade negra foi a autora Lélia Gonzalez (Belo Horizonte, 1935 - Rio de Janeiro, 1994). A sua contribuição sobretudo foi a sua capacidade de traduzir culturalmente algumas correntes de pensamentos norte-americanos (por exemplo, a interseccionalidade) às realidades brasileiras, criando assim novos conceitos (como o pretuguês ou a amefricanidade). Ela mesma foi atuando numa forma que procurasse mudar a realidade de opressão sistemática no Brasil (Cardoso 2014). Gonzalez insistiu em transformar o preconceito de fala “errada” num instrumento de afirmação da cultura afro-brasileira, dando assim a volta à naturalização da cultura branca como universal, invisível, e superior. Por exemplo, ela escreve:

É engraçado como eles gozam a gente [...]. Chamam a gente de ignorante dizendo que a gente fala errado. E de repente ignoram que a presença desse r no lugar do l, nada mais é que a marca linguística de um idioma africano, no qual o l inexistente. Afinal, quem que é o ignorante? [...] Não sacam que tão falando pretuguês.

Ao contrário do *ebonics* nos EUA, o pretuguês nunca foi recuperado no Brasil como base de discriminação ou de política de diferenciação entre o “Inglês estandard” e a fala de crianças com “proficiência de inglês limitada”, como pode ter

sido no caso controversial de Oakland em 1995 (Baugh 2020). Só podemos imaginar se, no âmbito dos vilancicos de negro, existia em paralela uma língua semelhante à língua de preto nas comunidades negras (que eram de fato muito diversas etnicamente e culturalmente) e qual era o seu estatuto entre os negros e afrodescendentes como mecanismo de reconhecimento a uma cultura afrobrasileira e de orgulho negro. É provável que a conscience afrobrasileira só surgiu depois de séculos de escravidão quando aumentou a demografia de afrodescendentes nascidos no Brasil e relação a negros diretamente trazidos forçosamente da África. Neste caso, pode ter sido que a língua de preto foi nada mais do que uma forma de naturalizar e homogeneizar os negros como inferiores e deficientes, enquanto estabelecia o português standard como necessário e universal.

## Polarização da sociedade: o som como divisão

Paradoxalmente, o vilancico tem outra função que está, pelo menos em aparência, diametralmente oposta ao esforço de inclusão e de universalidade que vimos acima. O vilancico de negro simultaneamente reforça a ideia de uma oposição de tipo binária e dialéctica entre os brancos e os negros, como se a sociedade fosse formada exclusivamente por estes dois grupos, e que esses fossem opostos de maneira bem demarcada e legível. Esta estratégia de divisão se encontra em muitas ocasiões da história brasileira e inevitavelmente favorece a identificação do conjunto quase-total da sociedade com o elemento cultural branco. Esse esquema funciona apresentando

simultaneamente uma negritude estereotipada, má ou deficiente, e uma branquitude normalizada, estando *de fato* que seja visível ou implícita. É o que chamamos branquitude aspiracional [*aspirational whiteness*] ou a criação dum desejo de pertença ao grupo dominante, mesmo para os indivíduos que racialmente se poderiam definir de outra forma (como examinamos mais abaixo). Similarmente, a figura do *malandro* no Brasil contemporâneo provoca esta divisão entre o ‘‘bom’’ negro e o ‘‘mau’’ negro. O segundo é associado com todos os aspectos imorais e criminosos, uma sorte de inimigo da nação, enquanto o primeiro é identificado com a cultura e a ética branca — sentido do dever e dedicação ao trabalho, bom pai de família e constringido sexualmente.

Nos vilancico de negro dos tempos coloniais, esta oposição não chegou a ser extrema porque a ideia de inclusão e universalidade descrita mais acima — e que era à base da justificação da escravidão! — impedia uma estereotipização demasiado negativa do carácter do negro. Se a figura do negro fosse desenhada exageradamente má, teria sido difícil promover a sua inclusão dentro duma mesma fé que o branco. Embora, sim existia um dualismo forte e uma visão marcada pela oposição entre negros e brancos, os primeiros como deficientes, por exemplo na língua ou na fé, engraçados, corporais; e os segundos como funcionais ou corretos, sérios, racionais.

#### O marcador racial sónico

O conceito de raça como o entendemos hoje é uma ferramenta desenvolvida pelo homem europeu, a partir da sua chegada às Américas, para justificar a apropriação do



trabalho e da terra de seres humanos não europeus. “Desde o século XVI, este princípio demonstrou ser o instrumento de dominação social universal mais efectivo e duradouro” (Quijano 2000, 535). O próprio europeu teve de melhorar e atualizar esta ferramenta ao longo dos séculos para que, de um lado, cumpra a função desejada e, do outro, pareça natural e universal (Michel, Aurélia 2020). É o que Walter Mignolo descreve como ‘fractura colonial’ (2005): a maneira em que a povoação global foi dividida em duas categorias diametralmente oposta, uma que usufruiu dos privilégios, do poder e da legitimidade, enquanto a outra teve de sofrer a negação total ou parcial do seu ser. Também foi necessário, posteriormente, estabelecer normas simples e facilmente reconhecíveis para instituir uma fractura colonial estável, através duma intersubjetividade partilhada pelos dois lados (Quijano 2000), baseado em esta fractura e normalizando-a, admitindo a branquitude como naturalmente superior.

Consequencialmente, no século XIX, aparecem teorias sobre fenótipos e caracteres típicos das pessoas de cor (Salomon 1996). No fim deste mesmo século sabemos que aparece, coincidentemente, uma nova disciplina nos estudos musicais: a *musicologia comparativa*, que examina as músicas não europeias através dum prisma eurocêntrico (como vamos a discutir no capítulo 3). Esta disciplina e os seus métodos foram muito criticada desde o fim do século XX pelas suas implicações coloniais e por, no último fim, visar a demonstrar uma pretensa superioridade da música europeia (Merriam 1977). Metodologicamente, os musicólogos alemães usaram uma série de conceitos e premissas de base com os quais recolhavam os sons das outras culturas unicamente desde um prisma eurocêntrico. Estes preconceitos não permitiam

a compreensão das expressões musicais extra-europeias ou populares, já que haviam sido produzidas desde outros epistemes, outros modos de pensar, criar, e de relacionar-se (Agnew 2005). Desta forma, a música de origem europeia era a única a responder aos padrões preestabelecidos para medir a “qualidade” musical.

Argumento que, já uns séculos antes, os músicos e compositores que produziam os *vilancicos de negro*, finalmente trabalhavam para um objectivo muito semelhante, embora o fizessem com uma forma de expressão distinta. Além disso, os compositores antigos trabalhavam diretamente sobre a produção do som, e não só sobre a produção dum discurso sobre o som, como os musicólogos.

Vejo no ato de composição dos vilancicos de negro um exercício de transcrição subjetiva da música do Outro. De fato, o que se trata nessas peças é de condensar, num estilo legível para o europeu, as principais características duma música que o branco percebe como racializada (o branco entende-a como ‘música de negros’) e finalmente transformando-a num produto musical que, ele mesmo, *racializa* (a tal ‘música de negros’ é essencialmente distinta da música ‘branca’).

Obras como os *vilancicos de negro* tem o objetivo de oferecer à sociedade umas chaves de leitura auditivas para que o ouvinte aprenda, com a repetição de tais peças, a identificar um som como racializado, e conseqüentemente, a emitir um juízo sobre esse. Estas peças jogam então um papel educativo no desenharem, na própria percepção auditiva, uma *linha de cor* sonora no inconsciente coletivo.

Assim, o branco reserva-se o direito de decidir o quê ‘soa’ Outro, e quais sons definem a branquitude, em negativo do que ele teria previamente definido como

Outro. Como tal, manuscritos musicais são documentos de grande interesse porque mostram de modo não verbalizado como os brancos viam, ouviam e entendiam as negritude. Mas além disso, nos diz como, através da sua própria percepção, o branco *definia* o negro, e por consequência, o que significava ser branco. Mais uma vez na história da raça, da colonização e da dominação branca, observe-se que o branco tem licença para cruzar esta linha de cor, para mover-se livremente dum lado e do outro, entre o som próprio e o suposto som do Outro. Por exemplo, o branco podia interpretar uma personagem negra durante as representações teatrais, enquanto o negro vinha sempre racializado.

Para escolher um exemplo de como o branco representava sonoramente o negro (assim como o Outro em geral), nota-se muito nos *vilancicos de negro e de remedo* (lit. *de mímica*) uma ambiguidade rítmica entre binário e ternário. Essa pode ser uma tentativa, dentro das possibilidades limitada da notação musical europeia, de imitar alguma polirritmia típica da África do Oeste. Por exemplo, esta alternância na pulsação se encontra na peça “Olá Toro Zente Pleta” (Fig. 3) da biblioteca geral da Universidade de Coimbra, composta para o convento de Santa Cruz da mesma cidade no século XVII (Sanches 2018).<sup>39</sup> Observe-se simultaneamente vozes cantando num ritmo ternário (“que naciro he” traduz-se por “que nacido é” com a acentuação na

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<sup>39</sup> Sanches, 2018. Aqui uso um exemplo com proveniência no território português, partindo das pressupostos que: as músicas escritas em Portugal e no Brasil eram relativamente semelhantes, a presença dos negros em Portugal era também significativa, e que há uma falta de fontes musicais do século XVII para os vilancicos de negro. Um exemplo de gravação, pela Capella Sanctae Crucis: <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x7wujbu> consultado no 20 de novembro 2020. A “resposta” começa no minuto 4 do vídeo.

sílaba “ci”) sobre um baixo ostinato num tempo binário (os três tempos do compas são acentuados). Esta alternância ou simultaneidade de ternário e binário é muito típica dos vilancicos de negro, embora não é sistemática e aparece também em muitas outras peças de origem ibérica.

Fig 3: Ola Toro Zente Pleta, *De Negro a 7. P* - Cug MM232 ff. 37v -39. Transcrição Manuela Lopes 2015.

**Ternário:**      



105

**Binário:**      

No exemplo mostrado na Fig. 4, vê-se também a utilização de chamada-e-resposta com a alternância de solos e coros, assim como o uso de várias repetições. Tais elementos são recorrentes neste gênero, e os podemos perceber como estilizações mais ou menos fiéis da música que se podia provavelmente ouvir nas

confrarias negras e nos batuques dentro do território português.<sup>40</sup> Estes esforços de estilização davam ao público branco uma codificação estereotipada do que era a música negra, tanto para facilitar a sua identificação através de conceitos musicais simplificados como para influenciar o seu juízo sobre a tal. Ajudava assim evitar que os brancos tivessem de se familiarizar demasiado diretamente com a cultura negra. Ao compararmo-los com a música sacra que ocupava o resto da liturgia, os vilancicos, e especialmente os *negros*, demarcavam-se por uma simplicidade harmônica e melódica, e por uma ênfase no ritmo e na repetição.

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<sup>40</sup> Tinhorão, em *Os Negros de Portugal*, demonstra a presença africana em Portugal, e em particular em Lisboa onde pode atingir os 10% da população total, incluindo escravos africanos, africanos livres e afrodescendentes. Comenta em particular a presença sonora dos negros nas confrarias e a prática dos batuques.

Fig 4: A Minino Tam Bonitio, (*Resposta a 5*). P - Cug MM227 ff. 21 -21v. Transcrição Octavio Páez Granados2013,.

FUNDO MUSICAL DA BIBLIOTECA GERAL DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA  
MANUSCRITO MUSICAL 227

*A Minino tam bonitio*

P-Cug. MM 227, ff. 21-21v

*Resposta a 5*

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes a Soprano voice part with lyrics: "A Mi - ni - no tam bo - ni - ti - o, tam bo - ni - ti - o a - re -". Below it is a guitar part. The second system includes vocal parts for Alto, Tenor, and Bass, all with the lyrics "zu - guam - be". The guitar part continues with a bass line and includes a measure with a 5/3 chord symbol. The final system includes vocal parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, all with the lyrics "y zu - guam - be" and "zu - guam - be". The guitar part continues with a bass line.

[Tiple Só] A Mi - ni - no tam bo - ni - ti - o, tam bo - ni - ti - o a - re -

[Guitar] [zu - guam - be]

[Tiple] [zu - guam - be]

[Alto] [zu - guam - be]

[Tenor] zu - guam - be

[Baixo] [zu - guam - be]

6 gres tu - ro pre - ty - o de An - go - la y San - to Tho - me mas que

[Tiple] y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

[Alto] y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

[Tenor] y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

[Baixo] y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

Tais estilizações podem ser comparadas com as gravações de Sambas entre os anos 1915 e 1945. Especialmente durante a presidência de Getúlio Vargas (1930 - 1945) a disseminação do Samba como estilo musical nacional foi facilitada pelo uso da nova tecnologia que foi a rádio. Nestes anos de apropriação do Samba pelos poderes políticos e comerciais, é possível ouvir uma progressiva branquização do estilo musical (Vianna 1995). A redução das discrepâncias rítmicas (Keil 1987) para obter ritmos mais “quadrados” ou mais legíveis pelos brancos, a introdução de instrumentos europeus e de fórmulas rítmicas inspiradas do jazz, a estilização da voz para aproximar-se a uma vocalidade “trabalhada” como corresponde na música clássica, são tantos efeitos que permitiram ao Samba de passar de cultura marginalizada à aceitação e consumo pela cultura dominante branca (Carvalho 2016). Por exemplo, na canção “O Samba é Carioca” gravada em 1934<sup>41</sup>, ouvimos uma orquestração que faz intervir instrumentos maioritariamente europeus como clarinetes, piano, etc., mas com um ritmo de “dança” binário, uma subdivisão marcada em semicolcheias rápidas e constantes, e ênfase na 3ª e 4ª subdivisão do tempo. E é esse mesmo ritmo que a Carmen Miranda usa ao longo da sua carreira norte-americana, em particular quando “representa” o *Samba*.<sup>42</sup> Se ouvirmos ritmos típicos de grupos das *escolas de samba* atuais, vemos que os ritmos são muito mais complexos, a instrumentação menos variada, as vozes mais direitas, etc... Assim, é prova que a estilização efetuada nas versões branquizadas foi bastante criativa, mas

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<sup>41</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8xhclubJUln4> consultado no 15 de dezembro 2018.

<sup>42</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sDHMpMBIvF4> consultado no 15 de dezembro 2018.

Aqui Carmen apresenta o que ela chama um “Ritmo típico de samba”, apesar de cantar uma música muito americanizada.

ao mesmo tempo redutora, como qualquer estereotipização.<sup>43</sup> Assim devem ter sido também as estilizações que podemos ver nos vilancicos de negro, com uma redução codificada do que é o “som negro” e pode ser aceitável pelos brancos como tal. Como é óbvio, esta redução simplificadora remete à função que vimos antes, que era demonstrar a suposta superioridade da música branca sobre as outras.

### Delimitação espacial e moralização da raça

O facto de ter os *batuques* e os rituais religiosos fora da vista dos brancos permitiu associar aqueles marcadores sónicos não só com uma questão de cor de pele racializada, mas também com o véu de mistério que recobre o invisível, e aumenta a possibilidade de invenção sobre esse. O som servia para localizar geograficamente o domínio do não-ser, o lugar que não é parte admitida da sociedade. Num contexto contemporâneo, Osmundo Pinho diz:

No plano histórico-concreto a rua, vista como perigosa, anônima, liminar, marginal, parece ter sido reinventada em seu significado social pelos africanos e seus descendentes, como uma rede de pontos focais da articulação entre cultura, identidade e resistência. Tal presença motivou o bem documentado e renitente pânico moral, que implicou nas diversas campanhas de desafricanização da

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<sup>43</sup> Por exemplo: <https://youtu.be/qpS0KFG38ds?t=90> embora seja um exemplo recente, a recorrência dos mesmos ritmos em várias escolas de samba faz pensar numa possível origem comum. Ver também <https://youtu.be/9c2b5B30eYA?t=206> para um exemplo dentro do âmbito privado, e com só uso de percussão e voz. Vemos que há várias correntes do que cai baixo a denominação ‘Samba’. As gravações da Carmen Miranda estão na linha de uma escola de samba gravada, que começou com “Pelo Telefone” gravado por Donga no 1916 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=woLpDB4jjDU> consultado no 8 de agosto 2020), já muito estilizado em relação a gravações anteriores, como “A Viola Está Magoada” gravado por Bahiano no 1913 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPEd2Nk18iA> consultado no 8 de agosto, 2020). Também referir-se a Sandroni (2016) para um estudo das modificações dos ritmos no Samba dos inícios do século 20.



cidade da Bahia (Pinho 2011).

Da mesma maneira como, no século XXI, os bairros pobres - e negros - de Salvador da Bahia estão fisicamente separados dos bairros ricos ao redor, a fim de os criminalizar perante a opinião pública e justificar ataques policiais repetidos (Perry 2012), pode-se supor que nos séculos XVI a XVIII, a separação dos escravos em espaços específicos (apesar do mito Freyriano de uma casa partilhada), que estavam longe da vista mas de quem a música se fazia ouvir, pode ter servido para mistificar o negro e dar aos sons da cultura negra um artifício de perigo, de crime, e seguramente de externalidade. Hoje, as mídias oficiais, nas mãos das elites brancas, reproduzem a imagem do negro ameaçador para promover o ódio entre as raças e um sentimento degradante sobre as práticas culturais negras. No século XVI e seguintes, a reprodução deste estereótipo servia de justificação à escravidão, realidade brutal à qual os brancos das classes médias e baixas eram mais directamente confrontados que as elites comerciais que só se aproveitavam, desde longe, dos lucros gerados.<sup>44</sup> Assim, a estratégia de aumentar o medo do Outro deu ao branco médio um argumento para a exploração, a discriminação e a repressão direita do negro. Ainda hoje, podemos ver como a música joga um papel importante nesse aspecto. Por exemplo, a música de *pagode* está estigmatizada pelas leis "antibaixaria", que a criminaliza pelo seu carácter misógino. Tais leis, apesar de defender a imagem da mulher por ser degradada nesta música, oferecem um potencial racista ou de aumento do ódio por bases raciais,

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<sup>44</sup> Por exemplo, Michel (Aurélia) Un Monde en Nègre et Blanc, em particular o capítulo 6: "Une société impossible, 1710-1750"

enraizadas na mesma música (Pinho 2011).

Nos *vilancicos*, o negro não está apresentado sob um ar ameaçador nem criminalizado. Ao contrário, é mais “simpático” e amigável que outra coisa. Contudo, o caráter preguiçoso do negro estereotipado está reforçado, e até pode apresentar-se bêbedo perante o berço do menino Jesus.<sup>45</sup> No mundo colonial, a ausência de trabalho era vista como um crime e era punível por lei — pelo menos em relação aos escravos e afrodescendentes. O alcoolismo também era representado como vício e perigo do qual era necessário afastar-se. Apesar do modo divertido e de piada com a qual se representavam os *vilancicos*, não deixavam de deixar passar uma mensagem muito clara sobre a falta de ética do negro, que era sempre necessário e justo punir e mandar para o caminho “certo”.

A presença dos negros durante as representações dos *vilancicos* não está estabelecida, mas sabe-se sim que as confrarias de negros participavam nas procissões maiores. Está documentado o espanto dos brancos frente às danças e cantos dos negros, durante as poucas ocasiões que tinham de se deixarem ver. Os *vilancicos* provavelmente representavam o papel de recuperar esta repentina visibilidade dos negros de modo que estivesse suficientemente perto da realidade para se substituir a ela, e transformar a agressividade e a transgressão das expressões culturais negras - até reforçando-a - num produto mais consumível e mais conforme à imagem

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<sup>45</sup> Ver por exemplo: “Antonya Flaciquia Gasipá” de Felipe da Madre de Deus, AHAG. Versão por Jordi Savall: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AeDYfelisYU> Consultado a 15 de dezembro de 2018.

pejorativa do negro preguiçoso e infantil (Michel 2020b).

Como vimos no capítulo 1, a demarcação da colonialidade do ser (Eu sou / Eles não) foi o que fomentou a ideia dum corpo separado da mente. A resultante deste mapeamento das duas linhas de demarcação é que o ênfase da música de vilancicos sobre a corporalidade, a imoralidade, assim como a pervasividade da sua presença, reforça o lugar simbólico deste gênero no outro lado da linha do Ser, ou seja, no domínio do Não-Ser.

A transguração dos terrores da escravidão e do racismo encontrou na reconexão histórico-subjetiva do homem negro com o corpo e o sexo uma fronteira fatal. O corpo negro, barbarizado mapa do imaginário colonial e das lutas de classe, encarnadas em sujeitos racializados, que guram como os “não-respeitáveis” da perspectiva universalista da “civilização”, ou dos bons costumes (Pinho 2011).

Esta linha simbólica tem resurgência hoje no inconsciente colectivo, que dita que o negro é menos inteligente que o branco, e que justifica a pouca presença negra nas universidades públicas, por exemplo — em vez de demonstrar este fato pela presença de racismo estrutural no país (Almeida 2018). Tais estratégias sempre consistem em fazer passar por traços naturais circunstâncias de exclusão e discriminação, quando realmente são construções sociais e culturais. Por esta razão, acho importante examinar como tais “naturalizações” operaram desde os primeiros séculos da colonização e em particular através da música.

## O tópico musical do negro nos vilancicos

O estudo do vilancico como gênero levou a tal grau de discussão e confusão, por causa da fluidez que abarcou em termos de estilos, contextos, formas e conteúdos poético-musicais, que Bernardo Illari preferiu falar de *metagênero*, incluindo debaixo desta etiqueta uma variedade de práticas (Illari 2007, 413). O mesmo podia ser dito sobre os vilancicos de negro: há pouca semelhança formal e estrutural entre, por exemplo, um vilancico de negro de Gaspar Fernández no início do século 17 com dois coros, e uma alternância de vozes solos com o resto do coro, e uma obra do século 18 como “A ver la gente de Angola” que alterna um coro homorítmico, polifonia de grande complexidade, assim como um recitativo no mais puro estilo operático italiano, e onde o texto faz referência a instrumentos como trompeta, corneta, ou órgão.<sup>46</sup> Embora, há bem alguns elementos que ficam e se repetem de maneira mais ou menos consistente através dos continentes e dos séculos. Mais do que falar de estilo ou gênero musical, prefiro usar o conceito de *tópico*, muito útil nos estudos de semiótica musical e que permite extrair a construção dos sentidos nos discursos musicais.

Os tópicos são elementos musicais reiterativos que chegaram a ser convencionalizados. Raymond Monelle, no seu livro *O sentido da música* (2010), explica como os tópicos foram sempre pensados como tendo uma relação icônica com o seu objeto: por exemplo o tópico do cucú na música parece representar de maneira idêntica o som deste pássaro (Monelle 2010, 15). No obstante, nota que

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<sup>46</sup> Fernández, Gaspar, “Venimo”; Anónimo (México), “A Ver la Gente”.

realmente trata-se duma relação de tipo tanto indexical como simbólica: o cucú remete indexicalmente (numa relação de causa e efeito) à chegada da primavera, e o uso deste símbolo musical pelos compositores baseia-se sobre uma convenção cultural e social que faz que a aparição duma terceira menor descendente numa sinfonia ou sonata irremediavelmente faz referência à primavera, à juventude, ao início dum ciclo novo. Aqui, proponho uma leitura semelhante dos tópicos nos vilancico de negro, para examinar a criação do que chamei acima os marcadores raciais sónicos. À primeira vista, os elementos musicais que são recorrentes nos vilancicos de negro podem ser visto como uma intenção de relação icônica com as práticas musicais negras. Como vimos acima, a polirritmia que está estilizada pelos compositores de tradição europeia, como demonstrei com o exemplo da figura 1, é supostamente um ícone que rememora ao público os batuques e conjuntos de percussão das comunidades negras. Da mesma forma, vimos na figura 2 uma estilização da forma de chamada e resposta, também provavelmente pensada pelos compositores como ícone destas mesmas práticas nas comunidades negras. Podemos fazer comentários semelhantes sobre os outros elementos que vimos, como a simplicidade melódica e harmônica, assim como as acentuações nas últimas sílabas de fórmulas onomatopéicas: Gulumbá Gulumbé, Tarará, Zuguambé<sup>47</sup>, entre outras. O problemas destes marcadores raciais sónicos, não só é que nos diz mais sobre o que o branco *não* quer ser que sobre o que o negro *é*, é que são apresentadas como relação *icônicas* que presentariam uma semelhança direta — e portanto, neutra e ausente de

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<sup>47</sup> Anónimo (México), “A Ver la Gente”; Antonio de Salazar: “Tarará”; Anónimo (Coimbra, PT), “Zente Pleto”.

significados racistas — com práticas reais dos negros presentes no mundo ibérico da época. Mas já se deixarmos de pensar nessas relações como icônicas, e as vemos como relação *indexicais*, perceberia-se o subjacente no imaginário colectivo sobre presunções racistas: a ênfase no ritmo que teria a música “negra” seria uma indicação da sua corporalidade; a falta de complexidade melódica, uma prova da sua falta de sutileza; e as limitações ao nível harmónico, uma incapacidade intelectual. Desta forma, pode-se perceber como passou o vilancico de negro a ser uma representação *simbólica* da inferioridade do africano e do afro-descendente, a força de repetição e convencionalização dum estilo musical que joga com uma pretendida iconicidade, ou semelhança pressuposta, com práticas reais e existentes nas comunidades negras do mundo ibérico, e pelo tanto livres de juízo discriminatório.

### A integração e aceitação como forma escondida de apropriação, controle e legitimação dos centros de poder.

Entre as duas vertentes que vimos acima, o universalismo da humanidade como uma soa, por uma lado, e a polarização da sociedade em opostos (brancos e não brancos), por outro lado, existe na realidade uma vontade de explorar esta aparente contradição para construir uma legitimidade do poder no lugar. O princípio é de combinar uma aparente aceitação e integração das classes e raças marginalizadas enquanto, ao mesmo tempo, uma separação simbólica é mantida que, ao contrário do que pretende

o discurso vigente sobre uma mobilidade e fluidez dentro da sociedade, assegura a impossibilidade estrutural para os não brancos de aceder a lugares de poder.

Mas para manter essas posições, mesmo na era colonial onde o escravismo era lei e a violência física a principal forma de controle, os grupos dominantes buscavam uma certa forma de hegemonia para manter-se na sua posição apesar de serem a minoria demográfica. O princípio da hegemonia foi desenvolvida no século XX. Em particular estudiosos como Antonio Gramsci, explicam que a hegemonia, a qual permite uma coesão e aparência pacífica entre os grupos sociais, aparece no centro da relação dialética entre estrutura e superestrutura, que entretêm uma “necessária reciprocidade” (Forgacs, 2000, 193). Além disso, a formação da hegemonia e do consentimento (em oposição à força) é a “forma necessária” (Forgacs, 195) de obter equilíbrio nessa dialética.<sup>48</sup> Mas a construção da hegemonia vai bem além da questão política ou econômica: “A realização dum aparato hegemônico, pelo fato de criar um novo terreno ideológico, determina uma reforma da consciência e dos métodos de conhecimento” (Forgacs, 192). A teorização da hegemonia apareceu muito mais tarde que os vilancicos, assim como a de governamentalidade de Michel Foucault (2007). No obstante, considero que esforços para estabelecer consensos entre a povoação e os aparatos de poder foram de fundamental importância durante os primeiros séculos da colonização, e que as tecnologias de controle de poder nesta época já eram muito mais estendidas nas produções culturais que nas esferas econômicas, políticas ou estritamente religiosas. A esfera cultural era assim

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<sup>48</sup> Aqui, Gramsci fala de “bloque histórico” para definir esta relação dialética entre estrutura e superestrutura. Embora, não encontramos necessidade de introduzir este termo no texto presente.

cuidadosamente manipulada para servir à legitimação do poder através da construção duma relativa hegemonia. Como diz Fernando Leiva, em base às palavras de Francisco de Oliveira:

Por hegemonia geralmente entendemos a capacidade do bloco no poder de exercer a liderança intelectual, política e moral da sociedade [...] Ou seja, a capacidade de hegemonia seria “a capacidade cultural de tornar indeclináveis os temas propostos, o que obriga o adversário brincar com as línguas, situações, instituições e cultura que foram inventadas e, portanto, se tornam a cultura dominante. A hegemonia é a produção conflitiva de consenso” (Leiva 2012, 20).

Mas além de criar este novo sentido ideológico ao nível intersubjetivo, procura-se desde os lugares de poder estratégias para “produzir coesão social e senso de pertencimento” (Comissão Econômica para América Latina e o Caribe (CEPAL) 2007, cit in Leiva 2012, 3), com a ideia de aumentar a produtividade por parte dos setores sociais marginalizados e no benefício das classes dominantes, e para “promover relações de reciprocidade e, sobretudo, captar o capital social ou capacidade de cooperação existente na sociedade com o objetivo de funcionalizá-la como recurso” (Leiva, 23). Abordo o vilancicos de negro como parte de tais estratégias que servem tanto para legitimizar o discurso das elites dominante como para proporcionar este sentimento de pertença, embora simultaneamente reforcem a ideologia da branquitude como as desigualdades existentes.

Os princípios da apropriação cultural

Não se poderia perceber o Brasil e a sua cultura senão através do fenómeno da



apropriação cultural. Primeiro, vimos o modo com qual o Samba foi progressivamente (re)modelado para aderir a estéticas e padrões de aceitação determinados pelos brancos (Vianna 1995) até chegar a produtos prontos para a exportação, como a figura da Carmen Miranda (uma “embaixatriz do Samba” racialmente branca). Segundo, existiu a criação de outros tipos musicais que integram marcadores sónicos negros (ritmos, balanceado da linha melódica) dentro dum som julgado aceitável pelas elites (piano, contrabaixo, timbres vocais suaves). Tudo isso faz com que o carnaval como produto de consumo não só permita controlar a identidade negra e definir a branca em negativo a partir dela, mas também justifica uma transformação do som negro para o consumo branco. Isto é, argumento, exatamente o que o *vilancico de negro* fazia, séculos atrás. Se não podemos, claramente, comparar o *vilancico de negro* com o *samba* ou com qualquer expressão direta da cultura negra, sim podemos ver uma semelhança entre o *vilancico*, composto por músicos brancos, e a recuperação feita pelas elites brancas do *Samba* e da música afro em geral. O branco que se dá o poder de interpretar o que ele percebe dos sons que considera como racializados, e de remodelá-los em função aos seus próprios critérios estéticos, pertence a um mesmo fenômeno, que fosse nos séculos XVII, XVIII, ou XX e XXI. Em ambos casos, a apropriação da expressão cultural corresponde à penetração do espaço simbólico racializado. O branco pode a qualquer altura atravessar a “linha de cor” e travestir-se como negro quando, ao mesmo tempo, isso é negado ao negro, que fica “prisioneiro” da sua cor. Por esta razão, há de examinar comparativamente e em detalhe as relações do branco com a música

“negra” através dos séculos, ou melhor, o próprio conceito de “música negra”, como invenção do branco, e além disso um ponto fundamental de referência e de definição da branquitude, sendo o lugar onde essa se performa em negativo.

Há de ter presente que, num país como Brasil, a apropriação cultural tem uma história diferente que a de país com forte segregação racial (por exemplo, os Estados Unidos de América), já que o mito da nação foi baseada na exaltação da ideia da mestiçagem racial e da noção que todo brasileiro tem um fundo de mistura racial, mesmo os que se definem mais como brancos ou como negros. De fato, foi o conceito da *baianidade* que mais foi capaz de encapsular os elementos fundamentais que iriam a criar o sentido de brasilidade. Bahia, a região mais negra do Brasil, foi utilizada como mito para a construção da democracia racial. Autores como o historiador Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902-1982), o sociólogo Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) ou o escritor Jorge Amado (1912-2001) escreveram sobre a cultura baiana com admiração, definindo-a como o núcleo da cultura brasileira. Veiam em particular seus elementos trazidos da África, como a arte culinária, musical, ou religiosa, entre outras coisas, que serviam para demonstrar e reforçar um imaginário sobre as características “típicas” do brasileiro: a sua amabilidade, força física, suas capacidades espirituais (Pinho, P. 2010, 185). Mas, esta suposta admiração e “promoção duma marca cultural ao serviço do nacionalismo” (Pinho, 186) não é sinónimo de uma aceitação de fundo nem duma integração real na sociedade. Como nota Patrícia de Santana Pinho, “no entanto, a exaltação da negritude na construção da baianidade é mais problemática que pode parecer à primeira vista, especialmente porque envolve um véu de harmonia

em torno de uma realidade de conflito e de desigualdade generalizada” (Pinho, 185).

Mas além da celebração da negritude e, por extensão, da baianidade, apresenta-se uma característica importante que reforça a crença na (falsa) permeabilidade bilateral da linha de cor. A miscigenação, e em particular a figura da mulher mulata, são símbolos da capacidade de elementos negros para permear corpos brancos. A antropóloga Sônia Maria Giacomini descreve a mulata (profissional) como desempenhando um “papel mediador” entre o branco (extrangeiro) e o corpo racializado brasileiro (1994, 220). Através da sua sedução, e obrigada a o seu carácter “exposta e disponível” (220) imposto pelo seu estatuto, ela pode forçar o branco até dentro do universo negro e da miscegenação que representa a autenticidade brasileira. Assim, o branco pode cruzar esta linha e, em devido tempo, voltar ao seu lugar. Da mesma forma, “esta ‘contagiosidade’ da cultura negra, que tinha sido uma fonte de medo no passado, começou a representar uma característica desejável que agora é vista como sendo transmitida dos negros para os não negros” (Pinho, P. 2010, 193). Assim nos vilancicos de negro, o cantor branco pode entrar na pele dum personagem negro, imitando as suas características — claramente estereotipizadas — da mesma forma que hoje os jovens brancos de classe média apropriam-se elementos da cultura negra durante o tempo bem delimitado do Carnaval (Pinho, 194). A função deste mimetismo é bastante semelhante em ambos casos, no sentido que mostra uma cara de aceitação, exaltação, e até idealização pela cultura negra, mas na realidade só permite ao branco de ultrapassar a linha de cor temporalmente, sem perder os seus privilégios nem partilhar-los a longo prazo com indivíduos negros ou mestiços.

## A construção duma legitimidade e a falsa hegemonia

O princípio da apropriação cultural não é só uma maneira, para os grupos dominantes, de outorgar-se o direito de representar o Outro e de modificar à vontade as suas produções culturais para o consumo próprio, mas também foi consistentemente usado como técnica de legitimação e de pretensão de inclusividade. Isso é o lado mais pernicioso deste tipo de apropriação, porque invisibiliza a violência feita, sob uma falsa integração do Outro na cultura dominante. Para voltar ao exemplo do Samba nos inícios do século XX, a vontade de promover este estilo musical tipicamente negro, mudando-o como fundamental na formação da identidade nacional, vem dum câmbio radical sobre as considerações da presença negra no Brasil. Quando o elemento negro, nas décadas e nos séculos anteriores, era visto como contrário ao progresso da nação e mais geralmente detrimental à sociedade, repentinamente as elites (brancas) perceberam a necessidade de incluir esta ampla parte da povoação dentro do projeto nacional. A reivindicação de elementos culturais negros como parte duma identidade partilhada permitia evitar relações de conflito com os negros brasileiros, assim como proponhia uma identidade aceitável pelas pessoas de raças mixtas, que representavam a maioria do povo. Daí o surgimento da democracia racial como suposta oposição à divisão racial e reversão das hierarquias sociais baseadas na cor da pele, enquanto nos fatos sempre a branquitude dominava as esferas culturais, econômicas e políticas no país.

Nos vilancicos de negros, a operação era muito semelhante. Embora nunca foi até o grau de integrar plenamente o elemento negro (nem, de certeza, as pessoas

negras) dentro dum projeto social comum, as representações dos vilancicos serviam de base para promover uma ideia — farsificada — de igualdade, em particular na esfera religiosa. A ideia que todas as raças loam a um mesmo Deus tem a pretensão de confirmar a identidade branca, aqui através da sua religião, como universal e natural, como vimos na primeira parte. Mas os vilancicos vão até além disso, oferecendo, embora de maneira claramente condescendente, aos negros o “honor” de anunciar a Natividade. Por exemplo, num vilancico dos Berkeley Manuscripts (Labrador y DiFranco 2004) há um diálogo entre brancos e negros onde os negros são quem anunciam aos brancos o nascimento do menino Jesús.

Blancos:

“¿Dónde va la gente negra  
tan de noche como es,  
con tanta grita y ruydo  
que no dan en qué entender? ¿Dó caminan los tiznados,  
a qué parte van sus pies? Respondan, señores negros, sepamos dónde y a qué.”

Negros:

“¿Qué quiere blanco sabe? Samon loca de prazé,  
y bamo a Belé con faulta y rabé, y la guitariya, sonaxa y gaytiya, ca parirá vna moreniya  
vn branquiyo que Dios e.” (Labrador e DiFranco, 2004: 184)

Da mesma maneira, num texto dum vilancico de Gaspar Fernández (Guatemala / México, século XVII), a integração dos brancos e negros a uma mesma mesa é evidenciada.

“Jesucristo esá secreto para gentes nieve e branca.

Y a todos da mesa franca, aunque son blanco o prieto.” (Fernández, “Flasiquillo”)

Aqui também o tom condescendente está muito claro: Jesucristo vai dar “mesa franca” a todos, *embora* sejam negros. A bondade de Jesús está exemplificada na sua aceitação dos negros como parte duma mesma comunidade cristã, o que reforça a ideia que não era o caso de todos os dias. Quero contrapor esses dois exemplos com um extrato dum texto de Lélia Gonzalez, autora negra brasileira ativa nos fim do século XX que introduzimos acima. Neste parágrafo, imita o discurso predominante dos brancos brasileiros:

Racismo? No Brasil? Quem foi que disse? Isso é coisa de americano. Aqui não tem diferença porque todo mundo é brasileiro acima de tudo, graças a Deus. Preto aqui é bem tratado, tem o mesmo direito que a gente tem. Tanto é que, quando se esforça, ele sobe na vida como qualquer um. Conheço um que é médico; educadíssimo, culto, elegante e com umas feições tão finas... Nem parece preto. (Gonzalez 1984, 226)

Aparecem neste texto a mesma retórica que as que vimos nos vilancicos de negro:

Uma cara de inclusão, que pena a esconder uma realidade altamente desigual.

Perdura um tom de condescendência muito profundamente enraizada de parte do branco: o preto *de fato* não merece o lugar social dos brancos, mas se “se esforcer” consegue escapar à sua condição de negro. O conceito de esforço individual não aparece nos vilancicos de negros, onde é o Jesús em pessoa quem provoca a igualdade entre brancos e negros (a agência do negro é radicalmente negada) mas abre-se também a possibilidade duma aceitação social e duma coabitação pacífica entre as raças num futuro hipotético. Assim, já o vilancico de negro nega a existência do racismo como promove e naturaliza a cultura branca. A normalização da

branquitude é o que Lélia González chama de “neurose cultural brasileira”, no sentido que “sabemos que o neurótico constrói modos de ocultamento do sintoma porque isso lhe traz certos benefícios” (González 1984, 232). Ela reconhece que o sentimento branco frente à cor negra é de angústia, de não saber lidar com a culpa provocada pela eventual fascinação — muitas vezes, sexual — pela gente negra e sobretudo a mulher negra, e de transformá-la em agressividade quotidiana em contra da contraparte mulher sexualizada, a mulher negra domesticada, a empregada doméstica. A relação entre brancos e negros (ou pardos) nos inícios do Brasil colonial não deve ter sido muito diferente. A povoação branca sendo bem minoritária, o medo das rebeliões e mutinarias dos escravos era real. Isso pode explicar também o lado cômico dos vilancicos de negro, “ Afinal um dos meios mais eficientes de fugir à angústia é ridicularizar, é rir daquilo que a provoca” (Gonzalez, 233).

#### A branquitude aspiracional

É por aí que dá prá gente entender a ideologia do branqueamento, a lógica da dominação que visa a dominação da negrada mediante a internalização e a reprodução dos valores brancos ocidentais [...] É por essa via que dá prá entender uma série de falas contra o negro e que são como modos de ocultação, de não assunção da própria castração (Gonzalez 1984: 237).

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Acudieron de Guinea, / de Monicongo y de Zape / a ver al Rey que por todos / en  
aqueste mundo naçe.

Y el negro que tiene nueua / del nueuo sol que le sale, / no quiere quedarse en  
blanco / pues blanca suerte le cabe.

Vnos con otros se llaman / y cada qual por su parte / procuran ser los primeros / y  
van diciendo desta arte:

*Vamo a Velen, Chorche. Foronando, vamo,  
que avnque samo negro, negra gente samo.*

No se vio en tora Guinea niño tan boniquirito,  
turi hera san branquito, rerunbra mase que estreya,  
y a su madre esa donseya besa a su merçé la mano:  
*que avnque samo negro, negra gente samo.*

“Negros” manuscrito BUC143, vol. 153, f.186. (Labrador e DiFranco 2004: 178)

Nestes dois textos acima, o primeiro escrito pela autora negra Lélia Gonzalez no século XX, o outro por poetas brancos no século XVII, entende-se como se articulam as branquitude no inconsciente social, que poderá chegar a ser partilhado por todas as categorias raciais. Mantém-se uma ambiguidade em relação à categoria “branca”, que passa de ser definida sobre expressão fenotípica a uma categoria fluida que permitiria uma possibilidade de cruzar a linha de cor, sendo afinal mais uma posição social à qual podem aspirar negros e pardos, embora tenham uma cor de pele mais oscura. Embora vimos acima que a permeabilidade desta linha simbólica é acessível só para o grupo branco, esta pretensão de cruzabilidade da linha de cor foi e é uma tecnologia de controle da afetividades para promover a aspiração a “mudar-se” branco, e por tanto a aceitar umas séries de convenção sobre atitude social e comportamento.



Patrícia Pinho fala da branquitude como “configuração discursivo e política cultural afectiva [que funciona tanto como] expressão como mecanismo de reprodução de racismo e outras formas de discriminação social” (Pinho, P. 2021, 4). Embora, a branquitude tem esta propriedade de nunca ser explicitamente definida, e fica sempre como posição e padrão assumida que nem tem necessidade de ser expressa. O mecanismo da branquitude aspiracional, ao contrário, baseia-se sobre a evidência reiterada dum oposto a evitar, e sobretudo com o qual se desenvolve um desejo de não-identificação. Por exemplo, Pinheiro Machado e Scalco (2018) falam da produção do medo dum “inimigo interno”, do qual o sujeito vai tentar desidentificar-se. Vimos como, nos vilancicos de negro, e negro está sempre pintado sob forma ridiculizada, duma fala excessivamente deficiente, e duma imoralidade ressaltada. Embora, este “inimigo” também é “um significante vazio, que é ‘enchido’ dependendo de quem é visto como a maior ameaça” (Pinho, P. 2021, 10). No Brasil contemporâneo:

O medo, portanto, operou através das linhas de classe e de raça, funcionando como um canal para a validação e supervalorização da branquitude mesmo entre os não-brancos, e contribuindo para a produção (ou confirmação) de um Outro ainda inferior para aqueles que já estão rebaixados e apresentados como socialmente e racialmente Outros. (Pinho, P. 2021, 11).

Daqui podemos perceber como os vilancicos de “índios”, por exemplo, usam quase exatamente os mesmos recursos poético-musicais que os *negros* (Alcántara Rojas, 2016). Mas finalmente, esta produção dum inimigo negativo imaginário só serve para reforçar a aspiração a mudar-se branco, a ser aceito como socialmente

parte da cultura hegemônica, e aderir a ideologias que lhe são características. “A aspiração à branquitude é a tentativa de chamar o sujeito que não se interpela como branco a uma posição de poder, invocando uma configuração discursiva que sustenta o ideal de brancura.” (Pinho, P. 2021, 13). Assim, podemos incluir o análisis de Geoffroy Baker ou de Omar Morales Abril dentro desta percepção: naturalizar a pobreza do negro — ou do índio — não servia só para garantir que se “quede no seu lugar” mas também para estender a hegemonia do poder, com a pretensão de integração, inclusividade e abertura. Morales Abril explica que o vilancico de negro

[...] cumpre a dupla intenção de evidenciar, por um lado, o valor dos dogmas da fé - o nascimento do Deus Menino, a sua transubstanciação em pão - e, por outro, a condição de inferioridade dos negros, que afirmam associar com o puro e superior: a Sagrada Família, a brancura dos espanhóis. (Morales Abril 2013a, 13)

No âmbito dos textos escritos para vilancicos de negros, podemos olhar os comentários feitos sobre os textos de vilancicos escritos por Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, poeta mexicana do século XVII e considerada como a primeira escritora feminista deste país. Por exemplo, Natalie Underberg observa, nos textos de Sor Juana, “uma valoração positiva da pele morena”, adicionando então: “Desta maneira, Sor Juana se alinha com os oprimidos e os locais” (Underberg 2001: 307). Mas, respondendo a apreciações deste tipo, Geoffroy Baker diz: “Sor Juana sugere a possibilidade de mudança como um meio de pacificar os subalternos, garantindo que nenhuma mudança realmente ocorra” (Baker 2007: 407). Além, explica como funcionava já na época o que chamamos a aspiração à branquitude, aqui expressa nos vilancicos de negro:

Por meio de sua participação voluntária neste show de primitivismo negro, o público foi sutilmente alinhado com o ponto de vista dominante implícito no texto. Os vilancicos ‘étnicos’ destacam o estrangeiro no outro, estimulando o público a se identificar com a esfera cultural hispânica (403).

Assim, pôr a branquitude num lugar de aspiração é central na estratégia de legitimar círculos de poder que parecem ser atingíveis para a povoação na sua integridade mas que na realidade são estritamente reservados aos brancos. Simultaneamente, esta estratégia paradoxalmente reforça a polarização da sociedade com uma estrita oposição entre branco e negro, assim como consolida a posição inferior do negro, enquanto pretende justamente o contrário.

## Conclusão: A afirmação da identidade como modo de resistência.

Neste capítulo, vimos como as estratégias de demarcação racial e de essencialização da inferioridade do negro passam pela invisibilização da branquitude, tanto no início da era colonial como nos tempos contemporâneos. Examinámos os vilancicos de negro como testemunhos de essas estratégias, no sentido que são umas das poucas provas da racialização da Música de Arte Ocidental (MAO). De fato, os vilancicos de negro encontram-se justamente ao nível da linha de cor, e são peças onde se ensaiava a oposição racial entre branquitude e negritude, aqui de forma sonora e pre-racional. É claro que esta oposição é uma invenção do homem europeu para posicionar-se

como universal e apresentar a sua cultura como necessária. Vimos no capítulo 1 como a chegada dos europeus às Américas provocou uma transformação radical no modo que tinham de ver-se, perceber-se, e identificar como brancos. Na música, esta mudança também foi perceptível e levou à criação dum sistema musical essencialmente diferente do das outras culturas, culminando logo com o sistema tonal. O vilancico de negro é uma janela que oferece uma vista sobre este processo de branquização da música europeia, justamente pelo intento que aparece aí de definir musicalmente o Outro. Obrigada a essa definição sonora (através da elaboração de marcadores raciais sónicos) podemos perceber melhor como se construiu, em negativo, a identidade musical branca.

O próximo capítulo é uma observação da maneira pela qual as estratégias racializantes na MAO foram pouco a pouco borradas e invisibilizadas, no fim de fazer parecer a arte musical ocidental independente da situação global e em particular da colonialidade vigente. Assim, considero muito importante, para considerar uma possível subversão do sistema neocolonial atual, denunciar primeiro as formas em que a branquitude instalou-se de modo imperceptível e se naturalizou. Após a leitura deste capítulo, ficará claro ao leitor que os problemas raciais perduraram ao longo dos séculos de maneira, senão idêntica, pelo menos muito semelhante. Na música também, os marcadores raciais sónicos -ou tópicos- identificados nos vilancicos de negro vão se repetir ao momento de integrar a música Colonial (ou Música ocidental existente nas colônias) nos círculos de concertos de MAO e em particular, de Música Antiga. Nos capítulos 4, examino a ansiedade racial

que provocou a imigração de euro-americanos na Europa em consequência às ditaduras na América do Sul nos anos 1970 e inícios de 1980. Esta ansiedade é a que vai provocar uma reação de racialização da música Colonial no âmbito da Música Antiga, como o argumento no capítulo 5. Esta racialização não vai ser frontal nem direta, mas ao contrário, vai seguir padrões muito semelhantes à pseudo-integração dos negros na cultura branca da colônia, como vimos neste capítulo. O uso de tópicos para marcar sonicamente as diferenças faz-se baixo o mesmo esquema. Assim, a visibilização dos métodos da branquitude e a reivindicação da própria identidade são modos de combater a colonialidade do som que está vigente desde o século XVI e que afetou particularmente as pessoas e as culturas da América Latina. Falámos aqui do pretuguês como instrumento de resistência das comunidades afro-brasileiras. Reverter uma suposta deficiência da língua para pôr à vista as táticas de poder da hegemonia, e defender um hábito linguístico como instrumento de resistência cultural e racial, foi o combate de activistas negros e negras no Brasil, como por exemplo a Lélia Gonzalez. Resta a observar, no último capítulo, quais são as ações e os métodos dos músicos latinoamericanos para contra-balançar os estereótipos e a discriminação que sofrem, embora de maneira escondida e indireita, e como eles agem para redefinir sua própria identidade musical.

# Chapter 3 - Anglocentrism and the erasure of the Iberian past

## Introduction

In the first two chapters, we have demonstrated how both the colonial experience and the development of the concept of race have impacted profoundly the way WAM has evolved and constituted itself. This is how modernity and coloniality are, following Mignolo (2007a), the two sides of the same coin. If Western Art Music is the daughter of European modernity, it is then inescapable that it also comes from a form of coloniality, and is one of the expressions of power established by white people to subjugate others. However, music historians have long overlooked the relationship between WAM and coloniality, presenting its history and its developments as independent from social, historical, and political contexts. In this chapter, I argue that this strategy of universalizing WAM and placing it at a a-historical level has required a constant invisibilization of the Iberian element in it. To examine the reasons, at different times in history, of this concealment, allows us to draw a bridge between the construction of European identity and WAM from a racial perspective, as seen in the previous chapters, and the rejection of Latin American citizens as much as Colonial music repertoire in Early Music circle, as discussed in the two following chapters.

The musicologist Alejandro Vera had shown that discursive tendencies that derive from certain historical ideologies can change the way we conceive events that are independent from it, and in particular, modify our conception of music coming from a different time and place. In other words, history can be seen as “a synchronic fabric in which one event can affect another independently from its placement in time” (Vera 2016, 162). However, he urges us to go “beyond the dichotomy between interpretation and documentary work” (Vera, 162) understanding that a conversation between textual information and historiographic criticism is necessary. In this chapter, I am nevertheless more concerned with historical interpretation and the construction of several layers of past, because I intend my chapter 1 to have demonstrated, however briefly, my argument about the correlation between European modernity and coloniality. Here, I will examine how and why this correlation has been strategically erased in the music history hegemonic narratives.

To demonstrate how history has maintained a necessity to avoid any reminiscence of the original link between WAM and coloniality, I will here take as a point of departure the most recent debates around the presence or absence of Latin American music in the canonical representation of music history. Then I dig in the past, reading backward how the actual situation between Latin America and WAM has built itself little by little, century after century, depending on the specific needs of hegemony and justification in the successive centers of power and in the minds of who was in charge to write history. I will prefer this backward temporal reading rather than starting from the most remote past and following a chronological

narrative. Drawing on Michel Foucault's methods in his *History of Sexuality* (1976), I explore the striking absence of Latin America in the WAM canon in a way that allows multidirectional understanding, and reveal how the structures of power have constructed themselves from a need to erase the past, and in a way, "replacing it in the general economy of narratives" (Foucault, 19). Following the same trend, I will unfold the different layers of narratives that have superposed themselves and have the discourses about these narratives are created strategically.

Moreover, this chapter explores the diverse strategies that have been employed by the gatekeepers of hegemonic culture in order to maintain Iberian music much undermined, overlooked, and dismissed. I trace back histories of cultural domination from the current discussions about universities' curriculum to the domination of the British empire and even to the very first periods of emergence of a European identity conscious of itself. As I demonstrated in the first chapter, the Coloniality of Sound first developed during the Iberian "Siglo de Oro." In the second chapter, I examined how the encounter with the Other has provoked the construction of a determined European sound and a eurocentric musical sensibility. The disavowal of Iberian contribution in European music history is thus not only a question of economic, cultural and political domination, but I argue that this has been also a way to actively ignore the colonial origin of what constitutes European sonic essence until today.



## The place of Latin America in the current musical canon

The geopolitics of knowledge that reward more weight or importance to one particular type of cultural production over other ones can be seen in music, among other fields. In particular, recent debates about the introduction of Latin American music in the “art” musical canon have created heated discussion in the music fields of Academia, in particular in recent decades in Northern America. The issue around the canonization of certain works or authors is not unique to the musical disciplines, and every discipline or field has specific ways to engage with it. Nevertheless, music scholars have addressed this issue in a variety of ways. For example, we have seen earlier how some scholars and music pedagogues engage in efforts to decolonize academia. Finding the ways to decolonize curriculum and music programs is not a straightforward process, and there can exist some dissensions and diverging paths. One of the solution proposed by primarily Northern<sup>49</sup> universities is to enlarge the canon so that it is inclusive and representative, but this approach has been critiqued for reaffirming the necessity of a canon, as we will see below. This also opened to a large discussion about the origins of the canon, a question that we will examine throughout this chapter. Where does Latin American music fit in these debates? Which alternative propositions are emerging from the Latin American region? The liminality of Latin American music in the canon comes from its particular place in

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<sup>49</sup> In this work, I am using the term “North” and “Northern” to refer to the global North as described, among others, by Boaventura de Sousa Santos. Nevertheless, in the discussion about geopolitics of knowledge, I am mostly taking into account US universities, being their preeminence even within the context of the global North.

Western modernity, being Western but not quite, or, as puts it Munck (2013), “betwixt.” For this reason, Western music—and in more even, Western “Art” Music (WAM)—produced in the Latin American region represents a terrain that would gain to be explored, as its mere existence may challenge the eurocentric views on WAM production.

Alejandro L. Madrid, recognized scholar in the musical discipline and known for his longstanding research on music from Latin America and the Caribbean, unexpectedly argued against a reshaping of the music curriculum based on an enlarged canon that would include Latin America. He provocatively stated: “No, we do not need more Ibero-American music in the music history sequence” (2017, 125), because this inclusive gesture doesn’t actually provoke a deep reflection on the need and use of a canon in general. He said:

[. . .] the canon has a political reason to exist in the form it does, and arguing for its expansion could only mean two things: the trivialization of the canonic fantasy by belittling the reason why it exists in the first place or the use and re-evaluation of the marginal musics used to expand it in order to reproduce the values and ideologies that control the shaping and re-shaping of that canonic fantasy (Madrid 2017, page 125?)..

Therefore, the tokenism that consists in including Latin American music in a pre-existing canonical music historiography fosters the Western/capitalist imagination second which: first, there must be a corpus of work about which it should be agreed that it deserves particular attention; and second, that a survey class curriculum is able to comprehend all the musical forms, necessary to shape future

audiences. Madrid's article includes a footnote to present statements to which he is responding. One of them shows Jesús Ramos Kittrell's positioning. Indeed, Ramos Kittrell insists on the fact that a canon is not a fixed set of repertoire, but rather an epistemology, a privilege of certain aesthetics over others and a way to understand the world. For this reason, Madrid responds that the simple fact the canon can evolve (and become more inclusive) doesn't harm the existence and the very function of the canon, which is in cause.

The simple existence of this debate reflects existing tensions around both the essence and the content of a musical canon in Western historiography. Rather than presenting new arguments to this discussion, here I examine the meanings of the very fact that this debate has taken place. What is the space occupied by "Latin America" in this conversation? Answering this question may help us understand the meaning, more broadly, of the sonic markers that appear in racialized music from the Latin world, as the previous chapter examines. It will bring light as well on musical topics and sonic differentiations that get applied to 'Latin' music in general, and Latin American classical music in particular, as we will see in chapter 5. One should keep in mind that there exist profound similarities and connections between Latin American and Latin European music before we can even define what constitutes Latin American WAM.

To answer the first question, it is noticeable that Madrid himself places Latin American music on the same level as Chinese or Indonesian music in his article

(Madrid 2017, 125). In doing so, the author is not saying that they are equivalent nor that they have the same status—what he states is actually that none of them would challenge the canon through mere incorporation or juxtaposition. But avoiding this juxtaposition nevertheless de-emphasizes or minimizes the actual affinities that Latin American musical production has with its European counterpart. If including Chinese or Indonesian music into the Western canon may feel artificial, this should be far from being the case with Latin American music. For instance, the Western musical canon barely takes into consideration works from before the eighteenth century. At this period, all of what today represents the Latin American continent was in total adequacy with the latest musical tastes from European cultural centers, and most resounding spaces of power in Latin America, such as courts and cathedrals, had adopted to some degree the Italian Baroque style. This is a precise reflection of how elite circles from both continents were in the same or parallel circles, operating in the same manner over their respective populations, rather than being separated or divided by the Ocean. Yet, Latin America is today treated as an Other that is either resisting or negotiating its place in the musical established, accepted canon. European-influenced “classical” music has never stopped being produced in non-Anglophone America, so its denial as Western is worth questioning.

Surprisingly, while “Latin” etymologically refers to a European cultural origin, it has often become a label of exclusion and distinction from the Anglo world, which alone is meant to represent the West. The hierarchical implication of the Anglo/Latin line seems to disavow Eurocentric pretensions from the South, making

“European” a purely Northern characteristic—even in the Americas. In the following paragraphs, I dig into the roots of this exclusion, reading back in history and observing the construction of historiography. I aim to show that this lack of consideration for Latin American—and in particular, classical—musical production is not the result of an essential difference in its sound, but rather a construction that has been consolidated over time and that is a backbone, rather than a consequence, of current racist discourses in the United States about population from South of the Rio Grande, negating simultaneously the existence of a Latin elite and the participation of Latinity in the construction the West. Understanding the roots of this artificial exclusion will prove helpful when examining, in chapters 4 and 5, the shifts that occurred over time in what defines Otherness, and the relationship between the current marginalization of Latin America and the construction of whiteness in sound, as we have explored in chapters 1 and 2. But what exactly is the “Latin” music that has been ignored in the hegemonic WAM canon, and what is the history behind WAM Latin American music?

## Romanticism and the Construction of National Music

First, one can interrogate how nation-states in Latin America have developed musically. This affirmation of a distinct identity serves today as a base for the exclusion of Latin America in the hegemonic Western canon. The late 19th and early twentieth centuries, in Latin American music history, constituted a phase of

nationalist construction in terms of cultural identities. This was a consequence of independence wars that cut off the political, economical and cultural reliance or dependency on the Iberian metropolis. National musicians that could compose for local orchestras would be placed in competition or on an equal stand with European canonical composers, reaffirming simultaneously their continuity with the European classical tradition as well as their particular national differences through personal innovations. Composers, such as Manuel Ponce (1882-1948) in Mexico, Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1949) in Brazil, or Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983) in Argentina have brought national classical music to its highest point of recognition by mixing folklore elements with classical music tradition. This national endeavor, however, comes from the beginning of the 19th century, when nationalist agendas create a teleological discourse about local music histories that allows them simultaneously to do away with a colonial history that is too much marked by Spanish domination, and to place themselves as the great contributors to musical improvement and *progress* (Vera, 2016). Still, how can we relate this necessity for the creation of a national music that uses sonic elements of whiteness while also affirming difference and specificity?

The nationalist trend in classical music production was not a sole Latin American phenomenon, but was rather linked to a general anxiety to anchor cultural differences within national boundaries, shared by most Western states. The emergence of secular political Nation-States in the aftermath of the French revolution created a need to define culture as both unified, homogenized, and centralized inside the States, and as differentiated as possible from other Nations. Nevertheless,

German, Italian, French and English national musics were still considered as superior as other styles and had a larger influence throughout the world, while Russian and US composers were competing with them to gain a certain degree of cultural supremacy.

Meanwhile, internal geopolitics within Europe were already having a deep influence on the global reception of different national musics. Walter Dignolo explains the British Empire's effort to rule not only over its own colonies and also to gain power over other global empires. He explains that this progressively created and consolidated a dividing line that would separate the "Latin" world from the "Anglo" one, placing them into unequal, hierarchized positions (2005).<sup>50</sup> The German origin of English culture was generally emphasized by the British, while their Latin connection was tendentially diminished, in a gesture that would place France, Spain, or Portugal in the same category, seen as in competition with the British rule. Germany, which did not pretend to a large colonial empire, was then not perceived as a threat, and religious-cultural affinity provided a good soil for reinforcing their connection. "Great" musical heritage was sought in German instrumental, romantic music, then defined as "absolute," and was reified as the noble and unilinear outcome of a music evolution that would inform British (white) culture. The non-verbal and generally non-programmatic aspect of Absolute Music is what guarantees its universality and therefore its superiority above any other kind of localized and culturally specific music. This "Music" (absolute) vs "musics" (localized) opposition

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<sup>50</sup> This argument is used in the next chapters to explain how sonic racial markers have perdured across the centuries but now delimit a North/South division instead of a racial line that separate Europeans from others (thinking in particular about peoples from the Americas)

follows a trend that permeates most cultural realms in the nineteenth century, and crystalizes the bases of a Western epistemology, most noticeably through philosophy, history, and the natural sciences. The idea of absolute naturalizes sciences and arts are universal and independent from specific contingencies, promoting them as valid and legitimate for other peoples, regions, and cultures.<sup>51</sup>

It is important to pay attention to the way this Anglo/Latin divide in reality overlaps both the colonial difference (Mignolo 2005) between the subject of European origin and the colonized subject as well as the color line first theorized by Douglass in the late nineteenth century and then reused by Fanon and Du Bois (Hooker 2017; Fanon 1952). These three different divisions are not equal and operate dissimilar kinds of definitions of the Same and the Other. Nevertheless, they perpetrate a same kind of oppression, coming from the same system, and consolidated around the same time. Moreover, although women's oppression has been a reality for centuries, this is also in the nineteenth century, while scientific racism is at its apotheose, that the gender binary division reaches its most explicit expression. This means that racial and gender divisions in the sense they were elaborated in the nineteenth century are a construction that comes from a political impulse to justify oppression. The Anglo/Latin divide allows whites from the British empire to relegate the Spanish and Portuguese creole elites to a lower-division category of beings. The Iberian global powers were simultaneously at the service of white supremacism by maintaining internal colonialism, still they should be kept at

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<sup>51</sup> See also chapter 1.



an unthreatening distance from the commercial success of British floats that were anyway invading their ports (Galeano 1971).

Some subjects benefit from all these binaries, namely the white English-speaking male (implicitly a family leader, which presupposes his heterosexuality) that is defined as the norm, the invisible, the un-specific, to whom all knowledge and cultural productions are directed. The concept of intersectionality, when it was introduced in the late 20th century, highlighted, for the first time, that some subjects experience multiple categories of oppression (Crenshaw 1989).<sup>52</sup> This shows the expediency of placing each subject in a binary system of opposition with the dominant 'norm' for the normalization of systemic oppression. This is precisely this binarism that obscures the mechanisms in which different natures of oppressions work together to maintain one sole category in power (as the concept of intersectionality could finally highlight). Therefore, the creation of a stipulated norm, carefully crafted and systematically enforced, was necessary at all levels of society, including musical official culture. Part of the creation of a romantic canon was here to maintain Anglo privileges at a time, where the British Empire expanded through the world.

The (non)-history of Latin American music within the hegemonic canon illustrates this situation: in representing an idea of nationality that is based on a re-appropriated European heritage, politically approved composers simultaneously reinforces the white image that the new nations wants to give of itself, while their

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<sup>52</sup> See also May (2015) or Hancock (2016) about the history and genealogy of intersectional thought.

music also presents the specificities that will make it ineligible to the mainstream universal canon. We can then reformulate the question of integration of Latin American music in the Western canon in the light of this dynamic. A more central question would be to ask whether the music history sequence should show a history of whiteness and Eurocentric colonialism in the global context—in this case, including some Latin American musical production would make sense—or rather, focus on the hegemonic narrative that have been constructed along the lines of the British rule, inherited culturally by the US.

The teleological narrative of Western music history that appears in the mainstream classical canon has furthermore a tight connection with the development of the idea of race in the nineteenth century. Scientific racism is what furnishes the bases and the methods for the emerging “comparative musicology.” This discipline is indeed a way to scienticize and objectify the inherent differences between Western music and other musical traditions. By measuring these according to narrowly, Western-defined criterias, comparative musicology reinforces the belief in Western music superiority over other cultures. In particular, the specific way to set musical lines into harmony is presented as the most complex step of a linear evolution. Subtleties such as micro-tonality or polyrhythm are erased in the process of musical transcription into Western modern staff notation, that cannot render uses of non-rational intervals or rhythm, as we have discussed in chapter 1. Timbre—meaning the actual sound of the musical gesture—is also not considered as a musical feature that needs to be included in the written transcription. Harmonic complexity, however, is

greatly valued and large orchestrations are put forward as the typical feature of Absolute Music. All other traditions that don't include harmony are generally described in the terms of a historical backwardness, being the more or less direct line that periodizes monophony in the Middle Ages, polyphony in the Renaissance, harmony in the Baroque and orchestra in the Romantic (then-actual) era. This Germanophile narrative otherizes simultaneously non Western traditions and the European musical past. In order to make this otherization more efficient, the hegemonic musical canon uses as a model the otherwise generalized and naturalized concept of human evolution, precisely at its apogee in Western modernity.<sup>53</sup>

The absence of any relevant Iberian musical contribution to this narrative is striking. Not only it dismisses contemporary musical production happening in the Iberian world, it also detaches European cultural history from any root from Iberia. Of course, this is a phenomena that can be read in the context an English imperialism that wants to undermine the Spanish Empire and the declining Portuguese colonial world. But it also proposes a cultural history of Europe that obscures the relationship between the construction of a European identity and the colonial experience. The expansion of the British Empire was not, like the Iberian adventure, a moment of discovery of a new Other that shapes the understanding as the Same—like it is the case with the “discovery” of the Americas. Slavery was by then so much established as a fact that the legitimization of hegemonic discourses were not anymore relating to the justification for the enslavement of groups of people, but rather on the

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<sup>53</sup> See for example Quijano, 2000.

naturalization of human differences that have already been accepted by the society at large. In this context, it is easy for historians to pretend that the development of the Germano-Anglo episteme both precedes and exceeds the colonial reality that the British Empire takes over after the Iberian expansion. Coloniality and Modernity can thus be presented as independent and autonomous phenomena. Although important figure and reified composers such as Wagner and Mozart both subverted the narrative of a linear legacy from either the Greek mythology in the case of the former, and to Italian Opera for the latter, mainstream music history repeatedly insists on the Italian baroque legacy on German Absolute music and to the importance of the Greek theory revival in the Italian Renaissance. As if the line of continuity between these ages and localized period had never been interrupted nor contested by the “great” men who carried and built them. I argue that this is an effort to stabilize both the colonial difference and the Anglo-Latin divide—where here, Italian is more an imaginary past of the Anglo than a contemporary presence of the Latin, as much as Greek is frozen in its antique past. But it is interesting at this point to ask ourselves if the pretended Greek legacy in Italian music is not as much a construction than the Italian origin of Baroque music, including the invention of tonality. How did this process happen? What were the narrative that Italians used in order to justify the Greek legacy of their art, and why did they create it?

## Renaissance Humanism and the claim of a Greek Legacy

Music in Italian Renaissance has generated an important shift in music composition as well as in its reception and perception. I argue that the Italian origin of these fundamental shifts in music production and reception is overstated, and that the Greek influence in the development of the new practices actually served to diminish and overlook the Iberian contribution. During the Humanist cultural revolution at the time, musical production has played a role in inscribing a new discourse about the role of arts and its connection to the new place of the human in this world. Inasmuch as the secular understanding of man centralizes individual perception over religious conception of truths, it nevertheless neutralizes the human body, that becomes subalternized to the rational mind, re-creating thus an internalized version of God rule over the planet, having the (subjectified) mind ruling over the (individualized) human body. Greek antiquity has been co-opted and redesigned in order to serve this ideological shift.

For being pre-Christian, Greek mythology and its Gods could cohabitate peacefully with the Catholic God without neither attacking Religion directly nor reifying human subalternity. Greek dramas, which were known to be sung but without having left any intelligible trace of actual sounds, could therefore be invoked in the effort of giving predominance to the text rather than on the physicality of sound and the passion that it provokes—religious or not. The important changes in musical production of Renaissance Italy has been described as a simplification of the polyphonic texture in order to prioritize the one textual line, and render its text

intelligible. Monteverdi's Orfeo, often quoted as the archetypal work that includes both the *prima prattica* and the *seconda prattica* shows clearly the opposition between these two compositional approaches.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the newness of the *seconda prattica* is the subjectivity of the singer, as an embodied character. Indeed, in previous polyphonic compositions, the text was spread over all the voices, and the narrator would be invisible. Pure poetry was put into music, and they would mutually support each other. But with the birth of Opera, the singer uses the first person and speaks for him or herself. This impersonification of the subject is typical of the humanist shift in philosophy and in the arts, and changes the point of view of the interpreter as well as the listener, in the sense that the "I" and "me" appears as the locus of enunciation.

If we think of villancicos or tonos humanos in the Iberian para-liturgical tradition, we find the same trends and compositional practices. More precisely, the poetic structure of alternance between coplas and estribillo does exactly what pieces like Orfeo are understood to have been innovative for. Furthermore, in villancicos, even though the Estribillo shows polyphonic textures and sometimes complex voice superpositions, the theatrical aspect of the genre makes the singer portray the actual character of the text she's performing. In other words, the group singing in a polyphonic section is not an authoritative voice that is speaking from an invisible locus of enunciation, but the choir is actually representing a group of persons singing for their own fate. In particular in the "ethnic" villancico, or villancico "de remedio,"

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<sup>54</sup> Listen for example the polyphonic treatment of *prima prattica* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tjc1za2hoeo> versus the monodic song, more typical of the *seconda prattica*: <https://youtu.be/7JyDVotbAJQ?t=1612>

the choir is actually performing, and theatrically representing, a group of black, indigenous, tzigane, or galician people, for example. This is not the case in Italian *prima prattica*, devoid of embodied representation. In my opinion, that is a sign of how whiteness will later become so characteristic of European people and people of European descent: they are invisibilized and their point of view is normalized, while the other is subject to re-presentation. So, would it be because the Other has been a pressing issue in Southern Europe and especially in the Iberian Peninsula, it can still be that the personification of the singing actor has emerged earlier in countries that had to deal with the Other, its encounter, and its objectification.

But the need to erase and minimize the accounts of Iberian influence on the Italian development of stage music shows a real concern, in the European continent, about miscegenation and race purity. Spain was seen as promiscuous in its relationship with other races, in particular with Arabs, Africans and Indigenous people from the American continent, which all had a different status of inferiority in the emerging “European” mind. The need to create a common identity around values such as Christianity, that could overpass the schism between protestants and catholics, had to be constructed in opposition to whatever constituted alterity, while having the appearance of autonomy. And this is exactly where the “Greek” imaginary comes into play. As musicologist David Irving shows, Greek antiquity could serve both as an example of alterity, in the past, and as a base for an origin-narrative of whiteness (Irving 2018). By comparing the Other, and in particular the newly “discovered” *Indio*, to ancient Greeks, Europeans were rehearsing a sense of

modernity and of historical achievement, on which is based whiteness and white supremacy. In order to secure this privileged place in historiography, the Italian-classical Greek narrative also needed a strategy to minimize Iberian legitimacy.

The “Black Legend” that has been reinforced in the nineteenth century is a subjective view from Northern Europe on the Iberian history from the Renaissance and the beginning of colonialism (Greer 2008). It actually does no more than presenting the Spaniards under a defavorable screen in a pseudo-historical perspective, to justify after the fact the denial of relationship between the Iberian culture and the European identity. Music historiography reproduces this gesture in situating Iberian Golden Century far apart and disconnected from Italian Baroque genesis, paying attention to the differences of Iberian composers rather than in their precursor’s contributions.<sup>55</sup> The Baroque period —from which all European music has been built on—is to be born in Italy, and only thanks to the retroactive process of interpretation of Greek drama. It could not be admitted that it happened because of the shifts in musical production from the Iberian empires, or because these had to deal with new forms of racial encounters that modified their perception of the self. How was then the Black Legend articulated and what is its relation to both race and WAM?

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<sup>55</sup> Vera (2016) also shows how a “traditional” historiography of Spanish music enforced, since the 19th century, the idea of a musical de-hispanization of Spanish music due to an overwhelming Italian influence.



## Race anxiety in Renaissance Europe and discrimination toward Spain and Portugal

This necessity to claim Greek ancestry comes from a longer issue about race anxiety and the role of the Iberian Peninsula as an intermediate, a sort of an entry lock that would assimilate otherness but not permeate them to the rest of the continent. As Barbara Fuchs presents, while some habits inherited from the Moors in Southern Spain were seen as inherently national by local inhabitants, visitors from Northern Europe would irremediably notice such habits as “maurophiles,” as if they were showing some acquaintance with Islamic cultures. Likewise, all music coming from the Spanish empire was deemed as too physical, merely for dancing, and sometimes outside of morality—sensual, erotic... in their dances as well as in their domestic habits (Fuchs 2011), and this could link to a proximity with African people, traditionally labelled as immoral (see chapter 2). However, cultural fluidity between Spain and Southern Italy, namely in the Kingdom of Naples, under Spanish domination, was intense and bi-directional.

We have seen in chapter 1 how important and fundamental music theorists, for instance Tinctoris or Gafori, had important cultural connections with Iberian culture and were familiar with Spanish music treatises of the time. Therefore, one can legitimately ask if their profound innovations were not influenced by or connected to some similar achievements from the Iberian peninsula. But we also noted earlier their insistence on Greek or Italian sources, which I described as a way to minimize the

Iberian influence. The introduction, theorization, and performance practice of the *ficta* is for example a progressive path from modality to tonality, that has had in Spain and Portugal a different development than the Italian one. This latter has often been described as a “break,” a violent departure from *prima prattica* and *seconda prattica*, where I rather see a progressive development that has its base in the philosophical changes occurred since the clash of Iberian colonial experience in the Americas.

This is important to have a full view of these epistemic shifts in mind when we examine the history of Western music, and in particular the emergence of musical practices that can be integrated in a “high culture,” educated, literate and exclusive. From a differentiation between a hierarchical good/bad—or in other words, faithful/heretic—the category of the Other, that naturally is the base for the racial and cultural self-identification, becomes the defining category of an opposition being/not-being.

This transition happens during the “long sixteenth century” which is also known as the ‘golden century’ in the Iberian arts. This period of deep transformation of thought corresponds to a peak of productivity in composed music and to a change of understanding of the musical fact. That the musical interventions that have occurred during this period are a result of the lense through which the Other was conceived. The Iberians were in intimate contact with other religions, cultures and traditions that would progressively become other races, and they felt the need to differentiate themselves from these Others. The origin of this preoccupation may be

found exteriorially more than from an intrinsic national instinct. Northern Europeans—and Italians as well—were mapping the Iberians away from themselves in the same way the Iberian would stigmatize their minorities in the country. Isabel de Castilla outlawing the Jews may have been proposed by the Pope and ambassadors from foreign powers (Fuchs 2011).<sup>56</sup>

Still the play between sameness and otherness is crystallized in the production of a music that always needs either more differentiation with the Other, or a more stylized representation of it. In the Peninsula and even more so in the Colonies, the “sound of Spain” is what maintains cohesion at a cultural and identity level. Polyphony in the Sevillian style (emulating composers such as Lu s Tom s de Victoria, Francisco Guerrero or Cristob l de Morales, for example) permeates the whole Empire and the haze to build cathedrals on every continent show the importance of propagating this particular sound.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, the widespread of “ethnic” villancicos<sup>58</sup> are signs of a need to continuously represent the other in her least advantageous depiction, which contributed to maintain the status quo.

Ironically enough, when “Spanish” music is stylized abroad, it is a conflation of the two that is operated. The villancicos are ignored because of their supposed lack of morality: their theatrical character, and their invitation to laughter and dance is seen in other courts as un-religious and excessively corporalized. So music set on

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<sup>56</sup> This thesis is problematic in the sense that it takes away the agency of the Queen, and is discussed in depth by the author.

<sup>57</sup> One of the main purposes of cathedrals’s architecture is to produce a typical resonance that is propitious to polyphony.

<sup>58</sup> Baker 2016 coined the term “Ethnic villancico.” In particular the *villancico de negro*, the most popular subcategory, is a racialized depiction of the *bozale* or of the Afro-descendent creole. See chapter 2 for a discussion of the villancico de negro.

poetry or sung in Latin is more generally accepted. But this is precisely in this music, meant to consolidate sameness in the Iberian empires, that an exotic touch of otherness is found—or imagined—by other Europeans. In particular the rhythmic patterns are seen as specific, and contributed to the idea of an excessively embodied music, which could therefore not accede the higher rank of art, reserved to purely intellectual production.

### Conclusion to chapter 3: Temporal layers in the otherization of Iberian music

Among all other rhythmic features, the typical Iberian hemiola, which stems on a rhythmic ambiguity between ternary and binary subdivision of a pulse, is understood today as a residue of polyrhythmic traditions from West Africa (Stevenson 1968). Reading it simply as a recent phenomenon would be misleading: on the contrary, it is important to understand the different (and successive) layers in the politics of representation. Separating Iberian music from the rest of Europe in the sixteenth century was a way to safeguard racial “purity,” around which much anxiety was built. We have seen in chapter 2 how specific musical topics came to represent Blackness in the ears of the whites. Later, the same topics became representative elements of Spanishness and Iberianness in general. Thanks to this shift in musical meaning, the Iberian world has been excluded from the European limits of Sameness and became an internal Other. Putting into oblivion Iberian contribution to the European

construction of the sense of tonality during the consolidation of the musical canon in the nineteenth century was a strategy to validate the idea of European autonomous modernity, while naturalizing differences and hierarchies among races. Reading Iberian-American music today as an expression of Black and indigenous cultures is a way to reinforce its otherness and to exoticize it. A contemporary reading of the relationships between Western Music historiography and Iberian Music, operating at its margins, has to be undertaken with an intersectional perspective (Hancock 2016). Instead of seeing the various layers of oppression, misrecognition, and produced absences, as adding one to each other and as independent phenomena, we should understand how they co-produce and reinforce each other. Questioning today the legitimacy of Iberian and Iberian-influenced music in the Western Canon is to admit its exteriority, which has been implemented since the sixteenth century by foreign powers in order to stabilize the concept of race. So, instead of asking if it should be added today, we should first examine the reasons for such absence, and one may be surprised about how much one can learn about the actual *raison d'être* of such a canon, just by investigating and restoring its margins. Again, studying race relationships and racialization processes inside the whitest cultural expression may show that race is not merely an issue for people “of color” but instead, it is at the center of the construction of a “white” identity. Music and especially Western Art Music history is no exception to this rule, but it is so much accepted that classical music is independent from the concept of race, and therefore universal, that even the

most progressive music scholars usually find strategies to avoid the confrontation with the Iberian musical past.

In the next chapters, we will see how the racial divide that comes from the sixteenth century and the geopolitical anglo-latino divide that is an evolution of it have reproduced themselves in contemporary times. Pervasive under different forms, this distinction or systematic Otherization had sometimes applied to people and sometimes to musical repertoires. It has taken the form of a sound or of a discourse, sometimes a combination between the two. It is striking, however, how the linguistic and musical strategies to preserve this otherization are consistent over time and across all registers or all means. For this reason, I will argue in chapter 6 that the subversion of these strategies for maintaining cultural differences and white supremacy contains in itself the seed for a structural decolonization of WAM history and historiography. This new current hopefully responds with more accuracy and brings more possibilities for exploring the question of the canon and of the place of Latin America in the hegemonic West.

# Chapitre 4 - Allers-retours, 1ère partie:

Musique Ancienne entre Europe et Amérique du Sud

(1930-2000)

*Années 50. Climat tropical dans le nord du Brésil, altitude intense en Colombie, champs fertiles à perte de vue au cœur de l'Argentine, montagnes immenses qui descendent le long du Chili. Et ces Européens à peine débarqués quelques années plus tôt. Certains ayant fui la Seconde Guerre Mondiale et l'Allemagne Nazie, d'autres ayant discrètement disparu avec la fin de celle-ci. Qu'ont-ils emportés avec eux, dans les maigres bagages qui ont pu les accompagner jusqu'à terres australes, de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, dans ces contrées qui certes sentent l'Europe pour certains aspects, mais qui n'en sont pas moins, littéralement, de l'autre côté du globe? Même dans une ville comme Buenos Aires qui, selon les dires de ses habitants, est l'Europe toute crachée, avec ses immeubles haussmanniens, ses accents italiens, ses saucisses allemandes et ses pâtisseries polonaises. Mais quelle Europe simule-t-elle? Sur le vieux continent, on ne mange pas de lasagnes en parlant allemand. On n'a pas d'avenues qui longent les vieux quartiers avec des autoroutes qui les surplombent. Non, Buenos Aires n'est pas l'Europe. Elle est plus que ça. Et les immigrants arrivés en vagues - et dûment choisis pour leur origine 'noble', c'est-à-dire, blanche - ont tout un monde à*

*reconstruire, devant s'accommoder quelque peu de ceux arrivés avant eux, dans les années 20. Et ceux d'avant... on en prend compte pour créer des histoires, des mythes, s'inventer une identité qui doit bien trouver quelque chose pour nous rassembler tous sous un même drapeau, malgré les disparités.*

## Introduction

Quelles furent les conditions dans lesquelles les émigrants européens ont décidé de quitter leur pays durant la seconde guerre mondiale? Qui étaient-ils, et vers quels territoires se sont-ils déplacés? Quelles étaient leurs vues politiques? Les migrations occasionnées par la montée du nazisme en Allemagne ont eu de profondes conséquences sur la répartition de la population d'origine européenne dans le monde, et de ce fait, sur la construction identitaire dans les pays du Cône Sud. Dans la première partie de ce chapitre, nous nous intéresserons à la question de savoir pourquoi la MA faisait partie de leur bagage culturel, et ce qu'elle offre encore actuellement au niveau du capital symbolique de ces individus; de savoir comment les migrants européens ont-ils implémenté la pratique de la Musique Ancienne en Amérique du Sud: quelle a été la réception de cette musique, une fois sur place; et quels sont ceux qui l'ont reprise et qui se la sont appropriée. Dans ce chapitre nous dénouerons les fils qui entrelacent le mouvement de MA avec les guerres, les migrations, et les identités qui les ont constituées.



Des années après l'exil massif de l'Europe vers l'Amérique du à la guerre, une génération de fils de migrants quittent l'Amérique du Sud pour "des raisons similaires à celles qui avaient fait migrer leurs parents des années plus tôt."<sup>59</sup> La seconde partie du chapitre étudie leur processus d'intégration en Europe, et les conflits identitaires ou raciaux que leur procure la confrontation avec le "vieux continent". Par ailleurs, j'établirai des liens entre leur histoire et leur relation à la Musique Ancienne : comment celle-ci s'intègre-t-elle dans ce processus de retour ? Comment se réorganise-t-elle à un niveau continental autour de ces nouvelles migrations ? Comme un "retour" au continent d'origine, cette migration en sens inverse a plus l'allure d'une réinvention et d'un effort de redéfinition d'un passé commun. La Musique Ancienne, qui s'intéresse justement à un passé culturellement défini comme européen, est donc un espace symbolique privilégié pour affirmer cette redéfinition de manière auditive. Certaines réactions des européens eux-mêmes montrent un sentiment de menace latent face à cette réappropriation inattendue. Entre autres, j'observe comment l'idée de race est à la fois activée par certains (bien que de manière subtile et cachée) et évitée par d'autres dans la négociation autour de la légitimité de jouer certains répertoires, bien que tous les individus dont il est question ici se considèrent comme blancs.

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<sup>59</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 mars 2019.

## Fuite vers le Sud et re-cr ation de symboles identitaires

Les premi res lignes de ce chapitre sont une tentative de d crire le sentiment des g n rations qui forment l'imaginaire et la culture familiale de la plupart de mes interview s. Dans l' crasante majorit  des cas, leurs parents (quelquefois leurs grand-parents) ont fui un lieu d'origine devenu le coeur d'une histoire familiale presque mythique, mais toutefois bien pr sent car il influe au quotidien sur la mani re de parler, de manger, de se comporter, de penser, et finalement, d' couter. Le piano de la m re de Pedro Memelsdorff  tait pr sent au centre du salon, de la maison, de la vie familiale. Les disques du p re de Manuel de Grange crachaient Bach   longueur de journ e. On le sait bien: la musique classique, c'est suppos , est   tout le monde. Mais elle devient encore plus forte symboliquement quand elle se rattache   une patrie,   un statut,   une identit  qu'on tente   tout prix de maintenir pour la survie en terrain hostile. Ce n'est pas par hasard si c'est cette musique-l  qui a p n tr  justement les murs de ces maisons-l , de ces personnes, avec ces histoires de migration. Certains  taient d'ailleurs plus radicaux et ne se contentaient pas de rejouer sous les tropiques la musique "classique" de leur enfance, mais allaient au-del  de la reproduction en se lan ant dans l'exploration. Le courant de MA est finalement une red couverte constante d'un pass  qu'on croyait pourtant acquis. L'exploration des sources multiples, des instruments anciens, et la mise en question de toutes les habitudes est bien ce qui forme la base de la Musique Ancienne dans sa pratique (Michel 2017). Quoi de plus adapt  que cette attitude critique et inventive face   la culture dans un contexte de n cessaire r invention permanente de soi et de

son identité? Il est facile d'oublier qu'il existe une origine commune aux mouvements européens et sud-américains, et que le second n'est pas une pâle copie du premier. Au contraire, le mouvement dans les Amériques est en soi une évolution parallèle d'une même idéologie, avec une redéfinition des termes qui a permis de l'adapter dans un contexte peut-être plus riche et plus complexe. D'ailleurs, le mouvement de MA en Europe est lui-même le fruit de migrations, en particulier d'allemands qui se sont exilés en Suisse et en Hollande, par exemple.

Ainsi, lorsque les difficultés politiques obligent les prochaines générations à fuir l'Amérique du Sud, ce n'est pour eux qu'un retour aux sources, un pas en arrière vers la terre de leurs géniteurs, une réinsertion dans leur culture originelle. Ce n'est pas non plus un hasard si la MA a joué un rôle reconnaissable dans cette migration à sens inverse. La réappropriation d'une culture passée est au cœur de la démarche migratoire de cette génération. La Musique Ancienne n'en est que l'expression la plus concrète. La relecture d'une histoire en la réintégrant dans un présent chaotique est en même temps une praxis et un mode de vie. Mais les européens ne voient pas toujours cette pratique du même œil. Bien qu'il soit impossible de généraliser et qu'il serait malencontreux de réduire la réaction des européens à une seule attitude, on peut noter certains courants bien réels et qui ont impacté de manière concrète la vie et la carrière de la plupart de mes collègues interviewés, ne serait-ce que de manière ponctuelle. La fin de ce chapitre s'intéresse aux conflits créés par l'arrivée massive de sud américains - et parfois autres '*latinos*' - dans les cercles européens de musique ancienne dans les dernières décennies du XXème siècle, ainsi qu'aux différentes

stratégies activées par les uns et par les autres pour défendre leurs intérêts respectifs. L'absence du concept de race comme base possible d'argumentation est selon moi un trait caractéristique de l'effort d'invisibilisation de la blancheur, qui dans ce cas précis permet tout à la fois d'assurer la suprématie européenne sur les autres catégories de blancs. Bien qu'il soit peu ou pas du tout évoqué, je considère que la race serait un espace crucial de négociation et d'affirmation pour les '*sudacas*' si seulement ce concept était permis dans le cadre de la pensée européenne. J'espère compliquer ainsi l'idée de blancheur et montrer comment les inégalités intra-ethniques se construisent sur des stratégies relativement similaires au racisme structurel que nous avons étudié dans le deuxième chapitre, tout en réaffirmant la géopolitique du pouvoir du Nord sur le Sud comme nous l'avons vu dans le troisième chapitre.

#### De l'Allemagne vers le reste du monde

Ce que nous appelons dans cette dissertation le mouvement de Musique Ancienne (ci-devant MA) vient du recoupement de deux tendances qui, bien qu'ayant beaucoup en commun, offrent certaines divergences dans la pratique. D'une part, on constate l'intérêt pour les répertoires nouveaux à travers la recherche musicologique dans les archives, en particulier la transcription en notation 'moderne' d'œuvres qui n'ont pas été rejouées depuis leur exécution dans leur contexte d'origine. Ce courant de revalorisation d'une musique plus 'ancienne' que le répertoire canonique, ou restée marginale et en quelque sorte oubliée des interprètes ne constitue qu'une partie de ce qui fait la Musique Ancienne aujourd'hui. C'est une inquiétude qui peut se repérer

jusqu'au 18ème siècle, en particulier avec la fameuse reconstitution de la Passion Selon Saint Matthieu de Bach par Mendelssohn en 1829.<sup>60</sup> D'une importance cruciale pour la revitalisation d'une approche historiciste de la musique, ce focus sur le répertoire n'est pas systématiquement accompagné d'une attention particulière à l'interprétation, et a souvent été ouvertement un effort de moderniser le répertoire ancien au goût du jour. L'autre courant s'intéresse en revanche aux modes d'interprétation, au son et à la rhétorique de l'époque pour rendre au répertoire des siècles passés une sonorité la plus proche possible du son d'origine, ceci afin de comprendre la signification d'une musique dans son contexte propre. Ce courant cherche à rompre avec une tradition d'interprétation basée sur des répertoires différents, en particulier la tradition romantique encore d'usage dans les conservatoire et globalement répandue dans la grande majorité des pratiques de musique de concert. Réciproquement, ce courant n'est pas nécessairement accompagné d'un effort d'expansion du répertoire, et on observe d'ailleurs avec le temps une canonisation des répertoires de MA dans les salles de spectacles et les festivals. À l'origine, la recherche de récupération d'un son 'original' a été concentrée sur la reproduction d'instruments anciens, pour lesquels on supposait que les œuvres en question avaient été composées. Des personnalités importantes comme Arnold Dolmetsch ou Wanda Landowska sont connues pour avoir impulsé l'interprétation sur instruments d'époque dès le tournant du 20ème siècle (Augustin 1999, 16-19).

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<sup>60</sup> Ce n'est pas l'unique exemple de récupération du répertoire ancien depuis les 18ème et 19ème siècles, mais cet événement est souvent cité comme point de référence dans l'historiographie du mouvement. Voir aussi Augustin (1999: 13-16).

Si à partir de la deuxième moitié du 20ème siècle la Musique Ancienne se place de plus en plus comme le point de rencontre entre ces deux pratiques, cette distinction est néanmoins fondamentale pour comprendre les chapitres qui suivent et surtout le début de ce chapitre, qui examine l'origine du mouvement de MA. Ces origines peuvent sembler contradictoires en certains points, mais la séparation entre un mouvement basé sur la récupération du répertoire et un mouvement qui cherche à comprendre les langages musicaux du passé à travers la reconstruction d'instruments anciens et l'étude de traités permet de situer dans des catégories distinctes, parfois opposées, les acteurs du mouvement.

D'un côté, on aura pu déceler un courant culturel dissident dans l'Allemagne des années 30, opposé au fascisme montant, et lié à une philosophie humanistes se rattachant au courant intellectuel *Bauhaus*. La fertilisation entre les arts était de mise dans la recherche de cette modernité alternative, qui se basait sur les influences folkloriques et la musique des siècles passés comme sur l'improvisation, la spontanéité, et le minimalisme. Bach était prisé par les peintres -Klee avait une passion affirmée pour Bach<sup>61</sup> - comme par les architectes -comme le prouve le Monument à Bach de Neugeboren (Jewitt 2000). Parmi les musiciens liés au courant Bauhaus, on trouve de nombreux compositeurs qui ont influencé le 20ème siècle. Loin d'être contradictoire, l'apport des compositeurs de musique moderne au mouvement de MA a été fondamental et le reste jusqu'à nos jours. L'étude des

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<sup>61</sup> "Klee, der die Vorstellung von der Nachahmung der Wirklichkeit in der Malerei ablehnte, suchte nach „neuen Wirklichkeitsdimensionen“, als deren „Inbegriffe man Zeit und Raum und Bewegung und Rhythmus versteht“ und fand sie in den musikalischen Strukturen des Barock." <https://www.bauhauskooperation.de/magazin-b100/verstehe-das-bauhaus/der-schlaegt-ein-sie-muessen-uns-hoeren-sie-denken-an-uns/> consulté le 11 octobre 2020.

partitions est vue comme source d'inspiration, mais la pratique sur instruments d'époque est aussi une manière de renouveler le champ des possibles sonores. Par exemple Hindemith, qui fait partie intégrante du groupe intellectuel Bauhaus et compositeur référencé dans ces cercles (Jewitt, 7), a ensuite émigré en Suisse puis aux États-Unis, où nombre de ses élèves sont devenus les fondateurs du mouvement de MA sur la côte est (Augustin 1999, 24-27).

Cette approche de la MA implique un son bien spécifique, des instruments différents, et surtout une critique révolutionnaire de la 'haute' culture musicale occidentale. Désillusionnée par le 'nouveau' dans cette Europe qui fuit vers la modernité comme un train qui aurait perdu sa sonnette d'alarme<sup>62</sup>, cette communauté intellectuelle a décidé de se pencher vers l'ancien pour retrouver de la fraîcheur. Changer de direction. Prendre un nouveau parti. Et l'ancien est fascinant. Le vieux a un charme fou. Il n'est pas touché par la perversité des mœurs actuelles. Des instruments comme la *Blockflöte* (nom allemand de la flûte à bec), les Cromornes, doulcaines ou autres vièles semblent faits d'ingénuité, d'innocence et de pardon pour cette humanité qui s'emballe. Tout d'abord, ils prônent l'ensemble sur l'individu, la de-hiérarchisation des coutumes, l'égalité des droits, et autres sentiments qui ne font pas bon ménage avec les autoritarismes montants. Un retour à des sources plus acceptables que celles des temps actuels a permis de définir, entre autres, une "allemagnité" qui ne fait pas cas de Wagner et autres excès romantiques. Une identité

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<sup>62</sup> Je reprends ici l'expression de Walter Benjamin (2006: 1232).

qui se retrouve dans un temps où il faisait encore bon être allemand. A ce qu'on sache, Bach n'a jamais tué personne !

Simultanément, l'intérêt croissant pour la revalorisation et diffusion d'un répertoire oublié a pu être lié, pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, à des objectifs nationalistes clairs. Les nouvelles séries de partitions proposées par les maisons d'édition Schott (*Antiqua*) et Bärenreiter (*Hortus Musicus*) en Allemagne coïncident avec l'ère Nazi et la volonté de démontrer la grandeur du peuple Allemand à travers sa culture passée (Augustin 1999, 19-20). Il ne s'agit pas de retrouver un son originel, mais de développer un instrument de diffusion à grande échelle de la notion de supériorité de la culture germanique. Quoi de plus efficace que la flûte à bec (facile d'accès, d'apprentissage et de transport) pour inculquer aux jeunes allemands, dès leur plus jeune âge, les beautés d'un passé national glorieux? Il n'est pas intuitif que les consorts de flûte à bec, avec leur son doux et peu contrasté, puissent avoir servi le même objectif que les opéras de Wagner, mais il vaut la peine de se rappeler comment ces deux pratiques musicales ont pu être également récupérées par le parti totalitaire de l'époque. Cette inspiration nationaliste qui motiva la découverte d'autres répertoires en MA n'était pas le monopole de l'Allemagne : elle a existé aussi bien en Angleterre, en France et en Italie. Comme nous le verrons par la suite, la relation que les européens font entre MA et nationalisme est encore forte de nos jours et se traduit par un sentiment de possession du répertoire et de légitimité pour l'interpréter. Mais le cas de l'Allemagne est flagrant car, si beaucoup des musiciens qui ont fondé la MA en Amérique du sud sont issus de la migration face au nazisme, l'usage postérieur de



partitions éditées justement par l'Allemagne Nazie n'est à aucun moment ressenti comme contradictoire. Cela illustre bien un des défis identitaires qui ont marqué mes collègues interviewés: comme le dit X, "en Argentine, les enfants de juifs qui ont fui la guerre jouent dans la rue avec les enfants d'anciens nazis qui se sont réfugiés ici après la chute de leur gouvernement."<sup>63</sup>

#### Les effets du nazisme et la seconde guerre mondiale

C'est en 1933, année de l'arrivée d'Hitler au pouvoir, que la MA connaît un point de départ fondamental. Déjà depuis 1928, un petit ensemble de musique de chambre, le Kabeler<sup>64</sup> Kammermusik, dirigé par Hans Eberhard Hoesch, avait commencé à se dédier exclusivement au répertoire baroque sur instruments anciens, de manière indépendante et non pas comme une extension du modernisme avant-garde. Le viole de gambiste suisse August Wenzinger, actif défenseur de la musique baroque en Allemagne et pionnier en l'usage d'instruments d'époque, se voit obligé de fuir l'Allemagne et de retourner en Suisse.<sup>65</sup> Avec le mécène Paul Sacher, il fonde la Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, qui deviendra par la suite le point névralgique du mouvement de Musique Ancienne.<sup>66</sup> Les deux courants de la MA décrits ci-dessus vont se recouper dans un cadre académique et formel. La Musique Ancienne existe ainsi comme discipline reconnue, comme objet d'étude et pratique d'interprétation.

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<sup>63</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 mars 2019.

<sup>64</sup> L'ensemble tient son nom de Kabel, ville d'Allemagne située entre Dresden et Berlin.

<sup>65</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August\\_Wenzinger](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August_Wenzinger) consulté le 12 octobre 2020. Cependant, Palézieux (2012) montre que Wenzinger, qui reprit l'ensemble après la démission de Hoesch, n'était pas vraiment fâché avec le fascisme, contrairement à ce que l'histoire locale a bien voulu garder comme version officielle.

<sup>66</sup> [www.fhnw.ch/en/about-fhnw/schools/music/schola-cantorum-basiliensis](http://www.fhnw.ch/en/about-fhnw/schools/music/schola-cantorum-basiliensis) consulté le 12 octobre 2020

Bien qu'au départ elle ait été quelque peu anecdotique et marginale, la Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, appartenant au cadre de l'Académie de Musique de Bâle (Suisse) est à la source du mouvement en Europe et au-delà. Profitant du statut neutre de la Suisse pendant la guerre, l'école a pu recevoir de nombreux musiciens impliqués dans le mouvement, et ainsi offrir un rayonnement au niveau international (Augustin 1999, 21). Entre autres, le claviériste Gustav Leonhardt, qui fonda ensuite le mouvement de Musique Ancienne en Hollande, étudia à la Schola Cantorum dans les premières années d'après-guerre. On peut noter aussi que Nikolaus Harnoncourt, fameux chef d'orchestre à l'origine du mouvement en Autriche, avait quitté l'Allemagne, encore enfant, au début des années 1930. Ainsi, une idéologie et une pratique de récupération (tant théorique qu'interprétative) qui avait éclo dans l'Allemagne d'entre deux guerres, se sont disséminées avec la montée du fascisme. En Europe, cela donna lieu par la suite aux débuts du mouvement en Suisse, Hollande et Autriche. Les activités de Landowska et Dolmetsch en France et Angleterre, entre autres, ont permis que le mouvement se développe parallèlement dans ces pays. Aux États-Unis, les migrants européens sur la Côte Est ont favorisé un développement rapide qui sera en lien constant avec les centres européens comme la Suisse et la Hollande, du fait des migrations futures d'États-Uniens vers ces pays. Nous allons voir que le mouvement en Amérique Latine est très lié à cette même histoire : il a une origine commune et la source du mouvement est identique sur les deux continents.

## Le mouvement en Amérique Latine

*Pour ceux qui ont migré, le travail à faire dans cette terre qui existe comme un reflet sur l'équateur est de reconstruire cette culture qu'on était en train d'inventer, mais avec des gens qui n'y connaissent rien et qui, probablement, ont d'autres besoins et d'autres problèmes identitaires à gérer. Dans cette communauté complexe, il faut modeler une culture folklorique qui, si elle n'est pas faite de toutes pièces, doit trouver dans le même temps son écho dans les mœurs actuelles et sa justification dans un passé quelque peu confus. Pendant que l'actualité argentine consiste à se raconter à travers un mythe triplement racial basé sur l'histoire de peuples qui ne sont plus de la patrie, Pro Musica Rosario imite un groupe new yorkais pour se donner du cachet. Pendant que le nord du Brésil peine à sortir d'une abolition qui pourtant a fait du chemin sur le papier, des allemands créent une école de musique où les flûtes Moeck s'arrangent bien peu du climat extravagant. Et pendant que le Chili se fait une place dans le commerce pacifique, un groupe de fanatiques développent un courant artistique entre la danse moderne et la musique ancienne. Comment se fondent, se pensent et se développent les mouvements de promotion de cette pratique qu'est la Musique Ancienne, dans un Cône Sud aux antipodes de l'Europe? Et plus diffus, plus anecdotique, il existe aussi un foisonnement de mouvements miniatures qui imitent une mode sans toujours savoir dans quelle histoire ils s'inscrivent, mais qui sont toujours bien conscients de la nécessité de rechercher le nouveau dans l'historique, et du privilège qui leur incombe*

*de remuer ces lignes musicales oubliées sous la poussière des ans et de  
l'indifférence.*

J'aimerais ici établir le lien entre la naissance du mouvement en Amérique Latine et les histoires de pensées d'avant-garde, de fuite et de migrations que j'ai explorées ci-dessus. Tout d'abord, le lien entre la Musique Ancienne en Amérique Latine (MA LA) et l'Allemagne a précédé la montée du fascisme, tout en perdurant bien au-delà au cours du 20ème siècle.<sup>67</sup> Comme nous le montre par exemple Xavier (2011), Ingrid Seraphim (née Müller), une des personnalités importantes dans le développement de la Musique Ancienne dans le sud du Brésil a découvert le répertoire ancien grâce au pasteur luthérien Karl Frank, un allemand qui avait émigré à Curitiba dans les années 1910. De la même manière, un groupe d'allemands immigrés dans le nord du pays avec tout leur arsenal d'instruments était connu pour développer un ensemble de flûtes à bec à Salvador de Bahia dans les années 1930.<sup>68</sup> En Colombie, on peut noter la création en 1908 de la Société David qui promeut la musique médiévale et renaissance, fonctionnant comme une filiale de la Société David de Berlin (Vela Oróstegui 2016). Au Chili, la naissance de la Sociedad Bach de Chile en 1917 sur les modèles allemands de la Bach Gesellschaft fondée en 1850 et la Neue Bachgesellschaft en 1900, a été remarquée par Victor Rondón comme un des "premiers antécédents" du mouvement de MA dans ce pays (2004, 11-12).

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<sup>67</sup> Je voudrais noter ici que jusqu'à présent, je n'ai pu trouver d'information écrite sur la présence et le développement de la Musique Ancienne en Argentine avant 1960. Je n'omet donc ce pays dans la section qui suit que par manque de sources en l'état actuel de la recherche.

<sup>68</sup> Augustin 1999, 57-59; Entrevue avec Homero de Magalhães (fils), Paris, 19 février 2019.

Alejandro Vera note que cette référence à l'Europe n'est pas neutre, d'autant plus que son fondateur Domingo de Santa Cruz considère cette société comme apportant enfin la "culture" à un pays qui, à son avis, en était jusque là dénué et qui, selon ses termes, "jusqu'au jour de l'Indépendance [en 1910], n'avait pas sérieusement compté sur un passé musical" propre (Vera 2014b, 308-309).

Cependant, il est clair que la seconde guerre mondiale a joué un rôle fondamental pour le développement de la MA LA. Selon les points de vue, on pourrait reprendre les mots de John Rockwell pour l'Amérique Latine, lorsque, en se référant à la vague de musiciens migrants aux États-Unis, il parle d'une "bénédiction", voire même d'un "cadeau de Hitler" (Rockwell 1985, cité par Augustin 1999, 23). Depuis les années 1930 et jusqu'aux années 1950, l'immigration Européenne en Amérique Latine a subi une hausse significative, particulièrement dans le Cône Sud et le Brésil, due d'une part aux difficultés politiques et économiques en Europe, qui ont été les conséquences inévitables de la guerre, et d'autre part à une politique d'immigration stricte qui privilégiait ouvertement tous les individus de race blanche. Peu à peu, ces vagues d'immigration changent la face de ces pays et influent sur les directions que vont prendre leurs cultures, cherchant en même temps à définir des identités nationales fortes et reconnaissables, et en même temps à légitimer celles-ci par une imitation directe de la culture européenne.<sup>69</sup> Par ailleurs, les premiers instruments anciens commençaient à arriver sur le continent.

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<sup>69</sup> Il est clair que les politiques nationales ont été différentes dans chaque pays: le Brésil s'affirmait peu à peu comme démocratie raciale, comme nous avons vu dans le chapitre 2, pendant que le Chili et l'Argentine, par exemple, procuraient une identité nettement plus blanchisée. Cependant, le blanchiment de la population et l'eupéanisation de la culture étaient dans tous les cas de mise.

Kurt Rottmann, issu du mouvement *Wandervogel* en Allemagne pré-nazie, emporta avec lui au Chili vers 1935 une viole de gambe, un luth, des flûtes, et une épinette (Rondon 2004, 22). Comme noté plus haut, un groupe d'allemands s'installa à la même époque à Salvador de Bahia (Brésil) et jouaient de la flûte à bec. Une forte immigration dans le sud du Chili a aussi favorisé la diffusion de la flûte à bec dans cette région "25 ans avant que ne s'en charge le système éducationnel chilien" (Rondón, 23). Le panorama en 1950 était donc caractérisé par une double direction: d'un côté, les choeurs intéressés par la polyphonie pré-classique (Bach mais aussi Palestrina, Luis de Victoria entre autres) et d'un autre, les ensembles disposant d'instruments anciens et proposant un répertoire original, en particulier les oeuvres pour consort de la renaissance (pour flûtes douces ou violes de gambe). Dans les deux cas, il s'agissait d'ensembles amateurs, avec cette différence que dans le cas des groupes d'instrumentistes, on trouve surtout des personnes de classe haute ou moyenne, en général d'origine européenne, qui recouraient à une profession plutôt rentable (médecin, ingénieurs, etc...) pour subvenir à leurs besoins et s'offrir le luxe de collectionner instruments et partitions rares. Dans le cas des chœurs, l'origine européenne des directeurs n'était pas déterminante. Cependant, le fait d'avoir reçu une instruction à l'étranger était souvent, pour ces directeurs de chœur, le point de départ d'un intérêt pour un répertoire autrement méconnu.<sup>70</sup> Les traditions liturgiques étaient aussi un lieu d'ancrage important, car plusieurs des directeurs de chœurs étaient organistes ou avaient bénéficié d'une formation théologique, le contexte

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<sup>70</sup> Par exemple, Antonio María Valencia qui fonda la Chorale Palestrina en 1934 à Cali (Vela 2016: 9).

religieux étant souvent ce qui a permis la rencontre avec des compositeurs tels que Bach. Dans tous les cas, il s'agit d'initiatives privées, presque familiales, avec un caractère hautement lié à celui de la *Hausmusik* [musique 'maison'] de la tradition allemande du XIXème siècle, de concerts en petit comité, peu ou pas publics. Les musiciens ne sont pas rémunérés et parfois doivent payer des frais d'adhésion à l'association (si c'est le cas) pour pouvoir participer aux répétitions et concerts. Finalement, il s'agit moins de rechercher une interprétation "authentique" que d'assouvir la fièvre de découvrir un répertoire considéré exotique.

Dans les années 1950, un changement important s'opère. Kristina Augustin marque l'année 1949 comme le début de la Musique Ancienne au Brésil, avec l'arrivée du violoniste et violiste bulgare Borislav Tschorbov et de la pianiste (et claveciniste) ukrainienne Violetta Kundert, tous deux formés à l'Académie de Musique de Munich, et invités pour faire partie de la nouvelle symphonie de Rio de Janeiro (1999, 41). Ces deux musiciens sont responsables d'une dynamique tout à fait nouvelle quant à l'approche de la Musique Ancienne en sol brésilien, réunissant tout à la fois des instruments adéquats pour l'interprétation historique et une grande technique mêlée à un professionnalisme irréprochable comme instrumentistes. Parallèlement, Victor Rondón voit en la date de 1954 le début du mouvement au Chili. Cette année, se forme un groupe composé de Rolf Alexander (danseur de ballet allemand qui avait fait partie des cercles de MA de Dolmetsch à Londres), Juana Subercaseaux (violoniste chilienne qui avait aussi fréquenté les mêmes cercles

pendant ses années à l'étranger, et qui s'intéressa à la viole de gambe), Mirka Stratigopoulou (danseuse d'origine grecque qui deviendra une des pionnières de la flûte à bec) ainsi que le photographe allemand Kurt Rottmann, mentionné ci-dessus. Bien que les interprètes ne soient pas tous des musiciens strictement professionnels, car ils exercent d'autres activités artistiques, ils se retrouvent autour de leur passion de la MA. Claudio Naranjo, qui intégrera le groupe plus tard, affirmait déjà à l'époque: "l'objectif de notre groupe est d'exécuter la musique ancienne de la forme la plus proche possible de ce qui se faisait à l'époque" (Rondón 2004, 28). La Musique Ancienne n'est plus un voyage incongru vers des répertoires inconnus, mais il y a ici une prise de conscience des problèmes liés à la *Aufführung praxis* [pratique d'interprétation] : comment rendre vivante une partition qui a existé dans un contexte culturel et sonore différent ? Ceci met en cause tant les problématiques de notation musicales et de choix de l'interprète, que le monde herméneutique de réception de l'œuvre par le public. En 1951, se forme également le Choeur Luis Tomás de Victoria dans la ville de Medellin, en Colombie (Vela Oróstegui 2016, 23), lui aussi montrant une "intention manifeste de se rapprocher de l'interprétation historique de la musique vocale polyphonique du XV au XVII siècle" (Vela, 24). Le directeur, Rodolfo Pérez, devient bientôt boursier de l'Institut de Culture Hispanique afin d'étudier de près les manuscrits de la musique vocale du siècle d'or espagnol sous la tutelle des meilleurs musicologues de l'époque (Vela, 24).

Dans les années 1960, la Musique Ancienne pénètre rapidement plusieurs pays d'Amérique Latine, notamment pour raisons de nature finalement politique. Le



gouvernement des États-Unis, dirigé alors par John F. Kennedy, tente de renforcer l'alliance entre pays capitalistes contre la vague rouge. L'Amérique Latine est un espace clef dans cette politique, et le gouvernement de Kennedy comprend qu'il faut allier politique, économie et culture afin de s'assurer d'une meilleure loyauté de la part des pays alliés. Avec l'aide de la fondation Fulbright, le gouvernement lance la mission Gee Club pour la diffusion de la pratique de chœurs estudiantins, qui comprend une action sur le territoire des États-Unis aussi bien que des interventions en sol étranger (Vela Oróstegui 2016, 25). Au-delà de la formation de chœurs estudiantins dans la plupart des universités locales, cette mission offre aussi aux directeurs de chœurs les plus en vue la possibilité de suivre des cours aux États-Unis, en particulier avec l'ensemble *New York Pro Musica Antiqua*, pionnier de la Musique Ancienne sur la côte est de ce pays (Vela, 26). L'ensemble new-yorkais joue alors un rôle fondamental dans le développement simultané de différentes associations, d'ensembles, de festivals et de lieux d'éducation dans toute l'Amérique du Sud. Pro Musica New York effectua plusieurs tournées dans cette région et influença en profondeur les inquiétudes interprétatives des groupes déjà en marche. Par ailleurs, les bourses d'études ont permis à des musiciens partageant les mêmes idées à travers le continent de se retrouver en personne durant les stages aux États-Unis, comme c'est le cas de Pérez, originaire de Medellin en Colombie, et de Cristián Hernández Larguía, provenant de Rosario en Argentine (Vela, 26). Juana Subercaseaux, venant de Valparaíso au Chili, avait, quant à elle, reçu la même bourse quelques années plus tôt, en 1958 (Rondón 2004, 29). Le cas de Hernández Larguía mérite un peu

d'attention, car il créa à Rosario, sur le fleuve de La Plata, le *Pro Música Rosario* à l'image du groupe new-yorkais dès l'année 1962. Pro Música Rosario est bien plus qu'un ensemble, car il a pu réunir durant sa longue existence (le groupe est toujours actif aujourd'hui) tout à la fois plusieurs ensembles dédiés à la Musique Ancienne (choeur polyphonique, orchestre baroque, ensemble de danse renaissance), un groupe de musique de chambre, un ensemble contemporain, une longue discographie de musique pour les enfants, une école de musique, un lieu de répétition, une bibliothèque de partitions et une collection d'instruments.<sup>71</sup> À la même époque se forment de nombreux ensembles à travers la région, mais cette fois dans le cadre d'universités plus que d'initiatives privées: *Ars Rediviva* au sein de la Faculté d'Arts et de Lettres de l'Université de Buenos Aires (Abad et Patiño 2008), l'Ensemble de Musique Ancienne de l'Université Catholique à Santiago de Chile (Rondón 2004, 31), l'Ensemble de Musique Ancienne du Conservatoire Brésilien de Musique (Augustin 1999, 46), entre autres. On observe donc un changement au niveau du profil des interprètes tout au long de cette décennie. Les musiciens sont plus jeunes, de milieux sociaux plus variés (bien que les origines européennes et les classes moyennes aisées prédominent, elles ne sont plus exclusives comme c'était le cas dans les décennies précédentes), et les ensembles se professionnalisent peu à peu. La MA cesse d'être un passe-temps privé et élitiste pour devenir une musique largement entendue sur les réseaux de communication de l'époque comme la radio, la télévision, et les concerts pour un large public. Cette tendance s'élargira dans les

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<sup>71</sup> Entrevue avec Susan Imbern dans les locaux de la fondation, à Rosario (Argentine) le 9 juin 2019.

années 1970 avec de nouveaux foyers de MA loin des capitales, comme par exemple à Mendoza (Guembe 2016) ou Córdoba (Kitroser 2016) en Argentine, à Belém do Pará (Ferreira 2014) ou à Curitiba (Xavier 2011) au Brésil. Des associations fleurissent, donnant aux élèves intéressés la possibilité d'apprendre, de se produire en public, et rapidement d'enseigner à leur tour. Par exemple, l'association Pro Arte de Rio de Janeiro organise des séminaires de musique qui se différencient des cours institutionnels offerts par les conservatoires et universités par son caractère plus informel et ouvert sur d'autres répertoires, en particulier la MA. Homero de Magalhães fils,<sup>72</sup> qui forma en 1971 le *Conjunto Pró-Arte Antiqua*, raconte l'atmosphère qui régnait dans les cercles de MA de l'époque:

La MA était à la fois marginale, mais avec un charme fou. Les gens sentaient bien qu'il y avait quelque chose de frais. C'était une autre musique, jouée autrement, de manière beaucoup moins formelle. On ne mettait pas de cravate pour jouer, on discutait avec le public. C'était vraiment une autre histoire. Ça a apporté une fraîcheur un peu partout dans le monde. [...] On n'était pas du tout salariés. Le niveau était très bon, parce que les musiciens étaient talentueux, mais on ne se pensait pas comme "professionnels", on se faisait payer quand il y avait de l'argent mais ce n'était pas de but. On était très jeunes, moi j'avais 18 ans, le plus vieux avait peut-être 20-25 ans. Un peu comme un groupe de rock, il y en avait beaucoup à l'époque. Mon frère faisait du rock, et moi de la Musique Ancienne. C'était un peu le même esprit: on avait tous les cheveux longs!<sup>73</sup>

Les décennies 1960 et 1970 furent donc les années qui préparèrent le “grand boom” (Augustin 1999, 104) de la MA LA. Les musiciens se professionnalisent, le

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<sup>72</sup> Dorénavant en l'absence de précision, je me référerai toujours à Homero de Magalhães fils.

<sup>73</sup> Entretien avec Homero de Magalhães, Paris, 19 février 2019.

public se démocratise, la pratique prend une direction plus “historique”. De nombreux groupes se formèrent dans toute les régions,<sup>74</sup> mais souvent ces ensembles avaient une vie de courte durée, ce qui était du, au delà du manque d’appui institutionnel, aux tensions entre les musiciens qui restèrent dans le domaine amateur et durent se concentrer sur leurs autres activités, et ceux qui décidèrent de se professionnaliser et partirent en grande majorité vers les pays étrangers, comme nous le verrons dans la section suivante.

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<sup>74</sup> À l’heure actuelle, je dispose clairement de sources plus fidèles sur le Brésil, le Chili, l’Argentine (à partir des années 1970) et la Colombie, grâce aux études qui ont été entreprises dans ces pays. Une recherche plus approfondie dans le futur permettra, je l’espère, d’élargir les connaissances à d’autres pays d’Amérique du Sud, et si possible, de toute l’Amérique Latine.

Les années 70: Un exil à rebours

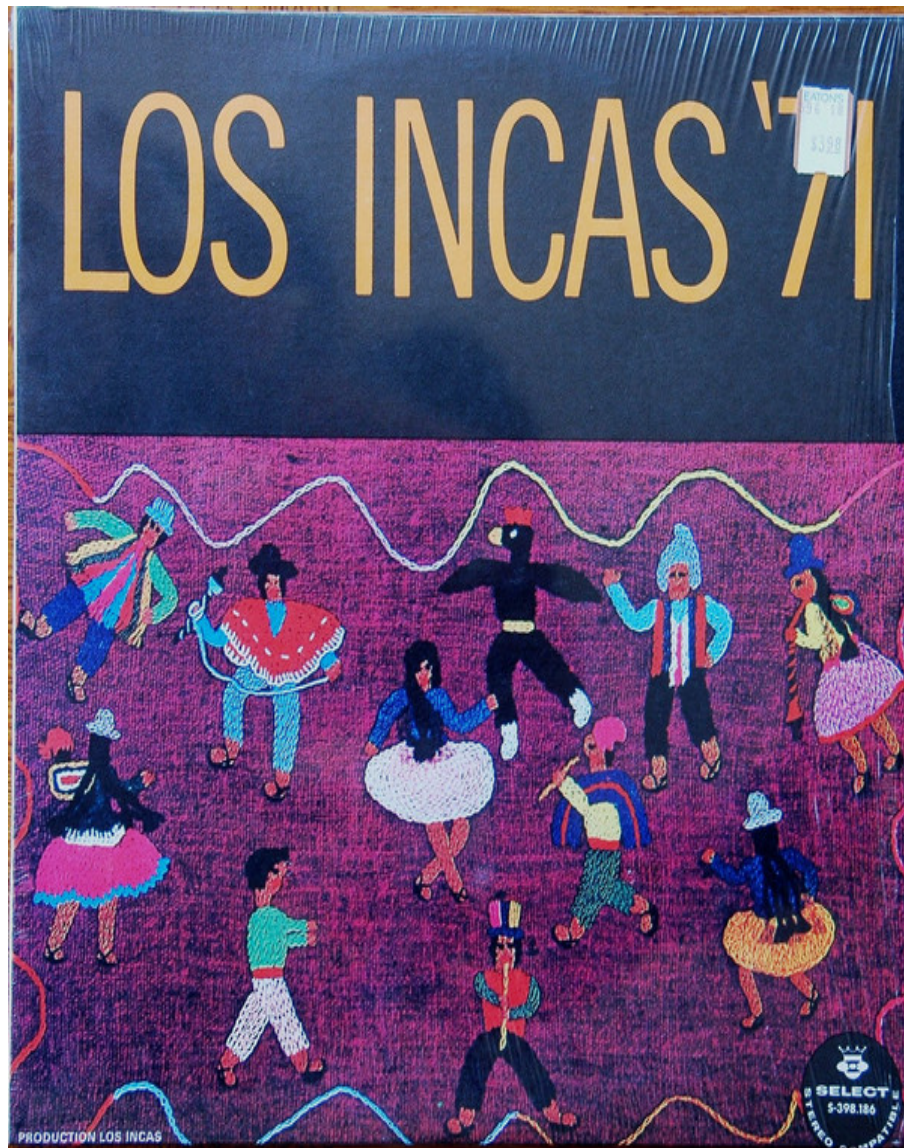


Fig. 5. [Los Incas 71 \(Disco completo\)](#) Groupe avec lequel jouait Gabriel Garrido quand il arriva à Paris

Les années 70 apportèrent des secousses et des contre-coups dans les deux sens du spectre politique. Après la vague d'expansion d'une gauche optimiste et éclairée, avide de changements d'ordre social, politique, et intellectuel, et qui l'a peut-être crié trop fort ou trop tôt, une main de fer s'abat sur le Chili en 1973, sur l'Argentine en 1976, pendant que le Brésil tente de se dépêtrer de sa propre dictature depuis 1964. Ces brusques radicalisations de pouvoirs militaires en Amérique du Sud provoquent une émigration de jeunes qui se voient obligés de "fuir le pays, pour les mêmes raisons que [leurs] parents ou grands-parents avaient dû fuir l'Europe avant eux".<sup>75</sup> La plupart d'entre eux se retrouvent sur un sol qu'ils avaient longtemps rêvé, beaucoup imaginé mais qui avait vécu sa propre histoire en parallèle, de l'autre côté du monde. Illégaux et généralement sans le sou, ils doivent compter avec le bon accueil qui leur sera fait grâce à l'aura gauchiste que porte en lui l'imaginaire européen sur l'Amérique du Sud. En particulier, la musique joua un rôle privilégié dans la représentation du Chili et de l'Argentine grâce aux militants-musiciens qui ont fait partie de ce premier temps de l'exil. Si Mercedes Sosa fuit à Paris, si Intilli-Mani se retrouve en Italie, ce n'est pas un hasard, mais bien la marque d'un long échange culturel entre des activistes de gauche dans ces pays, où le "peuple" est mis en musique tant au travers de la Qena que de chansons comme "Ochi Chernye" ou "Bella Ciao". De fait, la musique populaire sud américaine, avec ses consonances andines (ou supposément andines) et ses guitares rythmiques (issues des courants folkloristes de l'Argentine ou du Chili), a depuis plusieurs années été dépositaire

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<sup>75</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 mars 2019, déjà cité dans l'introduction de ce chapitre.

d'une idéologie de gauche égalitarienne, populaire, et cosmopolite. Comme le décrit Fernando Ríos:

Ayant beaucoup plus en commun culturellement avec leurs fans européens qu'avec des andins non-cosmopolites, les ensembles [sud américains] basés à Paris étaient bien positionnés pour entretenir leur public principal avec une musique et un pittoresque qui évoquait les villages des hauts-plateaux andins que la plupart des musiciens n'avaient jamais visités eux-même. (2008, 148)

Les nouveaux exilés, mêmes s'ils n'ont pas le renom d'un Victor Jara ou de Quilapayun, peuvent néanmoins profiter de cette aura culturelle et auront plus de facilité à se vendre au travers de la musique, en attendant d'apprendre une nouvelle langue - au delà de celles qu'ils maîtrisent parfaitement, souvent plus de deux différentes - ou de devoir s'acclimater à une culture qu'ils pensaient pourtant connaître. On ne leur demande guère plus que de jouer le rôle de leur propre personnage: activistes, conscients politiquement, et exotiques musicalement. C'est généralement de cette manière que ceux qui dominent actuellement le monde européen de la musique ancienne ont pénétré autant l'Europe que le monde de la musique. Pour eux, comme pour la grande majorité des sud américains, la musique est une affaire de tous les jours, une partie active de la vie, présente à tous les niveaux sociaux. Si un élément culturel permet d'établir une sorte d'unité "latino", c'est bien celle de jouer d'un instrument - et en particulier de la guitare. Nous y reviendrons. Se professionnaliser au travers de la musique n'a pas forcément été un choix anticipé par cette génération, mais a pu devenir une opportunité de carrière ou une décision stratégique pour se frayer une place dans le nouveau lieu de vie. D'autant plus qu'ils

peuvent se retrouver dans les vertus du répertoire abordé. Et d'une certaine manière, la musique ancienne a pu être un des chemins empruntés, pour reconstruire une nouvelle identité à la croisée de plusieurs origines, notamment celle qui les a amenés à "retourner" sur les pas de leurs parents ou grand-parents dans cette Europe à la fois racontée et concrète. Les premiers migrants du "retour" ne sont pas forcément les descendants directs de ceux qui ont apporté la Musique Ancienne en Amérique du Sud. Peut-être n'ont-ils jamais eu de contact avec la Musique Ancienne avant de débarquer sur le vieux continent. Mais d'une certaine manière, ils portent une même histoire, celle d'une fuite au-delà des océans, et celle d'une culture qu'on a emporté dans ses valises, même si elle n'a pas pris la forme matérielle d'une viole de gambe ou d'une flûte à bec.

#### La Musique Ancienne comme articulation entre passé et futur

Pour mes collègues sud-américains, tant ceux qui ont fui la dictature et ont rencontré la Musique Ancienne par hasard, que d'autres qui se sont déplacés après avoir fait cette rencontre, la Musique Ancienne s'est présentée comme le point de convergence possible entre plusieurs de leurs intérêts. Pour Pedro Memelsdorff, c'est un "catalyseur entre intérêts distincts", qui regroupe le côté artistique de la peinture comme le côté scientifique de l'archéologie, ses premières passions.<sup>76</sup> Pour une grande majorité, c'est surtout un trait d'union entre la musique classique — qui ramène aux origines européennes et aux coutumes familiales — et la musique

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<sup>76</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 mars 2019.



folklorique — qui représente leur américanité, leur idéologie de gauche, et cette part de leur identité qui les différencie de l'Europe actuelle. C'est une musique "cultivée", professionnalisante et respectée par la société, mais qui en même temps implique une dose de "fraîcheur", qui est plus attractive et permet une réelle communication avec le public.<sup>77</sup> Elle oblige à une "inquiétude intellectuelle" et permet une "relation avec les autres arts, et même avec la religion".<sup>78</sup> Mais surtout, la Musique Ancienne permet de recoudre le fil qui lie l'Europe à l'Amérique: la musique folklorique latino-américaine provient en partie d'influences espagnoles, qui datent de la Renaissance ou du Baroque. Tous s'accordent sur le fait que les chansons et danses de la Pampa argentine, des montagnes aurifères de Bolivie, et du golfe de Veracruz contiennent les rythmes du baroque ibérique, une structure poétique qui nous vient directement du Siècle d'Or espagnol, voire une expressivité toute italienne dans son virtuosisme. L'accent est souvent mis sur les influences baroquisantes de l'Europe sur la culture actuelle d'Amérique Latine, mais également sur la réciprocité de l'échange, sur les noms exotiques que l'on retrouve dans la danse européenne et la musique classique, comme la Sarabande, la Canarias, ou bien évidemment le Fandango. En effet, le philosophe Bolívar Echverría (1998) voyait dans le baroque un "ethos" qui continuait dans la modernité et influait l'identité latino-américaine. Ainsi, pour beaucoup de mes collègues, s'intéresser à la musique ancienne européenne, c'est comprendre l'Amérique. Et c'est aussi se rapprocher d'un idéal identitaire européen qui ne leur

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<sup>77</sup> On reviendra sur la 'fraîcheur' et la communicabilité de la musique ancienne. Ce thème traverse la plupart de mes interviews.

<sup>78</sup> Entretien avec Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, 11 juin 2019.

est pas toujours facilement accordé à leur arrivée. Ils s'affirment au travers de compositeurs comme Monteverdi, Bach, et parfois de répertoires encore plus anciens. Dans plusieurs cas, ils deviennent maîtres en ce domaine. Et c'est là que subtilement, l'européen les jalouse et cherche un moyen de les discréditer. Voyons pourquoi et comment.

Après le "retour", d'autres allers-retours plus fugaces et la construction de liens durables.

Si un élément est revenu de manière stable et constante dans le récit de tous les interviewés, c'est bien le dévouement à offrir le plus possible aux futures générations de musiciens dans leurs pays d'origine, et d'aider qui que ce soit qui montre un intérêt pour la musique ancienne. Cela a bien sûr été le cas avec cette première génération décrite plus haut, mais c'est une tendance qui perdura et qui vaut encore aujourd'hui.

À partir de la fin des années 1980, les frontières se sont assouplies et un retour possible dans le Cône Sud est apparu. Certains sont 'retrés' et ont développé un nouveau cercle de musique ancienne dans leur pays d'origine, comme nous le verrons dans le chapitre 6. Pour la plupart de ceux qui sont restés, la possibilité de voyager est devenue signe d'opportunité et d'échanges. La majorité des collègues interviewés qui vivent en Europe retournent régulièrement en Amérique, en général une à deux fois par an, et donnent systématiquement des cours ou des concerts. Ces classes peuvent être soit privées, soit entrer dans le cadre d'une université d'enseignement supérieur.

Mais avant tout, ce sont les cours d'été qui ont été le plus marquants dans la formation des jeunes musiciens. Le cours de Bariloche avec à sa tête Gabriel Garrido, en particulier, a été mentionné par pratiquement tous les intéressés.



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Fig 6. Affiche du stage de Bariloche. "Après de nombreuses années [d'inactivité], nous tiendrons de nouveau le Séminaire de Musique Ancienne au Camping Musical de Bariloche."<sup>79</sup>

Entre beaucoup d'autres, Miguel de Olaso raconte son histoire, typique de sa génération:

À Bariloche, il y a un stage d'été de musique, au début (dans les années 1960) il y avait vraiment tout type de style musical. Peu à peu, la MA a fait partie importante

<sup>79</sup> <https://www.barilochense.com/espacios-de-shows-y-espectaculos/camping-musical/seminario-interdisciplinario-de-musica-antigua-bariloche-2020-2019-12-21-30-04#> consulté le 16 octobre 2020.

de ces cours. En 1993, Hopi<sup>80</sup> est venu y donner classe et on est arrivé à 20 élèves de luth, c'était incroyable! Les assistants étaient Lola Costoya et Eduardo Egüez, deux argentins qui vivaient en Europe à ce moment. [...] Je me souviens que parmi les élèves, il y avait aussi Monica Postelnik, qui enseigne à Genève maintenant. Aussi Marcelo Vidal, et d'autres chiliens... toute une génération! C'était un peu la fièvre de la Musique Ancienne, beaucoup de guitaristes étaient intéressés par le luth à ce moment-là.<sup>81</sup>

Les cours d'été de Curitiba au sud du Brésil, avec les Ateliers de Musique Ancienne, ont également été marquants pour de nombreux musiciens qui se sont ensuite spécialisés dans la pratique de la MA. Beaucoup d'entre eux ont ensuite émigré en Europe pour se perfectionner et ont pu rétroalimenter les cours plus tard en tant que professeurs:

“L'opportunité”, selon Ingrid [Seraphim, organisatrice], “était le maître mot des Ateliers. La possibilité de contacts avec des collègues, mais surtout le contact enseignant-élève. Lorsque l'enseignant repérait un potentiel particulier chez un élève, il l'invitait à poursuivre ses études sous sa direction, souvent à l'étranger.” L'artiste note que les Ateliers ont permis la production d'un cycle: enseignant-élève-spécialisation-enseignant.

Elle commente que “certains musiciens de Camerata et même des étudiants des premiers ateliers, ont ensuite suivi des cours à l'étranger et, plus tard, ont été appelés

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<sup>80</sup> Hopkinson Smith, probablement le professeur de cordes pincées le plus mentionné dans mes entretiens. Il a effectué de nombreuses tournées en Amérique Latine et ses nombreux disques ont inspiré toute une génération de luthistes dans le monde entier. Partie de cette génération de fils d'émigrés suisses sur la côte est des États-Unis, il a ensuite été professeur à la Schola Cantorum de Bâle pendant plusieurs décennies. Voir aussi: <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/espectaculos/3-29872-2013-09-13.html> Consulté le 16 octobre 2020.

<sup>81</sup> Entretien avec Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (Argentine), 9 juin 2019.

à enseigner dans les ateliers”. Ainsi, “les étudiants du Paraná ont suivi des cours à l'étranger, puis sont revenus et ont partagé leurs expériences”. (Xavier 2011, 8-9)

C'est de cette manière que, dans les années 1980 et 1990, les jeunes musiciens ont pu se confronter avec la Musique Ancienne grâce à leurs aînés qui avaient déjà parcouru la partie la plus ardue du chemin. Ils ont pu apporter ce à quoi ils n'avaient pas eu accès: la connaissance la plus avancée de l'époque, des partitions, traités et instruments importés directement d'Europe, et surtout des opportunités d'études dans les meilleurs conservatoires européens.

## Sud Américains et Musique Ancienne: les raisons d'un succès

Les musiciens issus de la génération suivante ont bénéficié de cours et stages sporadiques durant leur apprentissage professionnel. Néanmoins, ils sortirent de la dynamique autodidacte des générations précédentes, et furent capables d'établir des réseaux internationaux de connaissances et d'intérêt commun. Cependant, ils ont un accès plus difficile aux ressources que les étudiants européens considèrent comme allant de soi: les instruments anciens et copies fidèles; les partitions en fac-similé et les traités; les accessoires (cordes, anches, etc.); les outils méthodologiques et pédagogiques; les résultats de la recherche scientifique dans le domaine de la musicologie et de la HIP. Souvent, ils ont voulu étudier un instrument ancien dans l'université de leur ville natale mais n'ont pas trouvé la structure institutionnelle pour développer leur savoir dans le domaine de la pratique de Musique Ancienne.

Paradoxalement, leur intérêt pour ce répertoire et cette pratique en a été exacerbée. Le double mythe de l'Europe, à la fois terre promise où un musicien peut faire carrière, et lieu d'origine culturelle, se renforce et fait croître chaque jour leur désir d'apprendre et de se perfectionner. Beaucoup d'entre eux - en fait l'écrasante majorité de ceux qui décident de s'orienter vers la musique ancienne - font le choix de s'expatrier pour bénéficier d'un cycle d'étude complet et reconnu sur tous les plans (symbolique et administratif). Souvent, ils arrivent en Europe avec peu de moyens, quelques billets dans la poche, un instrument souvent prêté, peu d'idées du lieu où ils atterrissent ou des personnes qui l'habitent, une éducation dans le domaine de la musique ancienne encore à parfaire, mais avec une soif d'apprendre et une envie de se surpasser que les européens qui n'ont pas vécu les mêmes privations intellectuelles ont du mal à égaler.

Ronaldo Lopes se souvient de sa situation, qu'il partageait avec des amis argentins:

On passait toute la journée au conservatoire. Il y avait du chauffage à la bibliothèque, alors qu'on n'en avait pas chez nous. Avec tout le temps que j'y ai passé à découvrir des partitions, je regrette de ne pas avoir tout photocopié! Je me souviens qu'un copain argentin a déchiffré absolument tout ce qu'il pouvait trouver à la bibliothèque. On n'avait jamais vu quelque chose comme ça dans notre pays!<sup>82</sup>

De plus, la réalité culturelle sudaméricaine dans laquelle ils ont grandi, où la musique était un pain quotidien, les rend plus malléables à l'apprentissage, plus capables

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<sup>82</sup> Entrevue avec Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, 29 janvier 2019.

techniquement et musicalement, plus souples stylistiquement, et encore plus assidus à l'étude de leur instrument.

Encore récemment, je prenais part à un déjeuner entre deux répétitions dans le nord de l'Italie avec un orchestre baroque. Plusieurs musiciens argentins étaient présents et s'étaient regroupés à une table à côté de la mienne. Pendant le café, avant de retourner à la répétition, ils s'étaient mis à écouter sur le téléphone de l'un d'eux plusieurs chansons qui, stylistiquement, semblaient dater des années 1930 ou 40 (je n'aurais pas été capable de reconnaître les chanteurs). Les quatre argentins présents se mirent à chanter à tue-tête avec la musique, non seulement suivant la mélodie et les effets vocaux des chanteurs avec une grande précision, mais de plus, ils paraissaient connaître les paroles de tous les couplets sans aucune hésitation. Un français qui était assis à ma table me fit part de ses réflexions, disant:

En France, on n'a pas la même relation à la musique. D'abord, il est rare qu'on écoute des 'classiques' de cette époque avec autant de ferveur. Mais surtout, quand on écoute on est beaucoup plus passif, on ne chante pas avec la musique.

Personnellement, bien que je sois musicien, je serais incapable de retenir tous les textes même de mes chansons favorites, et de chanter en les écoutant. On dirait que pour eux c'est naturel, ça fait partie de leur vie.<sup>83</sup>

Fait qui m'a effectivement été confirmé par tous les argentins, sudaméricains, et de manière générale par les latino-américains à qui j'ai posé la question. La musique vivante a toujours fait partie de leur vie, que ce soit en famille tout d'abord, puis ensuite au lycée ou à l'université, avec les amis. Dans toutes les maisons, il y a soit

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<sup>83</sup> Communication personnelle. Février 2019.

un piano soit une guitare, et “il serait presque impossible pour un sud américain de ne pas savoir jouer un peu de guitare, fût-ce quelques accords”.<sup>84</sup> Certains ont baigné dans la musique classique dès leur enfance, que ce soit comme Pedro Memelsdorff parce que sa mère jouait du piano, ou comme Manuel de Grange, dont les parents écoutaient la radio en permanence et qui s’est ainsi familiarisé, entre autre, avec la musique de J.S. Bach.

Par ailleurs, la musique folklorique est aussi bien présente dans les foyers. Javiera Portales explique que si l’étude de la musique n’était pas obligatoire dans son collège, son père, comme beaucoup d’hommes de sa génération, avait appris la guitare de manière autodidacte et jouait de la musique folk à la maison : la possession d’un instrument était une chose fondamentale.<sup>85</sup> Eduardo Egüez raconte comment, enfant, il accompagnait sa sœur au groupe de danse folklorique du quartier, et même s’il ne participait pas, il connaissait la musique et les mouvements de toutes les danses, affirmant “la musique folklorique était dans l’air”.<sup>86</sup> Justement, la musique ancienne est souvent vue comme un moyen de réconcilier ces deux mondes musicaux coexistants. La similarité entre la musique folklorique et traditionnelle d’Amérique du Sud (et d’Amérique Latine en général) et la musique ancienne est évoquée de façon quasi-systématique par les interviewés, comme nous l’avons vu dans la section 3 de ce chapitre. Allant plus loin, on peut voir comment la spontanéité et l’oralité qui sont impliquées dans le mode de transmission de la musique

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<sup>84</sup> Entrevue avec Eduardo Egüez, Borgo Revel (Turin, Italie), 23 février 2019.

<sup>85</sup> Entrevue avec Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, 26 mars 2019.

<sup>86</sup> Entrevue avec Eduardo Egüez, Borgo Revel (Turin, Italie), 23 février 2019.



folklorique devient un outil fabuleux à l'heure d'apprendre et de se familiariser avec le répertoire baroque et renaissance.

La capacité à mémoriser et à intégrer une structure mélodique ou harmonique est beaucoup plus importante dans la pratique de la musique ancienne que celle, par exemple, de la musique classique "moderne" (e.t. romantique, comme on l'apprend au conservatoire). En particulier, elle permet une approche de l'improvisation beaucoup plus naturelle et intégrée. Les musiciens qui viennent d'une trajectoire plus "classique" doivent développer sur le tard des habiletés nouvelles et une approche différente de l'interprétation. Cela n'empêche pas, bien évidemment, qu'il y ait des musiciens européens exceptionnels, au contraire. Mais cela peut en partie donner une explication rationnelle au succès, dans le cadre de la musique ancienne, de beaucoup de musiciens d'origine latino-américaine. Ajoutons à cela une maîtrise de plusieurs langues dans le cas, comme nous l'avons vu, d'enfants d'immigrants de pays différents, ce qui permet de naviguer dans un monde laboral extrêmement transnational — en tout cas entre les territoires européens (Michel 2019). Mettons-nous dans les habits de quelqu'un de profondément motivé, venant d'un contexte où rien n'est gagné d'avance et où il faut se battre pour obtenir les ressources minimum — instruments, partitions, ou accès à l'enseignement, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, mais aussi capacité financière dépendante du cours de la monnaie locale. Nous avons un type de personne parfait pour avoir un succès sur la scène musicale européenne de la musique ancienne.

Maintenant musicien reconnu avec une carrière affirmée, Eduardo Egüez habite une maison de campagne dans le nord de l'Italie, où il peut loger plusieurs personnes en plus de sa propre famille. Il reçoit régulièrement des élèves chez lui et, conscient des difficultés liées à l'immigration en sol européen, il leur offre l'hospitalité en échange d'un travail studieux et appliqué. Lors de mon interview avec lui, il me raconta comment l'étudiant qu'il hébergeait à ce moment était arrivé en Europe avec excessivement peu d'argent, mais mû par une motivation à toute épreuve. L'étudiant s'appliquait énormément, parce qu'il était conscient de la chance d'avoir un professeur à domicile et de pouvoir prendre des cours tous les jours, chose impossible en Argentine — et soit dit en passant, pas tellement courante en Europe non plus. Mais aussi, il avait conscience du risque permanent de devoir rentrer en Argentine où la situation n'était pas vraiment favorable, au cas où il ne réussissait pas un concours d'entrée dans un conservatoire de Suisse ou d'un pays européen. Ce cas représente l'étudiant typique qui, venu d'Argentine ou d'autres pays latino-américain pour se consacrer à la Musique Ancienne, n'a pas d'autre choix que de réussir. “Ajoutons à cela une forte motivation entrepreneuriale”, dit Egüez, “et il ne faut pas s'étonner de trouver des individus comme Leonardo García Alarcón ou Christina Pluhar, qui ont des carrières éclatantes et un succès fou!”.

La naissance d'une soi-disant 'mafia argentine'

Comme nous l'avons vu, les relations créées durant les stages d'été et autres opportunités éducatives en Amérique du Sud, et en particulier en Argentine, ont été

des points d'appui importants pour l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants en Europe. Mêmes s'ils ne sont pas eux-mêmes flûtistes à bec, beaucoup sont venus à étudier à Genève parce qu'ils connaissaient Gabriel Garrido depuis les cours de Bariloche, dans le sud de l'Argentine, fréquentés par des argentins mais aussi des chiliens, brésiliens, et uruguayens entre autres. Suivant le même modèle, Homero de Magalhães, comme d'autres à sa suite, est parti étudier à La Haye avec Ricardo Kanji, Brésilien lui aussi et émigré dans les années 1970.<sup>87</sup> Les professeurs des générations précédentes ont été l'inspiration qui motivait les jeunes à suivre leurs pas, mais souvent ils procuraient aussi les lettres de recommandations nécessaires pour passer les concours d'entrée, d'où l'utilité d'avoir un lien préalable avec une personne reconnue dans l'institution d'arrivée. Parallèlement, les étudiants s'organisent également entre eux, soit avec les générations précédentes — hospitalité durant les concours d'entrées, conseils et facilitations de contacts — soit en voyageant en groupe pour entrer la même année dans un conservatoire donné. Par exemple, Diana Fazzini raconte qu'en septembre 1997, elle a commencé ses études au Centre de Musique Ancienne de Genève<sup>88</sup> la même année que cinq autres de ses collègues, qui arrivaient eux aussi d'Argentine, et qu'elle avait connu là-bas pendant des cours variés et autres activités liées à la Musique Ancienne. "On a tous débarqué avec l'instrument et une valise, et c'est tout ce qu'on avait!"<sup>89</sup> Ensuite, elle a travaillé

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<sup>87</sup> Ricardo Kanji, Brésilien, a d'abord étudié aux États-Unis vers la fin des années 1960 avant de s'implanter définitivement en Hollande en 1970.

<sup>88</sup> Le Centre de Musique Ancienne n'existe plus en tant que tel à ce jour. Il a été remplacé par le "Département de Musique Ancienne", sous la tutelle de la Haute École de Musique de Genève. <https://www.hesge.ch/hem/departements/departement-musique-ancienne> Consulté le 3 janvier 2021.

<sup>89</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Diana Fazzini, 25 février 2019.

régulièrement avec Gabriel Garrido, dans différents projets abordant toutes sortes de styles. De la même façon, Andrés Locatelli, qui est plus ou moins de la même génération, est arrivé à la Haye ne connaissant que le professeur Adrian Van Der Spoel, lui-même de Rosario en Argentine. Il trouva le climat hostile et très compétitif, et une bureaucratie compliquée. Par la suite il s’installe en Italie et obtient enfin un passeport européen, du fait de sa grand-mère italienne.<sup>90</sup> On le retrouve dans les années suivantes dans plusieurs ensembles, certains dirigés par des argentins, à côté de ses projets personnels. Autre exemple, le claviériste Jorge Lavista est arrivé en 1991 avec seulement 1.000 dollars en poche pour étudier avec Jacques Horth, qu’il avait rencontré lors d’un stage à Montevideo. Après un master à La Haye, en Hollande, qu’il effectue sans bourse, il décide de rester en Europe mais doit y passer plusieurs mois illégalement. Grâce à ses grands-parents italiens, il obtient lui aussi un passeport européen, mais seulement après quatre ans de démarches. Comme il le dit: “c’est une loterie. J’ai eu de la chance de l’obtenir, grâce à mes grands-parents. Ensuite j’ai pu rester sans problème. Mais certains n’ont pas cette chance”.<sup>91</sup>

Comme on peut le voir, les contacts qui s’établissent avant la date de migration des interviewés a une grande incidence sur leur parcours une fois en Europe. Pourtant, la question de nationalité est rarement évoquée, et les réseaux d’entraide qui se créent sur place englobent souvent des personnes de nationalités différentes. On peut plutôt penser qu’il existe une connivence par rapport aux expériences vécues auparavant d’un côté, et sans doute une essentialisation de la part

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<sup>90</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Andrés Locatelli, 1er mars 2019.

<sup>91</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Jorge Lavista, le 11 juin 2019.

des européens qui favorise le sens de communauté, d'un autre. Par exemple, Florencia Bardavid n'a pas trouvé de grande communauté chilienne en Hollande, mais beaucoup d'argentins.<sup>92</sup> Même chose pour Ronaldo Lopes, brésilien, qui se trouve inclus *de facto* dans la communauté argentine du conservatoire de Lyon, et avec qui il partage les mêmes difficultés bureaucratiques et financières.<sup>93</sup>

Les raisons présentées ici sont-elles les plus pertinentes pour expliquer le succès de certains immigrants? En tout cas, les faits prouvent que la présence latinoaméricaine est forte dans le monde européen de la Musique Ancienne, et en particulier la présence argentine. De plus, il n'est pas rare de retrouver des musiciens argentins ou sud-américains dans des ensembles dirigés, par exemple, par des argentins. Lors d'une entrevue informelle effectuée en Italie (dont est tirée la scène du restaurant décrite ci-dessus), les personnes interrogées ont toutes démenti avoir une préférence pour des musiciens ou chefs d'une nationalité sur aucune autre. Le fait est que sur un ensemble de moins de 20 musiciens, plusieurs des postes importants (premier violon, instruments de la basse continue, etc... et le directeur lui-même) étaient occupés par des argentins. Plusieurs des personnalités importantes des cercles de Musique Ancienne en Europe continentale viennent de ce même pays, et en général ont suivi le même parcours que celui de nos interviewés: cours et stages en Argentine, à l'arrivée en Europe aide d'un réseau d'entraide important à caractère national (argentins) ou régional (sudaméricains, ou latinos), motivation

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<sup>92</sup> Entrevue avec Florencia Bardavid Hoecker, Santiago de Chile, 27 mars 2019.

<sup>93</sup> Entrevue avec Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, 29 janvier 2019.

exceptionnelle, insertion dans le monde du travail en partie grâce à ces réseaux, succès individuels récompensés par une carrière retentissante.

Notre objectif ici n'est en aucun cas de définir si ces faits sont de l'ordre d'une coïncidence ou d'un plan organisé. Les raisons du succès des latino américains dans le cadre de la Musique Ancienne, tels qu'ils sont justifiés par les intéressés et que nous avons exposé plus haut, sont totalement valides et ont du sens. Ce qui m'intéresse est d'observer la réponse européenne à ces faits avérés et la logique qu'ils en tirent, ou les narrations qui se sont construites autour de la forte présence argentine dans le monde de la Musique Ancienne dans les dernières décennies du XXème siècle et au début du XXI. Je considère qu'il y a eu plusieurs moments et éléments qui ont provoqué soit une peur, soit un rejet de la présence *latino* en Europe. Après les premières réactions positives aux sudaméricains pendant la période d'exil, un sentiment de peur s'établit en Europe, et particulièrement en Espagne, quand les locaux réalisent que beaucoup réclament et reçoivent un passeport local. L'expression "Sudaca" est née en Espagne dans les années 1980 pour désigner de manière péjorative les immigrants sud-américains, et en particulier les argentins.<sup>94</sup>

J'argumente également que sur un plan économique, dans les années suivantes et l'établissement du consensus de Washington (en apparence) favorable à l'Amérique Latine, ou sur un plan politique avec la fin de la guerre froide et la 'menace russe' sur le monde occidental, la place de l'Europe cesse d'être centrale dans la géopolitique mondiale, pendant que les États-Unis occupent une stratégie agressive et des liens

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<sup>94</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 mars 2019.

plus forts avec des continents jusque là moins prépondérants, comme l'Asie et l'Amérique Latine, entre autre. Bien que je ne dispose pas à ce jour de données ethnographiques concrètes pour le montrer, il est fort probable que le sentiment général de centralité de l'Europe dans l'histoire globale s'en soit trouvé fortement diminué. Et du même coup, une vague de xénophobie (qui a bien d'autres causes, dont nous ne parlerons pas ici) commença à s'emparer de l'Europe.

Quoi de plus essentiellement européen que la musique ancienne? Nous avons vu dans le chapitre 3 de quelle manière les récits sous-jacents à l'Histoire de la musique occidentale utilisent la musique classique européenne pour justifier sa propre importance et montrer son caractère racialement pur. Un sentiment d'appartenance est fortement enraciné dans le coeur de l'européen et dans sa relation à sa propre culture historique, qu'il considère souvent avec un regard nationaliste. La musique jouée sous Louis XIV permettrait d'expliquer le sens de l'humour complexe des français, comme les quatre saisons de Vivaldi serait une preuve indéniable de la sentimentalité et de la théâtralité de l'italien d'aujourd'hui.<sup>95</sup> Si la musique romantique du XIXème siècle s'est construite au travers du concept d'absolu et d'universel, ce que cherche l'Européen, au travers de la musique ancienne, c'est une source de son originalité nationale, ou parfois même régionale. La diversité des pratiques dans l'Europe baroque est invoquée de deux manières: contrecarrer l'homogénéisation de la culture depuis l'époque 'moderne' (en générale, depuis le

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<sup>95</sup> Conversations informelles avec musiciens de Musique Ancienne de différentes nationalités 2010-2014.

XVIII siècle et l'époque de l'illustration), mais aussi revendiquer une origine culturelle qui serait liée au territoire. D'ailleurs, beaucoup de mes collègues latinoaméricains ont présenté une profonde croyance dans le 'naturel' qu'il était pour un européen de jouer de la musique ancienne. S'agit-il plus d'un mythe que d'une vérité? Dans tous les cas, ce genre d'affirmation montre à quel point le sentiment de menace posé par les extra-européens provoque un besoin de délimiter un territoire, une 'chasse gardée', un répertoire 'prêtable' mais tout de même inaliénable qui serait la propriété exclusive des européens 'de naissance', chacun depuis son propre pays.

Le succès de la MA durant les dernières décennies du XXème siècle a fait que beaucoup d'extra-européens se sont emparés de cette pratique, non seulement des argentins ou sudaméricains, mais aussi des japonais, des israéliens, ou d'autres latino-américains. En réaction, l'affirmation d'un droit de possession sur un certain répertoire s'en est trouvée renforcée, pour enclaver une légitimité et la refuser aux nouveaux-venus qui prennent une place grandissante dans les cercles professionnels. La prétention à cette légitimité est proclamée par les sud-américains d'origine européenne — blancs — à travers un "droit du sang". Depuis ma position d'observateur je l'interprète (car ce n'est pas le mot employé par les interrogés) comme argument *racial*: descendance directe d'européens 'de souche', le droit de possession du répertoire serait passé de manière générationnelle, pour les sud américains.



Nous arrivons ici au point le plus problématique, car nous savons que le concept de race est hautement prohibé dans le langage courant européen depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. Il a été proclamé que la race n'existe pas, et qui prône le contraire est automatiquement fiché comme 'raciste' — ce qui explique l'absence de l'utilisation de ce mot dans toutes les circonstances de mon travail de terrain sur le territoire européen. Mais quelle est la conséquence de cette absence? Dire que la race n'existe pas, n'est-ce pas justement priver ceux qui ont souffert du racisme (par exemple, les descendants de juifs exilés) d'outils pour réclamer leurs origines, et par là-même, leur blancheur? C'est un mécanisme qui part en théorie d'une bonne intention: celle d'éradiquer le racisme. Il empêche aussi toute forme de revendication raciale de quiconque n'est pas né sur le territoire européen. En d'autres termes, les répertoires européens ne pourront appartenir qu'à des personnes nées en Europe. Paradoxalement, dans les faits, l'identité européenne reste cependant la l'exclusivité des Blancs. Il ne reste aux "retournés" sur le "vieux continent", pour justifier leur intérêt musical, qu'un vague concept d'origine culturelle qui ne leur suffit souvent pas pour se faire accepter comme interprètes légitimes par les européens. Au contraire, on voit souvent que les latino-américains sont d'abord considérés au travers de leur lieu de naissance plutôt que pour leur capacités musicales ou pour leurs origines culturelles. Un argentin, même avec un nom de famille de sonorité allemande, va d'abord être considéré comme argentin et généralement sera catégorisé de cette façon définitivement, en dépit des efforts qui puissent être faits pour détromper ou minimiser cette assignation.

Pourtant, il n'est pas étonnant que parmi tous les individus de culture européenne avec des facilités pour la musique, se trouve un certain pourcentage qui ne soit pas né sur le continent européens. Cela vient d'une histoire compliquée de guerres et de migrations durant le XXème siècle. Mais, vu que le concept de race ne peut être revendiqués, les euro-américains vont être repérés comme étrangers, et catégorisés uniformément comme *latinos*, jusqu'à former une communauté importante et en pleine expansion à la fin du XXème siècle. Du fait de cette catégorisation artificielle comme 'corps étranger', cette communauté va être perçue avec acuité, et remarquée comme une menace à la prédominance européenne dans le monde, laquelle se trouve par ailleurs fort endommagée. Dans ces conditions, les succès individuels de sud américains, avec les raisons que nous avons évoquées plus haut, sont vus comme un tout organisé et peu à peu en viennent à être définis sous le titre de "mafia argentine". De manière performative, plus ce terme est utilisé, plus il prend corps et vie jusqu'à devenir réel aux yeux de qui l'emploie. Le résultat direct de cette dénomination sous un terme péjoratif est la suspicion constante qui règne à propos de n'importe quel mérite personnel. Pendant mon travail de terrain, j'ai noté une constante nécessité de démentir cette suspicion — comme dans le cas de mon orchestre en Italie décrit plus haut — et de justifier toute action ou réussite par un mérite personnel et artistique au-dessus de liens interpersonnels qui puissent se coincider avec un lieu de naissance. Au contraire, je n'ai jamais entendu dire d'un allemand qui entrait dans un orchestre reconnu qu'il avait eu le poste "parce qu'il est allemand". Cette affirmation sonne de manière absurde pour un européen, et pourtant

elle est une stratégie de survie importante pour tout argentin ou *latino* qui se meut dans les cercles européens de Musique Ancienne. Comme j'ai pu l'entendre lors de mes entretiens ainsi que lors de conversations informelles, ils subissent toutes formes de micro-agressions, qui peuvent parfois prendre des tournures très critiques. Par exemple, on aura vu le cas de certains professeurs 'locaux' écrivant des lettres au conservatoire qui les embauchent pour se plaindre de la présence d'un professorat argentin, ce qui implique le risque pour ces argentins de perdre leur travail.<sup>96</sup> Dans d'autres cas tout aussi extrêmes, certains questionnent l'existence de centres de formation intensive pour la Musique Ancienne en Argentine, les considérant comme à la limite du lavage de cerveau "comme les Talibans", pour qu'ils prennent possession du marché européen.<sup>97</sup> Suspicion tout aussi absurde, on le voit.

## Conclusion: identité, migration, et musique ancienne.

*(une invitée): -Bonjour, comment t'appelles-tu? Quel instrument tu joues? Et*

*tu viens d'où?*

*-[...] Je suis italien.*

*-Ah oui? De quelle région?*

*-Bon, je suis né au Chili.*

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<sup>96</sup> Je souhaite garder cette source anonyme. Le cas est pourtant bien tiré d'un fait réel.

<sup>97</sup> Eduardo Egüez, avec beaucoup d'humour, défend l'existence d'un "centre d'entraînements intensifs" d'étudiants pour la Musique Ancienne, à caractère inhumain ou militaire.

*-Ah d'accord. Et tu as vécu combien de temps là-bas avant de rentrer en  
Italie?*

*-19 ans.*

*-Aaaaah c'est long quand même. Tu as grandi là-bas en fait?*

*(Un italien qui écoutait la conversation): -Non, mais attends, il est chilien,  
c'est tout. Il a obtenu la nationalité par sa grand-mère quand il est arrivé ici, mais ça  
fait pas de lui un italien!<sup>98</sup>*

Certains expriment avoir 'découvert' qui ils étaient grâce à l'expérience du voyage. "Aller vivre à l'étranger c'est aussi se découvrir soi-même. [...] Avant, en vivant au Chili, on prend tout pour des faits établis, mais quand on s'en va, on se rend compte ce que c'est d'être Chilien, ce que c'est d'être Latino".<sup>99</sup> En d'autres termes, l'identité qu'il leur est renvoyée ne correspond pas toujours à celle qu'ils avaient construites avant leur expérience en Europe et leur confrontation avec l'imaginaire européen sur l'Amérique Latine. Il faut bien dire que cet imaginaire a largement évolué depuis les années 1970, et que l'idéalisation politique des mouvements de gauche sud-américains n'est qu'un vague souvenir pour les générations les plus anciennes et les personnes les plus impliquées. Pour les plus jeunes, la conscience globale semble avoir diminuée, et le concept de "tiers-monde" ayant évolué vers celui, plus imprécis politiquement, de "pays en voie de développement", a fait tellement de chemin qu'il

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<sup>98</sup> Scène vécue, lors d'une fête à mon propre domicile. Bâle, mi-février 2012.

<sup>99</sup> Entretien de Nelson Contreras pour "Al Modo Antiguo", Radio San Joaquin. 20 avril 2020. [https://www.radiosanjoaquin.cl/2020/04/20/al-modo-antiguo-nelson-contreras-violagambista-chileno/?fbclid=IwAR3ItSOI977pHmLGeR\\_5-CSORvBHSPa2\\_nT3CUzou9QHZBMH3o-Yjyn8Ny4](https://www.radiosanjoaquin.cl/2020/04/20/al-modo-antiguo-nelson-contreras-violagambista-chileno/?fbclid=IwAR3ItSOI977pHmLGeR_5-CSORvBHSPa2_nT3CUzou9QHZBMH3o-Yjyn8Ny4) consulté le 26 avril 2020.

s'est généralisé jusqu'à englober des catégories très larges. Le passage d'une dénomination politique (tiers-monde) à une expression plus marquée économiquement (en voie de développement) a contribué à la naturalisation de l'idée de 'progrès', où le modèle capitaliste et néo-libéral serait l'unique voie possible pour se 'développer' dans un monde où le modèle socialiste a largement reculé. Par ailleurs, ce concept permet le regroupement de larges catégories dans un même sac, lequel se définit *grosso modo* par tout ce qui n'est ni européen ni anglophone. Les "sudacas" (mot péjoratif en espagnol pour définir les sud américain) ou "latinos" au XXI siècle rentrent dans cette catégorie, sans réelle considération pour ce qu'ils pensent d'eux-mêmes et comment ils se définissent. Certains disent même que "l'europpéen pense que nous sommes des indiens (*indios*), mais la réalité est différente".<sup>100</sup> Lorsque la question leur est posée, la plupart de mes collègues affirment n'avoir pas subi de discrimination durant leur séjour en Europe. Stratégiquement, une telle affirmation leur permet de se situer dans une catégorie raciale blanche — bien qu'ils n'emploient pratiquement jamais de termes à connotations raciales — et de minimiser leur 'Altérité'. Pour démontrer cette absence de discrimination, ils font jouer leur capacité d'adaptation: "J'avais surtout des amis Français à La Haye, nous étions tout un groupe de français et j'allais tous les week-ends à Paris parce que j'avais de la famille là-bas";<sup>101</sup> ou sur leur facilité à s'intégrer professionnellement: "j'ai eu de la chance parce que dès mes premières semaines à Lyon, quelqu'un m'a vu avec un théorbe et m'a proposé de rejoindre son ensemble,

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<sup>100</sup> Je souhaite garder cette affirmation anonyme.

<sup>101</sup> Entretien avec Homero de Magalhães, Paris, 19 février 2019.

j'ai travaillé avec eux pendant plusieurs années"<sup>102</sup>; ou encore les facilités administratives qui ont permis de s'installer en France:

J'ai vite compris que le bureau de réglementation du travail était là pour plaider en ma faveur et pour me protéger. Je devais remplir un nombre incroyable de fiches et j'avais plusieurs classeurs juste pour mon cas. Mais quand j'ai eu des problèmes de paiement avec un conservatoire, ils ont tout de suite appelé et ont réglé le litige. En fait ils se battent pour qu'on évite de travailler au noir, ce que je n'ai jamais fait même si on me l'a souvent proposé.<sup>103</sup>

Cela montre que le problème systémique de la discrimination pour raisons nationales est évincé par une stratégie individuelle et une recherche d'auto-suffisance. Cherchant une autre sortie, beaucoup insistent sur l'origine européenne de leurs parents, ou parfois leurs grand-parents, pour justifier leur facile intégration. Il existe pourtant des différences entre les individus pour ce qui est de la facilité de se procurer un passeport européen, même avec des origines prouvées. Ils se trouvent souvent renvoyés à une identité plurielle, "betwixt" (Munck 2013). Homero de Magalhães se dépeint comme "moitié moitié". Ronaldo Lopes raconte que pendant ses voyages au Brésil, on lui demande d'où vient son accent, quand il ne se fait pas racketter comme un touriste. Pedro Memelsdorff sent qu'il a plus de liens avec l'Europe qu'avec l'Argentine. Diana Fazzini ressent qu'elle a "trouvé une identité, bien qu'un peu controversée", en Italie. Mais dans le même temps, ces mêmes individus reconnaissent que la discrimination existe. Elle n'est pas toujours agressive ni strictement négative, mais ils se ressentent *latinos* dans le regard des autres, bien que,

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<sup>102</sup> Entrevue avec Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, 29 janvier 2019.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

pour ceux nés à Buenos Aires, ils aient “plus d’européen que de mexicain” ou que d’autres cultures latino-américaines.<sup>104</sup> Dans une école comme la Schola Cantorum, parler espagnol n’est pas seulement une façon d’appartenir à la communauté linguistique la plus représentée, c’est aussi devenir “l’un d’eux” et perdre une sorte d’individualité.<sup>105</sup> “En Hollande, il existe une idée préconçue des *latinos*, pas forcément mauvaise mais exotique, comme d’être plus communicatifs, plus marrants”.<sup>106</sup> Comme dit Andrés Locatelli,

Il y a un code [culturel] qu’il faut apprendre et respecter [...] dans un pays qui n’est pas le tien, il faut te mettre sur la même longueur d’onde, et une fois que tu t’intéresses, ils deviennent très accueillants et t’ouvrent leur porte.<sup>107</sup>

La langue et les habilités linguistiques jouent un énorme rôle dans cette adaptation. Pour des enfants ayant grandi dans des familles où pas moins de cinq langues étaient couramment parlées, la capacité de manipuler plusieurs langues est souvent exacerbée par la connaissance exacte des accents, idiomes et coutumes linguistiques de chaque pays ou région. Le cas de Pedro Memelsdorff est typique de cet exemple. À l’écouter parler français, allemand, italien ou anglais, on pourrait penser qu’il est natif de chacune de ces régions.<sup>108</sup> Ainsi, chacun développe des stratégies d’intégration en fonction de sa situation et de sa personnalité. Les identités

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<sup>104</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Diana Fazzini, 25 février 2019.

<sup>105</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 mars 2019.

<sup>106</sup> Entrevue avec Florencia Bardavid Hoecker, Santiago de Chile, 27 mars 2019.

<sup>107</sup> Entrevue en ligne avec Andres Locatelli, 1er mars 2019.

<sup>108</sup> Personnellement je n’ai pas de souvenir de l’avoir jamais entendu parler espagnol, mêmes les fois où je l’ai rencontré dans des contextes hispanophones — comme à Barcelone, par exemple, où il doit sûrement s’exprimer en catalan. Je note que je ne maîtrisais personnellement pas le castillan quand je l’ai rencontré dans ce contexte. Il n’y avait donc pas de raison que l’on communique dans cette langue. Je me demande donc si j’aurais noté son accent argentin, eût-on parlé en espagnol, et si cette éventualité a pu influencer son choix d’éviter cette langue.

qui résultent de ces efforts sont souvent complexes, dynamiques, et fortement évolutives. Entre renier ou valoriser sa patrie d'origine ou celle d'adoption, ces musiciens ont un profil qui s'adaptent en fonction des lieux et des contextes, et qui s'expriment, par exemple, au travers du langage parlé, des accents, et des traits culturels qui sont mis en avant ou au contraire laissés de côté.

Si peu de collègues affirment ouvertement avoir subi une quelconque forme de discrimination — les cas explicites, comme celle de la lettre d'un collègue professeur à l'administration de l'école, reste heureusement une exception — j'argumente que les stratégies évoquées ici renvoient à une forme d'attente de la part des collègues européens, qui n'est pas sans lien avec cette anxiété de maintenir le monopole culturel et en particulier de conserver à chaque nationalité d'européens la légitimité d'interpréter le répertoire de son propre pays. Dans ce chapitre, nous avons vu que le concept de race était rendu inaccessible aux latino-américains, en particulier au sud américains d'origine européenne, pour revendiquer cette légitimité. L'arrivée de "sudacas" dans les milieux professionnels de MA, mieux acceptée au début, a ensuite provoqué une réaction de rejet qui, bien que rarement exprimée, n'en est pas moins sous-jacente dans beaucoup de discours informels et au travers de micro-agressions quotidiennes. Dans le chapitre suivant, nous observerons la relation qui s'établit entre les musiciens *latinos* et le répertoire de Musique Ancienne d'Amérique Latine, aussi étiqueté comme "colonial". Cette relation se trouve tout à tout volontaire, forcée, ou stratégique.



# Chapter 5 - The Colonial music repertoire

## Introduction

Chapter 4 examined history that showed incipient movements across American continents promulgating musicians' and audiences' interest in historical performance of early music repertoires. This movement is principally centered on European Baroque and Renaissance music. This music constituted a 'new' repertoire only occasionally performed in European or American concert halls. The movement was revolutionary in many aspects, but in some cases, it reinforced European and Western cultural supremacy. Even local expressions of Western-like culture were not perceived as bearing true seeds for a modern nation.<sup>109</sup> Ideological tendencies long excluded the idea that, during the Colonial period, musicians in the Americas could have produced, composed, or performed valued Western music. In spite of some previous inquiries that remained somehow marginal, only in the 1970–80s musicologists started looking more seriously into 'local' music. And not before the 1990s did it become fashionable for Early Music practitioners across boards to perform Colonial repertoire. Even in 2020, this practice is not the most common among Early Music practitioners in Latin America. In Europe, however not very

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<sup>109</sup> For example, see Domingo Santa Cruz discussing 'music' in Chile (Vera 2014b).

well-spread either, colonial-period Latin American music has a different reception, with a great emphasis on its exoticism. In this chapter, I explore how colonial repertoire became accepted and normalized in Early Music programs as well as the effects that normalization had on musicians discussed in the preceding chapter.

Chapter 2 demonstrated the marginal history of Iberian Villancicos, while chapter 3 explained their quasi-absence from Western Art Music (WAM) narratives. In the second half of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century, repertoire produced and performed in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Americas still suffers from this historical invisibilization and remains marginalized. Nevertheless, some efforts by musicologists, ‘enlightened’ musicians, and Early Music practitioners unveiled the richness of music commonly labeled as ‘colonial.’ This recuperation and revalorization effort has been neither regular nor straightforward. Power differentials made this music a depository for larger dynamics of appropriation, co-optation, and denaturalization. This chapter examines politics around the performance of Colonial music (produced or performed in the context of formal colonialism, or during the Colonial period).<sup>110</sup> I attend to meaning-making performed through this music and underlying power relations. To do so, I first rely on reflections presented in chapters 2 and 3 arguing that Iberian repertoire was negotiated and eventually invisibilized in the construction of a Western teleological narrative. Second I draw from chapter 4 describing Latin American musicians’ place in European musical circles and how

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<sup>110</sup> Hereafter, I will use capitalization for the term Colonial music, as it refers to an artistic period, in the same way I capitalize Baroque or Renaissance (although the reasons for this periodization is distinct).

European practitioners perceived Latin American musicians as a threat. Overall Latin American Early Music repertoire (LAEMR)—or Colonial repertoire—exoticized and essentialized Latinity by using *racial sonic markers* comparable to the Iberian villancico de negro. Contrasting European Early Music practitioners, musicians born in Latin American countries have different attitudes towards LAEMR ranging from strategic self-essentialism to denial with subtle possibilities between (Spivak 1988).

## Musicologists, precursors of a revelation

Chapter 3 demonstrated how safe-keepers of a ‘purely’ European musical canon excised Iberian music. This canon aimed to avoid racial ambiguity in European culture’s historical lineage. To prove a direct Greek-Italian-German connection supporting WAM’s teleological evolution, every production or influence from Spain, Portugal, or their colonies has been ignored and lessened. Accordingly elite, cultural safe-keepers in Europe and the Americas scorned colonial-era LAEMR in this canon.

Concurrently independent Latin American nations’ construction in the nineteenth century necessitated a new identity not directly dependent on Spain or Portugal. In making such an identity, these nations overlooked the region’s colonial history. For example, musicologist Alejandro Vera examines Chilean eighteenth-century music and its historiography to show how nationalist views of the nineteenth century shaped music history writing (2016). According to Vera, music in colonial Chile was dismissed in part because it supported the argument of an ‘evolution’ from

what Domingo Amunategui Solar calls “a miserable level to a high one” (quoted in Vera, 2016,168). The dismissal of colonial music was also a way to enforce nationalist ideology at the dawn of independence: “the colonial past represented Spanish domination, and thus a foreign incursion into national history” (Vera, 169).

In addition, most written music in Latin America was produced in religious institutions whose archives have been destroyed or kept away from the public. For these reasons, no serious investigation of ‘colonial’ repertoire had been made until the mid-twentieth century, contributing to the invisibility of such music. According to Argentinian musicologist Leonardo Waisman (1993), even what was made during the 20th century was still marked by European paradigms. “The concepts that [Alejo] Carpentier is using [. . .] are tools, defined from within European musicology and for the purpose of this one” (Waisman, 32). For Waisman, turn-of-the-century Latin America was confronted with “third-world” musicology unable to develop its own tools, concepts, or theories (2004, 47). For a long time, many (even at Latin American institutions) considered studying European music more current. This preference may explain the dearth of musicological scholarship on Latin American colonial repertoire and musicians’ lack of interest in historical performance of this repertoire. Nevertheless, this music was known. Pioneering work done by intellectuals—not strictly musicologists but scholars more generally—participated in a larger project defining Latin American national identities and pan-Latin-American specificities. These intellectuals studied local music and looked for a relevant cultural framework to narrate its evolution. To cite a few, Carlos Vega (1898-1966), called

the *father* of Argentine musicology (González 2009, 51), combined fieldwork with historical investigation to turn a complex, integrative gaze on ethnomusicological work. A contemporary of Vega, Brazilian intellectual Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) examined traditional, folkloric, and “popularesque” music (Ulhoa 2017, 92), leaving aside evolutionary ideas and eurocentrism. As much as Vega, Andrade was “permeated with nationalist concerns and the need to construct a historical past for [. . .] Brazilian music” (Ulhoa, 94). Cuban intellectual Fernando Ortiz Fernández (1881-1969) coined the term *transculturation*. He explored topics studying the “interrelationship between the economic, juridical, cultural, biological, and aesthetic spheres as constituted by the changing historical politics of global economic exchange” (Ochoa Gautier 2014,10). Later novelist Alejo Carpentier would, in addition to writing his 1946 seminal *La Música en Cuba*, be the first to localize the musical archive of Santiago de Cuba’s cathedral and realize the importance of it. Mexican scholar-performer Carlos Chávez praised the value of pre-Columbian music, with the idea of integrating it in the reshaping of Mexican identity (Simonett and Marcuzzi 2016, 7).

Vega, de Andrade, Ortiz Fernández, and Carpentier—interdisciplinary artists, thinkers, and essayists—were precursors to Latin American musicology. Each eventually became political leaders. Thinking musicology through multiple lenses, they heralded a future for Latin American music scholarship as blending historical musicology and ethnomusicology. These scholars worked towards a Latin American identity encompassing more than merely the white race and European culture. To

build such a regional identity, they sought mestizo cultural roots to legitimize Indigenous and/or African practices as influencing twentieth-century popular music. Though they were more inclined to find ‘ancient’ roots of their culture than pay homage to colonial heritage, they eventually catalyzed recovery of a musical past prior to independence—just as the case of Carpentier described earlier.

These intellectuals seeded a cultural movement that would look to history and rural, popular culture to understand Latin America. Some European researchers also became interested in such a rich cultural region, but their focus was more defined by comparative musicology. Their ideological goals were distinct from those of Vega, de Andrade, and Carpentier. Internationally, it is more the “Good Neighbor Policy”<sup>111</sup> that helped the development of pan-American musical exchanges. Helena Simonett and Michael Marcuzzi note institutions fostering such exchanges: the creation, in 1939, of a Hispanic section in the Library of Congress; in 1939, a meeting between Charles Seeger (1886–1979) and Francisco Curt Lange (1903–1997) during the International Congress of the American Musicological Society (AMS); in 1958, the Inter-American Music Council accompanied by the *Boletín del Consejo Interamericano de Música*; in 1961, the Latin American Center at Indiana University (Simonett and Marcuzzi 2016, 39–41).

Such politics made possible USA and European musicologists’ investment in Latin America by the mid-twentieth century. Curt Lange, a German musicologist

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<sup>111</sup> The term “good neighbor policy” refers to the political move implemented by Franklin Roosevelt to strengthen the relationships between the USA and Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century.

with many intellectual influences, left Germany between wars for political reasons and obtained citizenship in Montevideo, Uruguay. Lange's work is too broad to be described in detail here, but, as a European native, he had no specific, national agenda when he arrived in Latin America. This lack of agenda may explain how he became the father of Americanist musicology which widened throughout the following decades (González 2009, 50). In his 1977 text "O Processo da Musicologia na América Latina [Musicology's Process in Latin America]," Lange relays his frustrations at, on the one hand, a lack of community efforts between musicologists from different countries and on the other, a lack of institutional support. This review of Lange's career evinces his ability to embrace investigation of all musical types, from folklore to 'erudite' music, without preference for a historical era. Lange examined phenomena from intercontinental perspectives rather than national or local specificities (Merino Montero 1998). He departed from previous ideologies, searching for national cultural symbols that might cohere young Latin American democracies. The study of Latin American colonial music, as it developed later, might have been much different without Lange's pan-continental perspective. Indeed because the Iberian colonial experience pervades in the region, known today as Latin America, it soon became the main sub-category of the Americanist musicological research. Lange's research in Argentina and Brazil—particularly in Minas Gerais—contributed significantly to the field of colonial musicology (Alge 2014).

With his innumerable works on different countries' musical landscapes from the pre-Columbian to contemporary folklore, musicologist Robert Stevenson

similarly revolutionized the field of colonial music. His research on WAM in the Americas—Church music especially—cements his place as a precursor to Early Music research in the continents. We can count numerous contributions by Stevenson: beginning with *Music in Mexico: a historical survey* (1952); following with other titles in the same vein, such as *Juan Bermudo* (1960), *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (1958), *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (1959), *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (1970); and culminating with the first—and for a long time only—monograph summarizing colonial music across the continents, his *Latin American Colonial Music Anthology* (1975) which became a reference on the topic for at least a few decades (all cit. in Campos Fonseca 2009). We should keep in mind that Stevenson’s position (writing in English and funded by US institutions)<sup>112</sup> propelled his career making him far more performant as a scholar than his Latin American peers. By contrast, Latin American scholars struggled with institutional funds and navigated fieldwork difficulties when traveling abroad. Indeed in 1974, Gerard Behague urged recognition of Stevenson’s Latin American musicological contemporaries who investigated colonial music but have been too easily forgotten (cited in Campos Fonseca 2009). Still, Stevenson’s contributions not only forged a path for the archival research in Latin American ecclesiastic institutions—an extant albeit hazy path before him—but also connected several movements broadening the debate around acculturation and

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<sup>112</sup> Robert Steveson taught at University of Texas from 1940 to 1949 and then at University of California, Los Angeles until 1987. He was also funded by independent organizations, such as The Organization for American States (OAS), one of the oldest institutions for a pan-American system, and based in the USA.



influences permeating European music in colonial America. Though he applied to Latin American music historical concepts belonging to European music (e.g. “Renaissance,” “Baroque”), his evident intention was to validate colonial music by placing it, not marginally, but on the same level as music composed in Europe. Musicologist Susana Campos Fonseca reads “border” thinking in Stevenson’s work that would replace “peripheral” conceptions of Latin America permeating the USA and European thought until then (2009).

Following Stevenson and others, Latin American musicologists sought out the treasures of Cathedral archives and other American musical corpora. Consider Cuban musicologist Pablo Hernández Balaguer’s remarkable work on composers from the Santiago Cathedral archive (Escudero 2013)—namely the music of Esteban Salas y Castro (1725–1803). Alongside Stevenson and others, Balaguer contributed to the 1962 “Colonial Special Issue” of the *Revista Musical Chilena* (Escudero, 5). Other contributors include Vega, who studied Peruvian codices, and Uruguayan musicologist Lauro Ayestarán, first to study the music of Jesuit Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726).

One of the most remarkable of Stevenson’s followers is the Chilean Samuel Claro Valdes. He met Stevenson in a seminar in Chile and was so impressed, he decided to follow the scholar on a 1966 trip, partly funded by a UCLA grant, before leading further investigation (Vera 2014a, 167–168). The following decade, Valdes published works about music from Lima and Cuzco among other cities in what is now Peru and Moxos in contemporary Bolivia (Vera, 168). Moxos would soon be the

origin of the fever about Jesuit missionary music, which would mark the next decades. Believing his duty as musicologist was to transcribe music and make it available to performers, Valdes published a 1974 *Anthology of Colonial Music in South America*—a year before Stevenson’s *Anthology*—including fourteen composers’ works from archives in five countries, embracing religious as well as secular music (Vera, 169). To a lesser extent, he cataloged the Santiago Cathedral archive; this was perhaps because the music conserved there dated after 1770 (Vera, 172).

Despite differences, this new wave of Latin American musicologists shared common traits. They studied folk music and conducted ethnography as well as archival work so were not strictly historical musicologists in the contemporary sense. These scholars viewed colonial-era religious music as one more element that could illuminate their countries’—and region’s—present. They pursued evidences that would mark the American difference from previous colonial powers. Referring to the words of the Cuban musicologist Pablo Hernández Balaguer, from 1960, Miriam Escudero writes:

Para mantener la altura del lugar que ha otorgado Carpentier a Salas como “primer clásico cubano.” Balaguer afirma que sobre “la cubanía de los Villancicos de Esteban Salas, cabría decir [ . . . ] que fueron ejecutados en un sentido diverso a como lo hubieran sido en España,” pero no aporta aun las razones musicales de ese comportamiento que más contemporáneamente será denominado “criollismo.” (Escudero 2013, 4)

At the same time, they followed Lange's Americanism by cultivating relations and specifying commonalities among Latin American countries. Moreover, they spread national, colonial-era musics through modern transcriptions of archival sources both locally and internationally. They engaged professional choirs to perform their transcribed music and distributed editions abroad to evidence their national culture's value.

Still, their relationships with musicians were not permeated by historicism. The ensembles performing pieces these musicologists transcribed were mixed-voice, symphonic choirs, despite their greater focus on pre-classic music. Consider the Coro Madrigalista de Santiago de Cuba who in 1960 recorded Esteban Salas's first anthology (Escudero 2013, 4), or the Choir and Orchestra of the Chile Catholic University's 1973 recording of Campderrós's *Misa en Sol Mayor* transcribed by Claro Valdés. Similarly, choir or orchestra directors close with these scholars were interested as much in contemporary music as historic repertoire, which they would probably perform in a similar way. Yet colonial repertoire was an exception on Early Music concert programs, which predominantly featured European music. For instance, though Chilean musician Sylvia Soublette recorded colonial repertoire in 1966,<sup>113</sup> her other concerts focused on European repertoires.<sup>114</sup> Generally, when Early Music concerts included colonial repertoire, musicians performed it in a folkloristic way; they interpreted popular music with early instruments and rarely intended

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<sup>113</sup> Vera 2014a references this recording (176). However, it was recorded in Moscow and I have not yet been able to confirm which pieces were colonial music.

<sup>114</sup> A chronicle from the *Revista Musical Chilena* in 1971 relates one concert on sixteenth and seventeenth century Italian music, and another one featuring Telemann, Bach, and Purcell.

historically informed performance. In this sense, these performances of LAEMR evidence what American Musicologist Howard Mayer Brown calls the “ethnomusicological” wave of Early Music (quoted in Bermúdez 2004, 170).

Though Latin American musicology and the Early Music movement in Latin America experienced a “boom” in the 1970s (Augustín 1999), they only began to integrate in the mid-1980s. By the 1990s, figures emerged who brought together offices of musicians and musicologists. Aurelio Tello, for example, was active in Peru and Mexico and, in 1989, created the ensemble *Capilla Virreinal de la Nueva España*. Egberto Bermúdez, too, founded the ensemble *Canto* in 1990 in Colombia. In the 1990s, German-Guatemalan composer Dieter Lenhoff recorded seven CDs as part of the *Historia General de Guatemala* encyclopedia alongside several musicological publications. Similarly musicologist-organizer Piotr Nawrot contributed fundamentally to the diffusion of Jesuit music from Bolivia. A Polish Catholic priest, Nawrot spread repertoire from the Moxo mission by organizing a professional choir and orchestra of mission town residents in the Bolivian Amazonia.<sup>115</sup> Concurrently a trend for musicians/musicologists collaborations emerged. One notable collaboration, between Bernardo Illari and Gabriel Garrido, legitimized historically informed interpretation of Latin American colonial repertoires.

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<sup>115</sup> <https://www.thecompassnews.org/2015/03/polish-missionary-finds-baroque-music-still-evangelizes-in-bolivia/> consulted 10-20-2020

## 1992 and the musical ‘discovery’ of the Americas

In 1991, the Argentinian musician Gabriel Garrido, who already enjoyed fame in Europe, took a one-year sabbatical exploring remote regions of the Andes (starting with Argentinian Andes) and searching archives for new repertoires. In collaboration with Argentinian musicologist Bernardo Illari, the pair traveled to Bolivia and the Jesuit missions in the Andes.<sup>116</sup> After an unfruitful search elsewhere in the region, Garrido and Illari found there more than what they had been looking for: not only an abundant musical archive but also its living tradition. They had enough material to transcribe and adapt for Elyma, Garrido’s ensemble. At the same time, they cultivated relationships with people living in the missions. As discussed earlier, this collaboration was neither the first entry into Latin American archives nor the first musicological research about early Latin American repertoires.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, Illari and Garrido played a crucial role in disseminating this music on the global scene. The Latin American Early Music Repertoire (hereafter LAEMR) began a long-lasting appearance into global concert halls, discographies, and community imaginaries.

The first newness that these musicologists would bring is situated at the level of musical interpretation. As discussed above, historical musicology and historically informed praxis were separate disciplines before 1991. As I demonstrated in chapter 4, the Early Music movement existed in Latin America but was either eurocentric,

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<sup>116</sup> It is not clear to me at this point if Piotr Nawrot was involved since the beginning of this research in Jesuit missions. His biography indicates that he found the Moxo archives in 1991. I suppose he invited Illari and Garrido to the mission, but Garrido did not mention it in his interview with me.

<sup>117</sup> It is worth mentioning the release of a CD by Leonardo Waisman with music from the Chiquitos archives, also in 1992.

performed in a way deemed amateurish, or both. Musicians interested in this practice sometimes mixed Early Music from Europe with folk repertoires from Latin America. However, they often lacked the seriousness that would later mark Early Music practice. This seriousness came to mean a historical consciousness of sources, treaties, paleography, and musical instruments necessary to reconstruct a modern interpretation in accordance with the epoch's aesthetic codes. Because of his European career at the core of the Early Music scene, Garrido was well informed about such practices. In 1992, Garrido applied a similarly rational approach to music produced and performed outside Europe, a revolution in Early Music practice.

Second, this “five-centuries-later discovery” is important because it intersected politics, history, and economics. After returning to Europe from the Andes, Garrido sought funding to pursue research in colonial music archives. In an interview with me, Garrido noted “Latin American states were not interested because my project dealt with a repertoire coming from an epoch, before the independence. Spain didn't care either because it's not their national heritage. Italy focuses only on its own culture. So I finally went to France to sell the project" (March 7, 2019). As Europe prepared for the 500th anniversary of the American “discovery,” Garrido's musical findings fit the commemoration perfectly.

The commemoration is itself problematic. The concept of “discovery” reinforces eurocentric epistemology locating Europe as the universal place of elocation. Mignolo states the importance of reading from the ‘invention’ paradigm rather than “discovery” (2005). The commemoration invisibilizes violence inflicted

on non-Europeans and their land, violences still perpetrated today. Though Garrido's project began unconnected to the anniversary, it was nonetheless infused by the commemoration's good intentions to bring to light the importance of Latin American music. Though the commemoration was problematic, it served the purpose to remind Europe that part of its history took place in the Americas. But this is clearly not the way the project was modeled and received. Garrido insists that combining musicological findings with the fifth centenary of European presence in the Americas did not come from him. Instead, Garrido recalls that the idea came from French record label Harmonia Mundi which saw an opportunity for appropriating Garrido's apportionment on Latin American "classical" music repertoire.

French historian Alain Pacquier is the second main actor in this shift in the representation of the LAEMR. His association Les Chemins du Baroque (the Baroque's Paths) in Strasbourg<sup>118</sup> had been prolific in all types of collaborations. Since 1987, Pacquier had been interested in recuperating Latin American musical repertoire and created the label of the same name.<sup>119</sup> Pacquier met Garrido following the latter's visit to the Jesuit mission in Chiquitos and Moxo (Mortaigne 2011). Upon hearing Garrido's story, Pacquier was struck by not only the existence of a large corpus of musical archives yet to be set into musical performances but also that "Indians had never ceased to practice Western music" (quoted in Mortaigne 2011). For Pacquier, these facts were remarkable enough to attract the curiosity of French

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<sup>118</sup> It is important the reader be reminded that Strasbourg is a city in the East of France, close to Germany and geographically well connected to Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>119</sup> <https://history.bnpparibas/dossier/chemins-du-baroque-long-term-patronage/> Consulted October 21, 2020.

and European audiences. In 1992, the French banking group BNP Paribas became interested in the project, because supporting it would demonstrate their benevolence in different ways: restoring a forgotten historical and cultural past; showing rescuing aims toward a “third world” region; helping children materialize their artistic dreams:

The Chemins du Baroque International Centre, based in Sarrebourg in Alsace, was set up after Alain Pacquier met the conductor Gabriel Garrido in Argentina. During a trip to Bolivia, the artist had discovered sheet music from the Baroque period and had also observed that the Bolivian Indians continued to play this music. His story inspired curiosity and a desire to take initiatives to enhance awareness and preserve this heritage. Chemins du Baroque sowed its first seeds of action, but funding was needed. Pacquier and Garrido contacted Martine Tridde, the Managing Director of Paribas (which became BNP Paribas) Foundation. This ambitious and extravagant project could not fail to interest the Foundation which had been involved in the world of early and baroque music since 1984. Therefore, in 1992 the Centre received its first funding for a period of three years. The Foundation would continue to support Chemins du Baroque for many more years.<sup>120</sup>

In the following years, BNP Paribas aided the restoration of eleven historical organs, the creation of three festivals (in Bolivia, Chile, and Cuba), and the recording of fifty-seven CDs by Alain Pacquier’s label *K617*.<sup>121</sup> To better examine how Pacquier’s *K617* and BNP Paribas appropriated the finding of this repertoire and its Bolivian Indigenous practices by Argentinian musicians and musicologists, I attend to the

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<sup>120</sup> <https://history.bnpparibas/dossier/chemins-du-baroque-long-term-patronage/> Consulted October 21, 2020.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.



discourse around French or European reception of the works by Gabriel Garrido in collaboration with Alain Pacquier.

The tone elaborated in 1992 by French media about the repertoire is clearly condescending. Here, I will highlight here a few points that stand out, in a quick textual analysis of the article elaborated by Le Monde, one of the most important newspapers in France, published in May 1992 about Pacquier's project "Les Chemins du Baroque."<sup>122</sup>

Under the title, an abstract of the article is given in these terms:

The year for the celebration of the 5th centenary of America's discovery is the occasion to reveal to the large audience the fruits of research conducted for several years on the rediscovery of an unknown and impressive musical heritage: These sacred works that Indians and Europeans played in the eighteenth century in the main centers of colonization.

The tone is already set in a way that does not question the enterprise of colonization nor the "discovery" of America. Moreover, it is almost assumed that Indians and Europeans would have a pacific integration in sharing their musical practices. Then, the second sentence of the article says:

Indians from Chiquitos and Mojos, educated by the Jesuits just like what we can see in the movie *The Mission*, have piously held until today the tradition and the scores of Baroque works, which musicology has now sized to bring them back to civilization.

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<sup>122</sup> [https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1992/05/14/musiqueshttps:-les-chemins-du-baroque-les-chants-oublies-d-eldorado\\_3910460\\_1819218.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1992/05/14/musiqueshttps:-les-chemins-du-baroque-les-chants-oublies-d-eldorado_3910460_1819218.html) Consulted October 21, 2020. The author of the article is not mentioned.

There are several remarks I feel the urge to make only on this one sentence:

- The Indians were *educated* by the Jesuits. The text reinforces the idea of the civilized versus the savage, and of a world where the only possible education is the Western one.
- The article makes references to the movie “Mission” (1986) as if this UK-produced movie (of a 20 million budget)<sup>123</sup> was the only way to attract the lector into an imaginary that they could grasp. Indians from Moxos are real *because* they resemble the movie, not the opposite.
- A strong dichotomy is established between the Indians who have ‘piously’ conserved this music, and musicologists who brought it “back to civilization.” This is the usual, colonial diad faith versus science that is here exposed. In a laic state, such as France, piety is often considered as superstitious, while science and civilization are highly valued concepts.

Then, the article follows, apparently quoting Alain Pacquier: "The first time [you hear this music], it sounds terribly wrong, we can't make sense of it. By the second hearing, one starts to discern melodies and rhythms. By the third one, one recognizes gaits and twists from European baroque."

- The tone is harshly condescending, the one reserved for a second level quality music, even qualifying the sounds as not intelligible as *music*. Eventually, you may “finally” appreciate it after repeated hearings, but only because it

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<sup>123</sup> "Puttnam bites back", The Sunday Times, 22 March 1987, p. 47. Cited in Hale 1997.

vaguely resembles something you value: European baroque. It may not gain value by itself, for what it is.

In the second paragraph, the article reads:

What should we be more astonished about? That these musics will soon resonate to our ears as they were executed during the great epoch of Spanish colonization (it was predictable that the musicological curiosity would reach the South-American continent, would that be for the commemoration of the fifth centenary) or that these musics have enough penetrated the customs, the heart of Mojos and Chiquitos Indians so that they still perform them?

This brings us to some other points for analysis:

- The reader is asked what is more astonishing: to be able to hear this music “the same way as it sounded by the time of the great Spanish colonization”; or that the Indians from the missions are still playing it. This suggests that both cultures have their wonders: Westerners have the power to travel back in time thanks to their science, while the Indians *are* the past and live in an atemporal time.
- Obviously, the author does not question the fact that the Spanish colonization was “great.”
- “The Indians had such a cult for this music that they copied and reproduced it through generations without even knowing what it meant. This tone is praising in appearance, but it is in fact denigrating. We come back once again to the blind faith that characterizes the uncivilized.

Another element should bring our attention: the name of Gabriel Garrido is only mentioned in the very last paragraph -only accessible for subscribers- and he's labeled as "the third thief of the operation," which is immensely condescending and even pejorative. Indeed, in the first paragraph -free access-, only the name of Alain Pacquier is referred to, and the only reference to the work of Latin American scientists is by the expression: "a few crazy musicologists."<sup>124</sup> Generally speaking, we can understand that Garrido is represented as the local intermediary between the savages and civilization, offering them barter to obtain the scores. The article reads:

"I did barter, just as Christopher Columbus did", says Garrido. "I asked the Indians what they needed, they asked me for a clarinet against two bajunes".<sup>125</sup>

The article uses again his word in quotation to show how the Indians from Moxo's mission are separated from the rest of the world and unaware of it. Quoting Garrido, the article ends on these words:

Which signification can [this musical reconquest] have for the Indians? I told them I would have their music heard by the entire world. They asked me "to which world?". To their eyes, this is science fiction. The world ends with them.

If Garrido is the only one in the text who seems to show some concern about what could be the significance of the project for the Indians, the reporter insists on the impossibility or the absurdity of such concern. The article finishes on the idea that we (the Western world) are "science-fiction to them." This is a way to reiterate their

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<sup>124</sup> The original expression is "quelques musicologues allumés." I would like to note that "allumé" is a much stronger word than "crazy." Indeed, google translates it to either "alight" or "horny."

<sup>125</sup> A Bajún is an Indigenous musical instrument, resembling a low-register panflute. See Claro Valdes 1969 or <https://www.infobae.com/cultura/2017/12/07/la-orquesta-que-viaja-a-las-raices-del-barroco-latinoamericano/> (consulted, October 24, 2020).

ignorance as well as to project on them our own cultural assumptions (something that does not exist is science-fiction), without taking a moment to think that *we* may simply be irrelevant to them, rather than something that would exist only in their utopian future.

This combination of Othering, condescending tone finally attracted Western audiences by exaggerating the exoticization of the Indians and, by extension, of the musical repertoire associated with them, while also reaffirming the greatness of the European civilization, and what it brought to the Indians “thanks” to colonization. The association between this musical “discovery” and the fifth centenary of Columbus’ arrival to American lands greatly favored a boom of interest in Latin American musical past. After the great success of *Elyma*, the door was open to other groups for musical experiments around the Latin American continents, their people, and their culture.

## The institutionalization of a new “mode” in the LAEMR

According to Egberto Bermúdez, the *ethnomusicological tendency* that had pervaded the way colonial repertoire has been approached came from the “doses of exoticism that [the repertoire from the Iberian Peninsula] was carried by its peripheral condition” (2004, 175). We have seen indeed in chapter 3 how the marginal space of Iberian repertoire in general inside the European musical canon has contributed to—and/or was a consequence of—the impossibility to include culturally Latin America

into European historiography. Still, there have been specific sonic features that have evolved since 1992 and that have made Latin American Early Music unique in its genre. In his famous review of more recent LAEMR recordings, Javier Marín López reads about the “Elyma sound” that has been overtaken by a large number of ensembles and pervaded well beyond the 1990s:

Another important performance trend that survives today also originated in the 1990s: it is what we might call the "Elyma sound", itself modeled on the "Savall sound." This sound is based on the successful performances of the Ensemble Elyma by Argentinian Gabriel Garrido, started in 1992 for K617, and which served to forge the Latin American Baroque in Europe. In Garrido's mentality - as in Savall's - it is evident that performance is much more than a neutral realization of the notes specified in the source: it is a creative process that understands the score only as a starting point for the sonic construction of the work (Marín López 2016, 298–99).

Indeed, the exotic way in which *Les Chemins du Baroque* presented their first recording and concert projects in the early 1990s provoked a wave of interest from European audiences. I argue that the combination between the freer interpretation that loses the rigidity imposed until then by the complicated concept of “authenticity,” on the one hand; and the discourse that surrounded the repertoire with both exoticism and pretension of inclusiveness, on the other hand, was in itself what provoked the explosion of the repertoire and its integration into concert programs and discographies—although still marginal to the European canon and almost always exoticized.

<< here include musical example: “A la xácara xacarilla” by Ensemble Elyma [1992 / 2017]  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1FAfw0ihxdc> Consulted on November 16, 2020.>>

In order to examine how this typical sound was constructed, let us see how Marín López (2016) presents his analysis of the characteristics of this “model”:

1. the presence of quite fast tempi;
2. the deliberate and exaggerated search for contrasts;
3. the existence of a large number of interpreters and a large volume of sound that projects an idea of mass (and sometimes makes the intelligibility of the texts difficult);
4. the little historical orthodoxy of the timbres, granting an unusual prominence to the percussion instruments, which accentuate the rhythmic patterns;
5. a highly developed and exuberant *continuo* where there is no shortage of guitar, theorbo, harp, as well as a harpsichord and organ, reinforced by a bass, violin, viola, and violin;
6. a great weight of improvisation, both vocal and instrumental.

These features confer great brilliance and spectacularity to his versions, accentuated by a very close, effective, and theatrical sound take that turns the sound engineer into a creative figure whose role goes far beyond a mere technical function. Although new groups with the same interests have emerged in Elyma's wake, few have bothered to record new music (as Garrido did thanks to Bernardo Illari's splendid selection and transcription work), limiting themselves - except for very honorable exceptions - to repeating ad nauseam a handful of works that make up the recorded canon of colonial music. (Marín López 2016, 299)

We can see that according to Marín López, the case of Elyma had been extremely influential, and not only because it created a new interest in colonial music. The success of K617 recordings to a larger audience inspired other ensembles to include colonial music from Latin America in their recordings. By doing so, they repeated the same exact music, with little effort to include a new repertoire. The

pieces featuring in 1992s “El Siglo de Oro en el Nuevo Mundo,” such as the two Gaspar Fernández pieces that include Nahuatl language “Tleycantimo Choquiliya”<sup>126</sup> and “Xicochi Conetzintle”<sup>127</sup> or the famous “Hanacpachap Cussicuinin,”<sup>128</sup> the villancicos de negro “A Siolo Flasiquillo”<sup>129</sup> and “Los Coflades de la Estleya,”<sup>130</sup> and the romance pieces in Castilian “Serenísima Una Noche”<sup>131</sup> or “un Juguetico de Fuego,”<sup>132</sup> are present in a very large part of the later recordings, commercial or not (Zubieta & Bona 2009; Irving 2011).<sup>133</sup> They indeed constitute a rather narrow canon of colonial music, which is surprising when one thinks of the astonishing quantity of music in Latin American archives still waiting to be transcribed and performed.

Moreover, recordings often reproduce a type of sound and a normalized aesthetic that came to represent colonial music as a whole. This upbeat, very rhythmical (with or without percussion), theatrical and spectacular sound is reproduced in most LAEMR performances. This aesthetic usually applies to music in the vernacular (such as villancicos) and is sometimes extended to music in Latin, even if the compositional style is in almost every aspect a reproduction of Iberian—or even, European at large—polyphony.

<sup>126</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0rtOvyogMg> Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>127</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HyTND1v-mCw> Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>128</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KG7yorPqt84> Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>129</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IZBV5DLzP6k> Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>130</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8\\_v5XcDK9HU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8_v5XcDK9HU) Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>131</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S0YWXrJaMS8> Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>132</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJDBhGd9R8Y> Consulted November 16, 2020.

<sup>133</sup> Beyond the examples from these articles and among many more, we can cite discographic releases, such as Boston Camerata 1992, Ensemble Villancico 2000, Conjunto Pro Musica Antiqua Rosario 2004, Sete Lágrimas 2008, Florilegium Musicae 2009, Ensemble Caprice 2010, Chanticleer 2011, Cappella Mediterranea 2013, The Norwegian Wind Ensemble 2014, Savall 2016. Moreover, there are numerous live recordings and non-professional videos available on platforms, such as Youtube.



<< here insert musical example: Camerata Renacentista de Caracas, Isable Palacios. “Oiga Niño”<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-zHT-oZl8F8> Consulted November 16, 2020>>

This “sound” is so much accepted that it is often not questioned, let aside justified. What strikes me even more than this normalized reproduction of repertoire - and associated sonic clichés- is the reproduction of discourse about this music alongside a similar sound.

## How does sound mean?

Even decades after the first editions of musical anthologies of American colonial music had seen the light, the pieces are still repeatedly portrayed as new treasures that have been hidden for a long time, and just newly made available to the modern—should we say, Western—ear. For example, Ensemble Caprice’s 2010 booklet presents the repertoire with this sentence: “Voilà bien une musique à caractère unique qui enrichit le répertoire du 17e siècle de nouveautés rafraîchissantes” [Here is really a music with a unique character that enriches the seventeenth-century repertoire with refreshing newnesses] almost 20 years after Elyma’s first commercial recording of the same repertoire, 40 years circa after most of it being published by Robert Stevenson and almost 50 years after his investigation tour with Valdes in the Chiquitania. It is more often than not advertised for its “strangeness” and the “unusual” aspect of having music of European characteristics having been performed

on the other side of the Atlantic, as if the larger audience had still not integrated the notion that America, at this moment, *was* indeed part of Europe. For example, the press presentation document for a French tour by the Ensemble Paraguay reads that the repertoire is: “mixing European and autochthon instruments, which encounter provides the Baroque sound a very specific flavor.”<sup>134</sup>

Leonardo Waisman has widely commented on this supposed specificity of Latin American Baroque music. Among a number of other remarks, he points out:

Musicians, critics and musicologists have tried to represent the Ibero-American music from the colonial period as an original product and a manifestation of the singularities of this continent (or of one of the countries in which it is today divided) mainly in two interrelated ways: excess and miscegenation. (Waisman 2014, 3)

Indeed, racial comments are a good part of the deal: very often the exotic character that is seen (or rather, added) to these performances is justified by a racial mixing that would have had an effect either on the music itself and if not, at least on the performance practice that would have taken place in the historical context. While some comments are backed up by some degree of anthropological and ethnographic research—“[I]n Latin America, the imposition of Western Christianity never managed to submerge autochthon cultures, which sediments marked many forms of sacred music”<sup>135</sup> —, others don’t hesitate to reproduce racial stereotypes that associate Blackness with immorality by the direct juxtaposition of the word “depravation” with the category “African slaves”:

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<sup>134</sup> <https://www.yumpu.com/fr/document/read/33851279/dossier-de-presse-tournage-jmf-le-couvent-cd-baroque-k617> Consulted November 18, 2020.

<sup>135</sup> <https://www.yumpu.com/fr/document/read/48960775/dossier-de-presse-en-franaais-cd-baroque-k617> Consulted November 18, 2020.

We are no more in the realm of sacred music but in a universe that reflects every-day life, its feasts, and sometimes its deprivations. This is the case with this *tonada* “El Congo.” El Congo was the nickname given to the African slaves.<sup>136</sup>

In the common discourses on colonial music, the black is often left aside, unless the repertoire includes villancicos de negro. In such cases, their presence is glossed upon, without much reflection about the nature of the interactions between blacks and whites or indigenous people. The joyfulness, the dance ability, and the naivety of the blacks are what is more used as a justification for borderline and non historically backed-up interpretations of villancicos de negro. In many cases though, there is no explanation provided about the villancicos negros nor the *habla de negro* (or *língua de preto*, discussed in chapter 2), and the racial-cultural mixture is taken for granted as a *de facto* event.<sup>137</sup> For example, one can read comments, such as: “Ensemble Villancico consolidates the concept "EARLY WORLD MUSIC" and presents on this recording a new cavalcade of Latin American baroque music with folklore influences from three continents!” followed by a press review extract: “a variative, spicy, and exciting musical world appears.” Moreover, it happens in some cases that the adjectives and sounds that are attached to the villancicos de negro in this a-critical interpretation are expanded to any Latin American vernacular repertoire: the percussive elements, that may have represented some practices by the enslaved, are used in all villancicos, even the courts ones in standard Castellan - and

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<sup>136</sup> <https://www.yumpu.com/fr/document/read/47227089/pracsentation-et-programme-19-mai-2013-cd-baroque-k617> Consulted November 18, 2020. Paraguay Barroco 2013.

<sup>137</sup> I would like to cite, as a counter-example, the CD cover by Ars Longa de la Habana *Gulumbá Gulumbé*, fully dedicated to the African presence in the “New World” and making explicit statements about the reasons and the conditions of this presence.

sometimes, omitting them justly in the villancicos de negro.<sup>138</sup> Maybe to avoid being too controversial for representing the black element through African drums?

As we have seen in chapter 2, the villancicos de negro tell us more about whiteness than about blackness, and constitute a musical genre where we can easily discern the construction of *racial sonic markers*. In particular, we have seen how the creation of musical topics that are iconically meant to represent blackness in music — by the iconic imitation of African drum practices— are actually meant to indexically or symbolically refer to racial inferiority. In a similar way, the musical aesthetics that came to represent Latin American in the Early Music scene, and that was undoubtedly created by and for Europeans, even though with the help of Latin American born artists, tells us much about Europeans (and by extension, Northern American and other people of white European descent elsewhere in the world) and their vision of Latin America. Mariana Giordano shows how the imaginary that surrounds the Indigenous from Chiquitanía is more a centuries-long construction that was made by Europeans than it corresponds to reality. Moreover, the written sources from the Jesuit epoch show that music was one of the fundamental element that reinforces the idea of a pacific integration of the Indigenous in the Christian world, in part due to their “natural inclination for music [. . .] which should be used for pedagogical purposes” (Giordano 2008, 89). According to her, the imaginary of a musician Moxeño (Indigenous person from Moxos, Chiquitanía, Bolivia) has

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<sup>138</sup> I assisted to a “colonial music” concert in Quito in 2018 where almost all pieces were backed-up with a African-like skin-drum (probably a contemporary djembe), the exception being precisely the villancico de negro, with were accompanied with other, non-African, percussion instruments.

survived thanks to repeated discourses until the twentieth century. This is exactly the continuity of such discourses that appear in large-audience comments and in implicit assumptions regarding missional music from Southern America that allows a clear form of exoticization to appear as inclusive because it relates to the imaginary of pacific forms of evangelization and acculturation.

In addition, the general assumption that gets comforted through repeated discourses is that the “music” —in other words, the composition, the immanence of the score and the style— would have originated in Spain or Portugal, and then be brought to the Americas. There, the encounter with Indigenous performers would have changed the performance practice and, to a larger extent, even the compositional process. This means, we observe a shift from the racial topics that have appeared in the written score during the colonial period, as I refer to in chapter 2, to interpretative topics that are embedded in the *sound* of the performances, but with very similar characteristics and meanings. The introduction of drums, percussion, and other native or pseudo-native instruments in these performances is supposed to iconically represent musical Otherness by the imitation or reproduction of musical practices by either Indigenous or African diasporic communities.<sup>139</sup> But, in the same way villancicos de negro indexically referred to racial inferiority, such performances index Otherness and racial difference, while simultaneously offering false opportunities for aspirations to Sameness.

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<sup>139</sup> As an exception, it is important to note that the inclusion of *bajunes* and other specific instruments in missionary ensembles, for example the Ensemble Moxos, comes from a different perspective of restitution performance practice as it has indeed been in the past. *Bajunes* are local instruments and have not been added by external artists, nor this adjunction has been made, based on a certain imaginary.

The interpretative trend that we can observe in the recordings following what Marín López calls the “Elyma sound” or “Savall sound” contributed to the creation of musical -here, performative- topics that came to represent more than a musical performance style, and also more than a musical repertoire, but progressively state for the imaginary of a colonial time. This is an idealized image of colonialism where all the races, people, and cultures would come together to create a hybrid product based on equal contribution and in a balanced power relation. In some regards this idealization reproduces the myths of the *raza cósmica* [comic race] by Vasconcelos or the racial democracy that follows Freire’s accounts of colonization.<sup>140</sup>

These musical topics contain a controlled amount of exoticization to keep the Americas away from a self-constructed European identity and from a “Same-ization”, so that Europeans may keep a feeling of belonging, and therefore of ownership, of this repertoire. We enter thus in the function of a *myth* according to Roland Barthes’ conception of it (1957). The score and its sonic racial markers, as we have seen in chapter 2, can be considered as the first level of signification, where the signifier was the score, the signified was Blackness, and the sign was the performance of the villancico de negro. Now, there is in the contemporary reconstruction of Latin American baroque sound the second level of significance: the villancico becomes the signifier, the signifier is Latin America, and the musical and aesthetic choices by ensemble create a myth of Otherness around all colonial repertoire—de negro or not. Although the image of the villancico is deformed, the function of this myth remains

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<sup>140</sup> See chapter 2 for more details.

particular, in the sense that the signs are following similar strategies at both levels: the sonic demarcation of whiteness and the exteriorization of non-European people.

In order to establish this similarity between the two parts of the myth, and the correspondence between musical topics at an immanent level and at a performative level, we may go back to some points we have evoked in chapter 2 about the racial sonic markers and see how they apply here.

- In the first place, the creation of a racial sonic marker allows whites to sonically differentiate racial belongings, in a way that goes beyond physical phenotypes, and that is recognizable at a distance without having to refer to the sight. In the case of Latin Americans, we have seen that a good part of musicians who are present in the European Early Music scene are of European descent, and have European names (mostly Spanish, Italian, or German-sounding). Marking them musically through different sounds, aesthetics, and musical gestures (or musical topics) creates an audible color-line to what is visually invisible and therefore threatening (see the passage on the ‘Argentinian Mafia’ in chapter 4)
- Secondly, these sounds are spatially and geographically marked. They all refer to a myth of Latin America, racially different and culturally represented as deformation of European mainstream or canonical practices, but homogeneous among itself.
- Third, the separation between the intellect and the body. To be sure, to reinforce exactly the rhythmical elements of the repertoire cannot be an

innocent choice. Again, this choice lays on the long tradition of de-rationalizing the Other. Playing Vivaldi twice the speed of the most probable tempo makes it more upbeat, and probably provokes a physical response in the listener. Nevertheless, this is the virtuosity of the player that is revealed, more than a dancing character. On the contrary, the addition of percussion, a diction that accentuates the polyrhythm between the voices (often using more consonants than vowels) a continuo with quick strumming or arpeggios on the strong beats that renders evident the hemiolas, while filling with rapid subdivision of the beat, is not meant to elevate the composition nor the performer.

- Fourth, the racially marked sounds allow white sonic identity to establish itself in the negative. Parallely to what I demonstrated in chapter 2, listening to interpretations of the colonial repertoire tells us often more about the limits of European baroque interpretation within the frontier of HIPPP than about a historical “Latin” sound.
- Fifth, the sexualization of racially marked sounds or their morally inappropriate aspect is reinforced in more guttural voice placements, accentuated bodily movement that singers and instrumentalists avoid in canonical repertoires, and the roughness of rhythmical expression.
- Sixth, showing inclusiveness and empathy in the discourses invisibilizes the violences mentioned above.



Another point that is important to mention is the homogenization of the Other, at various levels. At the first level, all Latin America is (and sounds) the same. Elyma's 1992 album *El Siglo de Oro*, mentioned above includes songs and pieces coming from different archives in Latin America, including Bolivia, Perú, and also Mexico. While in many discourses, the accent is put on the research done by Garrido himself with the help of Bernardo Illari, we can wonder what have to do with the Andes and the Missionary projects some pieces by Gaspar Fernández, which have been composed for the Puebla cathedral (Mexico) in a much different context. Garrido and the other members of the Ensemble Elyma were probably much aware of this diversity in their repertoire, but for the European audience, there is little point in trying to establish a different narrative for each piece of this repertoire. The common history as Spanish colonies makes the whole (Spanish-speaking) continent geographically and culturally collapsed as if it represented only one region of the world—with the adjunction of Brazil. For the commercially targeted audience, there is no need to identify the specificity of production, transmission, and reception of the repertoire, and all the amalgams about a vague notion of Latin American history are allowed. For example, some youtube comments on villancico de negro videos note the “beautiful combination of autochton music with the teachings of the Spanish language”.<sup>141</sup>

To synthesize, the exaggeration of Otherness and externality in the interpretation of the LAEMR provides an opportunity to reproduce topics of

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<sup>141</sup> *The content is no more available.*

difference and inferiority thanks to the re-adaptation of racial sonic markers that are naturalized through discourses about music that mark this repertoire as inherently different from the European canonical repertoire, as well as it condemns it to specific forms of aesthetics and interpretation in contemporary performances, in particular when presented to white audiences.

## The complicated relationship between the Colonial repertoire and Latin American musicians

Musicians, born in Latin American, are often subject to an amalgam or a conflation between Latin American repertoire and Latin American citizenship and/or place of origin. The damage that is done to the music, as seen in the previous section, in terms of coloniality of power and knowledge, as it is set as inferior, peripheral, marginal and un-serious in relation to European Western music, reaches the musicians themselves, as if they were the barrier of this repertoire, its personification. We have seen in chapter 4 how, in Europe, individuals from Southern countries are often exoticized as essentially different from German, French, Dutch, or British musicians. In the says of Gabriel Garrido, when he recently arrived in Basel, even the Catalan Jordi Savall was considered as a marginal individual, and constantly relegated to a Spanishness that would not fit his own identity. The position of Savall was then to strategically identify conforming to this exoticization, performing self-essentialization, and exaggerating the “latinity” of his musical choices. We can say

that place of origin or birth was first experienced as a reason for discrimination, as seen in chapter 4. But since the advent of an exponentially growing wave of interest from the European (and generally, Anglo-Saxon) audience, the material success and the fame that accompanied it became a good reason enough to regroup various individualities into a homogeneous group and strategically essentialize their identities (Pande 2017). Garrido says that “with Jordi, it was always a carnival, he was having a lot of fun, but he wouldn’t mix with the others at the Schola.” Yet, he adds: “Jordi was already a revolutionary of Renaissance music, compared to the English,” because he introduced music from Latin European countries to the school. “At this time, even Monteverdi was close to unknown.”<sup>142</sup> This is how Jordi Savall, now worldwide-famous and controversial viola da gamba player from Catalunya (Michel 2017), first had the idea to develop a Latin group within the Early Music community. They were a few Spanish (including Catalan) musicians. The even fewer Southamerican musicians, who were present at the Schola at the time—as we examined in chapter 4—would naturally join them. Maybe this connivance was made possible because of language affinity, but surely also because they received a similar depreciative look from the “Northern” ones, and this sense of rejection brought them together. After some years with Savall, Gabriel Garrido would found his own group and gather most Latin American musicians around him—those belonging to the second wave of immigration. But the whole idea of traveling around Southern American archives in the research of new repertoire was in some ways inseminated to him during his early

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<sup>142</sup> Interview with Gabriel Garrido, Geneva, March 7, 2019.

collaborations with Jordi Savall who, after all, is just another European. And today, even Gabriel Garrido, who has been a pioneer in bringing Latin American repertoire to Early Music practice and thus gave the seeds to the whole LAEMR mode and defined most of its aesthetics, has now to make some effort, so that his entire career is not reduced to that contribution. Indeed, his most innovative move and the one that really made his name in the Early Music scene was to pay attention to the Italian repertoire, bringing the work of Claudio Monteverdi to the light, and to teach for decades about diminutions and early baroque ornamentation.<sup>143</sup>

When Latin American artists enter the vicious dynamics of self-essentialization, strategic or not, it is then hard for them to continue to be seen as legitimate artists in the fields of European music. The threat that is perceived by European musicians in the Latin American musicking bodies that we described in chapter 4 is responded to by an exaggeration of this essentialization, a reduction of the individual to their place of birth, and, what particularly interests me here, a conflation of feelings and views between Latin American music and the ones on the person. As if the artificial “latinity” that is perceived or created around the LAEMR was directly transposable to Latin American individuals, independently from their own affinities or not with this music.

A good part of these musicians, especially the ones who have permanently migrated to Europe, respond by a total negation to this intent of conflation. Some, as Ronaldo Lopes, responded in a very straight manner to my question on their

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

relationship with the LAEMR. “I never played this repertoire. I know what Garrido does, and I think it’s fun. But actually, the only time I played with Elyma, we were doing a totally different repertoire, it was for Monteverdi’s Vespers.”<sup>144</sup> Pedro Memlsdorff had an even stronger reaction: “I never participated in any of these projects.”<sup>145</sup> Laura Fazzini, from Argentina, assures that she has less to see, culturally, with Mexico—from where originates a large part of the LAEMR—than with Northern Europe.<sup>146</sup> Homero de Magalhães talks about Brazilian colonial music, saying that it is “sometimes of a dubious quality.”<sup>147</sup>

There is a sort of hate-love relationship that gets established between the Latin American musician and the LAEMR. Especially for those in Europe, there is an ambivalence between a pride of having, on the one hand, a national Early Music repertoire from their own country, and on the other hand, exhaustion of having to prove oneself able to escape the prejudice of Latinness. The idea that it is more natural for someone born in the Southern Cone to play music written in Mexico than for anyone born in Europe is completely artificial. “Latin” culture at large does not exist, nor the concept of Latin America in general, and the idea of Latin Music is a construction, an “idea” (Mignolo 2005). In the words of Pedro Memelsdorff,

Latin America is fictional. Anyway, the word ‘Latin’ in itself is just a new colonial word. Not only Latin people live there. For example, my parents were German. The idea of ‘Latin’ comes from the Europeans, who just want to put all the people in the same bag. [. . .] So at the end, playing this repertoire is just an interesting fashion. There is a mix of reasons for

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<sup>144</sup> Interview with Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, January 19, 2020.

<sup>145</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, March 6, 2019.

<sup>146</sup> Online interview with Laura Fazzini, February 25, 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with Homero de Magalhães, Paris, February 19, 2019.

that: exoticism, extra-ear anecdotal sounds... maybe it attracts more audience, competing with the world music scene. But to be sure there is a teleology behind this fashion: it proves that European music is superior. For example, the views on mission music come from a simplified perspective.<sup>148</sup>

The musicians who live in Latin America as well are often going into some degree of self-exoticization. The issue is not only a question of European versus Latin Americans, but the white elites and the hegemonic culture in Latin America itself operates a strong sense of Eurocentrism even from within the continent. Speaking from Chile, the musicologist Alejandro Vera notes

It's as if Latin America should have a special stamp. Does the territory condition our way to make music? It is true that we have here a greater preoccupation with popular [folkloric] music, and this is something the Early Music movement has tried to appropriate. Of course, Europe has folkloric music, too, but there is some idea that in Latin America it takes a larger place. I don't know if that's true. [. . .] Let's say that it is more an identity question. The general idea that our oral tradition is more important. But if you go to the South of France, there is an oral tradition too! The thing is that there is an exoticism from the Europeans, who look for something different in our music, more folkloric. And this exists in Latin America as well, where there is a great deal of self-folklorization.<sup>149</sup>

And when an active practice of self-essentialization is not in place, nevertheless persists an internalized feeling of inferiority, but this one can be overcome with some efforts to look at this repertoire through another lens, that can be critical but which opens more reflections, even beside music. For Andrés Locatelli,

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<sup>148</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, March 6, 2019.

<sup>149</sup> Interview with Alejandro Vera, Santiago de Chile. 29 de marzo 2019.

The Latin American repertoire, before I came to Europe, I used to view it—as most South Americans do—in this very Eurocentric optic that we Argentinians tend to have, as a repertoire of minor quality *a prescindere* [regardless]. We see it as a peripheral, minor type of baroque music. Then I had more of an insider view when I started to work with Garrido as an assistant for direction and teaching [in Geneva]. As I like to analyze music from a literary perspective and to investigate the use of rhetorics in vocal music, I soon realized that not all the music is of equal nature and that some pieces had some extreme quality in them. Moreover, it is of incredible documental value. [. . .] This is a repertoire that interests me a lot as a cultural product. I am not sure I would say that I identify with this repertoire. But I feel very much at ease talking about it, hearing it, or researching about it. And I realize that playing it, if we want, is a sort of reception experiment. An experiment about the reception of Western canonical music, but from the point of view of a music that today is considered a marginal repertoire, that was maybe not so much marginal at its time than it is today. It's also an interesting manner to see our own history as Latin Americans. We are always perceived through a scheme, based on the center/periphery model, and from which it's very difficult to escape.<sup>150</sup>

Working with the LAEMR can be a way to challenge the peripheral position of Latin America, as we will see in the next chapter. But doing so also presents a risk of being trapped into an identity-label that Southamericans in Europe are struggling with. This identity is seen by the Americans themselves as a force, a supplement to be added to their otherwise shared skills as Early Musicians. But in the mouth of the Europeans, it often sounds like a limiting boundary that keeps Extra-Community people an ungraspable “roof” to their capacity to approach European Early Music repertoires. A young Mexican theorbo player told me,

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<sup>150</sup> Online interview with Andrés Locatelli, January 3, 2019.

When I came to France, I was impressed by the way French people play their own music, with such grace and subtleties. But then, when it came to playing Hispanic music, I realized they didn't have the rhythm. So, to play music from Spain or Latin America, I'm actually much better than them in some ways. But I'll never manage to play French music as they do.<sup>151</sup>

The assimilation of musicians with a certain repertoire according to their nationality is a common practice among European musicians. Italians often prefer to play Italian repertoire,<sup>152</sup> and the same can be said about French or German individuals, although this is a bold generality that does not apply to everyone. This custom generally supports the sense of legitimacy and pride of musicians from each country, but it often falls into an idea of ownership, and consideration that a French person would not be able to rightly perform Italian music and vice-versa. Countries from inside and outside Europe which has not been included in the Western classical music canon suffer from a great disadvantage in this aspect, as they cannot claim legitimacy over a repertoire just by their place of birth, and when they evoke a "blood" or cultural lineage, this is not accepted as legitimate by Europeans, in part because of the invisibilization of race evoked in chapter 4. As soon as the repertoire's quality and relevance are diminished, and that the individual is irremediably connected to this repertoire -even if it has nothing to see with the actual culture, where this individual was born- the North-Eurocentric aspect of the canon affects people directly in their lives and their ability to perform their jobs. And all the strategies used to discriminate the repertoire, in particular the racial sonic markers

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<sup>151</sup> Online interview with Gustavo Martínez, November 28, 2018.

<sup>152</sup> Online interview with Marco Ceccato, May 12, 2017.



that we have discussed above, are often placed onto the musicians, as if they were the ones, more able to perform these markers —rhythms, sensuality, a particular sense of expressiveness, etc...

## Conclusion of chapter 5

A vast musical repertoire was written, performed, and disseminated in the American continent during the Spanish and Portuguese colonial times (roughly from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries). Chapter 3 dealt with the invisibilization of this repertoire in the construction process of a European Western music canon, which also diminished the cultural importance of the Iberian Peninsula in European modernity. This effort was made in order to preserve a racial ideal that would define Europe as white, and its culture as autonomous, as it had never been affected by the encounter with newly defined races, such as the *negro* or the *indio*. Yet we examined in chapter 2 how the representations of these races in WAM exemplify the use of racial sonic markers by Western composers to define whiteness, in negative from the racialized Other. In this current chapter, we saw that this Latin American Early Music Repertoire (LAEMR) got progressively re-inserted in musical practices since the last third of the twentieth century, and in particular thanks to the intervention of musicians belonging to the Early Music movement. This re-insertion was done in partnership between Latin American musicians and musicologists, European labels and organizers, and mostly for white—European, North American, or Latin

American—audiences. This integration has not been totally effective, as the LAEMR still remains marginal in the Western musical canon. Moreover, the power relations have been evidenced through the way this musical repertoire has been largely essentialized and exoticized. Some differences were sought in order to maintain this music external to European centers of productions, even when evidence shows that the composition styles were strictly emulated from Peninsular and continental practices (Waisman 2014; Illari 2007). This effort of differentiation became very clear in the new aesthetics formed around the “mode” that predominated in performance after the release of Elyma’s first LAEMR recording in 1992 (Marín López 2016). The overrepresentation of rhythmical aspects, folkloristic vocal timbres, and harmonic simplicity is a reproduction of the sonic racial markers and of musical topics that have been evoked in chapter 2 to define the boundaries of racial whiteness into sound. Western music got defined since the sixteenth century onwards by its rationality, which got sonically marked in compositional elements: as little embodiment as possible and a unified temporal perspective that eventually became a harmonic perception of sounds, rationalizable more than danceable, artificially trained vocal practices (Marshall 2015) and much controlled instrumental expression. All these aesthetic features have progressively become accepted and normalized in regards to the LAEMR performance, creating new semantic *myths* around the racial difference of Latin America. This reproduces a power distinction between music produced in and for Europe as more legitimate and music from elsewhere as deemed inferior. A consequence of the reproduction of this myth of Latin American

inferiority is that the musicians, who were born in the Latin Americas are often assimilated with this repertoire, and thus stigmatized with the same prejudice of inferiority. I see in this power dynamics another way in which European musicians mark their sense of ownership of the canonical repertoire, in a reaction to the sense of threat provoked by the arrival on the market of Latin American musicians with high skills in Early Music practice. This conflation between the repertoire and the musician, and the reproduction of discriminating strategies on both, are just another form of Otherizing and externalizing Latin American musicians that adds to the ones we have evoked in chapter 4. The reactions of these musicians may vary from strategic essentialization to a total refusal of identification with the LAEMR. Yet, we will see in chapter 6 how there is a different form of accepting this repertoire and one's "Latinity" without reproducing Eurocentrism, of affirming one's identity without essentializing or exoticizing it. In the last decades, the place of Early Music in Latin America has largely evolved, and new spaces for negotiations have been developed.

## Capítulo 6 - Idas y Vueltas, 2ª parte:

### Música Antigua en el “Nuevo Mundo” (2000-2020)

*Efectivamente en algún momento de mi trayectoria de músico especializado en el extranjero, al regresar a mi patria no encontré un sentido cabal en dedicarme a tocar solamente repertorio antiguo europeo y me pregunté, entonces, por el repertorio antiguo americano, especialmente el instrumental. Ante la falta de respuesta de la musicología local y regional de entonces, decidí dedicarme a su investigación, primero a través de la musicología y luego a través de la historia, pero sin dejar nunca la labor de intérprete musical. (Rondón 2014, 8)*

Como Victor Rondón, fueron muchos los músicos interesados en la práctica de la Música Antigua (también llamada interpretación históricamente Informada o HIP por sus siglas en el inglés) que se fueron a otros países, principalmente europeos, para estudiar el repertorio barroco y renacentista con instrumentos propios de la época. En el capítulo 4 hemos hablado de los que se quedaron en Europa, los cuales muchas veces vivían esta migración como una “vuelta” al país o continente de origen de sus familias.

La mayoría de estos músicos pertenecía a la primera o segunda generación de migrantes latinoamericanos dedicados a interpretar el repertorio antiguo. Sin embargo, el repertorio que se estudia allá es principalmente de origen europeo.

Muchos de ellos estudiaron en alguna de las escuelas especializadas del continente, en ciudades como La Haya, Basilea, o Lyon, por mencionar sólo las principales ciudades centro-europeas y lo hicieron con poca conciencia de la importancia de las Américas en la historia de la música clásica occidental.

Además, existe cierto prejuicio, no necesariamente asumido pero siempre latente, sobre la exclusiva legitimidad de los músicos europeos para tocar el repertorio antiguo. Inmersos en un contexto de neocolonialismo cultural, la mirada de los músicos está forzosamente dirigida hacia Europa. Hemos visto en el capítulo 5 que, desde la década de los noventa del siglo XX, una ola de relativo interés por el repertorio latinoamericano permitió que éste fuera reconocido; sin embargo, nunca dejó de ser marginalizado y, en adición, su carácter periférico se extendió hacia los músicos originarios de América Latina, reforzando la otredad de los que habían nacido ahí.

Pero en los últimos años, han tenido lugar algunos cambios por diferentes razones, como el desarrollo tecnológico de los medios de comunicación, o las crisis económicas que atravesó el llamado primer mundo. Por ello, este capítulo se enfoca en la práctica de la Música Antigua desde América Latina como una alternativa a la hegemonía eurocentrista y a su canon musical, tanto a nivel de repertorio como a nivel estilístico o estético.

A través de entrevistas, que fueron el producto de un trabajo de campo realizado en Europa en 2018 y en ocho países de Latinoamérica en 2019, analizaremos la emergencia de nuevas propuestas locales y transnacionales para

reapropiarse del repertorio clásico occidental. En particular, la práctica de la Música Antigua (MA) se generalizó durante las últimas décadas del siglo XX a regiones y poblaciones de Latinoamérica que no tienen vínculos culturales familiares, o sea genealógico-raciales, con Europa. Asimismo, las migraciones más recientes y en particular las de los músicos que vienen de México, Centroamérica y el Caribe, o el norte de Sudamérica, no tienen el mismo tipo de relación con el país de emigración que las generaciones precedentes, mayoritariamente blancas y euro-americanas.<sup>153</sup>

Muchos de los nuevos migrantes no se sienten “en casa” en sus lugares de estudios o primera carrera profesional. Además, la situación económica en Europa se ha deteriorado ampliamente después de la primera década del siglo XXI. El año 2008 marcó el inicio de una recesión de gran impacto para el ámbito artístico donde las oportunidades para la realización de conciertos decayeron significativamente. Por ambas razones, en los últimos años se percibió una fuerte migración en sentido inverso: muchos jóvenes regresaron a su país natal en Latinoamérica después de estancias en el continente europeo.

Como hemos establecido en los capítulos anteriores, las categorías no son fijas ni estables y tampoco son demarcadas de manera estricta. En este capítulo, examinaré estas vueltas o regresos. Me enfocaré sobre todo en los movimientos y prácticas que ocurren en Latinoamérica (Sudamérica, Centroamérica, México y el Caribe siempre que el español o el portugués sea el idioma oficial), con un diálogo implícito o

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<sup>153</sup> Por euro-americanos, me refiero a grupos de individuos que nacieron en las Américas pero de origen europeo, de manera similar a las categorías de afro-americanos o también afro-latinoamericanos.

explícito con las prácticas europeas, y en menor grado, norteamericanas y australianas. Entendiendo aquí la MA dentro de los marcos nacionales latinoamericanos, no simplemente como actividades, prácticas, conceptos y acercamientos generales a la música aprendidos o copiados desde Europa, sino también como actos de resignificación, así como oportunidades para nuevos diseños más adaptados al contexto americano.

En algunos casos, estas idas y vueltas no implicarán movimientos físicos sino más bien una forma de ir a buscar información y costumbres del lado europeo y luego volver para darles sentido del otro lado del Atlántico. Aunque pudiera parecer contradictorio, es posible argumentar que hay una actitud descolonial al resignificar una música que, durante décadas, fue marcada justamente por la etiqueta de colonialismo. En particular, alejándose del exotismo y de la folklorización descrita en el capítulo 5.

Así, lo que importa aclarar es que la Música Antigua no es algo nuevo ni inexistente en Latinoamérica a inicios del siglo XXI y que no todos los intérpretes de este repertorio se graduaron en Europa. Sin embargo, es claro que esta práctica se inspiró en una moda cuyos orígenes se encuentran en Gran Bretaña, Holanda, Suiza, Francia, o en algunos casos en Norteamérica. Por un lado, la emigración de músicos sudamericanos desde los años 1970 y 1980 (como hemos visto en el capítulo 4), y por otro, la generalización de la interpretación de repertorios latinoamericanos coloniales (como examinamos en el capítulo 5) provocaron de manera natural una reacción en América. Esta reacción se asoció a movimientos ya preexistentes (grupos de música

de cámara, fusión entre folklórico y clásico, investigación musicológica, etc...), transformando el escenario musical local.

No obstante, no deja de ser significativo que la ola de estudiantes y profesionales que regresaron a su país de origen, después de su estancia europea, dio lugar a una significativa toma de conciencia sobre la importancia de la Música Antigua dentro de los círculos musicales profesionales de música “cultura” latinoamericanos. A través de un trabajo etnográfico sobre el contexto de la Música Antigua en varios países de Latinoamérica, examino aquí la narrativa que construyen los músicos sobre su práctica, desde un punto de vista *insider*. El trabajo etnográfico comprende la observación participativa, la inclusión de una revisión crítica sobre la literatura científica que aborda el tema y principalmente las entrevistas realizadas entre los años 2018 a 2020 a músicos y otros actores del movimiento de Música Antigua en Latinoamérica.

## ¿Por qué la Música Antigua?

*Crecí con Vivaldi. En la época, los discos no eran inalcanzables como hoy, eran más baratos que ahora y gracias a eso, me hice de una gran discoteca. Tenía tanto contemporáneo como barroco, sobretodo Vivaldi. En la secundaria, mi cuate [amigo] me dio un cassette y escuché por primera vez algo que entendí sólo años más tarde que era una misa polifónica con sacabuches y chirimías. Esta música me persiguió y me obsesionó prácticamente toda mi vida.*<sup>154</sup>

(Roberto Rivadeneyra)

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<sup>154</sup> Entrevista con Roberto Rivadeneyra, Ciudad de México, 11 de junio 2020 (en línea).



Desde la década de los 90 del siglo XX, la Música Antigua tuvo un movimiento de expansión, transformación y resignificación. Académicos e intérpretes como Taruskin (1995), Haskell (1996), Butt (2002) o Haynes (2007) describieron en su época los límites de la interpretación históricamente informada (HIP en inglés).<sup>155</sup> La parte más importante de este nuevo movimiento fue sin duda la reflexividad. El concepto de autenticidad dejó de tener un rol importante tanto en el tipo de acercamiento al repertorio como en las estrategias de comercialización; terminó por ser un concepto carente de sentido, un ideal inalcanzable o bien, de acuerdo con algunos puntos de vista, se entendió como una “farsa hipócrita.” Como dice Víctor Rondón en su entrevista:

se perdió la mística original de descubrir desde la inocencia este repertorio. [...] Para la nueva generación [de músicos] es muy normal para ampliar el campo laboral. Es solo una doble especialización, cuando para el ámbito general la Música Antigua es un marco como *vintage*. Viene de una idealización del pasado, de una nostalgia de lo que no vivimos y que tiene que ver con nuestra relación complicada con la tecnología.<sup>156</sup>

Más allá de esta nueva reflexividad, el final del siglo XX también marcó una época de cuestionamiento sobre el repertorio estrictamente europeo. Se hicieron experimentos de fusión musical entre géneros europeos y no europeos, entre música “cultura” y música popular. Y como resultado, en los últimos años del siglo XX y con el inicio del siglo XXI se logró desmitificar la voluntad de la historicidad “pura” y la práctica se vio ampliamente flexibilizada. En Sudamérica como en Europa, esto permitió un acceso más amplio a los intérpretes con menos formación filológica,

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<sup>155</sup> Por ejemplo, Víctor Rondón (2004, 2014) describe este giro a la vez práctico e intelectual.

<sup>156</sup> Víctor Rondón, Universidad de Chile, 19 de marzo 2018.

mientras se mantenía, se ampliaba o se creaba desde cero un imaginario de lo antiguo, siempre respaldado con un aura de supuesta autenticidad, aunque la palabra ya no fuera usada de manera explícita.<sup>157</sup> Gracias a esta ambigüedad entre el imaginario y lo pretendidamente auténtico, se produjo un creciente interés por parte de la audiencia y el movimiento conoció uno de sus *booms* más significativos (Michel 2017).

En consecuencia, el flujo de músicos y de ideas entre Europa y Latinoamérica no dejaron de intensificarse, ya que los músicos emigrados siempre volvieron a su país de origen para dar conciertos, clases y cursos, llevando consigo instrumentos, accesorios y partituras. La economía del *Compact Disc* (CD) también tuvo un efecto importante en la difusión de la Música Antigua de este lado del Atlántico. No es de extrañar, entonces, que la práctica de este repertorio haya gozado de un desarrollo significativo desde las postrimerías del siglo XX hasta inicios del siglo XXI, manteniendo un interés vigente hasta nuestros días.

Una de las principales razones que ha llevado a las generaciones de músicos más recientes a interesarse en la interpretación históricamente informada (HIP en inglés) es, la relación entre Música Antigua y música folklórica. Esta relación era una motivación importante para las generaciones anteriores pero, aunque sigue teniendo un rol importante, ahora también predominan otros propósitos. Y, en particular, una fuerte crítica al ámbito profesional de la música clásica de tradición occidental, juzgada como demasiado elitista tanto en los procesos de selección de los músicos

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<sup>157</sup> Ver el número 4 de la revista *Resonancias*, en particular Waisman 1999 y Candia 1999.

como en términos de acceso para el público. Como dice la flautista dulce chilena  
Javiera Portales:

Cuando era adolescente y estudiaba flauta travesa, me encantaba tocar Telemann. Y la música de inspiración popular también, como por ejemplo Piazzolla. Cuando llegué al 5º año de conservatorio y tenía que presentar el examen para pasar a ciclo superior me di cuenta que no me llamaba la atención el repertorio solista de otras épocas o estilos.<sup>158</sup>

De la misma manera, Laura Fainstein, laudista y tiorbista de Buenos Aires, comenta que prefirió compartir la responsabilidad de llevar a cabo una ejecución musical con otros compañeros, más que recibir los aplausos para sí misma:

Con la guitarra clásica, siempre tenía que tocar el repertorio de solista, como conciertos etc... ¡pero siempre sola! Con los instrumentos barrocos entendí que podía tocar en grupos grandes y salir del aislamiento del solista. Quizás ahora me da más ganas de volver al repertorio solista con los instrumentos antiguos, pero en un inicio fue exactamente el contrario. Me gustaba el espíritu investigativo y sobre todo abrir el campo de tocar música dentro de un ensamble. Tocar juntos nutre el trabajo musical de cada uno. [...] Se disfruta de otra manera.<sup>159</sup>

Esta actitud anti-elitista se encuentra en otros discursos, como el de formar músicos con un público más ‘democrático’ para la Música Antigua. Camilo Brandi, desde la Universidad Católica de Santiago de Chile dice, después de su formación instrumental en Francia:

¡Sería maravilloso que el mundo de los órganos fuera mucho más accesible! Que haya un movimiento cultural más amplio. Pero no es fácil. Entendí que es necesario formar muy bien a algunas personas que en el futuro puedan ellas mismas formar a otras

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<sup>158</sup> Entrevista con Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, 26 de marzo 2019.

<sup>159</sup> Entrevista con Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, 12 de junio 2019.

personas. Como una pirámide: [...] pasar un saber, desde el punto de vista cultural, a las personas que están en la cima de la pirámide, para que puedan difundir sus conocimientos. Pero no solo en la aristocracia, también en otros círculos sociales. [...] podemos hacer una contribución para que nuestro público no sea una élite. Es esencial crear una audiencia aficionada, que en el futuro llenará las salas y creará conversaciones sobre esta música.<sup>160</sup>

Javiera Portales también agrega:

En las clases altas, por llamarlas de alguna manera, se percibe un respeto por la Música Antigua, pero a veces da la impresión que es nada más por *snobismo*. Sin embargo, en otras clases sociales, si tocamos las obras inclusive sin mencionar que son del período barroco, la gente manifiesta que les agrada y lo disfrutan. Opino que es importante considerar el contexto al momento de escoger la música a presentar e interpretar. Hay obras con contenido más profundo que otras, o más sutil, por decirlo de alguna manera. Creo que es importante estructurar el programa en función del público. ¡Eso es lo que llamamos el arte de la performance! Quantz escribió en su tratado para flauta travesa que, dependiendo del público, hay que tocar de manera distinta: por ejemplo, más rápido para la gente que sólo es amante de la música. Hay que tomar en cuenta qué es lo que presentas y a quién, para lograr comunicarte con tu público. Ya pasó la época donde la música era solo para una clase social. Hoy, llega sin problema incluso a las zonas rurales.<sup>161</sup>

A través de este discurso anti-elitista y promoviendo la colaboración más allá de la competencia entre los músicos, se entiende que hay una crítica profunda del mundo de la música llamada “de concierto”. Como lo expresa Andrés Gerszenzon, compositor y director argentino:

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<sup>160</sup> Entrevista con Camilo Brandi, Santiago de Chile, 29 de marzo 2019.

<sup>161</sup> Entrevista con Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, 26 de marzo 2019.

El formato de concierto tiene una gran crisis y todo el mundo lo vive. Hay una búsqueda de lo interdisciplinario, los conciertos están menos enfocados en lo ‘musical puro’ y más en la relación con el público. Y justamente, la Música Antigua nos permite aportar algo distinto. El instrumentista de orquesta [clásica/romántica] en general sufre de algún tipo de estrés o de tensión que se refleja en su cuerpo al momento de tocar. Pero aquí, no es solo una cosa de ser técnicamente eficiente, sino que la gente sepa lo que estamos tocando. Nosotros estamos saliendo de este molde. Además, nos permite explorar algunos intereses por las otras artes, o también con la religión. A pesar de ser ateo, mi relación con la religión se modificó. La Música Antigua, de alguna forma, me llevó a tener más inquietud intelectual.<sup>162</sup>

La búsqueda por encontrar un significado más allá de la simple capacidad instrumental también está presente en la historia de vida de Ronaldo Lopes, originario de Río de Janeiro y residente en París. Su carrera como solista de guitarra clásica se vio fuertemente comprometida tras haber sufrido una distonía focal. En el esfuerzo por encontrar una cura para su trastorno muscular, Lopes se trasladó a Estados Unidos. Mientras trabajaba en una tienda de instrumentos, el guitarrista tuvo contacto con partituras de Bajo Continuo, con cifras y tablaturas. Tras este descubrimiento, Lopes entendía que, aunque su problema físico no estaba resuelto, su acercamiento a este repertorio y a esta práctica le permitía a él mismo elegir las notas y las digitaciones que le acomodaban. De esta manera, eventualmente podría retomar una actividad profesional con la música.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Entrevista con Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, 11 de junio 2019.

<sup>163</sup> Entrevista con Ronaldo Lopes, París, 19 de enero de 2019.

Como vemos, el interés por la Música Antigua para esta generación que empezó sus estudios en la última década del siglo XX va mucho más allá del repertorio mismo. Son ideales más generales sobre las jerarquías sociales, que se reflejan en las jerarquías entre músicos. Se buscan integraciones entre varios intereses intelectuales, se desprecia el virtuosismo ‘puro’ para, al contrario, producir significados más profundos. También puede verse que la práctica de Música Antigua propone a los músicos que la practican nuevos y diversos estilos de vida. En palabras de Laura Fainstein:

La Música Antigua me permitió aprender a armar proyectos como un espectáculo, pensar en el repertorio pero tomando en cuenta otros aspectos también. Hay más opciones que con la música clásica. Realmente, aprendí muchísimo a través de la Música Antigua, diría que hasta con mi forma de ser en general.<sup>164</sup>

Más que todo, la Música Antigua es un pretexto, donde finalmente el lado “antiguo” de la Música Antigua se vuelve poco relevante. José Luís Akel habla de crear nuevos lenguajes. Y para crear cosas nuevas, también podemos pensar hacia atrás, aunque parezca contradictorio. Simplemente debemos hacernos ciertas preguntas y establecer vínculos entre lo antiguo y lo nuevo. ¿Cómo las cosas llegaron a lo que son? Ambos campos son válidos, ¿por qué el repertorio contemporáneo debería estar peleado con el de la Música Antigua, o viceversa? También, ¿por qué siempre debemos oponer el Folk a lo que llamamos ‘culto’? Hay puentes posibles. Por ejemplo, hay música contemporánea para laúd. Yo creo que poco a poco, si seguimos esta vía, los instrumentos antiguos se van a reinsertar como instrumentos actuales y podrán aprovecharse de un lenguaje contemporáneo. Entonces, ¿habrán nuevas

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<sup>164</sup> Entrevista con Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, 12 de junio 2019.

modificaciones del instrumento y de su técnica? No olvidemos que en la época [barroca], siempre se modificaba, se evolucionaba y la técnica también se desarrollaba en paralelo a este proceso.<sup>165</sup>

Finalmente, el interés hacia el pasado puede ser entendido como herramientas para criticar el presente y proponer un futuro mejor. No se trata de encerrarse en un pasado histórico para huir del presente, sino más bien de insertarse con él con nuevas propuestas. A través de la Música Antigua y su acercamiento crítico, multidisciplinario, e intelectualmente despierto, hay una voluntad de visitar el pasado y cambiar su lectura para construir nuevas narrativas.

## La educación formal de Música Antigua en Latinoamérica: dificultades y desafíos

*Había una fiebre de la Música Antigua, del laúd. A muchos guitarristas clásicos nos gustaban los repertorios más antiguos y hacíamos hasta lo imposible para tomar clases. En una época, nos reuníamos con cinco amigos, para tomar clases con distintos maestros. Una vez por mes, nos juntábamos en una casa todo el día. Uno de [los estudiantes] venía de Paraná, a 8 horas de ómnibus. [...] Pagábamos cada uno un poquito al profe y ya. Es que no había ninguna institución, ni ningún tipo de apoyo.<sup>166</sup>*

*(Miguel de Olaso)*

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<sup>165</sup> Entrevista con José Luís Akel, Buenos Aires, 12 de junio 2019.

<sup>166</sup> Entrevista con Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (AR), 13 de junio 2019.

En la primera década del siglo XXI, la enseñanza de Música Antigua en Latinoamérica estuvo, en general, más desarrollada que en la segunda mitad del siglo XX, pero tampoco era muy difundida. Siempre existieron desafíos importantes que debían ser superados, tanto para los músicos o estudiantes como individuos, como para las agrupaciones o grupos institucionales como movimiento legítimo, para afirmarse profesionalmente a nivel nacional o internacional.

Se abrieron algunas posibilidades para estudiar instrumentos antiguos dentro de instituciones musicales preexistentes, pero generalmente no se abrieron carreras especializadas en las instituciones ni se podían obtener títulos específicos en Música Antigua. Las materias electivas eran las mismas para los que estudiaban clave que para los que estudiaban piano, un flautista de pico tenía que aprender armonía romántica en vez de bajo continuo; y los títulos no reflejaban la especialización de los alumnos. Estos detalles produjeron algunas tensiones entre músicos, profesores y estudiantes, a veces sin mayores consecuencias, pero en otros casos con impactos dramáticos.

Por ejemplo, el testimonio de un alumno de flauta dulce de la Escuela Nacional de Música (ahora Facultad de Música) de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), revela que la clase de flauta dulce existe desde hace algunas décadas gracias a los esfuerzos realizados por la maestra María Díez-Canedo Flores, pero las clases siempre se impartieron como parte del plan de estudios de la cátedra de flauta moderna, transversa. En teoría, él habría podido tomar clase con los profesores de música orquestal que enseñaban flauta transversa, aunque no tocaba



este instrumento ni este repertorio, en absoluto. Es obvio que, si lo hubiera intentado no habría sido bien recibido por estos profesores. Por otro lado, su título universitario, sólo porta la mención de licenciado instrumentista en “flauta,” sin mayor precisión. Consecuentemente, su formación y su trayectoria como músico ‘antiguo’ no queda reflejado de manera alguna<sup>167</sup>

La profesora de viola de gamba de la misma institución, al volver de Chicago (ciudad donde se formó como intérprete de Música Antigua), enfrentó una larga lucha que duró décadas para poder conformar y abrir la carrera de viola da gamba. Mientras tanto, impartía clases del instrumento como materia opcional para chelistas y guitarristas. La profesora afirma que uno de los muchos problemas a los que se enfrentó con el área administrativa de la facultad fue que los métodos que utilizaba para dar clases de viola de gamba databan siglo XVII y las reglas de la institución no permitían a los profesores usar métodos publicados hacía más de treinta años, por considerarlos materiales no “actualizados” o bien, obsoletos.<sup>168</sup>

Vemos aquí una serie de contradicciones burocráticas y administrativas que se antojan absurdas y que seguramente impactan en los alumnos y en los profesores de manera negativa. Paulina Cerna, exalumna de viola *da gamba* de la misma institución, cuenta que, una vez acabada la larguísima carrera de violín (cuya duración es de siete años) no pudo revalidar sus estudios en viola *da gamba* que cursó en calidad de materia optativa. La Facultad de Música no podía otorgarle un diploma

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<sup>167</sup> Conversación informal con Ricardo Rodríguez, 8 de febrero 2020. En 2008 el nuevo plan de estudio incluyó la flauta de pico como carrera (ver detalles más adelante).

<sup>168</sup> Conversación informal con Gabriela Villa Walls, 7 de noviembre de 2018.

oficial que corroborara los años de estudio y su competencia como intérprete del instrumento. Cuando tuvo oportunidad de realizar estudios de viola *da gamba* en el extranjero tuvo que reiniciar sus estudios desde el nivel más básico, “desde cero.”<sup>169</sup>

La ideología de los profesores ha sido también un factor determinante para la motivación o desmotivación de los jóvenes en la práctica de Música Antigua. Es común que los alumnos de instituciones como la Facultad de Música (ya mencionada) muestren interés por aprender, a la par de su instrumento, un instrumento antiguo; pero a su vez, es común que el profesor titular lo impida o niegue las posibilidades a sus alumnos. Aunque estos casos pueden ser frecuentes con profesores de cualquier instrumento, de acuerdo con los datos obtenidos de las entrevistas, los alumnos de la especialidad de canto parecen atravesar mayormente este tipo de prohibiciones por parte de sus maestros. Estos casos son muy comunes con profesores de todos instrumentos, pero es aún más frecuente en las clases de canto.

Aunque se ha demostrado que la práctica de la Música Antigua ha tenido cierto crecimiento, es también notable que no dejó de ser mal vista por gran parte de los músicos profesionales y profesores del ámbito del “moderno.”<sup>170</sup> Este discurso despreciativo fue reproducido por ellos, repitiendo un viejo mito según el cual los músicos antiguos son músicos modernos fallidos y asegurando que aprender una

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<sup>169</sup> Entrevista con Paulina Cerna Huici, Ciudad de México, 27 de mayo 2020 (en línea).

<sup>170</sup> Como es de costumbre en estos ámbitos, utilizo el adjetivo ‘moderno’ en oposición a los ‘antiguos.’

técnica barroca es nociva para el desarrollo de una correcta técnica moderna. Así, como lo nota Roberto Rivadeneyra:

muchas de las personas que se acercan a la Música Antigua carecen de bases técnicas y eso ha fortalecido el falso mito de que el repertorio antiguo es más ‘fácil’ o es para personas que no son capaces de tocar repertorios más tardíos. Pero el repertorio antiguo tiene sus dificultades, que son diferentes. Grandes músicos ‘modernos’ intentan tocar piezas virtuosas del siglo XVII y simplemente no les sale. Pero infelizmente todavía padecemos de este prejuicio.<sup>171</sup>

En mi opinión, este tipo de rechazo de parte del ámbito “moderno” es típico de una comunidad en posición de pérdida de prestigio y que ve un riesgo, una amenaza, en una comunidad creciente que, aunque no en oposición a la primera, cuestiona sus fundamentos más profundos e implícitos. Egberto Bermúdez, refiriéndose a los escritos de Richard Taruskin, habla del “efecto liberador” de la Música Antigua, “en especial con respecto a la hegemonía casi tiránica que, como herencia del siglo XIX, tenían las obras “canónicas” clásicas en el repertorio y sus intérpretes en la primera parte del siglo XX” (2015, 170). El movimiento de la Música Antigua posee cierta ambigüedad pues en ocasiones se presenta como una subcultura de la música clásica, integrada a ella; pero a veces en oposición a ella y a sus prácticas. De ahí que exista una respuesta no siempre favorable —aunque mezclada con curiosidad— por parte de las personas en posición de poder dentro de las instituciones que buscan garantizar la pervivencia de la tradición de música clásica ‘moderna.’

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<sup>171</sup> Entrevista con Roberto Rivadeneyra, Ciudad de México, 11 de junio 2020 (en línea).

Sin embargo, la falta de espacios profesionalizantes y especializados para la práctica de Música Antigua obliga a los intérpretes a seguir informándose y descubriendo nuevas aristas sobre este repertorio, pero sin poder perder de vista los estudios formales de música clásica “moderna” que, además de otorgarles un título universitario de carácter oficial, brinda mayores posibilidades para poder vivir como profesores o concertistas de forma más segura y estable. En oposición a una carrera en Música Antigua donde las esperanzas para sobrevivir con tales actividades son prácticamente nulas.

Mas allá de la discriminación que pueden sufrir los músicos o instrumentistas ‘a doble filo’ que cursan ambas carreras en paralelo, existen otros problemas concretos que pueden impedir un desarrollo completo de la práctica de Música Antigua a la par de otras carreras más tradicionales. Hemos visto que los cantantes que se encuentran desarrollando su técnica vocal pueden ser valorados desde un prejuicio según el cual, no es posible entrenarse en el canto lírico mientras al tiempo que se canta música más temprana.<sup>172</sup>

Por otro lado, los guitarristas también se enfrentan a un problema fundamental: el cuidado de las uñas. En muchas de las entrevistas realizadas a los instrumentistas de cuerdas pulsadas, estos músicos hacían un recuento detallado del día en “que me corté las uñas,” como un momento más que decisivo en sus carreras. De hecho, el laúd y la tiorba se tocan sin uñas, con la parte gorda de los dedos (mano derecha). Pero cortarse las uñas también significa abandonar toda posibilidad de tocar

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<sup>172</sup> Prejuicio que se está desmintiendo poco a poco.

profesionalmente la guitarra clásica. Es una elección radical que deben hacer los intérpretes de cuerdas pulsadas donde entrar a un mundo, significa renuncian al otro (aunque queda la posibilidad de seguir dando clases y tocar a un nivel menos demandante).

En estas décadas, imperaba también una falta crucial de instrumentos, accesorios y otros recursos materiales para la práctica de Música Antigua en América Latina. Ronaldo Lopes menciona que, en cada uno de sus viajes a Brasil, nunca olvidaba llevar consigo juegos de cuerdas para poner a los instrumentos de cuerdas pulsadas. Los instrumentistas de cuerda frotada que se encuentran en Latinoamérica también suelen enfrentarse a la falta de producción de cuerdas de tripa para sus instrumentos, tomando en cuenta además que estas cuerdas duran menos que las cuerdas de metal. En el caso de los instrumentos antiguos de aliento, las cañas son prácticamente inexistentes o inasequibles en toda Latinoamérica.<sup>173</sup>

En adición, las partituras, en especial antes del incremento y difusión de transcripciones digitalizadas que sucedió en los últimos años de la primera década de los 2000, eran escasísimas y de acceso muy limitado. Muchos músicos dependían de los viajes a Europa realizados por sus colegas y homólogos para poder descubrir las novedades editoriales, siempre con cierto desfase y en cantidades menores a los músicos que residían en el continente europeo.

Además, no todos los profesores, cuando había profesores especializados residentes en el país, tenían la disposición para adaptarse a las nuevas modas

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<sup>173</sup> Del conocimiento del autor existe sin embargo una modesta producción en La Plata, Argentina. Sin embargo, pueden existir otras producciones más pequeñas o caseras en otros lugares.

estilísticas y de interpretación que estaban vigentes en Europa. Camilo Brandi cuenta que su profesor “no tenía la inquietud de renovarse” y que su modo de tocar, cuando llegó a Europa, era considerado como pasado de moda. Algunos incluso hablaban de un “subdesarrollo musical.”<sup>174</sup>

Por todas estas razones (institucionales, ideológicas, técnicas y materiales), estudiar de manera formal Música Antigua no era fácil para los músicos en América Latina y ciertamente representaba muchas más dificultades que para un estudiante europeo del mismo nivel, de la misma edad y del mismo estrato social.<sup>175</sup> Los latinoamericanos que se dedicaron al estudio de la Música Antigua lo hicieron con una voluntad bien definida y muchas veces puesta a prueba, teniendo motivaciones muy explícitas y con el claro propósito de establecerse en una realidad distinta a la de la música clásica moderna, al margen de ésta y muchas veces navegando entre ambas.

En la misma época (desde los inicios de los 2000) la Música Antigua en Europa había llegado a ser una moda aceptada, ciertamente con una postura más o menos crítica frente a la práctica moderna pero que se presentaba más como una oportunidad para tener un ingreso económico extra y agrandar el campo de acción y competencia musical a nivel profesional, antes que como una lucha cotidiana para defender sus ideas, posiciones, y acciones.

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<sup>174</sup> Entrevista con Camilo Brandi, Santiago de Chile, 29 de marzo 2019.

<sup>175</sup> lo cual no implica tener las mismas capacidades económicas, debido a diferencias de poder adquisitivo entre las monedas de cada lugar.

## Especialización y migración

*Había mucha gente interesada en la Música Antigua. Unos se fueron, otros se fueron y regresaron y otros se quedaron. Los que se quedaron eran medio autodidactas porque aquí no había realmente una institución. Tomaban clases con los que se habían ido, cuando regresaban o estaban de pasada en el país.<sup>176</sup> (José Luís Akel)*

A pesar de la dificultad para encontrar espacios y condiciones que permitieran a los músicos especializarse en la Música Antigua, esta moda que había logrado un nivel de aceptación y de difusión alta en los países del así llamado primer mundo, se difundió rápidamente en todos los países de América Latina a partir de la década de los años noventa y los primeros años del siglo XXI. Se encontraron tanto intereses individuales como escuelas informales conformadas alrededor de un maestro aislado. En particular, fuera de las principales capitales se desarrollaron grupos de distintos tamaños, pero con cierta influencia de las nuevas generaciones. Córdoba (Ar), Curitiba (Br), Rancagua (Ch), Cartagena (Co), Guadalajara (Mx), Guayaquil (Ec), o Santiago de Cuba, por ejemplo, son ciudades secundarias pero que tuvieron un papel de gran importancia en la formación de jóvenes músicos que se sumergieron en el mundo de la Música Antigua, además de las capitales de estos países. Del mismo modo, en países más pequeños se siguieron tradiciones a veces ya existentes de práctica de Música Antigua, pero desde esta época con enfoques más

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<sup>176</sup> Entrevista con José Luís Akel, Buenos Aires, 12 de junio 2019.

profesionalizantes, como Guatemala, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Ecuador o Uruguay, entre otros.

Pero justamente debido a las dificultades para estudiar desde lugares más remotos y con condiciones más difíciles, muchos de estos jóvenes decidieron emigrar a Europa para seguir sus estudios y empezar sus carreras como músicos profesionales, especializados en la Música Antigua. Además, se generalizó la existencia de becas gubernamentales para apoyar la migración de estos jóvenes músicos al continente europeo y poder facilitar sus estudios, particularmente en países como México, Chile, o Brasil. En algunos casos, existía el compromiso de regresar al país de origen para retribuir con el conocimiento adquirido en el Viejo Mundo, lo cual no fue siempre respetado por los becarios.

Asimismo, las escuelas principales que imparten esta formación de Música Antigua en Europa, como Basel (Ch), Den Haag (NI), Lyon (Fr), Trossingen (De) o Barcelona (Es), recibieron una población latina mucho más diversa que en las décadas anteriores, la cual emigraba principalmente del Cono Sur y era, en gran mayoría, de raza blanca. La nueva generación de migración que empezó con el inicio del siglo XXI y que se intensificó en los años siguientes incluyó personas que no necesariamente se identificaban a través de sus herencias genéticas o culturales europeas, pero que sí tenían un interés por el repertorio, la práctica o los sonidos y el acercamiento a las particularidades de la Música Antigua. Con la llegada simultánea de otras poblaciones, en particular de Asia (Japón y Corea del Sur sobretodo) y de Israel, los ‘latinos’ se volvieron unos cuantos más entre muchos extra-europeos. Los



Europeos pasaron a ser minoritarios, y a pesar de un racismo latente y una preferencia nacionalista desmentida pero real (como vimos en el capítulo 4), el origen de los músicos pasó a ser un elemento menor dentro de los espacios de educación. Se crearon fuertes comunidades latinas en cada una de estas escuelas. Estas comunidades han sido cada vez más diversas, con nacionalidades cada vez más numerosas, pero donde el idioma juega un papel importante para la convivencia. Entre latinoamericanos, una disposición solidaria facilita mucho las llegadas de los recién migrados. Ronaldo Lopes cuenta sobre las estrategias de sobrevivencia en Lyon:

Había mucha ayuda entre latinos, un fuerte espíritu de solidaridad. Contribuimos entre nosotros para ayudar a los que más necesitaban. Mis amigos argentinos venían a la cafetería de la escuela, pero no comían ahí, sólo tomaban el pan y las aceitunas, que eran gratis. Yo pasé un año comiendo sólo lentejas. Pasábamos nuestros días en el conservatorio, tenía calefacción (que no había en nuestras casas) y una biblioteca increíble. Un colega argentino se puso como meta leerse todo el repertorio para órgano que estaba presente en la biblioteca. Los franceses también eran solidarios, pero no se daban cuenta de la suerte que tenían.<sup>177</sup>

Antonia Sánchez también comentó sobre el apoyo recibido por colegas que había conocido antes de irse. Afirma que:

Los Latinoamericanos en La Haya nos ayudamos mucho. Todos me simplificaron las cosas y de hecho también los europeos. Aquí es más difícil. En Europa hay mucha

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<sup>177</sup> Entrevista con Ronaldo Lopes, París, 19 de enero 2019.

competencia, pero cómo decirlo, es una competencia sana. La gente se comparte el material y hasta los instrumentos.<sup>178</sup>

Pero al mismo tiempo que la formación, natural o forzada, de estas comunidades permite una forma de solidaridad, por otro lado, provoca también muchas categorizaciones e ideas preconcebidas sobre los latinos.

Un profesor del conservatorio decía: que los latinoamericanos tienen ‘la cosa emocional a flor de piel’ pero que carecen de técnica. Decía que los europeos eran más ‘correctos.’<sup>179</sup>

También estos preconceptos son reivindicados por los mismos interesados. Radamés Paz, mientras afirma que, fue “muy bien recibido” mientras estuvo en Europa y agrega que:

Llegué a La Haya en la primera década del siglo XXI y fuimos muchos los mexicanos que llegamos por estos años. De hecho, nos llamaban la ‘Mexican Mafia.’ Éramos unos diez y todos un poco chiflados. Fue un choque para el conservatorio.<sup>180</sup>

Sin embargo, no todos se sintieron parte de una comunidad, y algunos quisieron aprovechar su estancia en el extranjero para descubrir nuevas culturas. Diego Villela asegura que “ahí, no [se] juntaba con otros chilenos.”<sup>181</sup> Más allá de descubrir una cultura nueva, el intercambio cultural y la experiencia de vivir en el extranjero fue para Nelson Contreras una manera de encontrarse, de entender cuál era su propia identidad.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Entrevista con Antonia Sánchez, Santiago de Chile, 25 de marzo 2019.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Entrevista con Radamés Paz, Ciudad de México, 19 de junio 2020 (en línea).

<sup>181</sup> Entrevista con Diego Villela, Santiago de Chile, 27 de marzo 2019.

<sup>182</sup> Entrevista con Nelson Contreras por El Modo Antiguo - Radio San Joaquín en línea el 20 de abril 2020. <https://www.radiosanjoaquin.cl/2020/04/20/al-modo-antiguo-nelson-contreras-violagambista-chileno/> Consultado el 26 abril 2020.

A pesar de las oportunidades mucho más amplias para tocar profesionalmente Música Antigua en Europa, en comparación con Latinoamérica y del "sueño," así denominado por muchos, de poder estudiar y estar presente en los lugares donde esta música se había originado, no todos quisieron quedarse a vivir en Europa. Muchos músicos, después de una intensa y productiva estancia en el extranjero, volvieron con las ganas de aportar a su país lo que habían aprendido fuera y de contribuir al escenario de la Música Antigua que había crecido por su lado en estos mismos años.

## Alternativas locales

*Tengo una utopía: es que hagan caso a estos instrumentos [como la viola da gamba u otros instrumentos antiguos]. Si no hay esperanza de tener trabajo aquí, la proyección del alumno es salir de Chile. Es un desafío mantener un nivel acá, con la gente que sí se quedó. Los músicos tienen la idea de que allá todo es mejor, todo es perfecto. Y después, cuando uno emigra allá, se da cuenta de que no es así.<sup>183</sup> (Florencia Bardavid)*

Mientras una gran parte de los estudiantes o jóvenes músicos que quisieron especializarse en la Música Antigua se fueron a Europa o a otros lugares del 'primer' mundo para estudiar, obtener títulos y empezar una carrera ahí, el interés creciente hizo que el ámbito local se desarrollara también en los países de Latinoamérica, ofreciendo poco a poco más alternativas. No todos tuvieron el deseo o la posibilidad de migrar hacia Europa, por una serie de razones: familiares, económicas, ideológicas

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<sup>183</sup> Entrevista con Florencia Bardavid Hoecker, Santiago de Chile, 27 de marzo 2019.

o personales. Laura Fainstein comenta que fue aceptada en la Escuela Superior de Barcelona, pero no en alaúd o teorbo sino en guitarra clásica. Al final, decidió no irse, porque el viaje a España significaba también perder una plaza como docente en la universidad, la cual, en las condiciones laborales actuales de Argentina es difícil conseguir.<sup>184</sup> José Akel tampoco quería dejar su país de origen. Aunque, esta decisión complicó la posibilidad de obtener una formación completa de cuerdas pulsadas antiguas y en primera instancia se vio en la necesidad de buscar cursos semipresenciales que le permitían seguir trabajando y otras formaciones relacionadas con sus intereses, como la musicología.<sup>185</sup> También Javiera Portales insiste sobre su negación por migrar, a pesar de las dificultades para ejercer su arte desde Chile:

Uno muchas veces se pregunta si hay que emigrar al extranjero. Las personas sienten la necesidad de ser comprendidas, de compartir su pasión con más gente, y quieren irse. Sobre todo con la flauta dulce, que no es muy valorada aquí. En algún momento, sí tuve la impresión de que toqué el techo con la formación, ya que el ámbito chileno no tenía mucho más para ofrecerme. Yo entiendo a quienes se van, es una decisión muy válida, sobre todo si uno acaba la carrera como a los 21 ó 22 años. Después, ¿qué hace? Pero aún son pocos los que vuelven. Y nosotros aquí estamos. Debido a esto no se potencia una posibilidad de educación de mejor nivel en flauta y no niego que los que estamos acá nos sentimos solos. Necesitamos el apoyo de gente que subió de nivel. Para los europeos, la Música Antigua debe ser algo así como su lengua materna mientras que para nosotros es algo importado. Los chilenos siempre miran hacia Europa, con el ansia de ser como ellos.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Entrevista con Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, 12 de Junio 2019.

<sup>185</sup> Entrevista con José Luís Akel, Buenos Aires, 12 de junio 2019.

<sup>186</sup> Entrevista con Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, 26 de marzo 2019.

Pero encontró la solución a su relativo aislamiento en estancias de corta duración y otros tipos de relacionamientos con músicos europeos o que viven ahí:

Yo más bien busco una manera de compatibilizar lo bien que me la paso acá y estar algo vinculada con la cultura europea. Por ejemplo, haciendo estancias cortas, conocer gente, asistir a conciertos... Y después de eso, volver y retribuir a mi país lo que aprendí allá. Siempre pensé que de esta manera nutriría a mis alumnos. No me interesa sacar más títulos, pero sí tocar y aprender de músicos de todos los niveles. Me gusta unir ambos mundos, tanto de los profesionales como de los estudiantes y aprender unos de otros. De ahí salen cosas muy lindas. Es una cuestión de dedicación, de humildad. Yo pido clases a quien veo que toca mejor que yo. Así he podido avanzar. Siempre participo en masterclasses con buenos maestros músicos. Por ejemplo, viajé para un curso a la Scuola Civica [de Milano] el mes pasado. Pero al revés también: Manfredo Zimmerman vino a Chile y aproveché para tomar clases con él.<sup>187</sup>

Más allá de una conexión fortalecida con Europa, a través de intercambios de varios formatos e incluyendo viajes puntuales en ambos sentidos (ir a tomar un curso a Europa, o tomar una masterclass con un co-nacional de visita al país o con un extranjero de *tournée*), existen también muchas oportunidades de intercambios entre países latinoamericanos, donde Argentina en relación con Sudamérica y, en grado menor, México para los países centroamericanos, ocupan un lugar de atracción por los recursos materiales y humanos que tienen.<sup>188</sup> Javiera Portales habla de sus recientes incursiones a Buenos Aires para aprender el traveso, conocer otros

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Sin embargo, otros países también tienen una atracción fuerte para los de nacionalidad vecina, como Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, o Cuba, por ejemplo.

flautistas, intercambiar con ellos y sentirse parte de una comunidad que no se encontraba, en su momento, en Santiago.<sup>189</sup> De la misma manera, es común que los guatemaltecos miren hacia México para encontrar mejores oportunidades de educación. Recientemente, recibí a un miembro del grupo Prosodia (Ciudad de Guatemala), originario de El Salvador, en mis cursos de fagot barroco de la FaM - UNAM (CDMX).<sup>190</sup> Igualmente, una colega suya, que toca la flauta y el corneto, apenas regresaba de un viaje a Cuba donde tuvo la oportunidad de tomar clases con profesores de allá (donde tienen un nivel bastante alto).<sup>191</sup>

Una joven violinista ecuatoriana relató que organizó una estancia de unos meses en la Ciudad de México para poder preparar y pasar los exámenes de admisión a la FaM.<sup>192</sup> Pero desde lejos, el ejemplo más significativo de educación informal de amplitud continental será el curso de Bariloche, en el Sureste Argentino. En el verano esta ciudad turística se transforma en un *camping* musical de fama internacional, desde hace décadas. La Música Antigua tuvo un lugar importante en estos *campings* (combinación entre curso de verano y festival) en particular gracias a los esfuerzos de Gabriel Garrido a finales del siglo XX.<sup>193</sup> En los relatos de argentinos, chilenos y

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<sup>189</sup> Entrevista con Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, 26 de marzo 2019.

<sup>190</sup> Durante el curso de fagot barroco y bajones (Educación Continua) en junio 2019.

<sup>191</sup> Conversaciones informales con los miembros del Ensamble Prosodia, Ciudad de Guatemala, mes de mayo 2019.

<sup>192</sup> Conversación informal con Gabriela Cobo, Ciudad de México, 29 de mayo 2019. (durante el Festival de Música Antigua en Bucareli 69 - FEMA)

<sup>193</sup> El seminario de Música Antigua conoció un periodo de pausa en los últimos años pero parece que las actividades estuvieron a punto de retomarse desde este año 2020. No he podido comprobar si la contingencia del COVID-19 lo impidió. <https://www.facebook.com/seminariomusicaantiguabariloche/> consultado el 18 de mayo 2020, la foto de portada anunciaba el festival para el 5 al 15 de febrero 2020. No se encuentra más información en este sitio, sería necesaria una rápida investigación para saber si el festival tuvo efectivamente lugar o no.

brasileños, entre otros, los cursos de Bariloche fueron no sólo una etapa importante, sino decisiva en su camino de aprendizaje de la Música Antigua y en la constitución de una red de contactos que puede ser útil y fructífera no sólo en caso de emigrar hacia Europa, sino también para establecer futuras colaboraciones profesionales.

Los intercambios intra-americanos se organizan también a nivel profesional, alrededor de festivales y lugares estratégicos de la performance de la Música Antigua. Para dar unos ejemplos, el festival de Chiquitos en Bolivia es evocado como un centro neurálgico de la práctica de la música Antigua en América (y con un enfoque especial en el repertorio misionero boliviano) desde los años 1990. Aurelio Tello, quien estuvo muy activo en los festivales de musicología y de Música Antigua desde 1990 en Caracas y luego en el festival Chiquitos, comentó sobre este último:

Estos festivales han contribuido al desarrollo de la Música Antigua en Latinoamérica, ya desde el de Caracas. En Chiquitos, es más en la música de Chiquitos que está el enfoque, o la música misional, pero con grupos de todo el mundo.<sup>194</sup> Esto empezó gracias al *Ensemble Elyma* junto con el productor Alain Pacquier, hicieron discos y esta música se volvió muy famosa. Con este festival, se movió a un gran contingente de personas a Chiquitos. Peter Nawrot, Bernardo Illari, pero también orquestas de la región, escuelas de niños, constructores de instrumentos. Fue un movimiento global, atrajo ensambles de todo el mundo, [los cuales hicieron un gran] trabajo con los jóvenes de allá. Coro, orquesta, etc... que juntaban a los niños de los pueblos con las agrupaciones ingleses. Este festival sigue activo para la recuperación tanto del repertorio como de la práctica que le es asociada.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Uno de los requisitos para ser aceptado al festival de Chiquitos es incluir en su repertorio por lo menos una obra misional de la Chiquitanía.

<sup>195</sup> Entrevista con Aurelio Tello. Lima, 2 de abril 2019.

El festival de Música Sacra de Quito, realizado en Semana Santa, atrae también agrupaciones de toda América Latina. Aunque no estrictamente de Música Antigua (cualquier tipo de música religiosa puede ser interpretada), una buena parte de la programación incluye este repertorio. Argentinos, mexicanos, colombianos y costarricenses compiten con agrupaciones de Europa y Norteamérica en la interpretación del repertorio antiguo.<sup>196</sup>

La problemática de competición entre agrupaciones locales y extranjeras es un tema que fue muchas veces criticado en los festivales importantes que invitan principalmente a ensambles europeos, limitando el acceso al escenario para los músicos formados en el país. Pienso en particular, en los casos del renombrado Festival Cervantino en Guanajuato, México, o los festivales colombianos en Cartagena (y en grado menor, el de Villa de Leyva). Esta crítica parece haber sido tomada en cuenta en los últimos años, quizás en parte para enfrentar las limitaciones financieras dado que muchos de estos festivales dependen de los apoyos extranjeros y de las embajadas, cada vez menos inclinados a apoyar este tipo de actividades.<sup>197</sup>

Pero, como se deduce de las entrevistas, a pesar de la voluntad de los músicos por viajar dentro de su continente, los organizadores tienden a preferir a los músicos que vienen de Europa o de Estados Unidos, reproduciendo una geopolítica del poder que mantiene al continente (o región) latinoamericano en posición de inferioridad. Existen también festivales de menor importancia a nivel global y que tienen un

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<sup>196</sup> Ver programas de mano del festival de Música Sacra de Quito de 2016 a 2020 (este último habrá probablemente sido cancelado). Disponibles en formato pdf en el sitio [www.teatrosucre.com](http://www.teatrosucre.com) (consultado el 18 de mayo 2020).

<sup>197</sup> Llevo esta información de muchas conversaciones informales con Kabil Zerouali, en Quito, Ecuador.



interés más declarado por los intercambios entre países de la zona, por ejemplo, los festivales de Lima, de Montevideo, Costa Rica, etc.

Existen también lugares o ensambles relativamente estables que permiten un flujo de músicos entre países. Muy típicos en este sentido son los intercambios que existen entre Chile y Argentina, por ejemplo. La temporada de Música Antigua del Teatro Colón en Argentina se basa en una colaboración entre pedagogos del teatro y la Orquesta Barroca Nuevo Mundo de Rancagua (Chile), la cual responde a esta invitación con una colaboración en Chile con los mismos músicos.<sup>198</sup>

Como otro ejemplo de intercambio de ensambles entre diferentes países de Latinoamérica, se puede pensar en las actividades de la celebración de los 50 años de la adquisición de la Colección Sánchez Garza por el Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (INBA) y que reunía tres agrupaciones de Cuba, México y Guatemala para llevar a cabo diversas actividades didácticas y de concierto. Las cuales he analizado en un trabajo previo.<sup>199</sup>

## El desarrollo de una nueva escena<sup>200</sup>

*Hace 20 años, la situación cultural era más difícil. Ya no tenemos que explicar lo que es la Música Antigua, todo el mundo lo sabe, incluso los otros músicos. Hay una*

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<sup>198</sup> Entrevista con Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (AR), 13 de junio 2019. Se puede también comprobar la información en <http://orquestanuevomundo.net/> (consultado por última vez el 1 de julio 2020).

<sup>199</sup> Michel 2019b.

<sup>200</sup> Esta sección no tiene carácter exhaustivo, y dada la amplitud de la región examinada, no se podrá mencionar aquí la totalidad de las agrupaciones, e instituciones que son parte de este movimiento.

*visión más informada. Hace 20 años, no era el caso. Ahora ya tenemos un cierto grado de validez. Antes era excéntrica. Hoy en día, hay ciclos de conciertos enfocados en la Música Antigua, o partes de ciclos, es reconocida como especialidad. Las orquestas modernas ya no incluyen obras barrocas en su repertorio, saben que el público está preparado.<sup>201</sup> (Andrés Gerszenzon)*

A partir de la segunda década de los 2000, el escenario de la Música Antigua experimentó cambios profundos, los cuales fueron significativamente radicales para aquellos músicos que se encontraban en situaciones económicas vulnerables. Después de la crisis financiera del 2008, que tuvo consecuencias desastrosas para la economía europea, las condiciones laborales para los músicos *freelance* en los países del norte de Europa se deterioraron ampliamente. Eso provocó el aumento en los regresos a los países de origen, de los músicos que habían emigrado a Europa para estudiar y que en muchos casos, se habían quedado en el continente europeo para empezar su carrera como músicos independientes, especializados en Música Antigua.<sup>202</sup> Andrés Gerszenzon habla de “un reflujo de músicos, algunos con fama y una carrera ya de altísimo nivel, como por ejemplo Manfred Kraemer.”<sup>203</sup> Sin embargo, las “vueltas” habían ocurrido ya desde los años 1990, por razones diversas y en general similares a las de los que no emigraron. Por ejemplo, Víctor Rondón explica:

La Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH) quiso tener un grupo estable. Estar en Europa era un sueño, pero sentía que tenía alguna responsabilidad con mi ámbito, en

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<sup>201</sup> Entrevista con Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, 11 de junio 2019.

<sup>202</sup> Ver también Michel 2019a

<sup>203</sup> Entrevista con Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, 11 de junio 2019.

mi propio país. Entre 1981 y 1982 decidí volver a Chile y fundamos *Syntagma Musicum*, proyecto que todavía ahora sigue en pie con otra generación de músicos.<sup>204</sup>

*Syntagma Musicum*, es uno de los raros conjuntos de Música Antigua que funcionan de manera estable, junto con el Conjunto de Música Antiga de la Universidade Federal Fluminense em Niterói (cerca de Río de Janeiro, Brasil) desde 1982,<sup>205</sup> o más recientemente, o Conjunto de Música Antiga da Universidade de São Paulo.<sup>206</sup> En Europa, a pesar que existe una cierta fidelidad o exclusividad de los músicos con algunos ensambles (François 2004), la idea de un ensemble fijo sería una “aberración”, en palabras de Hector de Magalhães, quien vive en París desde hace décadas. La práctica de la Música Antigua en Europa se define, en parte, por su carácter *freelance*, en oposición con el mundo de las orquestas sinfónicas. Estas diferencias contribuyeron a que las realidades americanas se volvieran más atractivas para las generaciones siguientes. Camilo Brando cuenta:

Aquí somos muy pocos, podríamos contar a los organistas [barrocos] con los dedos de la mano. Pero, aun así, me siento más útil aquí, para aportar algo a la realidad musical en Chile, que quedándome en Francia. Y cuando regresé, había cosas nuevas que no había tenido la oportunidad de saber en ese momento. Permanecí emocionalmente muy relacionado a la Universidad de Chile (UCI), donde había estudiado. Pero el trabajo con la Música Antigua es más fuerte en la Universidad Católica (UC), donde existe una tradición más antigua de enseñar y practicar la Música Antigua, prácticamente desde la década de los 1950. Afortunadamente, desde el inicio tuve contactos fraternos con los profesores de la UC. Acompañé a los estudiantes, toqué en

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<sup>204</sup> Entrevista con Víctor Rondón, Universidad de Chile, Santiago. 19 de marzo 2019.

<sup>205</sup> <http://culturanageroi.com.br/blog/?id=2193> consultado el 19 de mayo 2020.

<sup>206</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Conjunto-de-M%C3%BAsica-Antiga-da-USP-225959464232210/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Conjunto-de-M%C3%BAsica-Antiga-da-USP-225959464232210/about/?ref=page_internal) consultado el 19 de mayo 2020.

algunos conciertos. [...] Aquí en Santiago también hay varios conjuntos. Todavía no somos muchos, pero, aun así, podemos ver que el movimiento ha resistido la prueba del tiempo. Y últimamente, se está abriendo más y más.<sup>207</sup>

Estos ensambles, fijos o no, se desarrollaron con un fuerte crecimiento desde los primeros años del siglo XXI, tanto por los músicos de alto nivel de educación que volvieron con una idea de compromiso, para devolver su conocimiento a los jóvenes de su país, como por la ebullición local de músicos que no migraron y produjeron un esfuerzo constante para difundir la práctica de la Música Antigua en el escenario local.

Antes de todo, se abrieron varias escuelas o cursos con especialización para la Música Antigua, antes inexistentes. El ejemplo más representativo es, sin duda, la Tecnicatura en Música Antigua del Conservatorio Manuel de Falla en Buenos Aires. Esta carrera de grado otorga el título de "Técnico Superior en Música Antigua," o sea, un título oficialmente reconocido de educación específica en Música Antigua y no un título general con una mención agregada, como solía hacerse en todo el continente.<sup>208</sup> Esta tecnicatura comprende asignaturas específicas para cada instrumento, asignaturas comunes (música de cámara, historia social de la música, ornamentación, entre otras), talleres y seminarios optativos (danza, escenografía, declamación, fuentes literarias...) y además cuenta con proyectos institucionales para cada semestre. Esta integración de materias prácticas y teóricas, siguiendo un plan de

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<sup>207</sup> Entrevista con Camilo Brandi, Santiago de Chile, 29 de marzo 2019.

<sup>208</sup> <https://cmfalla-caba.inf.d.edu.ar/sitio/tec-sup-en-musica-antigua-4/> Consultado el 19 de mayo 2020. Fueron también consultados documentos internos al conservatorio compartido por uno de los entrevistados. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=578183746260742>

varios semestres y cuya finalidad es la capacidad de moverse en el mundo de la Música Antigua con herramientas profesionalizantes, es una novedad absoluta en el continente y posiciona a Buenos Aires en el mismo nivel que un instituto europeo de importancia media.<sup>209</sup>

Esta carrera fue atractiva para todos los músicos argentinos dedicados localmente a la Música Antigua (muchos de ellos ya activos profesionalmente a la hora de empezar la carrera) pero también para extranjeros que no tenían las mismas oportunidades en su país. Laura Fainstein explica:

Desde que se formó la carrera en el [Conservatorio] Manuel de Falla, hay mucha más gente que viene y que se acerca a la Música Antigua. Definitivamente hay más interés, sí últimamente hubo mucho más. Respecto a los conciertos en este momento [2019] hay muchos recortes. Y hay menos actividades. Aun así, hay mucha gente de otros países de Latinoamérica que viene a estudiar al Falla. Es que realmente, no hay otras carreras así en Latinoamérica. Llegan alumnos de Venezuela, Colombia, Brasil, Chile, o México. A veces ni completan la carrera y vuelven a su país, pero así se retroalimenta el movimiento en esos países. Aquí no hay mucha posibilidad para tocar, pero sí, ¡por lo menos se puede estudiar!<sup>210</sup>

En México, las cosas cambiaron relativamente rápido en los últimos años. Por ejemplo, la muy recién establecida Academia de Música Antigua (AMA) de la

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<sup>209</sup> Los ‘primeros’ centros como Den Haag, Basel o Lyon siempre tendrán una ventaja, no sólo por la calidad de la educación pero también por la fama de la escuela y la capacidad de sus alumnos de crear redes de contactos importantes para su futura carrera. Sin embargo, aunque la carrera del conservatorio Manuel de Falla sea única, hay otros esfuerzos de crear espacios académicos enfocados en la práctica de la Música Antigua, como en la Universidad Alberto Hurtado en Chile, que trae una nueva generación de músicos recientemente regresados de Europa.

<sup>210</sup> Entrevista con Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires. 12 de junio 2019.

UNAM (2018) provocó cambios de importancia radical para el movimiento en el país, así como una ola de críticas que demostró la importancia del tema. La particularidad de la AMA es que se erige como una academia, es decir, es un espacio educativo que paga un sueldo por proyecto a los estudiantes, permitiéndoles tener una actividad profesionalizante. Pero tales esfuerzos no son recibidos de manera unánime por los músicos locales. Paradójicamente, la orquesta de la AMA no está conectada con la FaM, aunque ambas pertenecen a la misma institución: la UNAM. Con una postura bastante crítica sobre este proyecto, Radamés Paz ve también en la creación de la AMA una voluntad institucional de controlar las actividades de Música Antigua, creando una competencia prácticamente insuperable (pocos otros ensambles se pueden permitir un sueldo casi regular) y mitigando por consecuencia, la existencia de pequeños ensambles de carácter autónomo. Al respecto Paz dice:

La Música Antigua en México ahora empieza a tener más éxito, pero las instituciones estorban por falta de apertura y no escuchan a los jóvenes. [...] hay mucho conservadurismo. Si lo pensamos, la Música Antigua ya está casi pasando de moda en los países del norte y todavía nosotros no hemos empezado a enseñar. Y la AMA no ayuda. Llegó justo en el momento en que comenzaba a crearse muchas orquestas independientes. Había proyectos más pequeños pero interesantes, como la *Antigua Metropoli*, por ejemplo. Ahora llega esta institución con un mega *budget* y desarma a los demás.<sup>211</sup>

Más allá de los ensambles, las academias (institucionales o no) o los proyectos individuales y espontáneos, la formación del público adquirió una importancia siempre creciente. En particular con los cambios de los medios de

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<sup>211</sup> Entrevista con Radamés Paz, Ciudad de México, 19 de junio 2020 (en línea).

comunicación y el lugar predominante de las redes sociales. Un medio bastante antiguo como la radio se ha modernizado para poder difundir conocimiento tanto sobre la historia de la música como sobre los músicos actuales que son parte del movimiento de Música Antigua. Por citar solamente algunos casos representativos, pensemos en las emisora de radio MusicAntigua en Chile,<sup>212</sup> en el canal “Música Antigua” de la radio de la Universidad Federal de Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) en Brasil,<sup>213</sup> o también en el programa “Música Antigua para el Siglo XXI” en la radio de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia.<sup>214</sup> Además de eso, hay que agregar que a través de Internet, el acceso a otros canales de Europa o EEUU permite de una forma mucho más sencilla y eficiente la ampliación del conocimiento del público junto al de los músicos.<sup>215</sup>

## Revisitar el repertorio

*Hubo grandes cambios entre 1990 y 2010. La globalización acabó reflejándose en los campos de investigación y de acercamiento a los acervos. Es un camino que fue abierto por Stevenson y Curt Lange. Ya desde 1990 había una nueva generación de investigadores. En los siguiente 20 años, finalmente estamos teniendo una visión más completa. En los 70 no se podía tocar el repertorio colonial, ya que después de la revolución, se había cambiado todo y el periodo colonial ya no era parte de nuestra*

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<sup>212</sup> <http://www.musicantiguaenchile.cl/> (consultado el 1 de julio 2020)

<sup>213</sup> <https://www.ufrgs.br/musicaantiga/> (consultado el 1 de julio 2020)

<sup>214</sup> <http://unradio.unal.edu.co/nc/detalle/cat/musica-antigua-para-el-siglo-xxi.html> (consultado el 1 de julio 2020)

<sup>215</sup> A título de ejemplo, véase la plataforma Early Music Source <https://www.earlymusicsources.com/home> (consultado el 1 de julio 2020)

*historia. Desde los 90, empezó a haber más apertura y menos idealización. Hay que seguir trabajando. Y los jóvenes pueden aprovechar de todo lo que se ha investigado. El mundo está más integrado, hay una cantidad increíble de plataformas. Uno se entera rápido del mundo, tiene acceso a un conocimiento más completo y compartido.*<sup>216</sup>

*(Aurelio Tello)*

Mientras crecen las posibilidades de aprender y tocar Música Antigua en Latinoamérica, también se abren posibilidades para visitar el Repertorio Latinoamericano de Música Antigua (utilizaré a seguir la sigla RLAMA).<sup>217</sup> Nuevos puntos de vista emergen desde Latinoamérica con el potencial de contrabalancear los tópicos estéticos que se impusieron sobre este repertorio desde afuera, de una manera neocolonial. En reacción al exotismo, a la folklorización del repertorio, pero también a la auto-esencialización (estratégica o no) que se normalizó en relación con el repertorio latinoamericano y, por extensión, a los músicos de estos continentes — como hemos comentado en el capítulo anterior— una nueva generación está tomando un espacio dentro de los círculos musicales para afirmar su identidad de manera propia y positiva.<sup>218</sup>

Para empezar, se cuestiona la posición marginal de Latinoamérica dentro de la producción mundial de música occidental. Andrés Locatelli, cuando interpreta música

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<sup>216</sup> Entrevista con Aurelio Tello, Lima, 2 de abril 2019.

<sup>217</sup> También es costumbre hablar del “Repertorio Colonial” para referirse a las investigaciones musicológicas en los archivos Latinoamericanos (ver por ejemplo Waisman 2004a; 2018) La idea de la denominación RLAMA que uso aquí es que viene integrado dentro de la práctica históricamente informada, o Música Antigua, y ya no como repertorio neutro, a fines de uso para coros amateurs o ensambles modernos, por ejemplo. Ver también el capítulo 5.

<sup>218</sup> La discusión de la folklorización, auto-esencialización o exotización del RLAMA no es el objeto directo de este capítulo. Referirse al capítulo 5 para más información. Aquí trataremos de posturas opuestas.



colonial en Europa, utiliza este repertorio como un experimento de recepción para confundir al público europeo en su propia idea de canon, a través de la escucha de “un repertorio que hoy en día es visto como marginal pero que en su época quizás no lo era tanto.”<sup>219</sup> También se materializan críticas sobre el lugar predominantemente periférico del RLAMA, cuando Laura Fainstein dice que:

En la carrera [del conservatorio Manuel de Falla, en Buenos Aires] se toca este repertorio. Hay una materia de “Barroco Latinoamericano” que incluye una parte de investigación. Pero al revés, no hay una materia particular tipo “Música francesa.” Sin embargo, en las clases “normales” de música de cámara, no se toca el repertorio Latinoamericano sino francés.<sup>220</sup>

Hablando del mismo curso, el profesor Miguel de Olaso comenta también:

Hay una clase en el Conservatorio Manuel de Falla sobre “Barroco Americano.”  
¿Quién le dio este nombre? ¡Es muy vago! ¿En qué América? Hay sólo un cuatrimestre dentro de la carrera, de marzo a julio, es muy corto. Bueno, se hace lo que se puede.  
[...] Pero la música es inabarcable: imagínense si tuviéramos que tocar todos los archivos de Chiquitos, toda la música de Brasil, es impensable. Es verdad que en todas las materias es así, pero en esa en particular, aún más.<sup>221</sup>

Además de querer re-posicionar la producción de música occidental en Latinoamérica en un lugar justo a nivel de cantidades, hay un esfuerzo creciente por parte de músicos y musicólogos para dar a este repertorio su valor estético. Aurelio

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<sup>219</sup> Entrevista en línea con Andrés Locatelli, 3 de enero 2019.

<sup>220</sup> Entrevista con Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, 12 de junio 2019.

<sup>221</sup> Entrevista con Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (AR) 13 de junio 2019.

Tello explica su postura y las motivaciones detrás de un trabajo que llevó durante décadas:

Hice muchas transcripciones, he dado taller en la universidad. Hay que tocar este repertorio. También con el CENIDIM, estamos haciendo proyectos comparativos, publicaciones. [...] El pasado virreinal nos permite replantear la historia de la música y de la cultura. Por ejemplo, el villancico es original tanto de España como de Latinoamérica. Abarcar este repertorio es clave para redescubrir la historia musical de Latinoamérica. Y ¡vamos a seguir transformándola! Aquí estamos en el corazón de la cultura. Compositores como Hernando Franco, Pedro Bermúdez, Francisco López Capilla, Gaspar Fernández, todos ellos han aprendido la cultura musical de Europa. Y ellos mismos crearon música de primera calidad, no sólo por plagiar a Europa pero, también teniendo una estética propia y del mismo nivel.<sup>222</sup>

Pensando aún más allá, la existencia de un inmenso RLAMA puede hasta invertir las posiciones entre Europa y Latinoamérica, ya que hoy día pudiera ser que las tendencias más innovadoras provengan del segundo espacio geográfico. Como plantea Alejandro Vera,

¿Hay interés hacia nuestro repertorio en Europa? Sí, por su necesidad de ampliar el repertorio. Y así también pueden pensar en nuevas maneras de interpretar su repertorio. Por ejemplo, se pueden hacer comparaciones entre fuente mexicanas y fuentes europeas de las mismas piezas o de repertorios similares.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Entrevista con Aurelio Tello, Lima, 2 de abril 2019.

<sup>223</sup> Entrevista con Alejandro Vera, Santiago de Chile, abril 2019.

Para Víctor Rondón, este interés que ahora tiene mayor reciprocidad, llegó a cambiar las maneras en que el RLAMA fue abarcado. Ahora tiene efectos profundos sobre la formación de identidad de los mismos músicos.

Cuando se hizo más difícil encontrar novedades musicales en Europa, ellos empezaron a mirar hacia acá. Esto marcó un nuevo momento, ya que aparecieron repertorios que podían interesar hasta a los europeos. Primero fue el caso con la música vocal, con los archivos de las catedrales, por ejemplo. Luego, apareció mucha música instrumental y ahora también unos tratados. Además, la nacionalidad de los compositores puede influir en este interés: en las misiones había padres suizos o alemanes, por ejemplo. Y de compositores españoles, por supuesto había un gran número. Así, la nueva generación tendrá que definir lo que esta música representa, qué es y de quién es. Habrá que definir nuevamente su identidad. Antes, las producciones francesas, por ejemplo, de los “Chemins du baroque” era el sonido más 'exótico' y 'extraño' para el nuevo público. Lo que no era suficientemente exótico no les interesaba. En Europa se les pide un repertorio de acá, pero siempre bajo un cierto estilo. Y los conjuntos de música dicen: los europeos quieren eso, se lo damos. Tipo añadir una percusión, una manera de cantar más etnográfica. Pero también hay una opción diferente. Al final, la Música Antigua de los dos lados del Atlántico son parte de un mismo repertorio, con unas pequeñas diferencias, pero que no son suficientes para reclamar algún tipo de identidad.<sup>224</sup>

Como lo establece Rondón y como ha sido para muchos más músicos, el acercamiento a la Música Antigua y en particular al RMALA es una forma de retomar posesión de su propia historia, de reconocer el pasado colonial y proponer una reflexión renovada sobre los problemas sociales, raciales y culturales de cada

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<sup>224</sup> Entrevista con Víctor Rondón, Santiago de Chile, marzo 2019.

país. La existencia de villancicos de negro, por ejemplo, sigue siendo objeto de un esfuerzo para deshacer la visión folklorizante y paródica y para que sea entendido como una fuente histórica a partir de la cual podemos confrontar con un pasado racista y excluyente de las clases altas blancas —las cuales, en muchos casos, siguen dominando la región—. Aurelio Tello insiste sobre la urgencia de retomar estos temas cuando dice que:

El rostro de Europa ha cambiado, ya no es blanco. Vivimos en un mundo más mezclado, todos tenemos raíces múltiples. Por eso, es necesario visualizar el mundo de otra manera, con dinámicas basadas en el respeto y repensar el pasado en otros términos. Las categorías no son absolutas. Necesitamos más conocimiento, para poder crecer y compartir. Los intercambios son la base de la tolerancia. Pero en estos últimos años, infelizmente reviven las intolerancias, de ahí la importancia de nuestro trabajo y de las ideas que queremos promover.<sup>225</sup>

Con una postura similar, el guitarrista guatemalteco Francisco Ruiz explica:

Hay que separar el contenido artístico y el contenido político, o sea ser consciente de cada uno, que coexisten en la música. Saber cuál es tu propuesta estética y cuáles son tu posición y pensamiento político. A veces, está tan mezclado que es imposible separarlos. Mucha gente aprecia esta música por su lado estético, tiene una belleza que vale la pena tomar a pesar de la carga ideológica tan evidente. Pero también es importante ser consciente de eso, discutirlo libremente, saber que está allí y tomarlo en cuenta. Puedes ver este repertorio desde un punto de vista técnico pero se vuelve mucho más importante si le añades el punto de vista histórico. Al final, eso es también una lucha contra el sistema y contra la historia oficial que nos enseñan en las escuelas. El otro lado de la historia está ampliamente documentado, pero no está dentro del libro

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<sup>225</sup> Entrevista con Aurelio Tello, Lima, 2 de abril 2019.

que te ponen enfrente. Son los libros que tienes que subir a una escalera para verlos, que no son comúnmente accesibles [...] Ahora, tenemos la oportunidad de proponer otra visión sobre esta historia y esta música. Hacemos una contextualización antropológica e histórica para que no tengamos esta visión tan simplista de nuestro pasado colonial. Esta música tiene una carga no sólo desde el punto de vista histórico, sino también porque representa lo que fuimos y lo que somos actualmente ¡Es muy importante esta contextualización! [...] Eso es parte de la labor del intérprete y del investigador.<sup>226</sup>

Asimismo, la práctica de la Música Antigua y en particular del RLAMA puede ser una posición ideológica, hasta política, de no reproducir una imposición cultural eurocentrista, pero, al contrario, de redefinir las narrativas locales y globales. En reacción a la exotización extrema del repertorio por los círculos de poder europeos y blancos latinoamericanos, se proponen nuevas relecturas y propuestas estéticas que no sólo cuestionan la centralidad de Europa en la historia de la modernidad, sino que también ponen en disposición instrumentos teóricos y estéticos para renovar las prácticas musicales, en Latinoamérica y en Europa. De la misma forma que la Música Antigua, en su tiempo, fue una crítica renovadora a una práctica de la música clásica que estaba rodeando sobre sí misma, la Música Antigua latinoamericana hoy en día propone un aire nuevo para los círculos musicales del Norte Europa, ya tan institucionalizados que tienen en ocasiones dificultades para renovarse.

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<sup>226</sup> Entrevista con Francisco Ruíz, Ciudad de Guatemala, 4 de mayo 2018.

## Conclusiones sobre el capítulo 6

*La hipótesis central es que muchos de los relatos historiográficos sobre la música en Chile constituyen variantes de dicho mito [de la Descubierta de América], en especial cuando intentan explicar los procesos de cambio más relevantes. Es decir, pretenden haber sido contruidos a partir de la evidencia encontrada, pero en realidad lo han sido a partir de un relato mítico preexistente e implícitamente aceptado como válido. Para comprobarlo, analizaremos algunos de dichos relatos y los contrastaremos con documentos de la época, que nos mostrarán cómo incluso los así llamados “datos duros” fueron con frecuencia acomodados por los estudiosos a fin de que resultasen funcionales al mito.<sup>227</sup>*

*(Alejandro Vera 2014b, 300)*

Las cosas están cambiando de manera rápida en Latinoamérica y los giros políticos, económicos y sociales que atraviesan la región tienen un fuerte impacto en la práctica de la Música Antigua. Mejor dicho, los cambios que se visibilizan dentro del ámbito de la Música Antigua pueden ser representativos de un rumbo distinto al cual se está dirigiendo la región. Las razones que impulsaron a una nueva generación de músicos a interesarse en la Música Antigua poco a poco se fueron alejando de una sencilla emulación de Europa y de sus prácticas, para darle un significado nuevo y enraizado localmente.

Sin embargo, mientras en muchos países del Norte Global, la Música Antigua pasó a ser, desde principios del siglo XXI, cosa admitida y relativamente normalizada

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<sup>227</sup> p.3 de la versión en castellano.

en la educación superior y en el mercado laboral, en Latinoamérica el uso de instrumentos antiguos y el acercamiento a la música desde un enfoque historicista sigue siendo marginal. Justamente por esta situación, el movimiento no perdió su capacidad de crítica hacia una práctica musical más hegemónica, la cual, a pesar de su etiqueta como “moderna,” es mucho más conservadora. Las críticas a la música clásica y la práctica “moderna” van mucho más allá de lo meramente musical y son críticas sociales que tienen un alcance distinto al que pueden tener en Europa, ya que el contexto de los países latinoamericanos tiene una base histórica y social muy específica.

Es una crítica al elitismo, al paternalismo y al monopolio de la música clásica y sus exigencias de competitividad y perfeccionismo. En el fondo, los elementos criticados son similares en los dos continentes, pero en Latinoamérica se percibe con mayor claridad que estos elementos son característicos de una larga historia de colonialidad, de blanquitud y de eurocentrismo. En diversos países se encuentran situaciones, donde dos fracciones generacionales e ideológicas entran en conflicto y la zona de contestación puede ser concentrada o sobrepuesta a otras luchas, como sobre los temas de identidad, en general representada a través del RLAMA.

La exotización y auto-folklorización se han perpetuado con los músicos latinoamericanos, y han sido una de las razones que mantiene a la región de América Latina en una posición de debilidad e inferioridad frente al Norte Global. De esta forma, las elites que sí tuvieron la posibilidad de educarse en universidades privadas o de viajar a Europa para especializarse llegaban a tener una posición de control

sobre el resto de la sociedad, poniéndose como intermediarios necesarios entre una “plebe” regional y una elite cosmopolita. Sin embargo, en los últimos años y de manera progresiva desde principios del siglo XXI, ha habido un aumento de músicos interesados en la Música Antigua que no vienen de estas clases elitistas y que tienen una postura distinta, una postura más en sintonía con la idea original del movimiento de la Música Antigua que era, justamente el de desestabilizar el *statu quo* social. Con la ayuda de becas y de redes de solidaridad entre connacionales, el acceso a la educación foránea aumentó y la práctica de la Música Antigua se diversificó social y racialmente. Con ello, se abrieron otras ópticas sobre el RLAMA que procura rendirle un lugar legítimo dentro de la historia de la música occidental. Entre otros efectos, esta nueva visión y esta relegitimación permitieron a los músicos no ser sistemática e inescapablemente identificados con el repertorio y por lo mismo, subestimados y deslegitimados a los ojos de los europeos y a sus propios ojos.

Gracias a estos nuevos acercamientos al repertorio, el lugar de Latinoamérica deja progresivamente de ser marginal, por lo menos desde Latinoamérica misma. Con el regreso de muchos músicos educados en Europa (o en el Norte América) a sus países, también el movimiento conoció un crecimiento renovado, en particular desde las primeras décadas del XXI. Así, el número de maestros y músicos profesionales que se unen a los ya existentes núcleos de Música Antigua permite que existan círculos activos en toda la región. Desde el 2014 existe una carrera de Música Antigua en Latinoamérica con la apertura de un diploma en el Conservatorio Manuel de Falla de Buenos Aires, Argentina y muchas carreras en otros países se multiplican



rápidamente. Los intercambios internacionales entre países latinoamericanos se intensifican, creando redes densas de músicos profesionales, muchas veces congregados durante cursos de verano o *master-classes* que atraen estudiantes de toda la región. De esta forma, el monopolio de Europa dentro del movimiento está perdiendo terreno, con muchas alternativas locales que no sólo ofrecen otras opciones educativas o laborales, sino que también proponen una visión menos eurocentrista de la cultura, promoviendo un lugar legítimo para América Latina, su cultura y su música histórica.

# Conclusion

Through the examination of historical Western music production and its contemporary reproduction *in* and *from* Latin America, it is possible to follow the thread of Eurocentrism, coloniality of power, and the geopolitics of knowledge that has created systemic coloniality in the creation and manipulation of sound throughout history. This broad travel in time and place undertaken by this dissertation has demonstrated how the historical marginalization of Latin America in the construction of a European cultural identity has simultaneously strong historical roots and deep repercussions today, as it allows constant reproductions of Eurocentrism as well as it secures white supremacy. Latinity has always strategically been maintained outside of the realm of whiteness. However, the arguments that exclude this region of the world from the mainstream —i.e. White— culture have evolved with time, even when contradicting each other *a posteriori*. For instance, the concept of race has first been created in order to secure an East-West division across the Atlantic Ocean, between worlds that were otherwise united, as they constituted the greater West — against the otherized *Orient*. Using the concept of race, people of European descent began in the sixteenth century to self-identify as *whites* in order to justify the pillage of people and lands in the newly “discovered” Americas and to establish themselves as naturally superior. In musical terms, this provoked a progressive but radical change that eventually led to the development of harmony and tonal perception. This shift was meant to organize human sensibility around the major concept of unilinear

temporality that evolves in a teleological unity, but always according to European time. Besides, the division of humanity into different races led Europeans and whites to establish sensorial divisions to identify what belongs to the realm of whiteness and what does not (chapter 1). This is particularly clear when examining the *villancico de negro* pieces and the way sonic racial markers were made evident by the avoidance of certain typical compositional resources that serve as references for whiteness, while exaggerating those that became to represent Blackness, or more generally, Otherness (chapter 2). Still, the influence of the colonial experience and the importance of race has been strategically erased, in order to suggest that European music and Western Art Music (WAM) in general have evolved independently from colonization, race issues, and any non-European influence. Little by little, musical historiography has constructed a canon that focuses on North European cultures, with some earlier influences that may be traced exclusively from Italy and, earlier, classic Greece (chapter 3). This whole history, once evidenced, shows that there are actually deep relationships between WAM, coloniality, and race, but that these links have been progressively diminished and invisibilized. I have demonstrated that these three components—the interdependence of coloniality and modernity, the racial sonic markers, and the geopolitics of knowledge—constitute what we can understand as coloniality of sound, at least in its expression through WAM. In order to decolonize the fields of musicological research, I explored expressions, practices, and communities that challenge the pillars that have prevented WAM from interrogating

itself about its common assumptions around its supposed absence of relationships with issues of race, discrimination, and power.

It is true that the Early Music movement arose in Europe deeply rooted in universalist assumptions, and although it was born as a critique of the traditional WAM practices that came from romanticism and still embedded in the concept of Absolute Music—supposedly independent from any external (social, political, racial) influence—Early Music critiques did not initially challenge the idea of a European exception and the supremacy of its culture. Still, in this dissertation, I have argued that the encounter between Early Music and the development of Latin American identity formations provided a space for the deconstruction of the coloniality of sound and its various expressions as described in the first three chapters. The Early Music movement—or Historically Informed Performance Practice—knew some incipient forms in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It mainly took its actual form by the 1930's, one of its main cradles being Germany and neighboring countries, but a large number of individuals from this geographical zone had to flee abroad during the Nazi regime and WW2, and they brought their music and ideologies with them. In Europe, this led to the creation of important schools in Switzerland, Holland, and Austria. Besides, the influence of German cultural movements such as Bauhaus in the early developments of the movement can be evidenced years later in various parts of the Americas, in particular the US East Coast and the Southern Cone or Brazil. In the following decades, the Early Music mode was already attracting young musicians who, in great part, were children or grandchildren of Europeans who had fled to

South America. Due to political reasons, some of them flew back to Europe in the 1970s, and their encounter with the local Early Music scenes led them to make careers in this profession, eventually also helping the movement to develop in their native countries. The Latin American presence in the European musical circles, which grew rapidly from the 1980s, has sometimes been perceived as a threat to European's exclusivity to revisit and perform their own repertoires, and the concept of race, once used to differentiate whites culturally on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, is suddenly rejected as a plausible argument to claim ownership on European historical music. Thus, white identifying musicians who were born in the Americas are excluded from full recognition as racially European, meanwhile European naturals develop strategies in order to otherize them (chapter 4). Moreover, the musical repertoire that was created and performed in the Americas during the Iberian colonial period, although formally and stylistically belonging to WAM, is always considered by Europeans or Latin American eurocentric elites as exterior to the development of European music. Racial sonic markers, which were in use from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, are now reproduced to ideologically separate "legitimate" canonical WAM early repertoires from musical representations of Otherness, imposed on the Colonial repertoire. The East-West divide is moreover complicated by a North-South line that concentrates cultural legitimacy in the North with the Anglo-Saxons while dismissing the South (American or European) as "Latin" and inferior. Musicians born in Latin America are subtly assimilated to the repertoire from this region—even when they are culturally and historically

unconnected to it—as another way to diminish their cultural legitimacy to white European culture and its past (chapter 5). Nevertheless, I argue in the last chapter that there is a musical and intellectual movement that has emerged in Latin America and got intensified during the last decades, which challenges eurocentrism and its assumptions of Latin American inferiority. This shift concerns both local practices and repertoires. The idea that Early Music education can only be obtained in Europe or in the “first” world is receding, with more and more neuralgic centers that serve as alternative spaces for Early Music practice and education. Ensembles, schools, and soloists have started referencing themselves and have created inter-Latin-American relations and networks instead of taking Europe or the USA as systematic points of reference. The emancipation of Latin American musicians from eurocentrism is also followed by a re-valorization of the Colonial repertoire and of historical Latin American WAM productions and performances. Although musicologists had been working on such a task for decades, it is only more recently, and in particular in the last decade, that Early Musicians themselves take this repertoire seriously and defend it as aesthetically as relevant and important as European repertoire, refuting the usual habit of exoticizing this music and Otherizing its forms of performance (chapter 6).

Being myself an Early Music practitioner born in Europe and white, I developed this dissertation project with the aim of critical reflection, drawing on both my life experiences and my projects. I looked at those of my Latin American colleagues not so much as an object of inquiry but rather as evidence of an ongoing colonial assumption that pervades music and sound, as well as ways to open our field

and discover new decolonial options. It is only by working *with* Latin American musicians and *from* Latin America that I could acknowledge the place of the European continent in the musical geopolitics of knowledge. It is urgent for us all, but especially for white, “first-world” individuals and artists, to understand the implications of our daily practices and assumptions. Rather than looking at my own community from a European or Northern American perspective, I found it extremely useful to base my knowledge on Latin American experience and scholarship. This is why this dissertation is the fruit of a large effort to include non-English-speaking authors and, generally, scholarship from Latin countries. Part of this effort was expressed through the languages themselves I have used here: writing in different languages allowed me to think differently, to rationalize in a non-hegemonic way, and, hopefully, it will make it more accessible to non-English speakers who provided the seeds for my reflections. As such, I hope to participate actively in the decolonization of the field, besides showing how this decolonization process is already active in practices that have been strategically marginalized and delegitimized. Not all my findings have been able to fit into this dissertation, so my hope is that further projects will allow me to deepen this research and enlarge the breadth of its conclusions. In particular, I am concluding this dissertation process in the midst of a global pandemic that affects us all as musicians and music researchers. I am deeply convinced that the effects of this pandemic will be long lasting and will provoke drastic shifts in musical practices, especially for the transnational Early Music community from Latin America. I hope further research by myself or other

scholars will explore how these changes affect the coloniality of sound and the cultural legitimacy of Latin America within WAM circles.



## Appendix:

Translations of chapters 2, 4, and 6

# Chapter 2 - Coloniality of sound, a case study: The *vilancico de negro* and the performativity of whiteness

## Introduction

In order to complement the concept of 'coloniality of sound' that we presented in the first chapter, this section will deal with the *vilancico de negro*<sup>228</sup> both as an example to examine the construction of race through sound, as well as to demonstrate the profound origins of the coloniality of the sound and its continuity in more recent times and phenomena. In particular, let us see how this continuity was an integral part of the social contract during the development of multiracial nations in Latin America, taking here the particular case of Brazil, where the black presence is among the strongest in the American continents. The stereotyped representation of the black within the myth of racial democracy and which is still prevalent today is not the result of a recent phenomenon. On the contrary, it has a long and reiterative history that has allowed, over the centuries, to reinforce, insist and consolidate a deficient vision of

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<sup>228</sup> In this chapter, originally in Portuguese, I will use the Portuguese orthography for *vilancicos*. In other chapters, this same noun may appear under its Spanish orthography "*villancicos*" (with two "L").

black identity, while simultaneously making the locus of enunciation of the white man invisible, as well as the sources of dominant social representations in Brazil.

The writing of this chapter began shortly after the elections in Brazil of extreme right-wing President Jair Bolsonaro, in November 2018. In this context, what struck me was the urgency to understand what were the social, political, and ideological developments that allowed such a radicalization of the political spectrum, as well as to distinguish the historical continuity of racial problems in the Portuguese-speaking world, and in particular in Brazil. For this purpose, I found it important to look back on the cultural history of the region, until reaching the first centuries of Portuguese colonization. To this end, we will take a specific focus on the vilancico de negro theater-musical genre, since this, I argue, was central to the effort to build an imaginary line between human races, and coincided with the invention and the realization of racial demarcations. Control over cultural production has always been a place where power struggles have taken place, as well as multidirectional negotiations, tensions and re-appropriations between various cultural groups (Illari 2007). Since the beginning of European colonization, the concept of race has been at the center of these struggles around representation. In addition, the right of agency over one's own image has often been denied to human groups that have been racialized by others, even forming racial categories that were almost never thought from within (Canclini 1989). The myth of racial democracy, in which all racial groups would have mixed in a peaceful and homogeneous way, consolidates the idea that talking about races would be harmful to social harmony (Do Nascimento 1978).

But it is a myth mainly defended by dominant elites, mostly white, who are far from perceiving the daily reality of racialized people. The elections of Jair Bolsonaro as president of Brazil in October 2018 are the result of many years of polarization with respect to representations and identities in the public spheres, where the right promotes hatred and intolerance in order to disarm possible oppositions to the global expansion of neoliberal economy (Alves 2018). This phenomenon is far from being isolated and restricted to the case of Brazil, but this fact makes even more urgent the need to understand the origins of the diverse racist narratives, and the cultural context that allowed it to be embraced so easily, reaching even us, today.

In order to understand racial issues in the world and in particular in Brazil, I propose to use elements of Portuguese and Portuguese-speaking cultural history. I do so because, on the one hand, Portugal was the first political power to promote what became the greatest concrete implementation based on racial discrimination until today - slavery and the Transatlantic slave trade - and that, on the other hand, much of Brazil's history is a legacy of that particular history.<sup>229</sup>

Being aware that I am a white and European person and that this cannot fail to profoundly influence my place of writing, I do not intend here to make a critical reading of the social, racial and cultural history of Brazil - I leave this task to Brazilians. But, on the contrary, I hope to demonstrate the origins of whiteness through a case study of the repertoire of European classical music, and with that

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<sup>229</sup> Nevertheless, the examples taken by the reading of the vilancicos de negro may be from Hispanic America (Spanish speaking) as I explain later, given the proximity of musical styles between Portugal and Spain at that time.

objective, to base myself on writings of Brazilian authors (mostly black, some of them women) to help me observe, from a critical posture, a highly racist phenomenon -the vilancico de negro- that has been, in a large part, discussed in the academy until now by white men and through hegemonic literature.

*Vilancico de negro: a definition*

The religious vilancicos of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Iberian world were pieces to be sung at Christmas or other Christian celebrations among the readings of the main festivals (thus occupying the place of the responsories), whose function was to make the rite in Latin more attractive on the one hand, and more accessible on the other (Hurtado 2008). In order to fulfill these functions, the vilancicos paraphrase the most descriptive parts of the New Testament, with theatricalization of religious episodes in the vernacular, which made it more accessible to different layers of the population. The most recurrent episode of the vilancicos is, without a doubt, the scene of the birth of the Child Jesus, and in particular the visit of the Magi. The subcategory of 'vilancico de negro' includes small pieces where the main characters were Blacks and Afro-descendant present in the Iberian context (peninsular or American). The *língua de preto* (tongue of the Blacks) in which the characters express themselves in these plays is a distortion of Portuguese or Castilian for the purpose of parody and mockery, imitating the supposedly deficient speech of the newly landed African blacks.

<< Musical example: “Tumbalagumba” de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla,  
performed by the ensemble Ars Longa de la Habana, 2017.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fm\\_08HfEurk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fm_08HfEurk) Consultado no 20 de novembro

2020 >>

Although we know that vilancicos de negro were present in colonial Brazil, we have few sources from the 16th to 18th centuries that include the musical part (Santos 2009). For this reason, we will elaborate our argument from Portuguese and Spanish American sources, with the idea that similar musical artifacts may have been present in Brazilian territory at the same time. It is obvious that the social, political, and demographic situations were different, and we cannot carry out a direct transposition between one geographic space and another. However, the reading that we propose is more based on relations between racial policies and racist cultures over the centuries than on an intention to discover a past reality and affirm truths about history, in particular about the performance of vilancicos de negro in colonial Brazil. In this sense, I argue that the vilancico de negro from the 17th and 18th centuries is a practice of cultural production that implies a representation of the Other that anticipates by a few centuries, in a prophetic way, the myth of racial democracy. This myth founded almost all the discourse about identity in Brazil in the 20th century, with evident repercussions in the 21st century. Thus, we will see how the vilancico de negro announces, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the instrumentalization of culture in order to ensure the power of white elites in a combination of several strategies, which will then be recurrent in Brazilian politics.

Religious themes are treated in the vilancicos with some flexibility and lightness, which created constant tensions between the acceptance of this musical genre by ecclesiastical powers and their prohibitions, regularly reiterated and rarely applied (Laird 1992). It appears that genuineness of the religious sentiment is more important for composers and authors than fidelity to the sacred text. So the Kings or devotees who are going to worship the Baby Jesus can change in number - sometimes they are a multitude. In this chapter we will examine the contradictions inherent in the performance of vilancicos de negro, and how they serve purposes that may even seem opposed to each other. On the one hand, the vilancicos de negro operate a supposed inclusion, with the idea of the universalism of the Christian faith, while on the other hand, they try to polarize society based on a moral division - the good citizen and the bad - which is precisely mapped onto a color line, essentially racial. Far from coming out of a confusion by composers, these contradictions are, precisely, properly elaborated for the diffusion of an illogical message, altogether more difficult to deconstruct. Racism and slavery are justified on similar rhetoric, since they promote within the same ideal, on the one hand, individual freedom and private property, and on the other, the possibility that human beings be a property themselves, and therefore, unfree. We will see how the specific contradictions of the vilancicos de negro will expand through time, having massive repercussions in the following centuries.

## Universalism and the invisibility of whiteness

One of the social and cultural functions of the vilancico de negro is to inculcate the idea of universalism, a concept that will be taken up and developed during the Enlightenment period of the encyclopedic and European modernity. We saw in Chapter 1 how the “discovery” of the Americas caused a radical change in the strategies for externalizing the Other, moving from a definition of the Same based on religion and beliefs to an ethnic categorization based on a specific development of the concept of race. In this section, we will see how religion acted as a unifying principle in order to naturalize the superiority of European (and indeed Christian) white culture. We will then establish the relationship between, in colonial times, such a view of supposedly unified religion, and the most recent myth of racial democracy. Both work with the purpose of integrating the black (or in general, racially non-white) element within white culture, simultaneously eradicating any cultural specificity related to these races. More than anything, these strategies reinforce the idea that social problems are due to the black element in it, rather than the discrimination caused by white people. This belief is consolidated through the invisibility of whiteness, which is never named since it is considered “normal”. Black writer Maria Aparecida Silva Bento writes “The lack of reflection on the role of white in racial inequalities is a way of persistently reiterating that racial inequalities in Brazil are a problem exclusively of the blacks, as only they are studied, dissected, and problematized” (Bento 2002, 26). One way of dissecting the “black problem” was through language, particularly when white composers used stereotyped language



in their texts -the *língua de preto* or “black tongue”- which served to demonstrate the linguistic deficiency of blacks without having to affirm the Portuguese language of whites as artificially imposed on the rest of society.

#### Religion as unifier, and the invention of race

Vilancicos de negro provide a strategy to reinforce the idea of the universality of the Christian faith: all groups, even those who are racially distinct - particularly *negros* [Blacks] or *Indios* [Indigenous people] - can participate in the celebration of the birth of the son of God, or God incarnated in Baby Jesus. This is the hallmark of a new identity politics, as the demarcations between hierarchical groups go beyond religious issues. Within the scope of the Iberian peninsula, the Other was the Arab or the Jew until the 15th century. However, with the arrival of the 16th century - marked by the so-called “reconquest” of Andalusia, “expansion” in Africa and the “discovery” of the Americas, a new way of defining alterity, or Otherness, is developed with the invention of the concept of race (Quijano 2000).<sup>230</sup> This new construction of the identity of the Other has this particular feature that it promotes the integration of the Other within the religion of the Same, instead of seeing the Other as a synonym for heretical. Thus, it shifts the old ethnic distinction from the spiritual to the biological realm. This great novelty that appears in European epistemology from the 15th and 16th centuries, the invention of race, is what allows us to pass from a frontal confrontation with the Other - wars and commercial competitiveness, which imply

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<sup>230</sup> See also chapter 1.

equal bases and a non-hierarchical opposition - to a strategy of appropriation of the souls from the Other group within an ethnocentric reality, which simultaneously becomes normalized. This strategic exchange is important in the sense that it allowed the justification, for centuries, of the slave trade. The exploitation of bodies was made invisible by the justification of the salvation of souls. At the same time, such a strategy gives European culture and its religion a presumed, implicit, and supposedly acceptable character as a point of reference for humanity.

The vilancico de negro does this job of consolidating the idea of universality in a multimodal way, that is, through text, music, and staged performance. The stories narrated in the vilancicos de negro describe in a great majority a procession of black slaves and others of African descent to the cradle of the baby Jesus. This makes it possible to normalize, in the collective subconscious, the inclusion of blacks within the Christian faith, thereby justifying its legitimacy. The novelty of this representation is therefore to go beyond the idea of a 'good faith' in opposition to a heresy, as in the internal wars in Spain, but on the contrary, it represents Christianity as a *de facto* and uncontroversial religion.

#### Continuity in the myth of racial democracy

This 'inclusiveness' strategy has been repeated over the centuries, with varying degrees of strength. Among all the forms of legitimation of the dominant (in fact, white) epistemology that existed, it had its greatest expression in the political invention of racial democracy. This myth emerged in Brazil at the beginning of the

20th century and was based on the invention of a historical narrative stemming from the idea of a peaceful coexistence between whites and blacks in the construction of Brazil. The idea of integrating black people into daily life and affectivity of “Casa Grande” [the Master’s House], in his famous historical review, was for Gilberto Freyre (1933) a way of including black culture in the origins of the Brazilian nation.<sup>231</sup> In his understanding, and certainly due to the reception in his time, this ‘inclusion’ was revolutionary and positioned Brazil as far from German Nazism as from American segregation. As Roberto Ventura notes that in Freyre’s narrative, religion was again used as a space for encounter and even intimacy:

The slaves, especially the domestic ones, who directly served the lords and the masters, would become people of the house, impregnated by Catholic religion, which they combined, in a syncretic way, with the deities and cults brought from Africa. Religion thus acted as the great meeting point and fraternization between the two cultures, that of the lord and that of the black, by allowing the coexistence, albeit conflicting, of Catholic monotheism with the fetish and totemic culture that Africans maintained and boasted at public parties (Ventura 2000, 50-51).

Blacks were in fact included in Brazilian nationalist narratives from the early twentieth century, as important generators of local culture - which differentiated it from Portuguese culture - but this inclusion was made from a design imagined by white elites, and where these last continued to inhabit the mansion, the “Casa

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<sup>231</sup> The myth of *Casa Grande e Senzala* [translated in English either by “The Masters and the Slaves” or “The Mansion and the Shanties”] was elaborated by Gilberto Freyre (1933). It describes the affective proximity of whites and blacks within the typical mill house (plantation run by whites and which used the workforce of blacks, very present in Northeast Brazil) where whites lived in the “big house” and blacks in the “slave quarters”, a cabin of little comfort located at the bottom of the property. This ‘proximity’ myth was central to the constitution of the idea of “racial democracy” where all races contribute to the construction of the Brazilian nation.

Grande”. The idea of racial democracy, coming from the Casa Grande, repeats the pretension of inclusion that the vilancicos de negro promise, although this inclusion is always based on the acceptance of the dominant white culture by other peoples, in a strictly unilinear way. Furthermore, in the vilancicos de negro as in the myth of racial democracy, an ideal of almost dissolution of black -or Indigenous- cultural elements is projected within an imaginary ‘white modernity’. The writings of the black author Abdias do Nascimento reveal this point very clearly:

Freyre uses racial euphemisms in order to rationalize race relations in the country, as exemplified by his emphasis and insistence on the term *modernity*; this is not a naive play on words, but a proposal falling into an extremely dangerous racist mystique, whose aim is the unappealable disappearance of the African descendant, both physically and spiritually, through the malicious process of whitening black skin and black culture (Do Nascimento 1978, 43).

Thus, we can see that inclusion is strictly formal, and does not imply terms of respect for non-white cultures nor reciprocity between ethnic groups. This is fundamentally an epistemicide, with the aim of normalizing the Other under white standards.

#### *The Língua de Preto* (Black tongue)

In vilancicos de negro, and apart from some exceptions that we will see below, the language used is always Portuguese or Spanish, but with a certain degree of linguistic deficiency by Blacks. In the same way that the Christian religion, presented as a *de facto* religion, but transformed by syncretism or by the alleged ignorance of blacks, Portuguese or Castilian language (depending on the countries) is established as the

only valid mode of communication, and allows to justify a hierarchy based on the more or less efficient management of this language. Nevertheless, it is known that blacks who lived in Portugal spoke fluent Portuguese (Luis & Estudante 2016, 108-10).

The composers used a stylization of that speech in their pieces, which we call the language black, a Portuguese with some degree of linguistic deformation.<sup>232</sup> The most frequent “mistakes” stylized by composers to represent the language in black were consonant substitution (v / b), rotacism (d / r, d / l, or r / l), consonant reduction (st / ss), as well as many simplification or misuse of the mainstream Portuguese grammar (Luis & Estudante, 94-107). These compositional effects were, in part, a legacy of 16th century theater, when blacks had already been a growing part of the Portuguese population and began to play an undisputable role in society, and that theater had appropriated the figure of the black as stylized typical character. On the other hand, Ana Luis and Paulo Student (2016) demonstrate that a certain degree of intimacy between composers and the black community made this stylization adapt towards a language in some way more corresponding to a current linguistic reality.<sup>233</sup> At least, it is very likely that it had some resemblance to the language actually spoken by the newly arrived Africans. Thus, the black is always represented within the dominant hegemonic linguistic paradigm (Portuguese or Spanish) but, except for some exceptions (Sanches 2017), not in its original language.

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<sup>232</sup> The Spanish equivalent, the “habla de negro” basically follows the same rules.

<sup>233</sup> See also Michel (2020b, 69-71) for a discussion of *lingua de preto*.

This inclusion within a dominant culture is, to a large extent, a strategy that serves more than anything to make the white man invisible, who establishes his point of view as unquestionable and necessary. This is what Castro Gómez calls the “Point Zero” perspective, or, from his reading of Descartes, the “unobserved observation point” (2007, 82). The fact that the white man almost never appears in the *vilancicos de negro* denotes not only his strategic invisibility, but also his distance with the Black objectified person that is at once and dehumanized, and naturalized as being *truly* equal to his stereotyped representation.

Here, it may be interesting to establish a parallel between the *língua de preto*, stereotypization made by whites at the time of colonization, and the current *Pretuguês*,<sup>234</sup> the Afro-Portuguese speech claimed by black Brazilians. While *língua de preto* and *pretuguês* are fundamentally different in the way they have been activated in order to promote racism in the former, and to valorize Black identity in the second, a parallel between these two variant of the Portuguese language through the influence of some African linguistic habits make them valid for a comparison and inquiries of their sounding features. Unfortunately, such a close comparison has not been established yet, and its enterprise goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. Thus we can only imagine that *pretuguês* comes from a long genealogy of black speech in Afro-Brazilian communities, and that the *língua de preto* may have been inspired by this reality.

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<sup>234</sup> “Pretuguês” is a contraction of the two words “preto” (black) and “português” (Portuguese).

The main Brazilian intellectual who introduced the concept of pretuguês as a claim for black identity was the author Lélia Gonzalez (Belo Horizonte, 1935 - Rio de Janeiro, 1994). Her main contribution was her ability to culturally translate some currents of North American thoughts (for example, intersectionality) to Brazilian realities, thus creating new concepts (such as pretuguês or amefricanidade). She herself was acting in a way that sought to change the reality of systematic oppression in Brazil (Cardoso 2014). Gonzalez insisted on transforming the prejudice of “wrong” speech into an instrument of affirmation of Afro-Brazilian culture, thus reverting to the naturalization of white culture as universal, invisible, and superior. For example, she writes:

It's funny how they mock us [...]. They call people ignorant saying that we speak wrong. And suddenly they ignore that the presence of this r in place of l, is nothing more than the linguistic mark of an African language, in which l does not exist. After all, who is the one who is ignorant? [...] They don't catch that we simply talk *Pretuguês*.

Unlike ebonics in the USA, Pretuguese was never used in Brazil as a basis for discrimination or a policy of differentiation between "standard English" and the speech of children with "limited English proficiency", as may have happened with the controversial Oakland case in 1995 (Baugh 2020). We can only imagine whether, in the context of the vilancicos de negro, a language similar to the língua de preto existed in black communities (which were in fact very diverse ethnically and culturally) and what was its status among blacks and Afro-descendants as a mechanism of recognition of an Afro-Brazilian culture and black pride. It is likely

that the Afro-Brazilian conscience only emerged after centuries of slavery when the demographics of Afro-descendants born in Brazil increased in relation to blacks forcibly translated directly from Africa. In this case, it may have been that the *língua de preto* was nothing more than a way to naturalize and homogenize blacks as inferior and disabled, while establishing standard Portuguese as necessary and universal.

### Polarization of society: the sound as division

Paradoxically, the vilancico has another function that is, at least in appearance, diametrically opposed to the effort of inclusion and universality that we saw above. The vilancico de negro simultaneously reinforces the idea of a binary and dialectical opposition between whites and blacks, as if society was formed exclusively by these two groups, and that these were opposed in a well demarcated and legible way. This division strategy appears on many occasions in Brazilian history, and it inevitably favors the identification of the quasi-total segment of society with the white cultural element. This scheme works by presenting simultaneously a stereotyped, bad or deficient Blackness, and a normalized whiteness as *de facto* whether is visible or implied. It is what we call aspirational whiteness or the creation of a desire to belong to the dominant group, even for individuals who would racially define themselves otherwise (as we will examine further). Similarly, the figure of the rascal o vagabund (*o malandro*) in contemporary Brazil causes this division between the black "good"



and the black "bad". The latter is associated with all immoral and criminal aspects, a sort of enemy of the nation, while the former is identified with white culture and ethics - a sense of duty and dedication to work, a good family father, and sexually constrained.

In the Colonial vilancico de negro, this opposition was not extreme because the idea of inclusion and universality described above - and that was the basis for the justification of slavery! - prevented too negative stereotyping of the black character. If the figure of the black man had been exaggeratedly bad, it would have been difficult to promote his inclusion within the same faith as the white man. Even so, there was a strong dualism and a vision marked by the opposition between blacks and whites, the formers as disabled, for example in language or in faith, funny, corporal; and the latters as functional or correct, serious, rational.

#### Sonic racial markers

The concept of race as we understand it today was a tool developed by European men, since their arrival in the Americas, to justify the appropriation of the work and land of non-European human beings. "Since the 16th century, this principle has proved to be the most effective and lasting instrument of universal social domination" (Quijano 2000, 535). Europeans themselves had to improve and update this tool over the centuries so that, on the one hand, it may fulfill the desired function and, on the other, it would seem natural and universal (Michel, Aurélia 2020). This is what Walter Mignolo describes as a "colonial fracture" (2005): the way in which the global

population was divided into two diametrically opposed categories, one that enjoyed privileges, power and legitimacy, while another had to suffer total or partial denial of their being. It was also necessary, later, to establish simple and easily recognizable rules that would maintain a stable colonial fracture, through an intersubjectivity shared by both sides (Quijano 2000), based on this fracture and normalizing it, admitting whiteness as naturally superior.

Consequently, in the 19th century, theories about phenotypes and characters typical of people of color appear (Salomon 1996). At the end of this same century, we know that, coincidentally, a new discipline develops within musical studies: comparative musicology, which examines non-European music through a Eurocentric prism (as we will discuss in chapter 3). This discipline and its methods have been widely criticized since the end of the 20th century for its colonial implications and because, finally, it aimed at demonstrating a supposed superiority of European music (Merriam 1977). Methodologically, German musicologists used a series of concepts and basic premises under which they collected the sounds of other cultures only from a Eurocentric perspective. Such prejudices did not allow the understanding of extra-European or popular musical expressions, since they had been produced from other epistemes, other ways of thinking, creating, and making relations (Agnew 2005). In this way, music of European origin was the only one to respond to pre-established standards for measuring musical 'quality'. I argue that, a few centuries before, the musicians and composers who produced the *vilancicos de negro* finally worked for a very similar purpose, although they would borrow a different form of expression. In

addition, early composers worked directly on the production of sound, and not only on the production of a speech about sound, like musicologists.

I see in the act of composing the vilancicos de negro an exercise of subjective transcription of the music of the Other. In fact, the aim of these pieces is to condense, in a style legible for the European, the main characteristics of music that white people perceive as racialized (white people understand it as 'black music'), and finally to transform it into a musical product that, itself, racializes (the so-called 'black music' is essentially distinct from 'white' music). Works such as the vilancicos de negro have for objective to offer society some auditory keys so that the listener learns, by the repetition of such pieces, to identify a sound as racialized, and consequently, to make a judgment about it. These pieces then play an educational role in drawing, through the auditory perception, a sonic *color line* in the collective unconscious.

Thus, whites reserves to themselves the right to decide what 'sounds' Other, and which sounds define whiteness, in negative of what he would have previously defined as Other. As such, musical manuscripts are very interesting documents because they show, in a non-verbal way, how whites saw, heard and understood blackness. But in addition, they tell us how, through their own perception, whites defined blacks, and consequently, what it meant to be white. Once again in the history of race, colonization and white domination, we note that whites are allowed to cross the color line, to move freely on one side and the other, between a sound of Sameness and the supposed sound of the Other . For instance, whites could play a black character during theatrical performances, while blacks were always racialized.

To choose an example of how white sonically represented black (as well as the Other in general), a rhythmic ambiguity between binary and ternary appears a lot in the vilancicos de negro and *de remedo* (lit. mimicry songs). This may be an attempt, within the limited possibilities of European musical notation, to imitate a polyrhythm typical of West Africa. For example, we can find this alternation of pulse in the piece “Olá Toro Zente Pleta”, from the General Library of the University of Coimbra, composed for the Santa Cruz [Holy Cross] convent in the same city in the 17th century (Sanches 2018).<sup>235</sup> We can hear simultaneously the voices singing in a ternary rhythm (“que naciro he” translates to “who is born” with the accent in the syllable “ci”) over a low ostinato in a binary time (the three times of the bar are accentuated). This alternation or simultaneity of ternary and binary rhythms is very typical of the vilancicos de negro, although it is not systematic and appears also in many other pieces of Iberian origin.

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<sup>235</sup> Sanches, 2018. Here I use an example from Portugal, based on the assumptions that: the songs written in Portugal and Brazil were relatively similar, the presence of blacks in Portugal was also significant, and that there is a lack of musical sources from 17th century for vilancicos de negro. An example of recording, by Capella Sanctae Crucis: <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x7wujbu> consulted on November 20, 2020. The “answer” starts at minute 4 of the video.

**Ternário:**      —————    —————    —————    —————    105

**Binário:**      —————    —————    —————    —————    —————

Fig 1: Ola Toro Zente Pleta, *De Negro a 7. P* - Cug MM232 ff. 37v -39. Transcrição Manuela Lopes 2015.

In the example shown in Fig. 2, we can also see the use of call-and-response with the alternation of solos and choirs, as well as the use of several repetitions. All these elements are recurrent in the genre, and we can perceive them as a more or less faithful stylization of the music that may have been heard in black confraternities and in *batuques* within Portuguese territory.<sup>236</sup> These stylization efforts gave the white public a stereotyped codification of what black music was, both to facilitate its identification through simplified musical concepts and to influence its judgment. That helped to prevent whites from having to become too familiar directly with black

<sup>236</sup> Tinhorão, in *Os Negros de Portugal*, demonstrates the African presence in Portugal, and particularly in Lisbon, where it could to reach 10% of the total population, including African slaves, free Africans and Afro-descendants. In particular, he comments on the presence of black people in brotherhoods and the practice of ensemble drumming [*batuques*].

culture. When comparing them with the sacred music that occupied the rest of the liturgy, the vilancicos, and especially the *negros*, were distinguishable by a harmonic and melodic simplicity, and by an emphasis on rhythm and repetition.

Fig 2: A Minino Tam Bonitio, (*Resposta a 5*). P - Cug MM227 ff. 21 -21v. Transcrição Octavio Páez

Granados, 2013.

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*A Minino tam bonitio*

P-Cug. MM 227, ff. 21-21v

*Resposta a 5*

[Tiple Só] A Mi - ni - no tam bo - ni - ti - o, tam bo - ni - ti - o a - re -

[Guião]

[Tiple] [zu - guam - be

[Alto] [zu - guam - be

[Tenor] zu - guam - be

[Baixo] [zu - guam - be

6

gres tu - ro pre - ty - o de An - go - la y San - to Tho - me mas que

y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

y zu - guam - be zu - guam - be

Such stylizations can be compared with Samba recordings between the years 1915 and 1945. Especially during the presidency of Getúlio Vargas (1930 - 1945), the spread of Samba as a national musical style was facilitated by the new technology that represented the radio. In these years of appropriation of Samba by political and economical powers, it is possible to hear a progressive whitening of the musical style (Vianna 1995). The reduction of rhythmic discrepancies (Keil 1987) to obtain rhythms more 'square' or more readable by whites, the introduction of European instruments and rhythmic formulas inspired by jazz, the stylization of the voice to approach a 'worked' vocation as corresponds to classical music, there are so many effects that allowed Samba to move from a marginalized culture to acceptance and consumption by the dominant white culture (Carvalho 2016). For example, in the song “O Samba é Carioca” recorded in 1934<sup>237</sup>, we heard an orchestration that involves mostly European instruments such as clarinets, piano, etc., but with a binary “dance” rhythm, a subdivision marked by fast and constant sixteenth notes, and emphasis on the 3rd and 4th subdivision of the pulse. It is the same rhythm Carmen Miranda uses throughout her North American career, particularly when she “represents” samba.<sup>238</sup> If we hear rhythms typical of groups from the current *escolas de Samba* [Samba schools], we see that the rhythms are much more complex, the instrumentation less varied, the voices more direct, etc ... This proves that the

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<sup>237</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8xhIubJUln4> consulted on December 15, 2018.

<sup>238</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sDHMpMBIvF4> consulted on December 15, 2018.

Here Carmen presents what she calls a “typical samba rhythm”, despite singing a very Americanized song.

stylization performed in the white-washed versions was quite creative, but at the same time quite reducing, like any stereotypization.<sup>239</sup> The stylizations seen in the vilancicos de negro must have been quite similar, with a coded reduction of what is the “black sound” and can be acceptable by whites as such. Obviously, this simplifying reduction remits to the function we saw earlier, which was to demonstrate the supposed superiority of white music over others.

#### Spatial delimitation and moralization of race

The fact that the batuques and religious rituals were out of sight for the whites allowed these to associate such sonic markers not only with a question of racialized skin color, but also with the veil of mystery that covers the invisible, and increases the possibility of invention. Sound served to geographically locate the domain of Non-being, the place that is not an admitted part of society. In a contemporary context, Osmundo Pinho says:

In the historical-concrete plan, the street, seen as dangerous, anonymous, preliminary, marginal, seems to have been reinvented in its social meaning by Africans and their descendants, as a network of focal points for an articulation between culture, identity and resistance. Such presence motivated the well-

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<sup>239</sup> For example: <https://youtu.be/qpS0KFG38ds?t=90> although it is a recent example, the recurrence of the same rhythms in several samba schools suggests a possible common origin. See also <https://youtu.be/9c2b5B30eYA?t=206> for an example within the private sphere, with only the use of percussion and voice. We see that there are several currents of what falls under the name 'Samba'. Carmen Miranda's recordings are on the line of a recorded samba school, which started with “Pelo Telephone” recorded by Donga in 1916 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=woLpDB4jjDU> consulted on August 8, 2020), already very stylized in relation to previous recordings, like “A Viola Está Magoada” recorded by Bahiano in 1913 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPEd2Nk18iA> consulted on August 8, 2020). Also refer to Sandroni (2016) for a study of the changes in rhythms in Samba from the beginning of the 20th century.



documented and reluctant moral panic, implied in the various campaigns of de-Africanization in the city of Bahia (Pinho, O. 2011).

Just as, in the 21st century, the poor - and black - neighborhoods of Salvador da Bahia are physically separated from the surrounding wealthy neighborhoods, in order to criminalize them before public opinion and justify repeated police attacks (Perry 2012), we can suppose that in the 16th to 18th centuries, the separation of slaves in specific spaces (despite the Freyrian myth of a shared house), out of sight but from whom the music was heard, may have served to mystify the Black and give the sounds of black culture an artifice of danger, of crime, and certainly of externality. Today, official media, in the hands of white elites, reproduce the image of a threatening Negro to promote hatred among the races and a diminishing feeling about black cultural practices. In the sixteenth and subsequent centuries, the reproduction of this stereotype served as a justification for slavery, a brutal reality to which lower and middle classes whites were more directly confronted than commercial elites who only took advantage, from a distance, of the profits generated.<sup>240</sup> Thus, the strategy of increasing the fear of the Other gave to the average white person an argument for black exploitation, discrimination and direct repression of Blacks. Even today, we can see how music plays an important role in this regard. For example, *pagode* music is stigmatized by “*anti-baixaria*” laws, which criminalize this musical style for its misogynistic character. Such laws, despite defending the image of women from the degradation suffered in this music, offer a potential for

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<sup>240</sup> For example, Michel, Aurélia 2020, *Un Monde en Nègre et Blanc*, in particular chapter 6: “Une société impossible, 1710-1750”.

racism or an increase in hatred for racial bases, rooted in the music itself (Pinho, O. 2011).

In the vilancicos, the *negro* is not presented under a threatening or criminalized fashion. On the contrary, he is more “sympathetic” and friendly than anything else. However, the lazy character of the stereotyped black man is reinforced, and he may even appear drunk before the cradle of the Baby Jesus.<sup>241</sup> In the colonial world, unemployment was seen as a crime and was punishable by law - at least for slaves and people of African descent. Alcoholism was also represented as addiction and danger from which it was necessary to withdraw. Despite the funny way in which the vilancicos were represented, they never failed to pass on a very clear message about Blacks’ lack of ethics, who it was always necessary and fair to punish and “correct”.

The presence of blacks during the representations of vilancicos is not established, but it is known that Black brotherhoods participated in larger processions. The amazement of whites at the dances and songs of the blacks is documented, during the few occasions that they would cohabit. The vilancicos probably played the role of hijacking this sudden visibility of blacks in a way, close enough to reality to replace it, and of transforming the aggressiveness and transgression of black cultural

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<sup>241</sup> See for example: “Antonya Flaciquia Gasipá” by Felipe da Madre de Deus, AHAG. Version by Jordi Savall: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AeDYfelisYU> Consulted on December 15, 2018.

expressions - even reinforcing it - into a more consumable product, reasserting the pejorative image of the lazy and childish Black (Michel 2020b).

As we saw in chapter 1, the demarcation of the coloniality of being (I am vs They are not) was what fostered the idea of a body separate from the mind. The result of this mapping of the two lines of demarcation is that vilancicos' emphasis on corporeality, immorality, as well as the pervasiveness of their presence, reinforces the symbolic place of this genre on the other side of the line of Being, that is, in the domain of Non-Being.

The transformation of the terrors of slavery and racism found in the historical-subjective reconnection of the black man with his body and sex a fatal frontier. The black body, barbarized map of colonial imagery and class struggles, embodied in racialized subjects, looks like the “non-respectable” of the universalist perspective of “civilization”, or of good customs (Pinho, O. 2011).

This symbolic line has resurgence today in the collective unconscious and dictates that black people are less intelligent than white people, which justifies the little black presence in public universities, for example - instead of demonstrating this fact by the presence of structural racism in the country (Almeida 2018). Such strategies always consist of making circumstances of exclusion and discrimination go through natural traits, when they really are social and cultural constructions. For this reason, I think it is important to examine how such "naturalizations" operated since the first centuries of colonization and in particular through music.

### Musical topics in the *vilancicos de negro*

The study of vilancico as a genre led to such a degree of discussion and confusion, due to the fluidity of all it encompassed in terms of styles, contexts, forms and poetic-musical contents, that Bernardo Illari preferred to speak of *metagenre*, including under this label a variety of practices (Illari 2007: 413). The same could be said about the vilancicos de negro: there is little formal and structural similarity between, for example, a vilancico de negro by Gaspar Fernández in the early 17th century with two choirs, alternating solo voices with the rest of the choir, and an 18th century work like “A ver la gente de Angola” that alternates a homorhythmic chorus, polyphony of great complexity, as well as a recitative in the purest Italian operatic style, in which the text refers to instruments such as trumpet, horn, or organ.<sup>242</sup> Although, there are some elements that remain and get repeated in a more or less consistent way across continents and centuries. More than talking about style or musical genre, I prefer to use the concept of topic, which is very useful in the study of musical semiotics and which allows to extract the construction of meanings in musical discourses.

The topics are reiterative musical elements that came to be conventionalized. Raymond Monelle, in his book *The sense of Music* (2010), explains how the topics were always thought of as having an iconic relationship with their object: for example the topic of cuckoo in music it seems to represent the sound of this bird in an resembling way (Monelle 2010, 15). Nevertheless, he notes that it is really a

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<sup>242</sup> Fernández, Gaspar, “Venimo”; Anonymous (México), “A Ver la Gente”.

relationship of both an indexical and symbolic type: the cuckoo refers indexically (in a cause-effect relationship) to the arrival of spring. Consequently the use of this musical symbol by composers is based on a cultural and social convention that makes the appearance of a descendant minor third in a symphony or a sonata irreparably refers to spring, to youth, or to the beginning of a new cycle. Here, I propose a similar reading of the topics in the vilancico de negro, to examine the creation of what I called above the “sonic racial markers”. At first sight, the musical elements that are recurrent in vilancicos de negro can be seen as an intention of iconic relationship with black musical practices. As we saw above, the polyrhythm that is styled by composers of European tradition, as I demonstrated with the example from Figure 1, is supposedly an icon that reminds the public of the drumming and percussion groups by black communities. In the same way, we saw in figure 2 a stylization of the form of call and response, also probably thought by the composers as an icon of these same practices in Black communities. We can make similar comments about the other elements we saw, such as the melodic and harmonic simplicity, as well as the accents in the last syllables of onomatopoeic formulas: Gulumbá Gulumbé, Tarará, Zuguambé, among others.<sup>243</sup> The problem with these sonic racial markers is that not only do they tell us more about what whites do *not* wanted to be than about what blacks *were*, they are also presented as *iconic* relationships that present a direct similarity - and therefore, neutral and absent from racist meanings - with real black practices present in the Iberian world of the time. But if we stop thinking of these

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<sup>243</sup> Anónimo (México), “A Ver la Gente”; Antonio de Salazar: “Tarará”; Anónimo (Coimbra, PT), “Zente Pleto”.

relations as iconic, and see them as *indexical* relations, we would perceive the underlying in the collective imagination about racist presumptions: the emphasis on the rhythm of “black” music would be an indication of its corporeality; the lack of melodic complexity, a proof of its lack of subtlety; and the limitations at the harmonic level, an intellectual discapacity. In this way, it can be seen how the vilancico de negro became a *symbolic* representation of the inferiority of African and Afro-descendants, the force of repetition and conventionalization of a musical style that plays with an intended iconicity -or presumed similarity- with real and existing practices in the black communities of the Iberian world, and as such free of discriminatory judgment.

## Integration and inclusiveness as a hidden form of appropriation, control and legitimation of centers of power

Between the two strands we saw above, the universalism of humanity as a sound, on the one hand, and the polarization of society in opposites (white versus non-white) on the other hand, there is actually a desire to exploit this apparent contradiction to build a legitimacy of the established powers. The principle is to combine an apparent acceptance and integration of marginalized classes and races while, at the same time, a symbolic separation is maintained that, contrary to what the current discourse on mobility and fluidity within society intends, ensures the structural impossibility for non-whites to access spheres of power.

But to maintain these positions, even in the colonial era where slavery was law and physical violence the main form of control, the dominant groups sought a certain form of hegemony to maintain their position despite representing a demographic minority. The hegemony principle was developed in the 20th century. In particular, scholars such as Antonio Gramsci explain that hegemony, which allows for cohesion and a peaceful image among social groups, appears at the center of the dialectical relationship between structure and superstructure, which entertain a “necessary reciprocity” (Forgacs, 2000, 193). Furthermore, the formation of hegemony and consent (as opposed to force) is the “necessary way” (Forgacs, 195) to achieve balance in this dialectic.<sup>244</sup> But the construction of hegemony goes well beyond the political or economic question: “The realization of a hegemonic apparatus, because it creates a new ideological terrain, determines a reform of conscience and of methods for knowledge” (Forgacs, 192). The theorization of hegemony appeared much later than the vilancicos, as did Michel Foucault's (2007) governmentality theory. Nonetheless, I consider that efforts to establish consensus between the population and the power apparatus were of primary importance during the first centuries of colonization, and that the technologies of power control at that time were already more extended in cultural production than in the economic, political or strictly religious spheres. The cultural sphere was thus carefully manipulated to serve the legitimation of power through the construction of a relative hegemony. As Fernando Leiva, drawing on Francisco de Oliveira, says:

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<sup>244</sup> Here, Gramsci speaks of a “historical block” to define this dialectical relationship between structure and superstructure. Although, we found no need to introduce this term in the present text.

By hegemony we generally understand the ability of the bloc in power to exercise the intellectual, political and moral leadership of society. [...] In other words, the capacity of hegemony would be “the cultural capacity to make proposed themes indeclinable, which forces the adversary to play with the invented languages, situations, institutions, and culture, which thus becomes a dominant culture. Hegemony is the conflictive production of consensus” (Leiva 2012, 20).

But in addition to creating this new ideological sense at an intersubjective level, strategies to “produce social cohesion and a sense of belonging” are sought from places of power (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) 2007, cit in Leiva 2012, 3), with the idea of increasing productivity on the part of marginalized social sectors and in the context of the dominant classes, and “to promote reciprocity relations and, above all, to capture the social capital or cooperation capacity existing in society with the aim of functionalizing them as a resource” (Leiva 2012: 23). I approach vilancicos de negro as part of such strategies that serve both to legitimize the discourse of the dominant elites and to provide this feeling of belonging, while simultaneously reinforcing the ideology of whiteness as much as existing inequalities.

#### The principles of cultural appropriation

One would fail to understand Brazil and its culture if not through the phenomenon of cultural appropriation. First, we saw the way in which Samba has been progressively (re)modeled to adhere to aesthetics and acceptance standards determined by whites (Vianna 1995) until it reaches products ready for export, such as the figure of Carmen



Miranda (an “ambassador of Samba ”Racially white). Secondly, there existed the creation of other musical types integrating black sonic markers (rhythms, balanced by the melodic line) within a sound deemed acceptable by white elites (piano, double bass, soft vocal tones). This all makes the carnival, as a consumption product, not only a way to control black identity and define white one as negative from it, but it also justifies a transformation from black sound to white consumption. This is, I argue, exactly what the vilancico de negro did centuries ago. If we cannot clearly compare the vilancico de negro with samba nor with any faithful expression of black culture, we can see a similarity between the vilancico de negro, composed by white musicians, and the appropriation made by the white elites of Samba and of Afro music in general. Whites who give themselves the legitimacy to interpret what they perceive of sounds they consider to be racialized, and to remodel them according to their own aesthetic criteria, produces in the same phenomenon, was it either in the 17th, 18th, or 20th and 21st centuries. In both cases, the appropriation of cultural expression corresponds to the penetration of the racialized symbolic space. Whites can at any time cross the “color line” and dress as black while, at the same time, this possibility is denied to black, who is “prisoner” of his color. For this reason, we must examine comparatively and in detail the relationship between white and “black” music over the centuries, or rather the very concept of “black music”, as an invention of whites, and a fundamental point of reference and definition of whiteness, being the place where this one performs itself in negative.

It should be borne in mind that, in a country like Brazil, cultural appropriation has a different history than in countries with strong racial segregation (for example, the United States of America), since the nation's myth was based on the exaltation of the idea of racial miscegenation and the notion that every Brazilian has a background of racial mixing, even those who define themselves as whites or as blacks. In fact, it was the concept of Bahianness that was most capable of encapsulating the fundamental elements, which would then create the sense of Brazilianness. Bahia, the blackest region in Brazil, was used as a myth for the construction of racial democracy. Authors such as historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902-1982), sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) or writer Jorge Amado (1912-2001) wrote about Bahian culture with admiration, defining it as the nucleus of Brazilian culture. They saw in particular the elements brought from Africa, such as culinary, musical, or religious art, among other things, which served to demonstrate and reinforce an imaginary about the “typical” characteristics of Brazilians: their kindness, physical strength, their spiritual abilities (Pinho, P. 2010, 185). However, this supposed admiration and “promot[ion] a cultural brand of nationalism” (Pinho, 186) is not synonymous with a fundamental acceptance or real integration into society. As Patrícia de Santana Pinho notes, “[y]et the exaltation of blackness in the construction of Bahianness is much more problematic than it may seem at first sight, especially because it wraps a veil of harmony around a reality of conflict and pervasive inequality.” (Pinho, 185).

But in addition to the celebration of blackness and, by extension, Bahianness, there is an important characteristic that reinforces the belief in the (false) bilateral permeability of the color line. Miscegenation, and in particular the figure of the mulatto woman, are symbols of the ability of black elements to permeate white bodies. Anthropologist Sônia Maria Giacomini describes the mulatto (professional) as playing a “mediating role” among the white (foreigner) and the Brazilian racialized body (1994, 220). Through seduction, and thanks to her “exposed and available” character (Giacomini, 220) imposed by its status, she can force white people into the black and miscegenated universe that represents Brazilian authenticity. Thus, white people can cross this line and, in due time, return to their place. Likewise, “this ‘infectiousness’ of black culture, which had been a source of fear in the past, began to represent a desirable trait that is now seen as being transmitted from blacks to nonblacks” (Pinho, P. 2010, 193). So in the vilancicos the negro, the white singer can enter the skin of a black character, imitating their characteristics - clearly stereotyped - in the same way that today white middle class young people appropriate elements of black culture during the well-defined time of Carnival (Pinho, 194). The function of this mimicry is quite similar in both cases, in the sense that it shows a face of acceptance, exaltation, and even idealization of Black culture, but in reality it only allows whites to temporarily cross the color line, without losing their privileges or sharing them in the long term with black or mixed race individuals.

### Construction of legitimacy and fake hegemony

The principle of cultural appropriation is not only a way, for dominant groups, to grant themselves the right to represent the Other and to freely modify their cultural productions for their own consumption, but it has also been consistently used as a technique of legitimacy and pretension of inclusiveness. This is the most pernicious side of this type of appropriation, because it invisibilizes the violence perpetrated, under the veil of a false integration of the Other into the dominant culture. To return to the example of Samba at the beginning of the 20th century, the desire to promote this typically black musical style, converting as a fundamental element in the formation of national identity, comes from a radical change in the considerations about Black presence in Brazil. When the Black element, in the previous decades and centuries, was seen as contrary to the progress of the nation and more generally detrimental to society, the (white) elites suddenly realized the need to include this large part of the population within the national project. The claim of black cultural elements as part of a shared identity made it possible to avoid conflictive relations with black Brazilians, as well as proposing an identity acceptable to people of mixed races, who represented a demographic majority. Hence the rise of racial democracy as a supposed opposition to racial division and a reversal of social hierarchies based on skin color, while in fact whiteness dominated the cultural, economic and political spheres in the country.

In vilancicos de negro, the operation was very similar. Although it was never up to the point of fully integrating the black element (nor, of course, black people)

into a common social project, the vilancicos' representations served as a basis to promote a - falsified- idea of equality, particularly in the religious sphere . The idea that all races pray the same God is intended to confirm the white identity, here through its religion, as universal and natural, as we saw in the first part. But vilancicos go even further, offering Blacks, although with a clearly condescending tone, the "honor" of announcing the Nativity. For example, in a vilancico of the Berkeley Manuscripts (Labrador y DiFranco 2004), there is a dialogue between whites and blacks where the blacks are the ones who announce to the whites the birth of the Baby Jesus.

Blancos:

“¿Dónde va la gente negra  
tan de noche como es,  
con tanta grita y ruydo  
que no dan en qué entender? ¿Dó caminan los tiznados,  
a qué parte van sus pies? Respondan, señores negros, sepamos dónde y a qué. ”

Negros:

“¿Qué quiere blanco sabe? Samon loca de prazé,  
y bamo a Belé con fauta y rabé, y la guitariya, sonaxa y gaytiya, ca parirá vna moreniya  
vn branquiyo que Dios e.” (Labrador e Difrancó, 2004: 184)<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Loose translation: Whites: “Where are the Blacks going to, on such a dark night, with all these shouts and noises that we cannot understand? Where are the smutty ones going to, where are their feet carrying them? Respond, Black gentlemen, so that we know where to and what for.” / Blacks: “What does the white one want to know? We are crazily joyful, and we are going to Bethlehem with flutes and fiddles, guitars, sonaxa (jingles) and gaitas (bagpipes). There is a dark-skinned lady giving birth to a white babe who is God.”

Likewise, in a text by a vilancico by Gaspar Fernández (Guatemala / Mexico, 17th century), the integration of whites and blacks at the same table is evident.

“Jesucristo esá secreto para gentes nieve e branca.

Y a todos da mesa franca, aunque son branco o prieto.” (Fernández, “Flasiquillo”)

Here, too, the condescending tone is very clear: Jesucristo will give everyone "free food", *even though* they are black. Jesus' kindness is exemplified in his acceptance of black people as part of the same Christian community, which reinforces the idea that was not the case every day. I want to contrast these two examples with an extract from a text by Lélia Gonzalez, a black Brazilian author active at the end of the 20th century who we introduced above. In this paragraph, she imitates the predominant discourse of Brazilian whites:

Racism? In Brazil? Who said that? This is an American thing. There is no difference here because everyone is Brazilian above all, thank God. Blacks here are well treated, they have the same right as we have. So much so that, when they try, they rise in life like anyone else. I know one who is a doctor; very polite, cultured, elegant and with such fine features ... He doesn't even look black. (González, L. 1984, 226)

The same rhetoric appears in this text as the ones we saw in the vilancicos de negro: A face of inclusion, what a shame to hide a highly unequal reality and. The condescending tone persists, very deeply rooted in whites: blacks do not really deserve the social place of whites, but if they “tries hard” they can escape their condition as blacks. The concept of individual effort does not appear in the vilancicos de negro, where Jesús in person causes equality between whites and blacks (the black agency is radically denied) but the possibility of social acceptance and peaceful

cohabitation between races opens up in a hypothetical future. Thus, the vilancico de negro already denies the existence of racism as much as it promotes and naturalizes white culture. The normalization of whiteness is what Lélia González calls “Brazilian cultural neurosis”, in the sense that “we know that the neurotic builds ways to hide the symptom because it brings them certain benefits” (Gonzalez, L. 1984, 232). She recognizes that the white feeling towards the black color is anguish, of not knowing how to deal with the guilt caused by the eventual fascination - often sexual - for black people and especially black women, and of transforming it into daily aggression against the sexualized woman’s counterpart, the domesticated black woman, the servant-maid. The relationship between whites and blacks (or browns) in the beginnings of colonial Brazil must not have been much different. The white population being a minority, the fear of the slave rebellions and mutinies was real. This may also explain the comical side of the vilancicos de negro: “[A]fter all, one of the most efficient ways to escape anguish is to ridicule, to laugh at what causes it” (Gonzalez, 233).

#### Aspirational whiteness

It is there that people can understand the ideology of money laundering, the logic of domination that aims at the domination of black people through the internalization and reproduction of western white values [...] It is through this way that it is possible to understand a series of statements against the black and that are like ways of concealment, of not assuming one's own castration (González 1984, 237).

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Acudieron de Guinea, / de Monicongo y de Zape / a ver al Rey que por  
todos / en aqueste mundo naçe.

Y el negro que tiene nueua / del nueuo sol que le sale, / no quiere  
quedarse en blanco / pues blanca suerte le cabe.

Vnos con otros se llaman / y cada qual por su parte / procuran ser los  
primeros / y van diciendo desta arte:

*Vamo a Velen, Chorche. Foronando, vamo,  
que avnque samo negro, negra gente samo.*

No se vio en tora Guinea niño tan boniquirito,  
turi hera san branquito, rerunbra mase que estreya,  
y a su madre esa donseya besa a su merçé la mano:  
*que avnque samo negro, negra gente samo.*

“Negros” manuscrito BUC143, vol. 153, f.186. (Labrador e DiFranco  
2004, 178)

In these two texts above, the first written by the black author Lélia Gonzalez in the twentieth century, the other by white poets in the seventeenth century, we understand how whiteness is articulated in the social unconscious, eventually shared by all racial categories. There is an ambiguity in relation to the “white” category, which is sometimes defined by phenotypic traits and other times as a fluid category that would allow a possibility for crossing the color line, being, after all, another social position to which blacks and browns can aspire, although they have a darker skin color.



Although we saw above that the permeability of this symbolic line is accessible only to the white group, this pretension of crossability of the color line was -and is- a technology of control of affects, to promote the aspiration to “turn” white, and therefore accept a series of conventions on social attitude and behavior. Patrícia Pinho sees whiteness as “a discursive configuration and affective cultural policy [which functions as] both expression and a mechanism for the reproduction of racism and other forms of social discrimination” (Pinho, P. 2021, 4). Although, whiteness has this property of never being explicitly defined, and it always remains an assumed position and a standard that does not even need to be expressed. The mechanism of aspirational whiteness, on the contrary, is based on the repeated evidence of an opposite to avoid, and above all with which a desire for non-identification develops. For example, Pinheiro Machado and Scalco (2018) speak of the production of fear of an “internal enemy”, from which the subject will try to disidentify himself. We have seen how, in *vilancicos de negro*, blacks are always painted in ridiculized form, with an excessively deficient speech, and with an immorality that stands out. Although, this "enemy" is also "an empty signifier, which is ‘filled’ depending on who is seen as the greatest threat" (Pinho, P. 2021, 10). In contemporary Brazil:

Fear has thus operated across class and racial lines, functioning as a conduit for the validation and overvaluing of whiteness even among non-whites, and contributing to the production (or confirmation) of an even lower Other for those who are themselves already lowered and othered socially and racially. (Pinho, P. 2021, 11).

From here we can see how the *vilancico de Indios*, for example, use almost exactly the same poetic-musical resources as the *Negros* (Alcántara Rojas, 2016). But finally,

this production of an imaginary negative enemy only serves to reinforce the aspiration to turn white, to be accepted as socially part of the hegemonic culture, and to adhere to ideologies that are characteristic of it. “Aspirational whiteness is the attempt at stitching the subject that is not interpellated as white to a position of power, by summoning the discursive configuration that sustains the ideal of whiteness” (Pinho, P. 2021, 13). Thus, we can include the analysis of Geoffroy Baker or Omar Morales Abril within this perception: naturalizing the poverty of the black - or of the Indian - was not only used to guarantee that it “falls in its place” but also to extend the hegemony of power, with the intention of integration, inclusiveness and openness. Morales Abril explains that the vilancico de negro

[...] fulfills the dual intention of showing, on the one hand, the value of the dogmas of faith - the birth of the Baby Jesus, his transubstantiation into bread - and, on the other hand, the condition of inferiority of blacks, who claim to associate with the pure and superior: the Sagrada Familia, the whiteness of the Spanish (Morales Abril 2013, 13).

Within the scope of the texts written for vilancicos de negro, we can look at the comments made on the texts of vilancicos written by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Mexican poet of the 17th century and considered as the first feminist writer in this country. For example, Natalie Underberg observes that Sor Juana's texts, “lend a positive valuation to having darker skin”, adding then: “In this way Sor Juana aligns herself with the oppressed and local peoples” (Underberg 2001, 307). To appreciations of this kind, Geoffroy Baker says: “Sor Juana hints at the possibility of change as a means of pacifying subalterns whilst ensuring that no change actually

occurs” (Baker 2007, 407). Aspiration to whiteness is expressed here in the black vilancicos:

Through their willing participation in this show of Negro primitivism, audiences were subtly brought into line with the dominant viewpoint implied within a text. Ethnic vilancicos stress the foreigners of the other, encouraging the audience to identify with the Hispanic cultural sphere. (Baker, 403)

Thus, putting whiteness in a place of aspiration is central to the strategy for legitimizing circles of power that seem to be attainable for the population in their entirety, but which in reality are strictly reserved for whites. At the same time, this strategy paradoxically reinforces the polarization of society with a strict opposition between whites and blacks, as well as it consolidates the inferior position of the black, even though it pretends to do exactly the opposite.

## Conclusion: The affirmation of identity as a way of resistance.

In this chapter, we have seen how the strategies of racial demarcation and the essentialization of black people’s inferiority happen by making whiteness invisible, both in the early colonial era and in contemporary times. We have examined the vilancicos de negro as testimonies of these strategies, in the sense that they are one of the few proofs of the racialization of Western Art Music (WAM). In fact, vilancicos de negro exist precisely over the color line, they are pieces where the racial opposition between whiteness and blackness was rehearsed, in a sonic and pre-rational way. It is clear that this opposition is an invention of European men in order

to position themselves as universal and present their culture as necessary. We saw in Chapter 1 how the arrival of Europeans in the Americas provoked a radical transformation in the way they had to see, perceive, and identify themselves as whites. In music, this change was also noticeable and led to the creation of a musical system essentially different from those of other cultures, culminating in the tonal system. The vilancico de negro is a window that offers a view of this process of whitening European music, precisely because of the intention, that appears there, to define the Other musically. Thanks to this sound definition (through the elaboration of sonic racial markers), we can better understand how white musical identity was constructed in negative of it.

The next chapter is an observation of the way in which the racializing strategies in WAM were little by little erased and made invisible, in order to make Western musical art seem independent from the global situation, and in particular from coloniality of power. Thus, I consider it very important, in order to consider a possible subversion of the current neo-colonial system, to first denounce the ways in which whiteness has instituted itself imperceptibly and has become naturalized. After reading this chapter, it will become clear to the reader that racial problems have persisted over the centuries in ways that were, if not identical, at least very similar. In music as well, the sonic racial markers -or topics- identified in the vilancicos de negro will repeat themselves when Colonial music (or Western music existing in the colonies) was integrated into MAO concert circles and, in particular, in Early Music. In chapters 4, I examine the racial anxiety that caused the immigration of Euro-

Americans in Europe as a result of the dictatorships in South America in the 1970s and early 1980s. This anxiety is what will provoke a reaction of racialization of Colonial music in the context of Early Music, as I argue in chapter 5. This racialization is not going to be frontal or direct, but on the contrary, it will follow patterns very similar to the pseudo-integration of blacks in colonial white culture, as we saw in this chapter. The use of topics to sonically mark differences responds to the same scheme. Thus, making whiteness' methods visible and claiming one's own identity are ways of combating the coloniality of sound in place since the 16th century and which particularly affected the people and cultures from Latin America. We spoke here about Pretuguês as an instrument of resistance of Afro-Brazilian communities. Reversing an alleged language deficiency in order to highlight the tactics of hegemony, and defending a linguistic habit as an instrument of cultural and racial resistance, was the struggle of black activists in Brazil, such as Lélia Gonzalez. We now have to examine, in the last chapter, what are the actions and methods of Latin American musicians to counterbalance the stereotypes and discrimination they suffer, albeit in a hidden and indirect way, and how they act to redefine their own musical identity.

## Chapter 4 – Goings and comings, 1st part:

### Early Music Between Europe and South America 1930-2000

*The 1950s. Tropical climate in the north of Brazil, intense altitude in Colombia, fertile fields as far as the eye can see in the heart of Argentina, immense mountains that descend the length of Chile. And these Europeans barely landed a few years earlier. Some had fled WWII and Nazi Germany, others had disappeared discretely at the end of it. What did they take with them, in the meager baggage that would accompany them to southern lands, on the other side of the Atlantic coast, where these countries admittedly feel like Europe in certain ways, but which are nonetheless literally on the other side of the globe? Even in a city like Buenos Aires, which, according to its inhabitants, is the spitting image of Europe, with its Haussmann style buildings, its Italian accents, its German sausages and its Polish pastries. But which Europe is it simulating? On the old continent, one does not eat lasagne while speaking German. There are not avenues that run along the old neighborhoods with highways overlooking them....No, Buenos Aires is not Europe. It's more than that. And the immigrants who arrived in waves -- and duly chosen for their "noble" origin, that is to say, for their whiteness -- have a whole world to reconstruct; to some extent, they have to adapt to those who arrived before them, in the 1920s. And to those who came before -- they must take them into account in order*

*to create stories, myths, to invent an identity that seeks to bring everyone together  
under the same flag, in spite of disparities.*

## Introduction

What were the conditions under which the European emigrants decided to leave their country during WWII? Who were they, and in which territories did they settle? What were their politics? The migrations that occurred due to the rise of Nazism in Germany had profound consequences on the distribution of the European population throughout the world, and in this sense, on the construction of identity in the countries in the Southern Cone. The first part of this chapter will be interested in the question of why Early Music was part of their cultural baggage, and what it still offers today in terms of the symbolic capital of these individuals; to know how the European migrants implemented the practice of early music in South America; what was the reception of this music, once it was there; who took it up, and who appropriated it. In this chapter, we will untangle the threads that intertwine the Early Music's movement with the wars, the migrations and the identities that made them.

Years after the massive exile from Europe to America because of the war, a generation of migrant sons left South America for “reasons similar to those which had made their parents migrate years earlier.”<sup>246</sup> The second part of this chapter studies their integration process in Europe, and the identity or racial conflicts that

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<sup>246</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 March 2019.

their confrontation with the “old continent” procured. Furthermore, I will establish connections between their history and their relationship to Early Music: how does the latter connect to their experience of return? How does it reorganize itself at a continental level around these new migrations? Like a “return” to the continent of origin, this migration in the opposite direction is more akin to a reinvention and to an effort to redefine a common past. Early Music, which is precisely interested in a past that is culturally defined as European, is therefore a symbolic space privileged with affirming this redefinition in an auditory way. Certain reactions from Europeans themselves display their latent feeling of threat when faced with this unexpected appropriation. Among others, I observe how the idea of race is at once taken up by some (albeit in a subtle and covert way) and avoided by others, in negotiating the legitimacy of who can play certain repertoires, although all the individuals in question here consider themselves to be white.

## Flight to the South and the recreation of identity symbols

The first lines of this chapter are an attempt to describe the feeling held by the generations that formed the imagination and the familial culture of my interviewees. In the overwhelming majority of these cases, their parents (sometimes their grandparents) fled a place that became the source of a nearly mythic origin story, but that was and is nevertheless very present: it influences on a daily basis how they speak, eat, behave, think, and finally, listen. The piano that belonged to Pedro



Memelsdorff's mother sat in the center of the living room, the house, the family's life. Manuel de Grange's father's records spewed Bach all day long. We know it: classical music supposedly belongs to everyone! But it becomes more strongly symbolic when it is attached to a homeland, to a status, to an identity that one tries at any cost to maintain for survival in a hostile environment. It is no mistake that it is this kind of music that has penetrated precisely the walls of these houses, of these people, with these stories of migration. Some were more radical, however, and did not just replay the "classical" music of their childhood in the tropics, but instead went beyond reproduction and launched an exploration. The Early Music trend is ultimately a constant rediscovery of a past that was thought to be already acquired. The exploration of a multiplicity of sources, of historical instruments, and the questioning of all habits is what grounds the basis of Early Music practice (Michel 2017). What could be more appropriate than such a critical and inventive attitude towards culture when one is in a situation that demands the necessary and permanent reinvention of self and identity?

It's easy to forget that there exists a common origin between European and South American Early Music movements, and that the second is not just a pale copy of the first. On the contrary, the movement in the Americas is in and of itself a parallel evolution of the same ideology, with a redefinition of terminology that has allowed it to be adapted into a context that is perhaps richer and more complex. Moreover, the Early Music movement in Europe is itself the result of migration, in particular that of Germans, who were exiled to Switzerland and Holland, for example.

Thus, when political difficulties force the next generations to flee South America, it is a return to their roots, a stepping back to the land of their parents, a reintegration into their original culture. It is also no mistake that Early Music has indeed played a recognizable role in this reverse migration. The reappropriation of a former culture is at the heart of the migration process undertaken by this generation – Early Music is only its most concrete expression. Rereading a history by reintegrating it into a chaotic present is at the same a praxis and a way of life. But Europeans do not always see this practice from the same vantage point. While it is impossible to generalize, and it would be unfair to reduce the European reaction to a sole attitude, we can note that there are certain trends that are quite real, and have had a concrete impact on the life and careers of most of the colleagues I interviewed, even if only punctually. The end of this chapter examines the conflicts created by the massive arrival of South Americans -and sometimes other “*Latinos*”- in European early music circles in the last decades of the 20th century, as well as the different strategies they employ to defend their respective interests. The absence of the concept of race as a possible basis for argumentation is –according to me– a characteristic feature of the effort to make whiteness invisible, which, in this specific case, makes it possible to, concurrently, assure European supremacy over other categories of whiteness. Even though there is little to no mention of it, I believe race to be a crucial space of negotiation and affirmation for the “*sudacas*” if this concept would be allowed within the framework European thought. I therefore hope to complicate the idea of whiteness and to show how intra-ethnic inequalities are constructed using strategies

relatively similar to the structural racism examined in the second chapter, while reaffirming the geopolitics of power exercised by the North over the South, as seen in the third chapter.

#### From Germany to the Rest of the World

What we call in this dissertation the Early Music movement (further: EM) comes from the intersection of two trends which, while having much in common, in practice, present certain divergences. On the one hand, we can identify that the interest in new repertoires through musicological archival research, in particular the transcription of works into “modern” notation that have not been replayed since their initial performance in their original context. This trend of reevaluating music that is more “ancient” than the canonical repertoire, which has remained marginal and somewhat forgotten by performers, is only a part of what comprises Early Music today. This is a concern that can be traced back to the 18th century, in particular with the famous reconstitution of the Passion According to Matthew by Bach for Mendelssohn in 1829.<sup>247</sup> Crucial to the revitalization of a historicist approach to music, this focus on repertoire is not systematically accompanied by particular attention to interpretation, and has often openly been an attempt to modernize the repertoire to contemporary tastes. The other trend, rather, is interested in the modes of interpretation, the sound and rhetoric of the period, in order to restore the

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<sup>247</sup> This is not the only example of the recuperation of ancient repertoire from the 18th and 19th centuries, but this event is often cited as a point of reference in the historiography of the movement. See also Augustin (1999: 13-16).

repertoire of centuries passed with a sonority that is as close to the original sound as possible – to ultimately understand the significance of the music and contextualize it. This trend seeks to break with the tradition of interpretation based on different repertoires, in particular the romantic tradition, still used in conservatories and in the vast majority of concert music practices globally. Conversely, this trend is not necessarily accompanied by an effort to expand the repertoire, and over time we can observe the canonization of EM repertoires in performance halls and festivals. Initially, the attempt to recuperate the “original” sound was focused on the reproduction of historical instruments, for which it was presumed that the works in question were composed. Important figures like Arnold Dolmetsch or Wanda Landowska are known to have given impetus to interpretations of period instruments around the turn of the 20th century (Augustin 1999, 16-19).

If from the second part of the 20th century onward Early Music finds itself more and more as the meeting point of these two practices, this distinction is nevertheless fundamental to understanding the chapters which follow, and especially the beginning of this chapter, which examines the origin of the Early Music movement. These origins might seem contradictory in certain ways, yet the separation between a movement based on the recuperation of repertoire and a movement that seeks to understand musical languages of the past through the reconstruction of historical instruments and the study of treatises allow us to situate in distinct and often opposing categories the actors of the movement.

On one side, we can discern a dissident cultural trend in 1930s Germany, opposed to mounting fascism, and tied to a humanist philosophy linked to the intellectual trend *Bauhaus*. Fertilization between the arts was essential in the search for an alternative modernity, which was based on folk influences and the music of past centuries, and on improvisation, spontaneity, and minimalism. Bach was prized by painters (Klee had a strong passion for Bach)<sup>248</sup> and architects (as the Monument to Bach by Neugboren proves) (Jewitt, 2000). Among the musicians connected to the Bauhaus movement, we find numerous composers who influenced the 20th century. Far from being contradictory, the contribution by composers of modern music to the EM movement has been fundamental and remains so today. The study of scores was seen as a source of inspiration, but practicing on instruments of the period was also a way of renewing the field of sonic possibilities. For example, Hindemith, who was an integral part of the Bauhaus intellectual circle and a composer referenced in these circles (Jewitt, 7), emigrated to Switzerland and then to the United States, where a number of his students had become founders of the EM movement on the East Coast (Augustin 1999, 24-27).

This approach to EM involves a very specific sound, different instruments, and above all, a revolutionary critique of “high” Western musical culture.

Disillusioned by the “new” in a Europe that was fleeing toward modernity like a train

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<sup>248</sup> “Klee, der die Vorstellung von der Nachahmung der Wirklichkeit in der Malerei ablehnte, suchte nach „neuen Wirklichkeitsdimensionen“, als deren „Inbegriffe man Zeit und Raum und Bewegung und Rhythmus versteht“ und fand sie in den musikalischen Strukturen des Barock.” [<https://www.bauhauskooperation.de/magazin-b100/verstehe-das-bauhaus/der-schlaegt-ein-sie-muessen-uns-hoeren-sie-denken-an-uns/> consulted 11 October 2020]

that had lost its alarm bell,<sup>249</sup> this intellectual community decided to lean on the ancient to revitalize itself. To change direction. To take a new side. And the ancient is fascinating. The old has a haunting charm. It is untouched by the perversity of contemporary mores. Instruments like the Blockflöte (the German name for the recorder), the Cromornes, dulcians and other fiddles seemed made of ingenuity, innocence and forgiveness to a humanity that was soaring upward. First of all, they advocate for the whole of the ensemble, the de-hierarchization of customs, equal rights, and other sentiments that do not mix well with rising authoritarianism. A return to more acceptable sources than those of the time made it possible to define, among others, a “Germanness” which does not account for Wagner and other romantic excesses. An identity that could be found at a time when it was still good to be German. As far as we know, Bach never killed anyone!

Simultaneously, the growing interest in revalorizing and disseminating a forgotten repertoire can be linked, during the interwar period, to clear nationalist objectives. The new series of scores put forth by the publishing houses Schott (*Antiqua*) and Bärenreiter (*Hortus Musicus*) in Germany coincide with the Nazi era and the desire to demonstrate the greatness of German people by way of their cultural past (Augustin 1999, 19-20). It was not a question of finding an original sound, but rather of developing an instrument that was capable of disseminating on a large scale the notion of the superiority of Germanic culture. What could be more effective than the recorder (easy to access, learn, and transport) to instill in young Germans, from

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<sup>249</sup> I take this expression from Walter Benjamin (2006, 1232).

the earliest age, the beauties of a glorious national past? It may not be intuitive that the consorts of the recorder, with their soft sound and low contrast, could have served the same objective as Wagner's operas, but it is significant to recall how these two musical practices were both equally taken over by the totalitarian party of the time.

The nationalist inspiration which motivated the discovery of other EM repertoires was not only the monopoly of Germany: it also existed in England, in France and in Italy. As we will later see, the relationship that Europeans formed between EM and nationalism is still strong today and translates to a desire to possess the repertoire and the legitimacy to interpret it. But Germany is a flagrant case, because, if many of the musicians who founded the EM movement in South America migrated due to Nazism, the later usage of scores edited precisely by Nazi Germany has at no point seemed contradictory. This clearly illustrates one of the identity challenges that marks the colleagues I interviewed: as one of them said, "in Argentina, the children of Jews who had fled the war played in the street with children of former Nazis who had sought refuge here after the fall of their government."<sup>250</sup>

#### The Effects of Nazism and WWII

It was in 1933, the year when Hitler came to power, that EM knew its fundamental starting point. Already since 1928, a small chamber music ensemble, the Kabela<sup>251</sup> Kammermusik, directed by Hans Eberhard Hoesch, had begun to exclusively

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<sup>250</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 March 2019.

<sup>251</sup> The ensemble takes its name from Kabel, a German city situated between Dresden and Berlin.

dedicate itself to the Baroque repertoire of historical instruments, independently, and not as an extension of avant-garde modernism. The Swiss viola gambist August Wenziger, an active defender of Baroque music in Germany and a pioneer in the usage of period instruments, was forced to flee Germany and return to Switzerland.<sup>252</sup> With the patron Paul Sacher, he founded the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, which would later become the focal point of the Early Music movement.<sup>253</sup> The two EM trends described above will intersect in an academic and formal framework. Early Music thus exists as a recognized discipline, as an object of study and interpretative practice. While initially it was somewhat anecdotal and marginal, the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, belonging to the *Musik-Akademie Basel* [the Basle Academy of Music] (Switzerland), is the source of the movement in Europe and beyond. Profiting from Switzerland's neutral status during the war, the school was able to receive a number of musicians who were involved in the movement, and thus offer an international level of influence (Augustin 1999, 21). Among others is the keyboardist Gustav Leonhardt, who went on to found the Early Music movement in Holland, and who studied at the Schola Cantorum in the early postwar years. We can also note that Nikolaus Harnoncourt, the famous conductor at the head of the movement in Austria, had left Germany, still a child, at the beginning of the 1930s. Thus, an ideology and a practice of recuperation (as much theoretical as interpretive), which had emerged in

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<sup>252</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August\\_Wenzinger](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August_Wenzinger) consulted 12 October 2020. However, Palezieux (2012) showed that Wenziger, who took over the ensemble after Hoesch's resignation, was not really angry about fascism, contrary to what local history has wanted to present as the official version.

<sup>253</sup> [www.fhnw.ch/en/about-fhnw/schools/music/schola-cantorum-basiliensis](http://www.fhnw.ch/en/about-fhnw/schools/music/schola-cantorum-basiliensis) consulted 12 October 2020.



Germany between the two wars, spread with the rise of fascism. In Europe, this subsequently gave rise to the beginnings of the movement in Switzerland, Holland and Austria. Landowska's and Dometsch's activities in France and in England, among others, have allowed the movement's parallel development in these countries. In the United States, European migrants on the East Coast favored rapid development that would remain a constant link with European centers, like Switzerland and Holland, due to the future migration of US Americans to those countries. We will see that the movement in Latin America is very much tied to the same history: it has a common origin, and the source of the movement is identical on both continents.

#### The Movement in Latin America

*For those who have migrated, the work to do in this land that exists as a reflection of the equator is to rebuild a culture that was in the process of being invented, but with people who know nothing about it, and who likely have other other needs and identity issues with which to contend. In this complex community, a folk culture needs to be modeled which, if not made from scratch, must, in the context of current customs, simultaneously echo its justification to a somewhat confused past. While Argentina conveys its happenings through a triple racial myth, based on the history of a people who are no longer from the homeland, Pro Musica Rosario imitates a group from New York in order to give itself cachet. While the north of Brazil struggles to emerge from an abolition that came a long way on paper at least, Germans create a school of music in which Moeck flutes do not mesh with the*

*extravagant climate. And while Chile is beginning to take part in peaceful trade, a group of fanatics are developing an artistic trend that is between modern dance and early music. How are the movements to promote this practice of Early Music founded, thought through, and developed, in a Southern Cone at the antipode of Europe? And more diffuse, more anecdotal, there is also an abundance of minute movements that imitate styles without always knowing in which history they are inscribed, but which always seem well aware of the need to seek the new in the historical, and of their responsibility to stir up forgotten musical lines from the dust of years of indifference.*

Here I would like to establish a link between the birth of the movement in Latin America and the history of avant-garde thought, flight, and migration that I explored above. First, the connection between Early Music in Latin America (EM LA) and Germany predated the rise of facism, yet continued well into the 20th century.<sup>254</sup> As Xavier (2011) shows, Ingrid Seraphim (*née* Müller), one of the most important figures in the development of Early Music in the south of Brazil, discovered the early repertoire thanks to the Lutheran pastor Karl Frank, a German who emigrated to Curitiba in the 1910s. Similarly, a group of German immigrants in the northern part of the country, with their arsenal of instruments, were known for developing a

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<sup>254</sup> I would like to note here that until today, I could not find any written information on the presence and development of Early Music in Argentina before 1960. I therefore only omit this country in the section that follows because of the lack of sources in the current state of the research.

recorder ensemble in Salvador de Bahia in the 1930s.<sup>255</sup> In Colombia, it is notable that the 1908 creation of the David Society, which promoted Medieval and Renaissance music, functioned as a subsidiary of the David Society in Berlin (Véla Oróstegui 2016). In Chile, the birth of the Sociedad de Chile in 1917 was based on Bach Gesellschaft's German models, founded in 1850 at the Neue Bachgesellschaft in 1900, and was characterized by Victor Rondón as one of the “earliest antecedents” of the EM movement in the country (2004, 11-12). Alejandro Vera notes that this reference to Europe is not neutral, especially since its founder Domingo Santa Cruz considers the society to have ultimately brought “culture” to a country that, until then, he understood of having been devoid of it and which, in his words, “until the day of independence [in 1910], had not seriously relied on a musical past” of its own (Vera 2014b, 304-309).

However, it is clear that WWII played a fundamental role in the development of EM LA. Depending on the point of view, one could use the words of John Rockwell for Latin America, when, referring to the wave of migrant musicians in the United States, he speaks of a “blessing,” a “gift from Hitler” even (1985, cit in Augustin 1999, 23). Since the 1930s and until the 1950s, European immigration to Latin America has significantly increased, particularly in the Southern Cone and in Brazil, on the one hand due to political and economic difficulties in Europe that have been the inevitable consequences of the war, and on the other hand due to a strict immigration policy which openly favored all racially white individuals. Little by

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<sup>255</sup> Augustin 1999, 57-59; Interview with Homero de Magalhães (son), Paris, 19 February 2019.

little, such waves of immigration changed the face of these countries and influenced the directions that their cultures would take, seeking at the same time to define strong and recognizable national identities, and to simultaneously legitimate them by directly imitating European culture.<sup>256</sup> More, the first historical instruments were beginning to arrive on the continent. Kurt Rottmann, who came from the *Wandervogel* movement in pre-Nazi Germany, brought a viola de gamba, a lute, flutes, and a spinet with him to Chili around 1935 (Rondon 2004, 22). As noted above, a group of Germans settled in Salvador de Bahia (Brazil) around the same time, and played the recorder. Significant immigration in the south of Chile also favored the emergence of the recorder in this region “25 years before the Chilean educational system adopted it” (Rondón, 23). The panorama in 1950 was therefore characterized by duality: on the one hand, there were choirs interested in pre-classical polyphony (Bach but also Palestrina, Luis de Victoria, among others) and on the other, there were ensembles predisposed to using historical instruments and offering an original repertoire, in particular, works of Renaissance consort (for recorders or viola da gamba). In both cases, these were amateur ensembles; yet the groups of instrumentalists were primarily comprised of those from the upper or middle classes, typically of European origin, who were doctors, engineers, and similar, in order to meet their needs and be afforded the luxury of collecting rare instruments and scores. In the case of the choirs, the directors did not necessarily have to be European.

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<sup>256</sup> It is clear that the national politics were different in each country: Brazil gradually asserted itself as a racial democracy, as seen in Chapter 2, while Chile and Argentina, for example, procured a significantly more whitened identity. However, the whitening of the population and the Europeanization of culture were, in all cases, the order of the day.

Directors who had studied abroad, however, were more likely to be familiar with unusual repertoire from Europe.<sup>257</sup> Liturgical traditions also provided an important anchor, since many choir directors were organists or had received some theological training, and the religious context was often what had introduced them to composers like Bach. In all cases, these are private – almost familial – initiatives, with a character closely linked to *Hausmusik* [“house” music] of the 19th century German tradition: concerts in small groups with little to no public audience. Musicians were not remunerated and oftentimes had to pay an association membership fee (if applicable) to be granted the ability to participate in rehearsals and concerts. Ultimately, it was less a question of seeking an “authentic” interpretation than that of satisfying the desire to discover a repertoire considered exotic.

In the 1950s, a significant change took place. Kristina Augustin marks the year 1949 as the beginning of Early Music in Brazil with the arrival of the Bulgarian violinist and violist Borislav Tschorbov and the Ukrainian pianist (and harpsichordist) Violetta Kundert, both of whom were trained at the Music Academy of Munich, and were invited to be part of the new symphony of Rio de Janeiro (1999, 41). These two musicians are responsible for a completely new dynamic when it comes to the approach to Early Music on Brazilian soil, bringing together both adequate instruments for historical interpretation and great technique, combined with an

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<sup>257</sup> For example, Antonio María Valencia who founded the Chorale Palestrina in 1934 in Cali (Vela 2016, 9).

irreproachable professionalism as instrumentalists. At the same time, Victor Rondón considers the date 1954 the beginning of the movement in Chile. That year, a group was formed comprised of Rolf Alexander (a German ballet dancer who had taken part in EM circles of Dolmetsch in London), Juana Subercaseaux (a Chilean violinist who had also frequented the same circles during her years abroad and who was interested in the viola da gamba), Mirka Stratigopoulou (a dancer from Greece who would become one of the pioneers of the recorder) as well as the German photographer Kurt Rottmann, mentioned above. Although these performers were not all strictly professional musicians, as they were primarily engaged in another artistic endeavor, they came together around their passion for EM. Claudio Naranjo, who would join the group later, affirmed that already at the time: “the purpose of our group is to perform early music in the closest possible form to that of its period” (Rondón 2004, 28). Early Music was no longer an incongruous journey to unknown repertoires, but there was now an awareness as to the problems associated with the *Aufführung praxis* [performance practice]: how to make a score that existed in a different cultural and aural context come alive and sound different? This calls into question the problematic issues of musical notation and choice of interpretation, and the hermeneutic world of the reception of the work by the public. In 1951, the Luis Tomás de Victoria Choir was also formed in the city of Medellín in Colombia (Vela Oróstegui 2016, 23), and it too showed a “manifest intention to come closer to the historical interpretation of the polyphonic vocal music of the 15th century in the 17th” (Vela, 24). The director, Rodolfo Perez, soon became a fellow of the Cultural Hispanic Institute, in order to

closely study vocal music manuscripts of the Spanish Golden Age under the tutelage of the best musicologists of the time (Vela, 24).

In the 1960s, Early Music rapidly penetrated several Latin American countries, notably for reasons that were ultimately political in nature. The U.S. government, then led by John F. Kennedy, was attempting to strengthen the alliance between capitalist countries against communism. Latin America was a key space for this policy, and the Kennedy government understood that it was necessary to combine politics, economy, and culture in order to ensure greater loyalty from the allied countries. With the help of the Fulbright foundation, the government launched the Gee Club mission to disseminate the creation of student choirs, which included action on U.S. territory as well as interventions on foreign soil (Vela Oróstegui 2016, 25). Aside from training student choirs at most local universities, this mission also offered high profile choir directors the opportunity to take courses in the United States, in particular with the *New York Pro Music Antiqua* ensemble, pioneer of Early Music on the East Coast (Vela, 26). The New York Ensemble played a fundamental role in the simultaneous development of different associations, ensembles, festivals and educational centers throughout South America. Pro Music New York made several tours in this region and profoundly influenced the interpretative concerns of groups already on the move. In addition, these fellowships enabled like-minded musicians from across the continent to meet in person during workshops in the United States, as was the case for Pérez (from Medellín, Colombia) and Cristián Hernández Larguía (from Rosario, Argentina) (Vela, 26). Juana Subercaseaux (from Valparaíso, Chile)

received the same fellowship some years earlier in 1958 (Rondón 2004, 29). The case of Hernández Larguía merits some attention because it led to the creation of the *Pro Música Rosario* in 1962, modeled in the image of the New York group, in Rosario, on the La Plata river. Pro Música Rosario was much more than an ensemble because, during its long existence (it is still active today), it was able to bring together several groups dedicated to Early Music (a polyphonic choir, a Baroque orchestra, a Renaissance dance ensemble), a chamber music group, a contemporary ensemble, a lengthy discography of children's music, a music school, a rehearsal space, a library for sheet music and a collection of instruments.<sup>258</sup> During the same period, numerous ensembles formed throughout the region, but most within a university framework as opposed to a private initiative: *Ars Rediviva* in the Faculty of Arts and Letters at the University of Buenos Aires (Abad & Patiño 2008), the Early Music Ensemble of the Catholic University in Santiago, Chile (Rondón 2004, 31), The Early Music Ensemble at the Brazilian Conservatory of Music (Augustin 1999, 46), among others. We therefore see a change in the profile of performers throughout this decade. The musicians were younger, from more varied social milieus (while European origins and well-to-do middle-class backgrounds predominated, they were no longer exclusive, as had been the case in previous decades), and the ensembles were gradually becoming more professional. Early Music ceased to be a private, elitist pastime and became music widely heard on contemporary communication networks, like radio, television, and concerts for large audiences. This trend expanded in the

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<sup>258</sup> Interview with Susan Imbern on the premises of the foundation, in Rosario (Argentina) 9 June 2019.



1970s with new centers for EM in capital cities, for example in Mendoza (Guembe 2016), or Cordoba (Kitroser 2016), in Argentina, in Belém do Pará (Ferreira 2014), and in Curitiba (Xavier 2011) in Brazil. These associations flourished, giving interested students the opportunity to learn, perform in public, and learn quickly on their own. For example, the association Pro Arte in Rio de Janeiro organized music seminars that differed from institutional courses offered by conservatories and universities in their more informal character and in their openness to other repertoires – in particular, EM. The son of Homero de Magalhães,<sup>259</sup> who formed the *Conjunto Pró-Arte Antiqua* in 1971, recounts the atmosphere that reigned in the EM circles of the time:

EM was at the same time marginal and charming. People very much felt that there was something cool about it. It was an alternative kind of music, played differently, in a much less formal way. You didn't need to wear a tie to play it, you could talk about it with the audience. It was really a different story. It brought a freshness with it all over the world. [...] We weren't paid. The level of skill was very high, because the musicians were talented, but we didn't think of ourselves as "professionals", we got paid if there was some money but it wasn't the goal. We were young, I myself was 18, the oldest were maybe 20-25 years old. A bit like rock groups, there were lots of them back then. My brother played rock, and I played Early Music. It was kind of the same. We both had long hair!<sup>260</sup>

The 1960s and the 1970s were therefore decades of preparation for the "great boom" (Augustin 1999, 104) of EM LA. The musicians professionalized themselves, the public became more democratic, the practice took a more "historical" direction.

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<sup>259</sup> From this point onward and for the sake of precision, I will refer to Homero de Magalhães, the son.

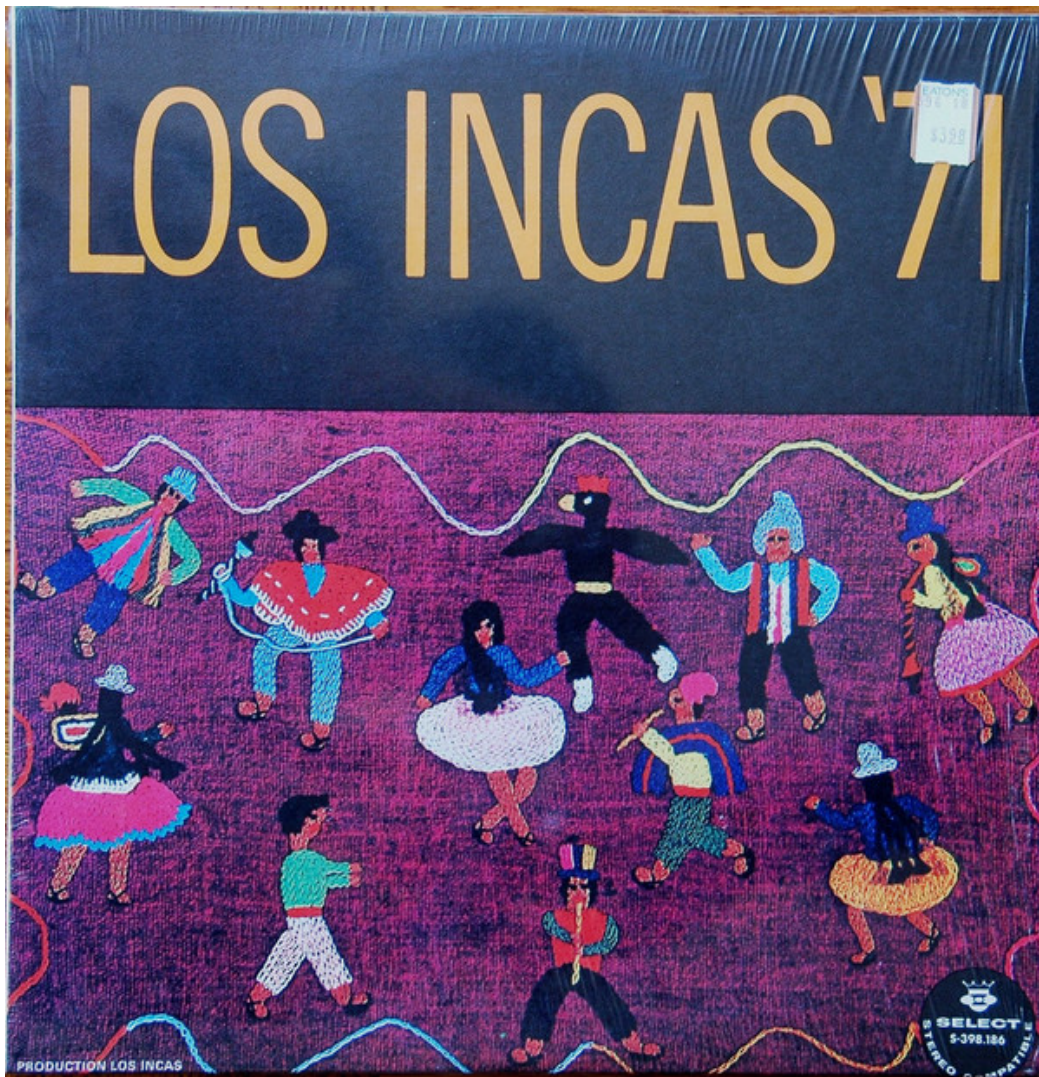
<sup>260</sup> Interview with Homero de Magalhães, Paris, 19 February 2019.

Numerous groups formed in all regions,<sup>261</sup> but these ensembles were often short lived, which, aside from a lack of institutional support, was due to tensions among the musicians who remained amateurs and had to focus on their other endeavors and those who decided to become professionals, and the great majority of those who left for foreign countries, as we will see in the following section.

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<sup>261</sup> At the present time, I clearly have more reliable sources from Brazil, Chile, Argentina (from the 1970s) and Colombia, thanks to the studies that have been conducted in these countries. Further research in the future will, I hope, expand knowledge to other South American countries, and hopefully, all over Latin America.

## The 1970s: An Exile In Reverse



[Los Incas 71 \(Disco completo\)](#) Ensemble where Gabriel Garrido was playing when he first came to Paris.

The 1970s brought shock and backlash on both ends of the political spectrum. After the wave of expansion by an optimistic and enlightened left who were hungry for social, political and intellectual changes and who perhaps shouted them too loudly or

too soon, an iron fist falls on Chile in 1973, in Argentina in 1976, during which time Brazil tried to extricate itself from its own dictatorship, which it had since 1964. These brusque radicalizations of military power in South America lead to an emigration of a youth who felt forced to “flee the country for the same reasons [their] parents or grandparents had fled Europe before them”.<sup>262</sup> Most of them find themselves on soil that they had long dreamed about and that they had much imagined, but which had lived its own history in parallel, on the other side of the world. They were Illegal and generally penniless, but the warm welcome they received can be attributed to the leftist sentiment that the European imaginary held toward South America. In particular, music played a privileged role in the representation of Chile and Argentina thanks to activist-musicians who were part of the movement during the first period of exile. If Mercedes Sosa fled to Paris, if Intilli-Mani found himself in Italy, it was by no mistake, but very much the mark of a long cultural exchange of leftist activism in these countries, where the “people” are represented in music both through the Qena and songs like “Ochi Chernye” or “Bella Ciao.” In fact, popular South American music, with its Andean (or supposedly Andean) consonances, and rhythmic guitars (from folklore traditions in Argentina or in Chile) had been for many years the depository of leftist, egalitarian, popular cosmopolitan ideology. As Fernando Ríos describes:

Having more in common culturally with European fans than with non-cosmopolitan Andeans, Paris-based (South American) ensembles were well positioned to nurture their

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<sup>262</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 March 2019, already cited in the introduction of this chapter.

primary audiences with music and a picturesque sentiment that evoked villages in the Andean highlands that most of the musicians had never visited themselves. (2008, 148)

The new exiles, even if they did not have the renown of a Victor Jara or a Quilapayun, could nevertheless benefit from this cultural aura and had an easier time selling themselves through their music, while in the process of learning a new language -- beyond those they mastered perfectly, often more than two different ones -- or to acclimate to a culture that they had thought they knew. Little more is asked of them than to play the role of their own persona: to be activists, politically aware, and musically exotic. This is generally how those who have now come to dominate the European world of early music penetrated both Europe and the world of music. For them, as for the vast majority of South Americans, music is an everyday affair, an active part of life, present on all social levels. If there is a cultural element that establishes a kind of "Latino" unity, it is that of playing an instrument -- and in particular, the guitar. We will return to this. Professionalization through music was not really a choice this generation anticipated, but it could become a career opportunity or a strategic decision to attain a new level in life. Even better if it could be found in the virtues of well-trodden repertoire. And in a certain way, early music was one of the paths taken to reconstruct a new identity at the crossroads of several origins, in particular one that led them to "retrace" the footsteps of their parents or grandparents in a Europe that was at once imagined and concrete. The first migrants to "return" were not necessarily the direct descendants of those who brought Early Music to South America. Perhaps they had never even had any contact with Early

Music before landing on the old continent. But in a way, they carried the same story of fleeing across oceans, and of a culture that they carried in their suitcases even if it did not take the material form of a viola de gamba or of a recorder.

#### Early Music as an Articulation Between Past and Future

For my South American colleagues, both those who fled the dictatorship and came across early music by chance, and those who moved after having made its encounter, early music presents itself as a point of possible convergence between several of their interests. For Pedro Memelsdorff, it is a “catalyst between distinct interests,” which brings together the artistic side of painting as well as the scientific side of archeology, his initial passions. For a great majority of them, it is above all a link between classical music – which leads back to European origins and familial customs – and folk music – which represents their Americanness, their leftist ideology, and the part of their identity which differentiates them from Europe proper. It is a “cultivated” music, professionalized and respected by society, but which at the same time offers a dose of “freshness” which is “more attractive” and allows for genuine communication with the public.<sup>263</sup> It forces an “intellectual restlessness” and allows for a “relationship with the other arts, and even with religion.”<sup>264</sup> But most especially, Early Music makes it possible to tie together the threads that bind Europe to America: Latin American folk music comes in part from Spanish influences, which dates back to the Renaissance or the Baroque periods. All agree on the fact that the songs and

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<sup>263</sup> We will return to the “freshness” and communicability of early music. This theme runs through most of my interviews.

<sup>264</sup> Interview with Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, 11 June 2019.

dances of the Argentinean Pampas, the gold-mountains of Bolivia, and the gulf of Veracruz, contain the rhymes of the Iberian Baroque, a poetic structure which comes directly from the Spanish Golden Age, and even carries a very Italian expressiveness in its virtuosity. The emphasis is often put on the Baroque influences of Europe on current Latin American culture, but also on the reciprocity of the exchange, on the exotic names found in European dance and classical music, like Sarabande, Canarias, or of course, Fandango. Indeed, the philosopher Bolívar Echverría (1998) saw in the baroque an “ethos” which extended itself into modernity and influenced Latin American identity. So, for many of my colleagues, to be interested in European early music is to understand America. It is also to get closer to an ideal European identity that they are not always easily granted upon their arrival. They assert this through composers like Monteverdi, Bach, and sometimes even through much older repertoires. In many cases, they become masters in this domain. And this is where Europeans subtly envy them and seek ways to discredit them. Let’s look at why and how.

After the “return”, more goings and comings and the building of lasting bonds. If one element has remained stable and constant throughout the accounts of all my interviewees, it is the dedication to offer as much as possible to future generations of musicians in their countries of origin, and to help those who show an interest in early music. This was surely the case with the first generation described above, but it is a trend that endures and still applies today.

At the end of the 1980s, borders softened and it became possible to return to the Southern Cone. Some have “returned” and developed a new circle of early music in their countries of origin, as we will see in Chapter 6. For most of those who stayed, the possibility of traveling became a sign of opportunity and exchange. The majority of the colleagues I interviewed who live in Europe return to America regularly, generally two times a year, and systematically lead courses or give concerts. These courses could be private or part of a university. But above all,

summer courses were the most significant in the formation of young musicians. In particular, Bariloche’s course, headed by Gabriel Garrido, was mentioned by practically all concerned.

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*“After many years [of inactivity], we will once again be holding the Early Music Seminar at Camping Musical de Bariloche.”<sup>265</sup>*

<sup>265</sup> <https://www.barilochense.com/espacios-de-shows-y-espectaculos/camping-musical/seminario-interdisciplinario-de-musica-antigua-bariloche-2020-2019-12-21-30-04#> consulté le 16 octobre 2020.



Among many others, Miguel de Olaso told his story, typical of his generation:

In Bariloche, there is a summer music course, and in the beginning (during the 1960s) there were truly all types of musical styles. Little by little, EM became an important part of these courses. In 1993, Hopi<sup>266</sup> came and led a class and we got 20 lute students, it was incredible! The assistants were Lola Costoya and Eduardo Egüez, two Argentinians who lived in Europe then. [...] I remember that among the students, there was also Monica Postelnik, who teaches in Geneva now. Also Marcelo Vidal, and other Chileans...what a generation! There was a bit of an Early Music fever, lots of guitarists were interested in the lute at that time.<sup>267</sup>

The summer courses of Curitiba in southern Brazil, with Early Music Workshops, were also significant for many musicians who then specialized in the practice of EM. Many of them went on to emigrate to Europe to perfect their skills and were able to later feed back into the courses as professors:

“Opportunity”, according to Ingrid [Seraphim, the organizer], “was the key of the Workshops. The possibility of contact with colleagues, but above all student-teacher contact. When the teacher identified particular potential in a student, he invited him to study under his direction, often abroad.” The artist notes that the Workshops enabled the production of a cycle: teacher-student-specialization-teacher. She comments that “some Camerata musicians and even students from the first workshops, often took courses abroad, and were later called

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<sup>266</sup> Hopkinson Smith, a professor of strings probably the most mentioned in my interviews. He has toured extensively in Latin America and his numerous records have inspired a whole generation of lutenists all over the world. Part of that generation of Swiss emigrant sons on the east coast of the United States, he was then a professor at the Schola Cantorum in Basel for several decades. See as well:

<https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/espectaculos/3-29872-2013-09-13.html>

Consulted 16 October 2020.

<sup>267</sup> Interview with Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (Argentina), 9 June 2019.

upon to teach in the workshops.” Thus, “the Paraná students took courses abroad, then returned and shared their experiences.” (Xavier 2011, 8-9)

This is how, in the 1980s and 1990s, young musicians were able to encounter Early Music, thanks to their elders who had already paved the most arduous part of the path. They were able to provide what they had not had access to: the most advanced knowledge of the time, the partitions, scores and instruments imported directly from Europe, and above all the opportunity to study in the best European conservatories.

## South Americans and Early Music: the reasons for success

Musicians from the next generation benefitted from lessons and sporadic courses during their professional apprenticeships. Nevertheless, they broke away from the autodidactic dynamics of previous generations, and were able to establish international networks of knowledge and common interest. However, they have a more difficult time accessing resources that European students take for granted: historical instruments and faithful copies; facsimile scores and treatises; accessories (strings, etc.); methodological and pedagogical tools; the results of scientific research in the field of musicology and HIP. Often, they want to study an historical instrument in their hometown university but cannot find the institutional structure to develop their knowledge in the field of Early Music practice. Paradoxically, this only heightens their interest in this repertoire and practice. The double myth of Europe, at

once the promised land where a musician can establish a career, and the place of cultural origin, is reinforced and amplifies daily their desire to learn and to improve. Many among them -- in fact the majority of those who decide to focus on early music -- chose to expatriate to benefit from a complete cycle of study recognized on all levels (symbolic and administrative). Often, they arrive in Europe with little means, a few dollars in their pocket, a borrowed instrument, few ideas as to the places they will land or with whom they will live, an education in early music still to be perfected, but with a hunger to learn and with a desire to surpass Europeans who have not experienced the same incongruous intellectual deprivation.

Ronaldo Lopes recalls his situation, which he shared with Argentinian friends:

We spent the whole day in the conservatory. There was heating in the library, which we didn't have at home. With all the time I spent there discovering sheet music, I wish I had photocopied everything! I remember an Argentinian friend deciphering absolutely everything he could find at the library. We'd never seen anything like this in our country!<sup>268</sup>

Moreover, the South American cultural reality in which they grew up, where music was daily bread, renders them more malleable to learning, more technically and musically capable, more stylistically flexible, and even more assiduous in the study of their instrument.

Recently, I took part in a lunch between two rehearsals in the north of Italy with a Baroque orchestra. Several Argentinian musicians were present and gathered at a table next to mine. During the coffee, before returning to the rehearsal, they listened on one of their phones to several songs which, stylistically, seemed to date

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<sup>268</sup> Interview with Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, 29 January 2019.

from the 1930s and 40s (I would not have been able to recognize the singers). The four Argentinians began to sing at the top of their lungs along with the music, not only following the melody and the vocal effects of the singers with great precision, but more, they seemed to recognize the lyrics to all the verses without any hesitation. A French man who was seated at my table shared his thoughts with me, saying: “

In France, we don't have the same relationship with music. First of all, it is rare that we listen to 'classics' of that era with such fervor. But more so, when we listen we are much more passive, and we don't sing along with the music. Personally, even though I am a musician, I would not be able to retain all the words of even my favorite songs, and sing along with them. You could say that for them it's natural, it's a part of their life.<sup>269</sup>

It is a fact that has indeed been confirmed to me by all the Argentinians, South Americans, and more by Latin Americans in general to whom I asked the question. Live music has always been a part of their lives, whether first by family, then in high school or university, with friends. In all homes, there is either a piano or guitar, and “it would be almost impossible for a South American to not know how to play a little guitar, even a few chords.”<sup>270</sup> Some have been immersed in classical music since their childhood, whether like Pedro Memelsdorff because his mother played piano, or like Manuel de Grange, whose parents listened to the radio all the time and who thus became familiar, among other things, with music by J.S. Bach.

Besides, folk music is also present in homes. Javiera Portales explains that if the study of music was not obligatory in school, her father, like many others of his

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<sup>269</sup> Personal communication, February 2019.

<sup>270</sup> Interview with Eduardo Egüez, Borgo Revel (Turin, Italy), 23 February 2019.

generation, had taught himself the guitar and played folk music at home: having an instrument was fundamental.<sup>271</sup> Eduardo Egüez recounts how, as a child, he accompanied his sister to the neighborhood folk dance group, and even though he didn't participate, he knew the music and the movements of all of the dances, claiming "folk music was in the air."<sup>272</sup> Indeed, Early Music is often seen as a medium for reconciling two coexisting musical worlds. The similarity between folk and traditional music from South America (and Latin America in general) and early music is mentioned in a quasi-systematic way by the interviewees, as we saw in section 3 of this chapter. Going further, we can see how the spontaneity and the orality that are involved in the mode of transmitting folk music becomes a fabulous tool when it comes to learning and becoming familiarized with the Baroque and Renaissance repertoire.

The ability to memorize and integrate a melodic or harmonic structure is much more important in the practice of early music, than that, for example, of "modern" classical music (i.e. romantic, as is taught at the conservatory). In particular, it allows for a much more natural and integrated approach to improvisation. Musicians who come from a more "classical" background must later develop new skills and a different approach to performance. This isn't prohibitive, of course, there are exceptional European musicians, on the contrary. But this could in part offer a rational explanation to the success, in the context of Early Music, to the many Latin American musicians. Add to that a mastery of several languages in the

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<sup>271</sup> Interview with Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, 26 March 2019.

<sup>272</sup> Interview with Eduardo Egüez, Borgo Revel (Turin, Italie), 23 February 2019.

case, as we have seen, of the children of immigrants from different countries, which makes it possible for them to navigate an extremely transnational working world – between European territories, in any case [Michel 2019]. If we put ourselves in the shoes of someone profoundly motivated, coming from a context where nothing is guaranteed and where it is necessary to fight to obtain the minimum resources – instruments, scores, or access to instruction, as we saw above, but also is financially dependent on the rate of local currency. We have the perfect type of person to be successful in the European early music scene.

Now a renowned musician with a formidable career, Eduardo Egüez lives in a house in the country in northern Italy, where he can accommodate several people in addition to his own family. He regularly welcomes students to his home, and, aware of the difficulties associated with immigrating to European soil, he offers them hospitality in exchange for studious and diligent work. In my interview with him, he recounted how the student he was hosting at the time had arrived in Europe with very little money, but was driven by strong motivation. The student was quite diligent, because he was aware of how lucky he was to have a home teacher and the ability to take lessons everyday, something that was impossible in Argentina – and, to be honest, is not so common in Europe either. But also, he was conscious of the permanent risk of having to return to Argentina where the situation was not very favorable in the instance that he did not pass a competitive entrance exam to a conservatory in Switzerland or a European country. This situation is representative of the typical student, who, coming from Argentina or other Latin American countries to

devote him or herself to Early Music, has no other choice but to succeed. “Add to that a strong entrepreneurial motivation,” says Egüez, “and it should come as no surprise to find individuals like Leonardo García Alarcón or Christina Pluhar, who have brilliant careers and wild success!”

#### The birth of a so-called Argentinian mafia

As we have seen, the relationships created during summer programs and other educational opportunities in South America, and in particular in Argentina, have been important footholds for the integration of newcomers to Europe. Even if they are not themselves recorder players, many came to study in Geneva because they knew Gabriel Garrido from the courses at Bariloche, in the south of Argentina, frequented by Argentinians but also by Chileans, Brazilians, and Uruguayans among others. Following the same model, Homero de Magalhães, like others before him, went to study at The Hague with Ricardo Kanji, also a Brazilian who emigrated in the 1970s.<sup>273</sup> The professors from previous generations were the inspiration that motivated the young students to follow in their footsteps, but often they also provided the necessary letters of recommendation to pass the entrance exams, hence the utility of having a prior connection with a renowned person at the host institution. At the same time, students also organize among themselves, either with those of the previous generations – through hospitality during the entrance exams, counsel and facilitation of contacts – or by traveling in groups and entering a given conservatory

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<sup>273</sup> Ricardo Kanji first studied in the United States around the end of the 1960s before permanently relocating to Holland in 1970.

during the same year. For example, Diana Fazzini recounts that in September 1997, she began her studies at the Center for Early Music in Geneva,<sup>274</sup> the same year as five of her colleagues, who also came from Argentina, and whom she had met during various courses and other activities associated with Early Music. “We came out there with an instrument and a suitcase, and that was all we had!”<sup>275</sup> Then, she worked regularly with Gabriel Garrido, in different projects tackling all kinds of styles. Similarly, Andrés Locatelli, who is more or less of the same generation, came to The Hague only knowing the professor Adrian Van Der Spoel, himself from Rosario (Argentina). He found the climate hostile and very competitive, and the bureaucracy complicated. He then moved to Italy and finally obtained a European passport, because of his Italian grandmother.<sup>276</sup> We find him in the following years in several ensembles, some directed by Argentinians, alongside his personal projects. Another example, keyboardist Jorge Lavista came over in 1991 with only \$1,000 dollars in his pocket to study with Jacques Horth, whom he’d met during a course in Montevideo. After a master’s degree at The Hague (Holland) which he completed without funding, he decided to stay in Europe but had to spend several months there illegally. Thanks to his Italian grandparents, he also obtained a European passport, but only after four years of process. As he said: “it’s a lottery. I was lucky to get one, thanks to my grandparents. Then I could stay without a problem. But some are not so lucky.”<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> The Early Music Center no longer exists as such today. It was replaced by the “Department of Early Music”, within the *Haute École de Musique* of Geneva. <https://www.hesge.ch/hem/departements/departement-musique-ancienne> Accessed January 3, 2021.

<sup>275</sup> Online interview with Diana Fazzini, 25 February 2019.

<sup>276</sup> Online interview with Andrés Locatelli, 1 March 2019.

<sup>277</sup> Online interview with Jorge Lavista, 11 June 2019



As we can see, the contacts that the interviewees establish before they migrate has a big impact on their journey once in Europe. However, the question of nationality is rarely discussed, and the networks of mutual aid that are created there often include people of different nationalities. We can rather think that there is a connivance with previous experiences on the one side, and undoubtedly an essentialization on the part of the Europeans, on the other, that promotes a sense of community. For example, Florencia Bardavid did not find a great Chilean community in Holland, but she did find a lot of Argentinians.<sup>278</sup> This was the same for Ronaldo Lopes, a Brazilian, who finds himself included *de facto* in the Argentinian community at the Lyon Conservatory, and with whom he shares the same financial and bureaucratic difficulties.<sup>279</sup>

Are the reasons presented here enough to explain the success certain immigrants have? In any case, the facts prove that the Latin American presence is strong in the European world of Early Music, and in particular, the Argentinian presence. More, it is not uncommon to find Argentinian or South American musicians in ensembles conducted by, for example, Argentinians. In an informal interview conducted in Italy (from which the restaurant scene described above was taken), all the interviewees denied having a preference for musicians or conductors of one nationality or another. The point is that of an ensemble of less than 20 musicians, several of the important positions (first violin, basso continuo, etc...and the director himself) were held by Argentinians. Several of the important personalities in the

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<sup>278</sup> Interview with Florencia Bardavid Hoecker, Santiago de Chile, 27 March 2019.

<sup>279</sup> Interview with Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, 29 January 2019.

Early Music circles in continental Europe come from the same country, and in general followed the same path as that of our interviewees: courses and classes in Argentina, arrival in Europe with the help of a network of significant mutual aid – national character (Argentinian) or regional (South Americans, or Latino), exceptional motivation, integration into the work world thanks in part due to these networks, individual successes rewarded by a promising career.

The objective here is by no means an attempt to define whether these facts are the result of coincidence or an organized plan. The reasons for the success of Latin Americans in this realm of Early Music, as they are justified by those concerned and which has been laid out above, are totally valid and make sense. What interests me is to observe the European response to these proven facts and the logic they derive from them, or the narratives that have been constructed around the strong Argentinian presence in the world of Early Music in the last decades of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st. I consider that there have been several moments and elements which have provoked either fear or rejection of the *Latino* presence in Europe. After the initial positive reactions to South Americans during the period of exile, a sense of threat set in in Europe, and particularly in Spain, when locals realized that many were asking for and receiving a local passport. The term “Sudaca” originated in Spain in the 1980s to pejoratively refer to South American immigrants, and Argentinians in particular.<sup>280</sup> I also argue that on an economic level, in the following years and with the establishment of the Washington consensus that was (in appearance) favorable to

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<sup>280</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 March 2019.

Latin America, or on a political level with the end of the Cold War and the “red scare” in the Western world, Europe ceased to be the center of global geopolitics, while the United States holds an aggressive strategy and stronger connections with continents which, until then, had been less dominant, like Asia and Latin America, among others. Although I do not yet have concrete ethnographic data to demonstrate it, it is very likely that the general feeling of centrality of Europe in global history has been greatly diminished. And at the same time, a wave of xenophobia (which has many other causes, which are not discussed here) began to take hold of Europe.

What could be more essentially European than early music? We have seen in Chapter 3 how the narratives underlying Western musical “History” utilize European classical music to justify its own importance and present its character as racially pure. A sense of belonging is strongly rooted in the heart of the European and in their relationship to their own cultural history, which is often viewed with a nationalist lens. The music played under Louis XIV can explain the complexity of French humor, as Vivaldi’s Four Seasons can be undeniable proof of the sentimentality and theatricality of contemporary Italy.<sup>281</sup> If the romantic music of the 19th century was built on the concept of the absolute and the universal, then the European seeks, through Early Music, a source of its national originality, or often even its regionality. The diversity of practices in Baroque Europe is invoked in two ways: to thwart the homogenization of culture since “modernity” (in general, since the 18th century and the era of

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<sup>281</sup> Informal conversations with Early Music musicians of different nationalities 2010-2014.

illustration), but also to revendicate a cultural origin that could be linked to a territory. Indeed, many of my Latin American colleagues have exhibited a profound belief in the “natural”– which, for a European, would be to play early music. Is this more of a myth than a reality? In any case, this kind of affirmation shows the extent to which the feeling of threat posed by extra-Europeans provokes the need to delimit it a territory, a “private preserve”, something “lendable” all while still invoking the same rhetoric of inalienability that would make it the exclusive property of Europeans “by birth”, each in their own country.

The success of EM during the last decades of the 20th century led to many extra-Europeans taking up this practice, not only Argentinians or South Americans, but also Japanese, Israelis, and other Latin Americans. In reaction, the assertion of the right to possess certain repertoire has been reinforced, to enclose legitimacy and to refuse it to newcomers who are taking a bigger and bigger place in professional circles. The claim this legitimacy is proclaimed by South Americans of European origin – white – through “blood right.” From my position as an observer I interpret it (because it is not the word used by the interviewees) as a *racial* argument: the direct descendent of European stock, the right to possess repertoire would have occurred generationally, for South Americans.

Here we come to the most problematic point, because we know that the concept of race has been highly prohibited in contemporary European parlance since the end of WWII. It has been proclaimed that race does not exist, and that anyone who

advocates to the contrary is automatically listed as “racist” – which explains the absence of the utilization of this word in all the instances of my fieldwork on European territory. But what is the consequence of this absence? To say that there is no such thing as race, does it not mean depriving precisely those who have suffered from racism (for example, the descendants of exiled Jews) from the ability to claim their origins, and thereby their whiteness? It is a mechanism which theoretically begins with good intentions: it seeks to eradicate racism. It also prevents any kind of racial claim by someone who was not born on European territory. In other words, European repertoires only get to be the possession of people born in Europe. Paradoxically, however, European identity remains the possession of white people. All that remains for the “returnees” on the “old continent” to justify their musical interest is a vague concept of cultural origin which is often not enough for them to be accepted as legitimate performers by Europeans. On the contrary, we often see that Latin Americans are considered primarily on the basis of their birthplace instead of for their musical ability or for their cultural origin. An Argentinian, even with a last name that sounds German, will first be considered Argentinian, and will generally be categorized that way definitely, despite efforts that may be made to disprove or downplay this designation.

However, it is not surprising that among all the individuals of European culture with musical facilities, there are a certain percentage who were not born on the European continent. This is due to a complicated history of wars and migrations during the 20th century. But, since the concept of race cannot be claimed, Euro-

Americans were spotted as foreigners, and uniformly categorized as *Latinos*, until they formed a large and growing community at the end of the 20th century. As a result of this artificial categorization as a “foreign body,” this community is perceived with acuity, and interpreted as a threat to European predominance in the world, which also finds itself badly damaged. Under these conditions, the individual successes of South Americans, for the reasons mentioned above, are seen as an organized whole, and gradually come to be defined under the title of the “Argentinian mafia.”

Performatively, the more that this term is used, the more it takes shape and life until it becomes real in the eyes of whoever uses it. The direct result of this derogatory denomination is the constant suspicion that reigns over any personal merit. During my fieldwork, I noted a constant need to refute this suspicion – as in the case of the orchestra in Italy described above – and to justify any action or success through personal and artistic merit over interpersonal connections that might coincide with birthplace. On the contrary, I have never heard of a German who entered a renowned orchestra remark that he had the position “not because he is German.” This statement sounds absurd to a European, while it is an important survival strategy for any Argentinian or *Latino* who moves in European Early Music circles. As I have heard during my interviews, as well as during informal conversations, they undergo all sorts of microaggressions, which can often take discriminatory turns. For example, there are cases in which certain “local” professors write letters to the conservatory that hired them to complain about the presence of an Argentinian professorship, which

runs the risk of the Argentinians losing their jobs.<sup>282</sup> In other extreme cases, some question the existence of intensive Early Music training centers in Argentina, and consider them to border on performing brainwashing “like the Taliban,” so that they can take possession of the European market.<sup>283</sup> A completely absurd suspicion, obviously.

## Conclusion: Identity, Migration, and Early Music

*(a guest): “Hello, what’s your name? What instrument do you play?”*

*And where are you from?”*

*“[...] I’m Italian.*

*“Oh really? From which region?”*

*“Well, I was born in Chile.*

*“Oh, I see. And how long did you live there before returning to  
Italy?”*

*“19 years.”*

*“Aaaaah, that’s a long time. So, you actually grew up there?”*

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<sup>282</sup> I wish to keep this source anonymous. The case is, however, drawn from a real fact.

<sup>283</sup> Eduardo Egüez, with a lot of humor, defends the existence of an "intensive training center" for students of Early Music that has an inhuman or military character.

*(An Italian overhears the conversation): “No, wait, he’s Chilean, that’s all. He got nationality from his grandmother when he came here, but that doesn’t make him Italian!”*<sup>284</sup>

Some expressed that they had “discovered” who they were through the experience of travel. “Going to live abroad is also about discovering yourself. [...] Before, living in Chile, we took everything for granted, but when we left, we realized what it is to be Chilean, what it is to be Latino.”<sup>285</sup> In other words, the identity that they were given did not always correspond to the one they had constructed before their experience in Europe and in their confrontation with the European Latin American imaginary. It is worth stating that this imaginary has evolved considerably since the 1970s, and that the political idealization of leftist South American movements is only a distant memory held by the oldest generations and those who had been most involved. For the youngest, that global consciousness seems to have diminished, and the concept of the “third world”, having evolved into the more politically imprecise one of “developing countries,” has come so far that it now includes very broad categories. The passage of a political denomination (third world) to a more economically marked expression (developing) has contributed to the naturalization of the idea of “progress,” whereby the capitalist and neoliberal models would be the only way

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<sup>284</sup> Real life scene from a party at my own home. Basel, mid-February 2012.

<sup>285</sup> Interview with Nelson Contreras for “Al Modo Antiguo”, Radio San Joaquin. 20 April 2020. [https://www.radiosanjoaquin.cl/2020/04/20/al-modo-antiguo-nelson-contreras-violagambista-chileno/?fbclid=IwAR3ItSOI977pHmLGeR\\_5-CSORvBHSPa2\\_nT3CUzou9QHZBMH3o-Yjyn8Ny4](https://www.radiosanjoaquin.cl/2020/04/20/al-modo-antiguo-nelson-contreras-violagambista-chileno/?fbclid=IwAR3ItSOI977pHmLGeR_5-CSORvBHSPa2_nT3CUzou9QHZBMH3o-Yjyn8Ny4) consulted 26 April 2020.



possible to “develop” in a world where socialist models have largely retreated. Moreover, the concept allows for the grouping of broad categories under the same title, which roughly defines all that is neither European nor Anglophone. The “sudacas” (a pejorative Spanish word for South Americans) or the “Latinos” of the 21st century fall into this category, with little consideration for what they think of themselves and how they define themselves. Some even say that “Europeans think that we’re Indians (*indios*), but the reality is different.”<sup>286</sup> When asked the question, most of my colleagues claim that they have not been discriminated against during their stay in Europe. Strategically, such a claim allows them to situate themselves in a white racial category – even if they hardly ever use terms that carry racial connotations – and to minimize their “Otherness.” To prove that they have not experienced discrimination, they play up their ability to adapt: “I mostly had French friends at The Hague, we were a group of all French people and I went with them to Paris every weekend because I had family there”<sup>287</sup>; or their ease at integrating professionally: “I was lucky because during my first weeks in Lyon, someone saw me with a theorbo and asked me to join their ensemble, and I worked with them for several years”<sup>288</sup>; or their administrative abilities which allowed them to settle in France:

I quickly realized that the Bureau of Labor Regulation was there to advocate on my behalf and to protect me. I did have to fill out an incredible amount of paperwork and I had several binders just for my case. But when I had payment issues with a conservatory, they

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<sup>286</sup> I wish to keep this source anonymous.

<sup>287</sup> Interview with Homero de Magalhães, Paris, 19 February 2019.

<sup>288</sup> Interview with Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, 19 February 2019.

called right away and settled the dispute. In fact, they are fighting to eliminate moonlighting, which I never did even though opportunities were offered to me.<sup>289</sup>

This shows that the systemic problem of discrimination for reasons of nationality is overcome by individual strategies and a search for self-sufficiency. Seeking another explanation, many insist on the European origin of their parents, or sometimes their grandparents, in order to justify the ease of their integration. There are, however, differences among individuals when it comes to the ease of obtaining a European passport, even with proven European origins. They often find themselves with a plural identity, “betwixt” (Munck 2013). Homero de Magalhães describes himself as “half and half.” Ronaldo Lopes recounts that during his travels in Brazil, he was asked where his accent came from, when he was not being exploited like a tourist. Pedro Memelsdorff feels that he has more connection to Europe than to Argentina. Diana Fazzini feels that in Italy she has “found an identity, even if it’s a little controversial.” But at the same time, these individuals recognize that discrimination does exist. It is not always aggressive or strictly negative, but they see themselves as *Latinos* in the eyes of others, even though, for those born in Buenos Aires, they have “more European than Mexican” or than other Latin-American cultures.<sup>290</sup> In a school like Schola Cantorum, speaking Spanish is not only a way of belonging to the most represented linguistic community, it is also becoming “one of them” and losing a kind of individuality.<sup>291</sup> “In Holland, there is a preconceived idea

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<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Online interview with Diana Fazzini, 25 February 2019.

<sup>291</sup> Online interview with Pedro Memelsdorff, 6 March 2019.

that *Latinos*, not necessarily bad but exotic, like to be more communicative, funnier.”<sup>292</sup>

As Andrés Locatelli says,

There is a [cultural] code that you must learn and have to respect [...] in a country that is not yours, you need to put yourself out there on the same wavelength, and once they’re interested in you, they become very welcoming and open their door to you.<sup>293</sup>

Language and linguistic habits play a huge role in this adaptation. For children who grew up in families where as many as five languages were spoken fluently, the ability to handle several languages is often heightened by knowing the exact accents, idioms and linguistic customs in each country or region. The case of Pedro Memelsdorff is typical of this example. Listening to him speak French, German, Italian or English, you would think he was a native in each of these regions.<sup>294</sup> Thus, each person develops strategies to integrate and to function in their situation and with their personality. The identities that result from such efforts are often complex, dynamic and highly evolved. Between denying or valorizing their place of origin or of adoption, these musicians have a profile that adapts according to place and contexts, and they express themselves, for example, through spoken language, accents, and cultural traits that they put forward or, on the contrary, leave to the side.

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<sup>292</sup> Interview with Florencia Bardavid Hoecker, Santiago de Chile, 27 March 2019.

<sup>293</sup> Online interview with Andres Locatelli, 1 March 2019.

<sup>294</sup> Personally I have no recollection of ever having heard him speak Spanish, even the times I met him in Spanish-speaking contexts - like in Barcelona, for example, where he must surely have been speaking Catalan. I will note that I personally had not mastered Castilian when I met him in this context. So there was no reason to communicate in that language. I wonder if I would have noted his Argentinian accent if we had spoken Spanish together, and if that influenced his choice to avoid this language.

So few of my colleagues claim to have suffered from any form of overt discrimination – explicit cases, like that of the letter from a professor colleague at the school administration, fortunately remain an exception – I argue that the strategies discussed here refer to a form of expectation on the part of my European colleagues, which is not unrelated to the anxiety to maintain the cultural monopoly, and in particular, to preserve each European nationalities’ legitimacy to perform the repertoire of their own country. In this chapter, we have seen that the concept of race was rendered inaccessible to Latin Americans, and in particular to South Americans of European descent, in order to claim this legitimacy. The arrival of “sudacas” in EM’s professional milieu was better accepted at the beginning, and then provoked a rejection that, while rarely expressed, nonetheless underlies much informal discourse and daily microaggressions. In the next chapter, we will observe the relationship established between *Latino* musicians and the Early Music repertoire of Latin American music, also labeled “Colonial.” This relationship is in turn voluntary, forced, or strategic.

# Chapter 6 – Goings and Comings, part 2:

## Early Music in the “New World” (2000-2020)

### Introduction

*Indeed, at some point in my career as a specialized musician abroad, when I returned to my homeland I did not find a rational reason to devote myself to playing only the old European repertoire, and I wondered, then, about the early [Latin] American repertoire, especially the instrumental one. In view of the lack of response from local and regional musicology at the time, I decided to devote myself to this research, first through musicology and then through history, but without ever giving up the work of a musical performer.*

(Rondón 2014, 8)

Like Victor Rondón, many musicians who were interested in the practice of Early Music—also known as historically informed performance—traveled to other countries, primarily in Europe, to study baroque and renaissance repertoires on period instruments. In chapter 4, we discussed those who stayed in Europe, who often experienced this migration as a “return” to their families’ country or continent of origin.

Most of these musicians were part of the first or second generation of Latin American migrants dedicated to the early repertoire. However, the repertoire studied

there is mainly European in origin. Many of them studied at specialized schools in cities like The Hague, Basel, and Lyon, to cite only the main European ones, having little awareness of the importance of the Americas in the history of Western classical music.

Furthermore, there is a certain prejudice—not necessarily explicit but always latent—regarding the exclusive legitimacy of European musicians as players of the early repertoire. In the context of cultural neocolonialism, musicians' eyes are forcibly directed towards Europe. We saw in chapter 5 that since the 1990s, a wave of relative interest in the Latin American repertoire has allowed it to become recognized; however, it has never ceased being marginalized, and additionally, its peripheral character has been extended to musicians who themselves are originally from Latin America, reinforcing the Otherness of those who were simply born there.

However, in recent years certain changes have taken place, for reasons including the technological development of media and the economic crisis experienced by the so-called "First World." Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the practice of Early Music from Latin America as an alternative to Eurocentric hegemony and its associated musical canon—both at the level of repertoire and that of style or aesthetics.

Through interviews, conducted during fieldwork in Europe in 2018 and in eight Latin American countries in 2019, we will analyze the emergence of new local and transnational approaches that reappropriate the Western classical repertoire. In particular, the practice of Early Music has become widespread in recent decades in

Latin American regions and social groups that do not have cultural, family, or genealogical-racial ties to Europe. Additionally, the most recent migrations—particularly those coming from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, or northern South America—do not have the same type of relationship with the destination countries as previous generations, who were mostly white and Euro-American.<sup>295</sup>

Many of these new migrants do not feel "at home" in the places where they study or have emerging professional careers. Moreover, the economic situation in Europe has deteriorated substantially since the first decade of the 21st century. The year 2008 marked the beginning of a recession that the artistic community suffered intensely, and during which concert opportunities declined significantly. For these reasons, in recent years there has been a strong pattern of migration in the opposite direction, from Europe to Latin America, as many young people have returned to their native countries after their stay in Europe.

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, categories are not fixed or stable; nor are they strictly demarcated. In this chapter, I will examine these "comings," or returns. I will focus primarily on movements and practices evident in Latin America (South America, Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean, in places with Spanish or Portuguese as an official language) which have an implicit or explicit dialogue with European—and to a lesser extent, North American and Australian—practices.

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<sup>295</sup> By "Euro-American," I refer to groups of individuals who were born in the Americas but have European heritage, similarly to the categories of "African-Americans" or "Afro-Latin Americans."

Here I understand Early Music within Latin American national frameworks not simply as activities, practices, concepts, and general approaches to music which are learned or copied from Europe, but also as acts of re-signification, as well as opportunities for new configurations which are more adapted to the Latin American context.

In some cases, these “comings and goings” do not involve physical movement, but rather are a way of “seeking out” information and customs on the European side and then “making sense” of them on the other side of the Atlantic. Though it may seem contradictory, I argue that there is a decolonial stance that comes with the act of resignifying a music that, for decades, was marked precisely as “colonial.” This means, in particular, moving away from the exoticism and folklorization that were described in chapter 5.

It is thus important to note that Early Music was not something new or unheard of in Latin America at the beginning of the 21st century. Furthermore, not all Early Music practitioners went to Europe to study. However, it is clear that this practice was inspired by a British, Dutch, Swiss, and French trend, or a North American one in some cases. On the one hand, the emigration of South Americans since the 1970s and 1980s—as we saw in chapter 4—and on the other, the popularization of colonial Latin American repertoire performances—as we examined in chapter 5—naturally provoked a reaction in Latin America, which was associated with movements that already existed there (chamber music groups, fusions between



folk and classical styles, musicological research, etc...), transforming the local musical scene.

Nevertheless, the significant wave of professionals and students returning to their countries led to a pronounced awareness of the importance of Early Music within professional Latin American “cultured music” circles. By way of an ethnographic study in the field of Early Music in several Latin American countries, I examine narratives that musicians build around their practice—from an insider's point of view. Based on participant observation and including a review of the scientific literature on the subject, I draw especially from interviews conducted between 2018 and 2020 with musicians and other actors in the Latin American Early Music movement.

## Why Early Music?

*I grew up with Vivaldi. At that time, records were not as difficult to obtain as they are today, they were cheaper than now, and thanks to that, I built a large disc collection for myself. I had both contemporary and baroque [music], especially Vivaldi. In high school, my buddy gave me a cassette and for the first time I listened to something that I didn't understand until years later, which was a polyphonic mass with sackbuts and shawms. This music haunted and obsessed me for practically my whole life.<sup>296</sup>*

(Roberto Rivadeneyra)

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<sup>296</sup> Interview with Roberto Rivadeneyra, Mexico City, June 11, 2020 (online).

Since the 1990s, Early Music has experienced a wave of expansion, transformation, and resignification. Scholars and performers such as Taruskin (1992), Haskell (1996), Butt (2002), and Haynes (2006) described, in their time, the limits of Historically Informed Performance (HIP).<sup>297</sup> The most important aspect of this new wave was undoubtedly that of reflexivity. The term “authenticity” ceased to play an important role either in how the repertoire was approached or in marketing strategies. It was left as an empty concept, an unattainable ideal, or a hypocritical farce—according to one’s point of view. As Víctor Rondón reflects in his interview,

The original mystique of discovering this repertoire from a place of innocence was lost [...] For the new generation [of musicians] it is quite normal to broaden the field of work. It’s just a double specialization, when for the broader context, Early Music is framed as *vintage*.<sup>298</sup> It comes from an idealization of the past—from a nostalgia for what we do not experience and which has to do with our complicated relationship to technology.<sup>299</sup>

Beyond this new reflexivity, the end of the 20th century also marked a moment of questioning the strictly European repertoire. Experiments were undertaken in the musical fusion of European and non-European genres— of “cultured” music and popular music. As a result, in the final years of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the desire for “pure” historicity was demystified, and practice became much more flexible. In South America, as in Europe, this allowed

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<sup>297</sup> For example, Víctor Rondón (2004, 2014) describes this turn as both practical and intellectual.

<sup>298</sup> Translator’s note: this passage is translated from Spanish, but the word “vintage” was in English in the original, connotating a specific association with the English-speaking world.

<sup>299</sup> Víctor Rondón, University of Chile, March 19, 2018.

for wider access to musicians with less philological training; meanwhile, an imaginary of the “historical” was maintained, expanded, or created from scratch, always backed by an aura of “authenticity,” though the word was no longer used explicitly. Thanks to this ambiguity between the imaginary and the “authentic,” growing interest was sparked on the part of the audience, and the movement experienced one of its most significant booms (Michel 2017).

As a result, the intense flow of musicians and ideas between Europe and Latin America continued to intensify, as migrant musicians always returned to their home countries to give concerts, classes, and courses—taking with them instruments, accessories, and scores. The economic nature of the CD also had an important effect on the diffusion of Early Music on this side of the Atlantic. It is not surprising, then, that this musical practice has seen notable development in the years since the end of the 1990s, and especially from the 2000s to the present.

One main reason invoked by the most recent generations of musicians for their interest in historically informed performance (HIP) is the relationship between Early Music and folk music, which was an important motivation for previous generations. Still, though it plays an important role, other reasons also dominate. In particular, there is a strong criticism of the professional field of “classical” music—deemed too elitist, both in the process of selecting musicians and in terms of public access. As Javiera Portales, a Chilean flute player, recalls:

When I was a teenager and was studying transverse flute, I loved to play Telemann.

And the music of popular inspiration too, like Piazzolla, for example. When I got to the

fifth year of conservatory and had to take the exam to pass to the upper level, I realized that the soloist repertoire of other eras or styles did not interest me.<sup>300</sup>

Along the same lines, Laura Fainstein—a lute and theorbo player in Buenos Aires—says that she preferred sharing the responsibility of performing with her peers, rather than receiving the applause for herself:

With classical guitar, I always had to play the soloist repertoire, like concertos, etc... but always alone! With baroque instruments, I understood then that I could play in large groups and escape the isolation of being a soloist. Maybe now I feel more like going back to the soloist repertoire with the early instruments, but at the beginning it was exactly the opposite. I liked the exploratory spirit, and above all the opening up to the idea of playing music within an ensemble. Playing together nourishes each person's musical work. [...] You enjoy it in a different way.<sup>301</sup>

This anti-elitist attitude is also found in other discourses, such as that of forming more “democratic” musicians and audiences for Early Music. Camilo Brandi, from the Catholic University of Santiago de Chile, expresses that following his instrumental training in France,

it would be wonderful if the world of organs was much more accessible! For there to be a broader cultural movement. But it is not easy. I understood that it is necessary to train some people very well, who can then train other people themselves in the future. It's like a pyramid: [...] passing on knowledge, from a cultural point of view, to the people at the top of the pyramid so that they can spread their knowledge. But not just in the aristocracy, in other social circles as well. [...] we can contribute so that our

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<sup>300</sup> Interview with Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, March 26, 2019.

<sup>301</sup> Interview with Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

audience isn't only an elite one. It is essential to create an enthusiastic audience which in the future will fill the halls and start conversations about this music.<sup>302</sup>

Javiera Portales adds to this:

In the so-called upper classes, a respect for Early Music is evident, but sometimes it seems like it is nothing more than snobbery. However, in other social classes, if we play those works even without mentioning that they are from the baroque period, people make it clear that they like it and enjoy it. I think it is important to consider the context when choosing what music to present and perform. There are works with more profound, or subtler, content than others—so to speak. I believe it is important to structure the program according to the audience. That's what we call the art of performance! Quantz wrote in his treatise on transverse flute that depending on the audience, one should play differently: for example, one should play faster for people who are simply music amateurs. You have to consider what you are presenting and to whom, in order to communicate with your audience. The time has passed when music was only for one social class; today, it reaches even rural areas without a problem.<sup>303</sup>

Through this anti-elitist discourse and the promotion of collaboration over competition, it is evident that there is a deep critique of the world of music known as “concert music.” Specifically, as Andrés Gerszenzon of Buenos Aires puts it:

The concert format is experiencing a huge crisis, which everyone is living. There is a desire for interdisciplinarity, and concerts are less focused on “pure music” and more on the relationship with the audience. And Early Music precisely allows us to contribute something different. The orchestral [classical/romantic] musician generally has some physical stress in their instrumental practice. Here, it is not only a matter of being

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<sup>302</sup> Interview with Camilo Brandi, Santiago de Chile, March 29, 2019.

<sup>303</sup> Interview with Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, March 26, 2019.

“technically” effective, but also of people knowing what it is we are playing. We are coming out of this mold. Additionally, it allows us to explore certain interests in other art forms, and religion as well. Even though I’m an atheist, my relationship with religion has changed. Early music, in a way, has made me more intellectually restless.<sup>304</sup>

The theme of searching for a meaning which is broader than just instrumental ability is also found in the life story of Ronaldo Lopes, who is originally from Rio de Janeiro and lives in Paris. Suffering from focal dystonia, his career as a classical guitar soloist was severely compromised. While working at a musical instrument store in the United States, where he had gone in search of a cure, he came across basso continuo scores with numbers and tablatures. Lopes understood that even if his physical problem was not solved, with this type of practice he could himself choose the notes and fingerings that would best suit him; in this way, he could eventually resume professional music playing activities.<sup>305</sup>

As we can see, the interest in Early Music of the generation that began their studies in the last decade of the 20th century goes far beyond the repertoire itself. There are broader ideals about social hierarchies which are reflected in hierarchies between musicians. There is a desire for integration between distinct intellectual interests, and “pure” virtuosity is scorned in order to produce—on the contrary—deeper meanings. These are also lifestyles that Early Music proposes. In the words of Laura Fainstein:

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<sup>304</sup> Interview with Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, June 11, 2019.

<sup>305</sup> Interview with Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, January 19, 2019.

Early Music allowed me to learn how to put together projects. Like a show, thinking about the repertoire but also taking into account other aspects. There are more options than with classical music. To be honest, I've learned a lot through Early Music—I would say even for my way of being in general.<sup>306</sup>

Above all, Early Music is a pretext, where in the end the "early" side of Early Music becomes much less relevant. José Luís Akel refers to

[...] creating new languages. And to create new things, we can also think backwards, even if it seems contradictory. We simply have to ask ourselves the right questions and establish links between the old and the new. How have things come to be the way they are? Both fields are valid—why should contemporary music be in conflict with Early Music, or vice versa? Also, why do we always oppose folk and what we call “cultured” [music]? There are potential bridges. For example, there is contemporary music for lute. I believe that little by little, if we follow this path early instruments will be reincorporated as current instruments and will be able to take advantage of a contemporary language. So, will there be novel changes to the instrument and its technique? Let's not forget that at that [Baroque] time, things were always modified, evolved, and technique also developed along with this process.<sup>307</sup>

Finally, interest in the past can be understood as a tool to critique the present and propose a better future. It is not a question of confining oneself to a historical past to escape from the present, but rather of inserting oneself into it with new ideas. Through Early Music and its critical, multidisciplinary, and intellectually conscious approach, there is a willingness to revisit the past—and change how we read it, to build new narratives.

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<sup>306</sup> Interview with Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

<sup>307</sup> Interview with José Luís Akel, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

## Formal teaching of Early Music in Latin America: difficulties and challenges

*There was a fever of Early Music, for the lute. Many classical guitarists liked the older repertoires, and we did the impossible in order to take lessons. At one point, I would meet up with five friends to take classes with different teachers. Once a month, we would get together at one house all day. One of [the students] came from Paraná, eight hours away by bus. [...] We would each pay the teacher a little bit and that was it. There was no institution, no support of any kind.<sup>308</sup> (Miguel de Olaso)*

In the first decade of the 21st century, Early Music education in Latin America was, in general, more developed than in the second half of the 20th century, though it was still not very widespread. There were always important challenges to overcome, either for musicians and students as individuals, or for institutional groups or ensembles to be considered a legitimate movement—in order to assert themselves professionally at the national or international level.

Possibilities opened up for the study of early instruments at existing musical institutions, but these were generally not expressed in the form of specialized programs or specific degrees in Early Music. Electives were the same for those studying harpsichord as for those studying piano; a recorder player had to learn romantic harmony instead of basso continuo, and the degrees conferred did not reflect

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<sup>308</sup> Interview with Miguel de Olaso, Rosariol, Argentina, June 13, 2019.



a student's specialization. These details produced certain tensions which we can imagine—sometimes without consequences, and in other cases with dramatic effects. For example, a recorder student from Mexico City told me that at the National Music School (now the Faculty of Music) at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), where he studied, a recorder class has existed for some decades thanks to the efforts of María Díez-Canedo Flores; however, it was always part of the modern, transverse flute professorship. In theory, this student could have taken classes with orchestral music professors who taught transverse flute, even though he did not play that instrument or repertoire at all. It is clear that, upon attempting this, he would have been quite negatively received by those professors. On his diploma, only “flute” is mentioned, without further detail. His path as an “early” musician is not reflected in any way.<sup>309</sup> The professor of viola da gamba from the same institution—when returning from her studies in Chicago—fought determinedly for years and years to establish a major for viola da gamba, while also teaching it as an optional instrument for cellists and guitarists. This professor told me that one of the many problems she encountered with the administration was that the instrumental methods she used were from the 17th century, while the university's rules did not allow professors to use methods published more than thirty years ago, so as to be “up-to-date” and “high-performing.”<sup>310</sup> We see here a series of bureaucratic and administrative contradictions that reach a certain degree of absurdity and surely have a strong impact

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<sup>309</sup> Informal conversation with Ricardo Rodríguez, February 8, 2020. In 2008 the new study program included recorder as a major (see details below).

<sup>310</sup> Informal conversation with Gabriela Villa Walls, November 7, 2018.

on students and professors. Paulina Cerna, a former viola da gamba student, explained that once she finished the very lengthy violin program, which was seven years long at UNAM, she could not validate the years of study in which she took viola da gamba as an optional subject in Mexico for lack of an official diploma that proved she knew how to play it. When Cerna went abroad to study viola da gamba, she had to start her studies over again from the beginning.<sup>311</sup>

Certain mentalities were another determining factor in the motivations—or lack thereof—of young people interested in Early Music. It is common that one wants to learn an early instrument but one’s “principal” professor prevents their students from doing so. These cases are very frequent with teachers of all instruments, and even more so for singing classes. Early Music as a practice has seen a certain amount of growth, but it has not ceased to be “badly viewed” by many professional musicians and professors in the “modern” domain.<sup>312</sup> They reproduce such disdainful discourses, repeating the old myth that “early” musicians are failed “modern” musicians, and asserting that learning “baroque” techniques is harmful to the development of a healthy, modern technique. It is a fact—as Roberto Rivadeneyra notes—that

many people who approach Early Music lack a technical basis, which has strengthened the false perception that the early repertoire is “easier” or that it is for people who are not able to play later repertoires. However, the early repertoire has its own difficulties, which are different. Great “modern” musicians may try to play virtuoso

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<sup>311</sup> Interview with Paulina Cerna Huici, Mexico City, May 27, 2020 (online).

<sup>312</sup> As is typical in this field, I use the adjective “modern” in opposition to “early.”

pieces from the 17th century, and simply can't get it right. But unfortunately, we still suffer from this prejudice.<sup>313</sup>

I argue that this type of rejection by "modern" musicians is typical of a community which is in a position of losing prestige, and which sees a risk, a threat, in a growing community which—although it is not in opposition to their own—questions its deepest and most implicit foundations. Egberto Bermúdez, referring to the work of Richard Taruskin, speaks of the "liberating effect" of Early Music, "especially with respect to the almost tyrannical hegemony that, as a legacy of the 19th century, the classical 'canonical' works had in the repertoire and its performers during the first part of the 20th century."<sup>314</sup> The Early Music movement is ambiguous in that it is sometimes presented as a subculture of classical music and as being integrated into it, yet sometimes it is in opposition to the latter and its associated practices. Hence there is a response which is not always favorable—although it is mixed with curiosity—from people in positions of power within the institutions that safeguard the "modern" classical music tradition.

Meanwhile, the lack of professional and specialized spaces for those who want to dedicate themselves to Early Music means that they must continue to teach themselves, finding out more about this practice, yet without losing sight of more formal studies of "modern" classical music. Such studies, in addition to offering them a real degree, will allow them to live more securely and in a more stable way as teachers or concert performers, as compared to a career in Early Music, where the

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<sup>313</sup> Interview with Roberto Rivadeneyra, Mexico City, June 11, 2020 (online).

<sup>314</sup> Bermúdez 2015, p. 170.

hope of surviving only from such activities are practically nil. Beyond the discrimination that musicians and instrumentalists may suffer “from both sides,” concrete problems can arise that prevent a more complete pursuit of Early Music on par with other, more traditional careers. We have seen that singers who are in the process of building their vocal technique suffer from prejudices that make it impossible for them to train in lyrical singing while also singing earlier music.<sup>315</sup> Guitarists also face a fundamental problem: fingernail cutting. In many of my interviews with plucked-string musicians, a detailed account of “the day I cut my nails” was provided as a more than decisive moment in their careers. In fact, the lute and theorbo are played without nails, with the fingertips (of the right hand). As such, shortening your fingernails also means giving up any possibility of playing classical guitar professionally at a high level. It is a radical choice that musicians must make—entering one world by giving up the other (though they can continue to teach and play at a less competitive level).

During those decades there was also a crucial lack of instruments, accessories, and other material resources for the practice of Early Music in Latin America. Ronaldo Lopes mentions that whenever he traveled to Brazil, he always remembered to bring sets of strings for plucked instruments with him. Plucked string instruments suffer from a lack of gut string production at the local level, and it is known that such strings have a much shorter life expectancy than metal strings. Reeds for early wind

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<sup>315</sup> This prejudice is gradually being refuted among musicians of different circles, including “modern” practitioners.

instrument are also practically non-existent on the continent.<sup>316</sup> Musical scores, especially before the spread of digitized scores and transcriptions which were developed at the end of the 2000s, were very scarce and of highly limited access. Many people depended on other musicians' trips to Europe to be able to discover music publishing innovations, if with some delay and to a smaller degree than people living in Europe. Furthermore, not all teachers—in the case that there were specialized teachers living in the country—were willing to adapt to the new stylistic and interpretative tendencies that were becoming popular in Europe. Camilo Brandi recounts that his teacher "did not have the desire to update his playing," and that Brandi's way of playing, when he arrived in Europe, was considered "old fashioned"; some people even spoke of "musical underdevelopment."<sup>317</sup>

For all of these reasons—whether institutional, ideological, technical, or material—the formal study of Early Music was not an easy undertaking, and surely posed many more difficulties than for a European student of the same level, age, and social status.<sup>318</sup> Latin Americans who dedicated themselves to the study of Early Music did so with a clearly defined and often-tested determination, having very explicit motivations and a true desire to establish themselves within a reality distinct from that of “modern” classical music, on its fringe and often navigating between the two. At the same time (since the beginning of the 2000s), Early Music in Europe had become an accepted trend, certainly with a more or less critical stance towards

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<sup>316</sup> To the author's knowledge, there is, however, a modest center of production in La Plata, Argentina. Still there may exist other smaller or home-made productions in other places.

<sup>317</sup> Interview with Camilo Brandi, Santiago de Chile, March 29, 2019.

<sup>318</sup> A similar social status does not imply that they would have the same economic capabilities, given the differences in purchasing power between each country's currency.

“modern” music practice, but which presented itself more as an additional opportunity for professional boost (by widening one’s field of expertise) than as a daily struggle to defend one’s ideas, positions, and actions.

## Specialization and migration

*There were many people interested in Early Music. Some left, others went and came back, and others stayed. Those who stayed were kind of self-taught because there were not really any institutions here.*

*They took classes with those who had left, when they returned or were visiting the country.<sup>319</sup> (José Luís Akel)*

Despite the difficulty of finding spaces and the right conditions in which to specialize in Early Music, this "trend"—which had achieved a high degree of acceptance and diffusion in the the so-called "First World"—spread rapidly through all of Latin America between 1990 and 2000. Individual interests emerged, as well as informal “schools” revolving around an isolated teacher. In particular, outside of capital cities groups developed, of varying sizes but with a certain influence on new generations. Córdoba (Argentina), Curitiba (Brazil), Rancagua (Chile), Cartagena (Colombia), Guadalajara (Mexico), Guayaquil (Ecuador), and Santiago de Cuba, for example, are secondary cities that nevertheless had a very important role in the "production" of young musicians who started in the world of Early Music, in addition to the capitals of those countries. Similarly, smaller countries (in terms of population) sometimes

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<sup>319</sup> Interview with José Luís Akel, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

followed already existing traditions of Early Music practice, but from then on with more professional approaches; this was the case in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Uruguay, among others. However, precisely because of the challenges of studying from more remote locations and with more difficult conditions, many of these young people decided to emigrate to Europe to continue their studies and start their careers as professional musicians specializing in Early Music. Additionally, government scholarships aimed at supporting such young musicians' migrations to Europe to facilitate their studies became widespread—particularly in Mexico, Chile, and Brazil. In some cases, they were given the responsibility of returning to their home countries to give back their knowledge, though this stipulation was not always respected by the scholarship holders.

Meanwhile, the principal schools that offer such music programs in Europe—including Basel (Switzerland), Den Haag (Netherlands), Lyon (France), Trossingen (Germany), and Barcelona (Spain)—received a much more diverse “Latino” population than in previous decades, which had come mainly from the Southern Cone and was, in large part, racially white. The new generation of migrants that began around 2000 and intensified in the following years included people who do not necessarily identify themselves by their European genetic or cultural heritage, but who do have an interest in the repertoire, practice, sounds, and approach to the music so particular to Early Music. With the simultaneous arrival of other populations, in particular from Asia (especially Japan and South Korea) and Israel, the “Latinos” became one more among various non-European groups. The Europeans became a

minority, and despite latent racism and a nationalistic preference—denied, but very real, as we saw in chapter 4—the musicians’ origin became a minor element within such educational spaces. Strong “Latino” communities were created at each of these schools, which are increasingly diverse, including more and more nationalities, but where language acts as a community builder. Among Latin Americans, a supportive environment makes it much easier for the newest arrivals. Ronaldo Lopes describes these students’ survival strategies in Lyon:

There was a lot of mutual support, a strong spirit of solidarity. We contributed as a group to help those who needed it most. My Argentinian friends came to the school cafeteria but did not eat there; they only took bread and olives, the only things that were free. I spent a year only eating lentils. We spent our days at the conservatory—it had heating (which our houses did not) and an incredible library. An Argentinian colleague made it his goal to read the entire organ repertoire that the library had. The French students were also supportive. But they didn't realize how lucky they were.<sup>320</sup>

Antonia Sánchez also commented on the support of colleagues she had met before she left. She states that

Latin Americans in The Hague, we help each other a lot. They all made things easier for me, and in fact the Europeans did too. Here it’s more difficult. In Europe, there is a lot of competition, but—how can I explain—it’s healthy competition. People share materials, even instruments.<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Interview with Ronaldo Lopes, Paris, December 19, 2019.

<sup>321</sup> Interview with Antonia Sánchez, Santiago del Chile, March 25, 2019.



But at the same time that the formation, whether natural or forced, of these communities allows for a certain solidarity, it also provokes many categorizations and preconceived ideas about “Latinos”:

One professor at the conservatory said that Latin Americans have “that emotional thing on the surface” but that they lack method. He said that Europeans were more “correct.”<sup>322</sup>

These preconceptions are also reclaimed by the students in question themselves.

Radamés Paz, while affirming that he was “very well received” in Europe, adds:

I arrived in The Hague during the 2000's, and many other Mexicans went there during those years. In fact, they called us the “Mexican Mafia.” There were about ten of us and we were all a little bit crazy. It was a shock for the conservatory.<sup>323</sup>

However, not everyone felt like part of the community, and some decided to took advantage of their stay abroad to discover new cultures. Diego Villela assures us that “[he] didn't hang out with other Chileans there.”<sup>324</sup> Beyond discovering a new culture, the cultural exchange and experience of living abroad was for Nelson Contreras a way to find himself—to understand his own identity.<sup>325</sup>

Despite the much broader opportunities to play Early Music professionally in Europe as compared to Latin America, and the “dream” that many mention of being in the very places where the music originated, not everyone wanted to stay in Europe. Many musicians, after an intense and instructive stay abroad, returned to their

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> Interview with Radamés Paz, Mexico City, June 19, 2020 (online).

<sup>324</sup> Interview with Diego Villela, Santiago de Chile, March 27, 2019.

<sup>325</sup> Interview with Nelson Contreras by El Modo Antiguo - Radio San Joaquín online on April 20, 2020. <https://www.radiosanjoaquin.cl/2020/04/20/al-modo-antiguo-nelson-contreras-violagambista-chileno/> Consulted April 26, 2020.

countries with the desire to bring back what they had learned, and to contribute to the Early Music scene that had been growing in those countries during the same years.

## Local alternatives

*I dream that they will pay attention to these instruments [like the viola da gamba, or other early instruments]. If there is no hope of finding a job here, the student's plan is to leave Chile. It's a challenge to maintain a certain level here, with the people who do stay. The musicians are under the impression that everything is better there, everything is perfect. And later, when one emigrates there, one realizes that it is not like that.<sup>326</sup> (Florencia Bardavid)*

While a large portion of the students and young musicians who wanted to specialize in Early Music went to Europe or other places in the "first" world to study, obtain degrees, and/or start a career, growing interest in the genre meant that local Early Music scenes also developed in Latin American countries—gradually offering more alternatives. Not everyone wanted to or was able to migrate, for a variety of reasons: familiar, economic, ideological, or simply for personality-related reasons. Laura Fainstein explains that she was accepted to the Superior School of Barcelona, but for classical guitar. In the end she decided not to go, also because she would have lost a teaching position, which were very difficult to secure in Argentina.<sup>327</sup> José Akel did not want to leave his country either, though it was complicated for him to obtain a complete formation in early plucked strings; at first time he looked for partly in-

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<sup>326</sup> Interview with Florencia Bardavid Hoecker, Santiago de Chile, March 27, 2019.

<sup>327</sup> Interview with Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

person classes that allowed him to continue working on other training related to his interests, like musicology.<sup>328</sup> Javiera Portales also emphasizes her denial to migrate, in spite of the difficulty of practicing her art in Chile:

One often wonders if one should migrate abroad. People feel the need to be understood, to share their passion with more people, and they want to leave. Especially with the recorder, which is not valued very much here. At a certain point I did have the impression that I hit the ceiling with my training, since the Chilean environment did not have much more to offer me. I understand those who leave, it is a very valid decision—especially if one finishes one's degree at 21 or 22 years old, then what do you do? But there are still not many who come back. And us, we're here. Because of this, the possibility of a better recorder education is not promoted, and I don't deny that we feel alone, those of us who are here. We need the support of people who rise up a level. For Europeans, Early Music must be something like a mother tongue, while for us it is something imported. Chileans always look towards Europe, eager to be like them.<sup>329</sup>

But Portales found the solution to her relative isolation in the form of short trips and other types of relationships with European musicians or those who live in Europe:

What I'm really looking for is a way to combine the good time I have here with some sort of link to European culture. For example, taking short trips, meeting people, attending concerts... And then coming back and giving back to my country what I learned there. I always thought that this is how I would nurture my students. I'm not interested in getting more degrees, but I am interested in playing with and learning from musicians of all levels. I like to unite both worlds—both professionals and students—and learn from each other. That's where really nice things happen. It's a question of dedication, of

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<sup>328</sup> Interview with José Luís Akel, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

<sup>329</sup> Interview with Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, March 26, 2019.

humility. I ask for classes from anyone I see who plays better than me. That's how I've been able to move forward. I always participate in masterclasses with good music teachers. For example, I traveled to the Scuola Civica [in Milan] for a course last month. But the opposite is also true: Manfredo Zimmerman came to Chile and I took the opportunity to take classes with him.<sup>330</sup>

Beyond a strengthened connection with Europe through exchanges of various kinds, including brief trips in both directions (going to take a course in Europe, or taking a masterclass with a co-national visiting the country or with a foreigner on tour), there are also many opportunities for exchanges between Latin American countries, where Argentina in South America and—to a lesser degree—Mexico for Central American countries, are particularly attractive given that they have more material and human resources.<sup>331</sup> Javiera Portales talks about her recent travels to Buenos Aires to study traverso, meet other flutists, have exchanges with them, and feel part of a community that was not present in Santiago at the time.<sup>332</sup> Similarly, it is common for Guatemalans to look to Mexico for better educational opportunities. Recently, I welcomed a member of the group Prosodia (from Guatemala City), originally from El Salvador, in my baroque bassoon class at the UNAM Faculty of Music (Mexico City).<sup>333</sup> Likewise, a colleague of this musician, who plays the recorder and the cornet, had just returned from a trip to Cuba where she had the opportunity to take

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Nonetheless, other countries also have a strong attraction for those of neighboring nationalities, such as Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Cuba.

<sup>332</sup> Interview with Javiera Portales, Santiago de Chile, March 26, 2019.

<sup>333</sup> During the baroque bassoon and bassoon course (Continuing Education) in June 2019.

classes with teachers who have a fairly high level.<sup>334</sup> A young Ecuadorian violinist related that she organized a stay of a few months in Mexico City, to prepare for and pass the entrance exams for the UNAM program.<sup>335</sup> But by far the most striking example of informal education on a continental scale is a workshop in Bariloche, in southeastern Argentina. This tourist city has over the course of various summers been transformed into a "music camp" of international fame for decades. Early Music held an important place at these camps (a combination between a summer workshop and a festival), in particular thanks to the efforts of Gabriel Garrido at the end of the 20th century.<sup>336</sup> In the stories told by Argentinians, Chileans, and Brazilians, among others, the Bariloche classes were an important—if not decisive—stage along their path of studying Early Music. They were also a key element in the constitution of a network of contacts which could be drawn upon, not only in the case of emigration to Europe but also to establish future professional collaborations.

Exchanges within Latin America are also organized on a professional level, around festivals and strategic sites of Early Music performance. To give a few examples, the Chiquitos festival in Bolivia has been evoked as a nerve center for the Latin American practice of Early Music since the 1990s—with a special focus on the

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<sup>334</sup> Informal conversations with members of the Prosodia Ensemble, Guatemala City, May 2019.

<sup>335</sup> Informal conversation with Gabriela Cobo, Mexico City, May 29, 2019 (during the Early Music Festival at Bucareli 69 - FEMA).

<sup>336</sup> The Early Music seminar experienced a pause in the past few years, but it seems that activities were about to resume from this year, 2020. I have not been able to verify if the COVID-19 pandemic prevented it. <https://www.facebook.com/seminariomusicaantiguabariloche/> accessed on May 18, 2020; the cover photo announced the festival for February 5 to 15, 2020. No more information is found on this site, a brief investigation would be necessary to know if the festival actually took place or not.

Bolivian missionary repertoire. Aurelio Tello, who has been active at Caracas' musicology and Early Music festivals since 1990, and later in the Chiquitos festival, comments on the latter event:

These festivals have contributed to the development of Latin American Early Music, starting with the Caracas festival. In Chiquitos, there is more of a focus on the music of Chiquitos, or missionary music, but with groups from all over the world.<sup>337</sup> This began thanks to the Elyma Ensemble, who along with producer Alain Pacquier made records and the music became very famous. Because of this festival, a large contingent of people went to Chiquitos. Peter Nawrot, Bernardo Illari, but also regional orchestras, children's schools, instrument makers. It was a global movement, attracting ensembles from all over the world, [who did a great] job with the young people there. Choirs, orchestras, etc... that brought children from the villages together with English groups. The festival continues to be vital for the recovery of both the repertoire and the practices associated with it.<sup>338</sup>

The Sacred Music Festival in Quito, during Holy Week, also attracts groups from all over Latin America. Although not strictly for Early Music (any music of a religious nature can be present), a good part of the programming includes that repertoire. Argentinians, Mexicans, Colombians, and Costa Ricans compete in the early repertoire with groups from Europe and North America.<sup>339</sup>

The issue of competition between “local” and “foreign” groups is a topic that has been criticized often in the case of major festivals that primarily invite European

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<sup>337</sup> One of the requirements for acceptance to the Chiquitos festival is to include in one's repertoire at least one missionary work from the Chiquitanía.

<sup>338</sup> Interview with Aurelio Tello. Lima, April 2, 2019.

<sup>339</sup> See programs from the Quito Sacred Music festival, 2016 to 2020 (the latter will have probably been canceled). Available in pdf format on [www.teatrosucre.com](http://www.teatrosucre.com) (consulted on May 18, 2020).

ensembles, limiting access to the stage for musicians trained in the country itself. I am thinking in particular of the renowned Cervantino Festival in Guanajuato, Mexico, and the Colombian festivals in Cartagena (and to a lesser extent, Villa de Leyva). This criticism seems to have been taken into account in recent years, perhaps in part as a way to address financial limitations, since many of these festivals depend on foreign support and embassies, which are less and less inclined to support such events.<sup>340</sup>

However, the interviews showed that despite musicians' willingness to travel within their own continent, organizers tend to prefer musicians from Europe or the United States, thus reproducing a geopolitics of power that keeps the Latin American continent (or region) in a position of inferiority. There are also festivals which are less important on a global level and which have a more explicit interest in exchanges between countries in the region—for example the festivals in Lima, Montevideo, and Costa Rica, among others.

There are also relatively stable places and/or ensembles that allow for a flow of musicians between countries. Very typical in this sense, for example, are exchanges that happen between Chile and Argentina. The Colón Theatre's Early Music season is based on a collaboration between theater teachers and the New

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<sup>340</sup> I take this information from many informal conversations with Kabil Zerouali, in Quito, Ecuador.

World Baroque Orchestra, based in Rancagua (Chile), and responds to the invitation for a return to collaboration in Chile between those same musicians.<sup>341</sup>

As another example of such musical exchanges between different Latin American countries, one can think of the 50th anniversary celebration activities commemorating the acquisition of the Sánchez Garza Collection by the National Institute of Fine Arts (INBA), which brought together three groups from Cuba, Mexico, and Guatemala amidst educational and performance activities; I have analyzed this event in another work.<sup>342</sup>

### A new scene emerges<sup>343</sup>

*Twenty years ago, the cultural situation was more difficult. We no longer have to explain what Early Music is—everyone knows, even other musicians. There is a more informed perspective. Twenty years ago, that was not the case. Now we have a certain degree of validity. Before, it was eccentric. Today, there are Early Music concert seasons, or parts of seasons, and it is recognized as a specialization. Modern orchestras no longer include baroque works in their repertoire; they know that the audience is prepared.<sup>344</sup> (Andrés Gerszenzon)*

Since 2010, the Early Music scene has undergone profound changes, which have been quite radical for some more economically vulnerable musicians. After the 2008

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<sup>341</sup> Interview with Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (AR), June 13, 2019. You can also check the information at <http://orquestanuevomundo.net/> (last consulted on July 1, 2020).

<sup>342</sup> Michel 2019b.

<sup>343</sup> This section is not exhaustive, and given the breadth of the region examined, it is not possible to mention all of the groups and institutions that are part of this movement here.

<sup>344</sup> Interview with Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, June 11, 2019.



financial crisis, which had disastrous consequences for the European economy, working conditions for freelance musicians in Northern European countries deteriorated. This led to an increase in the “comings” of musicians who had migrated to Europe to study and who, in many cases, stayed there to start their careers as independent musicians specializing in Early Music.<sup>345</sup> Andrés Gerszenzon speaks of "a 'reflux' of musicians, some with a reputation and career already at a very high level, such as Manfredo Kraemer."<sup>346</sup> Yet such returns had already been happening since the 1990s, for various reasons, though in general similar to those who did not emigrate. For instance, Víctor Rondón explains:

The University of Santiago de Chile wanted to have a stable group. To be in Europe was a dream, but I felt I had some responsibility to my own scene, in my own country. In 1981 or '82 I decided to return to Chile and we founded Syntagma Musicum, which still exists today, with another generation of musicians.<sup>347</sup>

Syntagma Musicum, a permanent ensemble operating under the supervision of the University of Santiago de Chile, is one of few Early Music ensembles which run on a stable basis, together with the Conjunto de Música Antiga at the Fluminense em Niterói Federal University (near Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)—since 1982<sup>348</sup>—and more recently, the Conjunto de Música Antiga at the University of São Paulo.<sup>349</sup> In Europe, although musicians have a “loyalty” to certain ensembles,<sup>350</sup> the idea of a

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<sup>345</sup> See also Michel 2019a.

<sup>346</sup> Interview with Andrés Gerszenzon, Buenos Aires, June 11, 2019.

<sup>347</sup> Interview with Víctor Rondón, University of Chile, Santiago. March 19, 2019.

<sup>348</sup> <http://culturanageroi.com.br/blog/?id=2193> consulted on May 19, 2020.

<sup>349</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Conjunto-de-M%C3%BAsica-Antiga-da-USP-225959464232210/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Conjunto-de-M%C3%BAsica-Antiga-da-USP-225959464232210/about/?ref=page_internal) consulted on May 19, 2020.

<sup>350</sup> François, 2004.

permanent ensemble would be an "aberration," in the words of Hector de Magalhães, who has lived in Paris for decades. The practice of Early Music in Europe is defined, in part, by its freelance nature, in opposition to the world of symphonic orchestras. These differences helped make the Latin American realities more attractive for coming generations of musicians. Camilo Brando relates:

There are very few of us here; we could count the [baroque] organists on our fingers. But even so, I felt more useful here, being able to contribute something to the musical reality in Chile, rather than staying in France. And when I returned, there were new things that I had not had the opportunity to learn at that time. I remained emotionally very close to the University of Chile (UCI), where I had studied. But the Early Music field is stronger at the Catholic University (UC), where there is an older tradition of teaching and practicing Early Music, practically since the 1950s. Fortunately, from the beginning I had fraternal relationships with the UC professors. I helped with the students and played in some concerts. [...] Here in Santiago there are also several ensembles. There are not many yet, but even so, we can see that the movement has withstood the test of time. And lately it has been opening up more and more.<sup>351</sup>

These ensembles, whether permanent or not, have seen a strong development and growth since 2000—both because of the highly educated musicians who came back with a sense of commitment, to “give back” their knowledge to their country’s youth, and because of the local effervescence of musicians who did not migrate and maintained a constant effort to promote Early Music in their local scenes.

Above all, several schools and programs with specializations in Early Music were launched, which was unprecedented. The most important of these is the

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<sup>351</sup> Interview with Camilo Brandi, Santiago de Chile, March 29, 2019.

Certificate in Early Music at the Manuel de Falla Conservatory in Buenos Aires. This "degree program" grants the title of "Specialist in Early Music" [*técnico superior en música antigua*]<sup>352</sup>—that is, an officially recognized diploma for specific training in Early Music, not a general diploma with an added mention as used to be done all over the continent.<sup>352</sup> This program includes specific courses for each instrument, general courses (chamber music, social history of music, and ornamentation, among others), optional workshops and seminars (dance, scenography, recitation, literature...), and ends each semester with a few institutional projects. This integration of practical and theoretical subjects over the course of several semesters—with the purpose of being able to move into the world of Early Music with professionalized tools—is an absolute novelty in the continent, and positions Buenos Aires at the same level as European institutes of relative importance.<sup>353</sup> This program has been attractive for many Argentinians dedicated to Early Music at the local level, many of whom were already active professionally, but also for foreigners who do not have the same opportunity in their countries. Laura Fainstein explains:

Since the formation of the program at the Manuel de Falla [Conservatory], there have been many more people coming and learning about Early Music. There is definitely more interest—yes, lately there has been much more. With respect to concerts, at the

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<sup>352</sup> <https://cmfalla-caba.infod.edu.ar/sitio/tec-sup-en-musica-antigua-4/> Consulted on May 19, 2020. Internal documents from the conservatory shared by one of the interviewees were also consulted. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=578183746260742>

<sup>353</sup> The “first” schools, such as Den Haag, Basel, and Lyon, will always have an advantage—not only because of the quality of education they offer but also because of their fame and the ability of their students to create important contact networks for their future careers. Meanwhile, although the program at the Manuel de Falla Conservatory is unique, there are other efforts to create academic spaces focused on the practice of Early Music, such as at Alberto Hurtado University in Chile, which attracts a new generation of musicians recently returned from Europe.

moment [2019] there are many cutbacks. And there are fewer activities. Even so, many people from other Latin American countries come to study at the Falla. There really are no other programs like this in Latin America. Students come from Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. Sometimes they don't even complete the degree and end up returning to their country, but that way the movement in those countries is encouraged. Here there are not many possibilities to play, but yes, at least you can study!<sup>354</sup>

In Mexico, things have changed relatively quickly in recent years. For example, the very recent Academy of Early Music (AMA) at UNAM brought about radically important changes for the Early Music movement in the country in 2018, as well as prompting a wave of criticism that demonstrated the significance of the subject. The AMA is distinctive in that it is an academy—that is, an educational space that pays students a stipend per project, allowing them to undertake professionalizing activities. But such efforts are not unanimously well received by local musicians. In particular, there is the paradoxical situation that the AMA orchestra is not connected to the Faculty of Music, even though both belong to the same parent institution, UNAM. Quite critical of this project, Radamés Paz also sees in the creation of the AMA an institutional willingness to control the workings of Early Music, creating a practically insurmountable level of competition (given that few other ensembles can afford to pay an almost regular salary) and consequently reducing the existence of small, autonomous ensembles. Paz says that:

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<sup>354</sup> Interview with Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires. June 12, 2019.

Early Music in Mexico is now starting to gain more recognition, but institutions are getting in the way due to a lack of openness, and the fact that they do not listen to young people. [...] There is a lot of conservatism. If we think about it, Early Music is almost out of fashion in northern countries and we haven't even begun to teach it. And the AMA doesn't help—it was [founded] at the precise time when there were starting to be a lot of independent ensembles. There were smaller but interesting projects, like Antiqua Metropolis, for example. Now this institution comes in with a huge budget and dismantles everything else.<sup>355</sup>

Beyond ensembles, academies (institutional or not), or individual and spontaneous projects, the formation of an audience became increasingly important—especially with changes in communicative media and the predominance of social networks. The radio, a rather outdated medium, has been modernized in order to spread knowledge about both music history and the contemporary musicians who are part of the Early Music movement. To cite just a few representative cases, we can consider the MusicAntigua radio station in Chile,<sup>356</sup> the "Early Music" program on the radio station at Rio Grande do Sul Federal University (UFRGS) in Brazil,<sup>357</sup> or a program called "Early Music for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" on the National University of Colombia's radio station.<sup>358</sup> Furthermore, it should be added that by way of the

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<sup>355</sup> Interview with Radamés Paz, Mexico City, June 19, 2020 (online).

<sup>356</sup> <http://www.musicantiguaenchile.cl/> (accessed on July 1, 2020)

<sup>357</sup> <https://www.ufrgs.br/musicaantiga/> (accessed on July 1, 2020)

<sup>358</sup> <http://unradio.unal.edu.co/nc/detalle/cat/musica-antigua-para-el-siglo-xxi.html> (accessed on July 1, 2020)

internet, access to other programs in Europe and the United States makes it much easier to expand the public's knowledge, along with that of musicians.<sup>359</sup>

## Revisiting the repertoire

*There were big changes between 1990 and 2010. Globalization ended up being reflected in the fields of research and approaches to the repertoire. This is a path that was opened by Stevenson and Curt Lange. In the 1990s there was already a new generation of researchers; in the next 20 years, we finally saw a more complete vision. In the 1970s you couldn't play the colonial repertoire, because after the revolution, everything had changed and the colonial period was no longer part of our history. Since the '90s, there has been more openness, and less idealization. We have to keep working. And young people can take advantage of everything that has been studied. The world is more integrated—there are an incredible number of platforms. One quickly learns about the world and has access to more complete, shared knowledge.<sup>360</sup> (Aurelio Tello)*

As the possibilities of learning and playing Early Music grow in Latin America, so do those of revisiting the Latin American Early Music Repertoire (henceforth referred to as the LAEMR).<sup>361</sup> New points of view emerge in Latin America that have the potential to counteract aesthetic trends which were imposed on the repertoire from the outside in a neocolonial manner. As a reaction to the exoticism and repertoire

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<sup>359</sup> As an example, see the Early Music Source platform <https://www.earlymusicsources.com/home> (accessed July 1, 2020)

<sup>360</sup> Interview with Aurelio Tello, Lima, April 2, 2019.

<sup>361</sup> It is also customary to speak of the "Colonial Repertoire" to refer to musicological research in Latin American archives (see for example Waisman 2004). The idea of the LAEMR designation that I use here is that it is fully integrated into historically informed practice, or Early Music, and is no longer a neutral repertoire (for use by amateur choirs or modern ensembles, for example). See also chapter 5.

folklorization—but also the self-essentialization (strategic or not) that became normalized in relation to the Latin American repertoire and, by extension, to Latin American musicians—a new generation is claiming a space within musical circles, affirming its identity in a unique and positive way.<sup>362</sup>

To begin with, Latin America's marginal position within the global production of Western music is being questioned. Andrés Locatelli, when performing colonial music in Europe, draws from this repertoire as an “experiment in reception” to confuse European audiences with his own idea of a canon, by way of “a repertoire that today is seen as marginal but which in its time was perhaps not so much.”<sup>363</sup> Critiques of the always “exceptional” place of the LAEMR also materialize, expressed here by Laura Fainstein:

This repertoire is played as part of the [Manuel de Falla Conservatory in Buenos Aires] program. There is a class, “Latin American Baroque,” that includes a research project. On the contrary, there is no particular subject such as “French Music.” However, in the “normal” chamber music classes the Latin American repertoire is not played, rather, the French one is.<sup>364</sup>

Speaking about the same program, Professor Miguel de Olasso also states:

There is a class at the Manuel de Falla Conservatory on “American Baroque.” Who gave it that name? It's very vague! What America? There is only one quarter in the program, from March to July; it is very short. Well, we do what we can. [...] But this music is unfathomable: imagine if we had to play the whole *Chiquitos* archive, all of the

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<sup>362</sup> The discussion of the folklorization, self-essentialization, and exoticization of the LAEMR is not the direct focus of this chapter; refer to chapter 5 for more information. Here we will deal with opposing positions.

<sup>363</sup> Online interview with Andrés Locatelli, January 3, 2019.

<sup>364</sup> Interview with Laura Fainstein, Buenos Aires, June 12, 2019.

music of Brazil—it's unthinkable. The same is true for all subjects, but for that one in particular even more so.<sup>365</sup>

Besides wanting to reposition the production of Western music in Latin America in terms of its proper quantity, there is a growing effort on the part of musicians and musicologists to give this repertoire a particular aesthetic value. Aurelio Tello explains his position and the motivation behind the work he has been doing for decades:

I have done many transcriptions; I have given workshops at the University. We must play this repertoire. Also, with Cénidim I'm doing comparative projects, publications. [...] The viceregal period allows us to rethink the history of music and culture. For example, the *villancico* originated in both Spain and Latin America. Covering this repertoire is key to rediscovering the musical history of Latin America. And we will continue to transform it! Here we are at the heart of culture. Composers such as Herman Franco, Pedro Bermúdez, Francisco López Capilla, Gaspar Fernández, have all learned European musical culture. And they themselves created top quality music—not only by plagiarizing Europe but also by having an aesthetic of their own, at the same level.<sup>366</sup>

Considering this further, the existence of an immense LAEMR may even invert the positions of Europe and Latin America, since at present the greatest innovations may come from the latter. As expressed by Alejandro Vera:

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<sup>365</sup> Interview with Miguel de Olaso, Rosario (Argentina) June 13, 2019.

<sup>366</sup> Interview with Aurelio Tello, Lima, April 2, 2019.



Is there an interest in our repertoire in Europe? Yes, because of the European need to expand their repertoire. Similarly, they can also think of new ways to perform their repertoire. For example, one can make comparisons between Mexican and European sources of the same or similar pieces.<sup>367</sup>

For Víctor Rondón, this interest—which now takes a more reciprocal form—came to change the ways in which the LAEMR was embraced, and has profound effects on the identity formation of musicians themselves.

When it became harder to find musical novelties in Europe, Europeans began to look here. This marked a turning point, as repertoires emerged that could interest even them. First this was the case with vocal music, based on cathedral archives, for example. Then a lot of instrumental music appeared, and now some treatises as well. Moreover, the composer's nationality could influence this interest: in the missions there were Swiss and German priests, for example. And Spanish composers, of course there were a great number of them. So, the new generation will have to define what this music represents—what it is, whose it is. They'll have to redefine their identity. Before, French productions, for example the "Chemins du baroque," had a sound that was more "exotic" and "strange" for the new audiences. What was not exotic enough did not interest them. In Europe they're asked to play a repertoire from here, but always in a certain style. And the music ensembles say: "the Europeans want that, let's give it to them". Things like adding percussion, a more ethnographic way of singing. But there's also another option. In the end, Early Music from both sides of the Atlantic is part of the same repertoire, with some small differences, but not enough to claim some kind of identity.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Interview with Alejandro Vera, Santiago de Chile, April 2019.

<sup>368</sup> Interview with Víctor Rondón, Santiago de Chile, March 2019.

As established by Rondón and many other musicians, an interest in Early Music and in particular in the LAEMR is a way to retake possession of their history, recognize the colonial past, and propose a new consideration of the social, racial, and cultural problems in each country. The existence of *villancicos de negro*, for example, is still the focus of an effort to move these songs away from a folklorizing, parodic stance, but to become a historical source from which one can confront a racist and exclusionary past on the part of the white upper classes—who, in many cases, still dominate the region. Aurelio Tello insists on the urgency of raising these issues, when

the face of Europe has changed, it is no longer white. We live in a more blended world; we all have multiple roots. That's why we need to look at the world differently—with a dynamic based on respect—and rethink the past in other terms. Like non-absolute categories. We need more knowledge, to be able to grow and share. Exchanges are the basis of tolerance. But unfortunately, in recent years intolerance has been revived; hence the importance of our work and the ideas we want to promote.<sup>369</sup>

In a similar vein, Guatemalan guitarist Francisco Ruiz explains:

You have to separate the artistic content and the political content; that is, be aware of both as they coexist in the music. [You need] to know what your aesthetic proposition is and what your position and political thoughts are. Sometimes these are so mixed that it is impossible to separate them. Many people appreciate this music for its aesthetic elements—it has a beauty that is worth taking in, in spite of the fact that it is obviously ideologically charged. But it's also important to be aware of this, to discuss it freely, to know that it's there and to take it into account. You can see this repertoire from

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<sup>369</sup> Interview with Aurelio Tello, Lima, April 2, 2019.

a technical point of view, but it becomes much more important if you add a historical point of view. Ultimately, that also represents a struggle against the system and against the official history that we're taught in school. The other side of the story is widely documented, but it's not in the book they put in front of you. It's in the books you have to climb a ladder to see, which are not as accessible to common people. [...] Now, we have the opportunity to propose another vision of this history and this music. We can provide an anthropological and historical contextualization so that we don't have this simplistic vision of our colonial past. This music is charged not only from a historical point of view, but also because it represents what we were and what we are today. This contextualization is very important! [...] It's part of the work of the performer and the researcher.<sup>370</sup>

Similarly, the practice of Early Music and in particular the LAEMR can be an ideological—even political—act of not reproducing a Eurocentric cultural imposition, but on the contrary, of redefining local and global narratives. As a reaction to the extreme exoticization of this repertoire by European and white Latin American circles of power, new readings and aesthetic approaches are being proposed which not only question Europe's centrality in the history of modernity but also make available theoretical and aesthetic instruments to renew musical practices in Latin America and Europe. In the same way that Early Music was, during its time, a rejuvenating critique of a classical music practice that was enclosing itself, today Latin American Early Music suggests a new outlook for musical circles in northern Europe—already so institutionalized that they find it difficult to renew themselves.

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<sup>370</sup> Interview with Francisco Ruíz, Guatemala City, May 4, 2018.

## Conclusions to chapter 6

*The main hypothesis is that many of historical accounts about music in Chile represent variants of this myth, in particular when they attempt to explain the most relevant processes of change. It is claimed that they have been constructed from evidence, but in reality they have based on pre-existing mythic stories that are implicitly accepted as valid. To verify this, we shall analyze some of these stories and contrast them with historical documents that show us how even what we call “hard data” were often adjusted by the scholars with the aim of fitting them to the myth.<sup>371</sup>*

*(Alejandro Vera)*

Things are changing rapidly in Latin America, and the political, economic, and social upheavals taking place in the region are strongly impacting the practice of Early Music. In other words, the changes evident in the field of Early Music may be representative of a different direction in which the region is heading. The reasons which prompted a new generation of musicians to take an interest in Early Music have gradually moved away from a simple emulation of Europe and its practices to acquire new, locally-rooted meanings. Nonetheless, while in many countries of the Global North Early Music has since the 2000s been accepted and relatively standardized in higher education and the labor market, in Latin America the use of early instruments and a historical approach to music remains marginal. Precisely because of this, the Early Music movement has not lost its ability to critique a more hegemonic musical practice—which, despite being labeled as "modern," is much

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<sup>371</sup> Vera 2014, 300.

more conservative. Criticism of classical music and "modern" practice goes well beyond the merely musical; it involves social critiques that have a different scope than they might in Europe, given the Latin American context and its highly specific historical and social bases.

This is a critique of elitism, paternalism, and classical music's monopoly and demand for competitiveness and perfectionism. In essence, the elements being critiqued are similar in the two continents, but in Latin America it is clearer that these elements are characteristic of a long history of colonial power, whiteness, and Eurocentrism. In various places one finds situations where two generational and ideological factions enter into conflict, and this zone of contestation is concentrated and superimposed onto other struggles—such as that of identity, which here is generally represented by the LAEMR.

The exoticization and self-folklorization that Latin Americans have ended up perpetrating have been a way of maintaining the continent in a weak and inferior position in the face of the Global North. In this way, elites that did have the possibility of being educated at private universities or who traveled to Europe to get specialized training came to hold a position of control over the rest of society, inserting themselves as necessary intermediaries between the regional "plebs" and the cosmopolitan elites. However, in recent years, and progressively since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been an increase in musicians interested in Early Music who do not come from such elite classes and who have a different stance, a stance more in tune with the original intention of the Early Music movement—to destabilize

the social status quo. With the help of scholarships and networks of solidarity among fellow compatriots, access to foreign education has increased and the practice of Early Music has become socially and racially diversified. With this, other views of the LAEMR opened up, which try to give it a legitimate place within the history of Western music. Among other effects, this new vision and re-legitimization has allowed these musicians to not to be systematically and inescapably identified with the repertoire, and with it, marginalized and delegitimized in Europeans' eyes, and their own.

Thanks to these new approaches to the repertoire, Latin America's place is no longer marginal—at least from within Latin America itself. With the return of many musicians educated in Europe (or North America) to their home countries, the Early Music movement has also experienced renewed growth, particularly in the past decade. Thus, the number of teachers and professional musicians joining the existing Early Music hubs means that there are active musical circles throughout the region. Since 2014, there has been an Early Music program in Latin America with the start of a degree from the Manuel de Falla Conservatory in Buenos Aires, Argentina; in other countries, many such programs are multiplying rapidly. International exchanges between Latin American countries are also intensifying, creating dense networks of professional musicians which often emerge during summer courses or master classes that attract students from all over the region. In this way, Europe's monopoly within the movement is losing ground, with many local alternatives offering not only other educational or employment options, but also proposing a less Eurocentric vision of

culture and fostering a legitimate place for Latin America, its culture, and its historical music.

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