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PART I: HISTORY AND CRITICISM
Chapter 1: Introduction

The composition of the epic poem is...a heroic task and its consequence a singular act, often extraordinary in the normal life of the poet.... Blind Milton and deaf Beethoven are two transcendental examples.... They saw and they heard...that which we could not see or hear: the miracle of the divinity, present in that shadow and that silence.

—Leopoldo Lugones

In *El payador* (1916), his own work of epic proportions, Leopoldo Lugones (1874-1938) identifies sources of inspiration for the construction of a quintessentially native art. Yet his two “transcendental examples” are not Argentines at all, but John Milton, an Englishman, and Ludwig van Beethoven, a German. It is only later in his monograph that Lugones offers José Hernández (1834-1886), the nineteenth-century gauchesco author of the Martín Fierro saga, as the first Argentine whose poetry was worthy of foundational status. “Gauchesco” describes a manner of art and literature composition in which the learned classes appropriate the language of the gaucho, a rural, nomadic horseman from northeastern Argentina, Uruguay, and the Río Grande del Sur in Brazil, traditionally skilled in cattle ranching.

The gaucho, often compared to the US-American cowboy, had its origins in the late sixteenth century when groups of runaway slaves, Native Americans, and mestizo...

All translations of Spanish, German, and French are my own unless otherwise noted.

1 “La composición del poema épico es...una tarea heroica, y en su consuencia un acto singular, con frecuencia extraño a la vida normal del poeta. Así son, por otra parte, todos los heroísmos: episodios aislados en la existencia del héroe. Actos que este parece haber ejecutado fuera de sí, al resultar sobrehumanos. Es que quien los comete en ese momento, es su deus interno, sin más relación con el individuo físico, que la de la mano con el bastón. Milton ciego y Beethoven sordo, son dos indicaciones transcendentes.... Vieron y oyeron también lo que nosotros no podernos ver ni oír: la maravilla de la divinidad, presente en aquella sombra y en aquel silencio” (Leopoldo Lugones, *El payador* [Buenos Aires: Centurión, 1961], 25-26). Emphasis in the original.

fugitives coalesced in the rugged countryside around Buenos Aires. Francisco Javier Muñiz’s 1845 study defines a gaucho as a peasant who works in animal husbandry and farming. The “gaucho neto,” or pure gaucho is an itinerant who is usually persecuted by the law or by the military for desertion; they have excellent horses and kidnap females to serve as their companions. In 1860 the French naturalist V. Martín de Moussy likewise wrote of the various understandings of the figure. He states that rural peasants had been erroneously designated gauchos and that instead the term should be applied to bandit vagabonds who own only a horse and the clothes on their backs. They are not always evildoers but often in trouble with the law. Gauchos, Martín de Moussy continues, were enlisted in the Wars of Independence and Civil Wars but prone to desert. Those who did so were especially dangerous and known as matreros.

The gauchos were despised by the intelligentsia of the nineteenth century as uncivilized, so the association of a style they inspired with the work of Beethoven and Milton may seem unexpected. Yet Lugones wrote during a period of intense optimism for the country when the image of the nearly extinct gaucho would become the iconic symbol of the rising nation. The creation of a piece of gauchesco musical art that could stand as an inspiration for later generations of composers, as Martín Fierro did for poets, was perhaps never more closely achieved than in El matrero by Felipe Boero (1884-1958).

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6 Ibid.
The opera occupies a unique position as one of the most successful Argentine works to incorporate the folk music of the rural pampas into an opera. After its opening night on July 12, 1929 at the Teatro Colón, the country’s musical venue par excellence, the general public, art critics, and historians hailed it as the most important and aesthetically convincing musical drama ever authored by a domestic composer. The opera was subsequently produced 67 times between 1929 and 1976, an unprecedented accomplishment for a Latin American work. The premiere coincided with the zenith of the popularity of President Hipólito Yrigoyen (1852-1933) and his democratically elected, center-right Unión Cívica Radical party (UCR). Just one year later a coalition of liberal conservatives and ultraconservatives led a coup d’état and prematurely ended Yrigoyen’s term, restoring authority to the oligarchic elites that had ruled the country before universal male suffrage. My aim is to better understand the connections between El matrero and its milieu; to that end, I examine El matrero in light of major Argentine literary and sociopolitical currents of the period and analyze the text and music of the work.

Contemporary history and literature

Before exploring the themes of the opera, it is beneficial to examine the sociopolitical background and literary culture of Argentina in the early twentieth century. To that end, in the second chapter I discuss prominent writers of the period, including Lugones, Ricardo Rojas (1882-1957), and Manuel Gálvez (1882-1962), who helped

---


8 Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero.”
shape the discourse surrounding culture and the arts. Krausism, with its roots in the
nineteenth century, maintained a grip on Argentine political philosophy in the person of
President Yrigoyen. Dramatic historical events affected the lives of many Argentines in
the first third of the twentieth century, including World War I, the rise of nationalism, the
election of the first democratic government, and that government’s overthrow. Each of
these had a significant impact on artists and their work.

Biography and selected works

In chapter 3, I consider Boero’s milieu and place him within an Occidenatlist
framework to help understand his compositional and cultural agenda. Boero was an
important figure in the cultural life of Argentina, beginning with his return to the country
in 1914 and continuing beyond his death in 1958. Still, he was one composer among
many talented artists and as such should be understood in the context of his
contemporaries. Collecting information from various sources on his life is vital to
understanding the conditions that would allow for the creation of El matrero.

The opera is Boero’s most studied piece, but discussion of the rest of his oeuvre
is completely nonexistent in scholarly literature, making stylistic analysis difficult at best
and incomplete at worst. In chapter 4 I analyze a selection of representative
compositions largely from the period before the premiere of the El matrero in 1929 and
discuss Boero’s other operas in detail. In doing so, the influences of Impressionism,
Italian opera, and the gauchesco aesthetic become clearer as they are manifested in El
matrero, and the composer’s mastery and sublimation of those styles more apparent.
Text

A thorough discussion of an opera should address its text, which has its own history of becoming. I compare the original play by the Uruguayan, Yamandú Rodríguez (1891-1957), with the libretto set by Boero and examine the differences in light of sociopolitical circumstances. The opera does more than simply draw on the gauchesco literary tradition. It is “foundational,” in Doris Sommer’s sense of the term, in that it constructs a world that serves as a model for contemporary society.9 I also examine El matrero in relation to the two canonic Argentine gauchesco literary tales of Martin Fierro and Juan Moreira.

Analysis and edition

Although it is possible to address elements such as melody and harmony with only a piano-vocal edition, a discussion of other techniques vital for the identification of style is difficult if not impossible without an edition of an orchestral score. These include questions of orchestration, such as instrumental groupings, orchestral interplay, and treatment of timbre. The creation of the critical edition in Part II provides a foundation for analysis by future scholars and for the current study as it demonstrates the basis of arguments by serving as a reference tool for the reader.

Interpretation

In examining the relationship between music, text, and society, the thought of Theodor Adorno provides a hermeneutic point of entry that centers analysis upon the work itself. Although Adorno focuses on the culture of Western Europe, his interest in how the interpretation of art can reveal the oppression caused by “the existence of

classes… [which are] concealed by ideological appearances” is applicable to this study's examination of the opera’s model of social interaction.\textsuperscript{10} In \textit{Introduction to the Sociology of Music}, Adorno questions the viability of hermeneutic methodologies that focus on a composer’s milieu or a work’s reception for understanding what he calls musical sociology.\textsuperscript{11} Instead, he proposes that social meaning is immanently present in the interaction of elements, such as form and content, within the work.

Such a methodology, which isolates the work for the purpose of close analysis, is informative, particularly for the study of a composer, such as Boero, who combines distinct styles within a single genre. Adorno performs this kind of analysis with the music of Mahler. Mahler’s inclusion of a non-elite, popular style (what Adorno calls “kitsch”) into a symphony, and the particular interaction of that material with the symphony’s form and “elite” content, evince a deep empathy for the lower classes the “kitsch” symbolizes.\textsuperscript{12} In \textit{El matrero} the text, style, and structure of the opera can similarly be seen to interact, though in a very different way, with non-elite, folkloric styles.\textsuperscript{13}


\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 63.


\textsuperscript{13} In several important respects Mahler is quite different from Boero. The former, for example, does not seem to attempt to present a prescriptive model for a nation, nor, according to Adorno, does his music support the kind of hierarchical social structure that Boero’s seems to. The genres in question, opera and symphony, likewise employ very different formal models and methods of performance (e.g. costumes, scenery, libretto, etc. are absent in a symphony). Adorno’s ideas concerning how to use music to reveal the hidden injustice of social systems, however, may be applied to Boero’s treatment of class structures articulated in the libretto.
Max Paddison characterizes Adorno’s immanent “approach to a sociology of
music [as] essentially speculative rather than empirical in orientation.” 14 Although
Adorno minimizes the potential for understanding society through a musical work in
terms of its composer’s milieu or the vicissitudes of its reception, this project combines a
set of “speculative” and “empirical” approaches, understanding them as complementary
analytical tools.

Adorno objects to “empirical” approaches because, he argues, they obscure,
rather than highlight, “a stringent link between the thing [i.e. music] and its ideological
function [that is, how it contributes to, or reveals social stratification].” 15 A short example
he gives, however, supposedly showing the inadequacy of reception theory,
demonstrates how such methodologies could actually be informative to this study. He
explains how Chopin’s salon music—characterized by “luxury in suffering [and] dread of
banality amidst a traditionalism [Chopin] does not sensationaly violate”—moved from
being consumed by an aristocratic elite during the composer’s lifetime to, in the
twentieth century, becoming a “mass item” cultivated by individuals “vaguely [that
is, falsely] counting themselves with the elite.” 16 Rather than considering the changing of
class taste a distraction to an interpretation of the links between a musical work and
society, this project will find value in considering the reception of styles among diverse

14 Max Paddison, Adorno’s Aesthetics of Music (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993),
184.

15 Ibid., 59.

16 Adorno, Introduction to the Sociology of Music, 61. Of course, one important difference
between Adorno’s critique and my own adoption of these approaches is the scale of time that Adorno
applies to the reception of the work (around a century) and the time span around which my own research
is focused (centered on the premier of the opera).
groups and their developing attitudes, which may relate to a prescriptive impact of the opera.

To proceed with an immanent analysis, I critically examine the various styles in *El matrero* and how they interact with one another. The rich diversity of musical provenances available to Boero—French Impressionism, Italian opera, and folkloric genres—make hermeneutic possibilities especially fertile. Such a methodology allows the various styles to be seen to interact with one another in a way that can be interpreted in light of social and political changes swirling in Buenos Aires during the first half of the twentieth century.
Chapter 2: Summary of Argentina's Cultural, Social, and Political Climate from the Centennial to the 1930 Coup D'état

*Argentina is a land for the young and enterprising...for such it is indeed a land of promise.*

—Walter Larden

With these words Englishman Walter Larden expresses the optimism felt by many in the early years of the twentieth century concerning the present and future greatness of the nation. The sentiment was surely warranted for a country with such promise. An ample supply of natural resources and a booming export economy pointed toward virtually limitless prosperity and growth. Yet several lines later, as he closes his monograph, Larden recounts another commonly held belief that touched upon a problem haunting the nation's elites: “of its material prosperity there is no doubt; [but] for its national greatness we must hope—it is hardly welded into a nation yet.” Argentina’s economic success had come at the cost of perceived cultural homogeneity. In the minds of foreign observers and local inhabitants, immigrants, mostly from impoverished regions of Spain and Italy, threatened the social and political unity of the nation. To “weld” the disparate groups into a community, therefore, the intellectual and political elites would initiate a series of efforts meant to instill in Argentines a set of common beliefs, origin stories, identifying symbols, and mobilizing myths.

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2 Ibid., 293.

The arts played an important role in this construction of nationhood. Felipe Boero and the other so-called nationalist composers rose to prominence as the second generation of musical professionals with ambitious plans for the future of Argentine art music and its place on the international stage. Many of these composers were trained in Europe where they encountered musicians of substantial pedigree. Boero's instructors, for example, included Gabriel Faure and Paul Vidal; he counted Manuel de Falla among his classmates at the Conservatoire; in Paris he encountered Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, and Vincent D'Indy, among others.4

The patriotic zeal of Boero and his contemporaries was tempered by the perceived cultural poverty of local institutions. Yet if potential sources of discouragement came from their home country, in many respects so did their enthusiasm. The period in which they practiced their craft was one that featured intense discussion concerning the direction of the nation. Proceeding from an era dominated by positivist thinking and professionalization, there was a sense that national identity had been lost. Desiring to be accepted as fellow participants in the European tradition while at the same time appealing to local tastes, historical events and internal aesthetic discourse influenced how composers, such as Boero, would practice their craft as well as how their works would be received.

Nationalism’s Various Guises

Nationalism as theory

Before discussing the political circumstances in detail it will be useful to consider the relationship between “nationalism” as a socio-historical concept and the term

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“nationalism” (nacionalismo) as Argentine intellectuals and politicians used it in the years preceding and following the nation’s Centennial (1910) because too often the ideas have become confused in discussions of Latin American music. The two conceptions, though related to one another, are complex, with the former being constructed largely based on Western European and Anglo American interpretations of their own historical consequences. The latter, though much more relevant to the immediate situations experienced within Argentina, still requires thoughtful consideration. With regard to the theoretical construct, I will address several major scholars and highlight significant contributions they have made as they relate to the circumstances of the era in question. For the Argentine significance of the term nacionalismo, scholars of the country and period in question will shed light on the unique experience of the nation.

John Breuilly distinguishes between unification, separatist, and reform nationalisms, which aim to expand the state, split the state, and gain control of existing states by articulating who is in and who is out, respectively.5 Eric Hobsbawm finds Stalin’s concise definition of nation—“a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture”—to be highly suspect; its subjectivity leaves it open to propaganda by the state or interest groups.6 Instead of defining the nation a priori, Hobsbawm holds that it is actually nationalism that defines the nation. He accepts Ernest Gellner’s definition of nationalism as “a political principle which holds that the


political and national unit should be congruent,” adding that, accordingly, the duty of a people to a nation sometimes overrides other responsibilities and in exceptional cases—such as wartime—every other consideration.\(^7\)

Benedict Anderson likewise is content to acknowledge the artificiality and contemporary phenomenon of the nation.\(^8\) Rather than refer to the nation pejoratively as “false” (as Gellner does), however, Anderson prefers the term “imagined.”\(^9\) It is imagined because most of its members will never meet one another, yet they still see themselves as somehow living in communion, regardless of actual socioeconomic inequality. Although he acknowledges the potential of the state and various interest groups to misuse the powerful, unifying concept of nationalism, Anderson also finds the idea of community across wide distances and among strangers inspiring.

Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman vigorously challenge theories that consider nationalism anything but a damaging system of ideas.\(^10\) They hold that by definition, patriotism, nationalism, and the like, privilege one group of human beings over another. Nationalism is at its root exclusionary; in extreme cases this is manifested through xenophobia and racism. Liberalism is distinct from nationalism, though at various historical times these doctrines have been united, most famously in the French


\(^9\) Anderson argues that a “true” community would be impossible unless it is created through face-to-face contact, and even there its “authenticity” or “validity” could still be suspect (Ibid.).

Revolution. As Spencer and Wollman view it, “liberal nationalism” is a contradiction: for a view to be liberal it must be open to all, while to be nationalist it must be closed off.\footnote{Ibid., 96.}

Spencer and Wollman create several theoretical categories of nationalism: primordialism, perennialism, modernism, and postmodernism. Primordialism was dominant in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries among intellectuals and assumes that nationalism has deep roots in human biology, culture, and psychology. Perennialists similarly see the idea of the nation recurrent in history, yet they are not as convinced that this is merely a natural part of human development or the human experience. Modernists, such as Gellner and Anderson, recognize that the nation is “fabricated” or “imagined.” Postmodernists are even more critical of nationalism, and some focus on how storytelling and mythmaking often attempt to base identity on an “ethnically pure original people or ‘folk.’”\footnote{Ibid., 50.}

Chaim Gans is sympathetic to certain aims of nationalism, which allows him to articulate a more logical framework for it rather than committing himself to disproving its validity.\footnote{Chaim Gans, The Limits of Nationalism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).} He contrasts cultural and statist nationalisms. The former exists where members of a group see themselves as sharing a common history and culture and have an interest in adhering to and sustaining their culture across generations; the latter focuses on using national culture to achieve political agendas.\footnote{Ibid., 1-2.}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[11] Ibid., 96.
\item[12] Ibid., 50.
\item[14] Ibid., 1-2.
\end{footnotes}
ensuring its continuity beyond the current generation.\textsuperscript{15} The skepticism of Spencer and Wollman, reform nationalism of Breuilly, imagined community of Anderson, invented tradition of Hobsbawm, and cultural nationalism of Gans provide useful models with which to consider Argentine historical developments but only when combined with an examination of how the term has been used in local parlance.

\textit{Argentine “nacionalismo”}

With these conceptions of nationalism in mind, Bernardo Illari’s threefold division of the various uses of the word into a general patriotic sentiment, the development of ideas, and actual practice proves useful in examining the shapes \textit{nacionalismo} would take in Argentina.\textsuperscript{16} The nationalism of the early-twentieth century, or the “first Argentine nationalism” was, according to Maria Teresa Gramuglio “spiritualist” or “cultural,” separate from later “political” nationalism that was aggressively anti-liberal.\textsuperscript{17} It was a patriotism that was expressed in general sentiment without the right-wing political connotations it would be associated with in the 1920s and 30s. In his attempt to explain the causes of the dictatorship of the late 1970s and early 1980s, David Rock traces the roots of ultraconservative \textit{nacionalismo}, but his reading, which centers on how a particular period came to be, seems to at times predetermine his interpretation of earlier writings.\textsuperscript{18} He identifies latent authoritarian tendencies in \textit{nacionalismo}, but Fernando

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 39.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} María Teresa Gramuglio, Introduction to \textit{El diario de Gabriel Quiroga: opiniones sobre la vida argentina} by Manuel Gálvez (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 2001), 35-36.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} See for example his discussion of Rojas’s \textit{La resauración nacionalista}: David Rock, \textit{Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History, and Its Impact} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 44.
\end{itemize}
Devoto and Jean Delaney note that there is more ambiguity in how its various tenets developed and were utilized; circumstances surrounding the 1910s were quite different from those in the 1920s and afterwards, and the points of view of the writers Rock discusses often shifted dramatically or were adapted in ways that were not entirely in accordance with the authors’ earlier oeuvres.¹⁹

Devoto allows writers to self-identify as nacionalista to determine who receives that label and from that makes a distinction between the restricted definition of nationalism—anti-liberal, authoritarian, far-right, overtly political—and its broader meaning as a search for national identity.²⁰ Instead of beginning from the crystallization of ultra-right nationalism in the 1920s, he shows the continuity of nacionalismo from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. It was not incompatible with liberalism; rather, political institutions were opportunistic, commandeering isolated bits of political doctrines when it suited their immediate needs. National identity was an issue that reform nationalists of all political persuasions would seize upon. As Joel Horowitz points out, appealing to nacionalismo was not only a strategy used by the authoritarian right, but one that the democratically-minded Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union) and leftist unions utilized as well.²¹ Hugo Chumbita further demonstrates the concept’s

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²⁰ Devoto, Nacionalismo, xiii-xxvii.

plasticity in that the far left drew on nationalist ideas even after the ultra-right nationalist movement had solidified into a more or less coherent group.\textsuperscript{22}

\textit{Musical nationalism}

Musicological understandings of nationalism have evolved over the last half-century. In the 1969 edition of the \textit{Harvard Dictionary of Music}, Willi Apel defines it concisely as the response of peripheral nations to French, Italian, and (especially) German musical hegemony; it began in Eastern Europe, spread to the Americas, and involved a composer’s adoption of characteristics unique to his or her particular provenance, such as folk song.\textsuperscript{23} This definition has been difficult to dislodge in scholarly parlance in spite of being roundly criticized by contemporary scholars of Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Germany.\textsuperscript{24}

Richard Taruskin joins other musicologists in beginning his discussion of musical nationalism with the eighteenth-century philosopher, theologian Johann Gottfried Herder, whose ideas had international influence (including in Argentina).\textsuperscript{25} For Herder, the culture of each nation was equal to that of any other, and the goal of the arts should be to express the creators’ essential natures as well as “the specific truth of the

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\item[Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism,” in \textit{Grove Music Online}, accessed February 8, 2014; Herder was influential on the thought of Ricardo Rojas, for example. Devoto, \textit{Nacionalismo}, 56.]
\end{footnotes}
‘imagined community’ they served.”26 Taruskin critiques the traditional discourse of nationalist historiography, which has consigned the music of non-Western European nations, such as Russia, to a “ghetto” by assuming that its authenticity or legitimacy depends on its “Russianness”—a property with vague criteria.27 Challenging the characterization of the Mighty Handful as “heroic” nationalists and Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein as “degenerate” non-nationalists, for example, Taruskin argues the real difference was one of dilettantism versus professionalism; partisans such as Vladimir Stasov (critic) Cesar Cui (composer) and later Andrei Zhdanov (Soviet culture minister) used these classifications for their own personal and political ends.

Philip Bohlman explores the tangled relationship of music and nationalism on the European continent.28 He critiques the tendency of scholars to dismiss music with connections to nationalism as somehow polluted or inauthentic. Instead, he embraces a state of fascination regarding the manner in which music alters one’s perception of time, helping to create stories of what the nation is and should be until there seems to be no real difference between myth and history. Bohlman distinguishes between music that is “national” and music that is “nationalist,” characterizing the former as being associated with a particular nation (however it is defined) and the latter as music that is used as

26 Taruskin, “Nationalism.”


part of an aggressive program initiated by a state or other body of actors to define borders or otherwise put certain interests above others.29

Scholars of Argentine music raise key additional considerations when discussing nationalism. Indeed, this study would be impossible without the pioneering work of Malena Kuss. In her 1976 dissertation, Kuss uses the term “nativistic” to describe several operas that were premiered at the Teatro Colón and that draw on musical elements with perceived connections to elements that form Argentine culture, including the gaucho.30 She critiques the indiscriminate application of the phrase “musical nationalism” while at the same time noting the lack of serious scholarly approaches to Latin American music by Western scholars throughout the twentieth century.31 Citing Carl Dahlhaus, she highlights the importance of reception to the categorization of a work as more or less “authentic” and offers El matrero as evidence of a composer who actively sought to connect with the national consciousness of much of the public.32

After acknowledging the plasticity of nationalism, in his discussion of the twentieth-century musicologist Carlos Vega, Illari adopts Gans’s conceptions of state and cultural nationalism.33 The former proceeds from a political agenda that seeks to impose values—such as democracy—that cannot be said to have sprung out of the local culture, but rather are ideas that arose in the West and its sphere of influence; its

29 Ibid., 60.

30 Kuss, “Nativistic Strains in Argentine Operas, ix-x.”

31 Kuss, “Nacionalismo, identificación, y Latinoamérica,” 133.

32 Ibid., 140.

33 Illari “Vega,” 141; Gans, Limits of Nationalism, 1-2.
intent is to homogenize the culture of its (diverse) citizenry. Cultural nationalism is based on the concept of a common ethnic origin; it does not coincide with state nationalism but may be superimposed onto it. There is a tendency to connect these ideas to specific doctrines—state nationalism with liberalism and cultural nationalism with fascism—but this is problematic as cultural nationalism may be used for liberal ends or, as Chumbita has shown in Argentina, even communist and socialist ones.34

Melanie Plesch locates the origins of the topical systems that would form the basis of Argentine art music in the nineteenth century when folkloric styles were transmitted through amateur performance societies and print media. She notes that simply drawing on gaucho quotations is not enough for music to be “nationalist”; rather, following Dahlhaus, she distinguishes between musical substance and nationalist function: if a composer proposes that a work has a national character and the audience believes him or her, this is something the historian should accept, even when stylistic analysis produces no evidence.35 Taruskin adds that it is important to attempt to identify the people doing the distinguishing as well as reasons why they might be doing so.36 A fuller understanding of nationalism as it was used in Argentine music can only come with a closer examination of the particular milieu and the introduction of the concept of Occidentalism discussed in chapter 3. With these caveats in mind, we can examine the

34 Gans, Limits of Nationalism, 22; Illari “Vega,” 142-143; Chumbita “Patria y revolución: La corriente nacionalista de izquierda,” 77-100.


36 Taruskin, “Nationalism.”
historical circumstances and intellectual currents that preceded and coincided with the premiere of *El matrero* in more detail.

*Sketch of Argentine Social and Political History: From the Late-Nineteenth-Century to the 1930 Coup*

The Argentine state began to coalesce into the form it would maintain into the twentieth century around the year 1880 and consisted of inter-oligarchical alliances that designed the country to be an exporter of agricultural goods and importer of labor and capital. The policies of nineteenth-century liberals, led most notably by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888), Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884), Bartolomé Mitre (1821-1906) and others of the *generación del ’37*, sought to populate Argentina with European immigrants, who would supposedly bring with them “civilization,” and to exclude the “barbarous” gauchos. “The conquest of the desert,” a military initiative in the 1870s and 80s, was meant to pacify rural areas populated by Native Americans. From the perspective of Sarmiento and his sympathizers the genocidal campaign was not only successful in its stated goal of eliminating pockets of resistance, it also drastically reduced the population of gauchos that were conscripted and who suffered a high rate of casualties.

Julio Argentino Roca (1843-1914), who led the “conquest of the desert” and served as president from 1880-1886 and again from 1898 to 1906, would dominate politics in the late nineteenth century and continue the policies of immigration, foreign

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investment, and rigged elections.\textsuperscript{38} The period of 1890-1910 witnessed the rise of positivism with the spread of the ideas of Auguste Comte (1798-1857) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and a focus on systematization and professionalization in various sectors of society.\textsuperscript{39} Among the positivists were José María Ramos Mejía (1849-1914), Carlos Bunge (1875-1918), Ernesto Quesada (1858-1934), and José Ingenieros (1877-1925).\textsuperscript{40} Although their conclusions were diverse, these writers applied scientific methods toward understanding Argentine history.\textsuperscript{41} They were interested in the strengthening of the nation, but did not develop pedagogical plans to accomplish this task even as they sought to develop regulatory laws to explain social change. Ingenieros put it this way: they did not write for children.\textsuperscript{42}

Massive immigration and urbanization continued through the end of the century and through the Centenary of the nation’s independence (1910). The capital, Buenos Aires, doubled in size between 1890 and 1914, with foreigners making up an estimated 49\% of the population.\textsuperscript{43} In response to the negative effects of urbanization and racist attitudes toward immigrants—the majority of whom had come from the supposedly “less desirable” precincts of impoverished Spain and southern Italy—some intellectuals

\textsuperscript{38} Rock, \textit{Argentina: 1516-1987}, 154, 184.

\textsuperscript{39} Oscar Terán, \textit{Historia de las ideas en la Argentina: diez lecciones iniciales} (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2008), 127.

\textsuperscript{40} Fernando Devoto and Nora Pagano, \textit{Historia de la historiografía argentina} (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2008), 73.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 74.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 76.

began to question the assumption that European immigration was exclusively beneficial and turned to the once vilified gaucho as a symbol of an idealized and distant past.  

By 1900 Buenos Aires was the largest city in Latin America, yet, in many respects, it had an economic and political system left over from the nineteenth century: politics were undemocratic, economic change was confined to the farm sector, monopolies survived with agrarian capitalism, landownership remained highly concentrated, and the middle class was weak.  

Change began to occur first around the turn of the century in the sectors of the elite when the so-called liberal reformers began a process of self-criticism. In 1912 the Saenz-Peña law established universal male suffrage and the secret ballot. The elites believed this would provide a legitimizing platform for their rule, but the opposition Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) quickly gained control of much of the government in 1912 and the presidency in 1916. The upper classes were never able to articulate their political platform convincingly to a large enough segment of the public to win control of the government, and Hipólito Yrigoyen (1851-1933) and his Radical party held power for nearly two decades. 

Horowitz characterizes the UCR as motivated less by ideology than by electoral success—though as we will see, post-Idealist, Krausist philosophy was constitutive as revealed in the language they used to describe their aims. Following their victory in  


\[45\text{Rock, Argentina 1516-1987, 162-163.}\]

\[46\text{Girbal-Blacha “Riqueza,” 369.}\]

\[47\text{Ibid.}\]

\[48\text{Horowitz, Argentina’s Radical Party, 3.}\]
1916 they sought to widen their base, not only as a symptom of their lust for votes, but also because of their self-perception as the true representatives of the populace.\textsuperscript{49} Yrigoyen’s cult of personality was an important aspect of his power, as he dominated the political landscape almost completely.\textsuperscript{50}

In reaction to the \textit{semana trágica} (an outburst of violent strikes that required the first major political intervention by the army) in 1919, elites formed the ultraconservative Liga Patriótica Argentina (Argentine Patriotic League), which combined xenophobia, traditionalist attitudes, and cultish worship of the military with support of the Catholic church.\textsuperscript{51} Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear succeeded Yrigoyen (who constitutionally could not hold consecutive terms in office) in 1922 and maintained similar policies, yet he was unable to connect with the working class as deeply as his predecessor.\textsuperscript{52} Drafting staff who were part of the militant right-wing, anti-labor Liga Patriotica, also undermined his popular appeal.\textsuperscript{53}

Yrigoyen was reelected in 1928 in a landslide and rose to the height of his popularity the following year, but the stock market crash in the United States and the global ripples it caused devastated Argentina’s economy, which was heavily dependent on exports. Arguing that the catastrophe was a result of Yrigoyen’s policies, a coalition of ultraconservatives and liberals overthrew the president and began more than a

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 115.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 141-142; Rock, \textit{Authoritarian Argentina}, 66.
\textsuperscript{52} Horowitz, \textit{Argentina’s Radical Party}, 59.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
decade of oligarchic rule. José Felix Uriburu’s (1868-1932) nacionalistas sought to end universal suffrage and install a corporatist and authoritarian government. Their liberal allies, however, wanted merely to depose Yrigoyen, whom they saw as a demagogue, and restore the political system that had existed between 1880 and 1916. The Uriburistas argued that they alone held the interests of Argentina above all else and that the liberals merely wanted to reestablish the agriculture-based, economic system to regain their wealth and prestige; the liberals, on the other hand, viewed the far right as untrustworthy extremists and a threat to foreign relations.

The ultraconservatives only held power until 1932 when the more moderate faction led by Agustín Pedro Justo (1876-1943) asserted control of the government. The state became increasingly interventionist in the 1930s with the defense of the rural producer being seen as the object of public policy. Hernán Faír finds resonance between fascism and ultraconservative nationalism, particularly with regard to their critiques of democracy, political parties, parliament, and freedom of the press, yet Rock notes that the ultraconservatives were fiercely against the populist measures often associated with fascism as practiced in 1930s Italy and Germany.

Intellectual Currents of the Centenary through the 1920s

The influence of the period of the Centenary upon Argentine culture and politics in the following decades was significant. Devoto notes that while much has been said concerning the national exuberance of the 1910s, less can be definitively expressed


56 Ibid.; Rock, Authoritarian Argentina, xvi-xviii.
concerning the content of that exuberance.\textsuperscript{57} There was certainly a renewed sense of optimism regarding the future of the nation, but this combined confusedly with fears of anarchist violence, immigration, and social disintegration.\textsuperscript{58} Still, it is possible to center the era’s intellectual currents around three influential writers— Ricardo Rojas, Manuel Gálvez, and Leopoldo Lugones—and several of their major works from the period.\textsuperscript{59}

The personal trajectory of the three men was similar. Born in the provinces, but moving to Buenos Aires, each benefited from the support of conservative leaders.\textsuperscript{60} Although they characterized themselves (and were characterized by others) as \textit{nacionalistas} at various points in their career, their political philosophies were unique, often mercurial, and at times contradictory. In the early 1900s Gálvez supported a form of socialism, but by 1930 he had embraced traditionalist Catholicism and the ultraconservative wing of the coup d’état.\textsuperscript{61} Rojas continued to support democratic governance throughout his life.\textsuperscript{62} Some of Lugones’s few constants included his irascible belligerence and anti-conformism, rather than any kind of political doctrine.\textsuperscript{63}

Resonating with Breuilly’s reform nationalism in its attempt to refashion the country, the \textit{nacionalismo} these writers espouse is very different from the jingoism often associated with European writers in the years before World War I in that it is often very

\textsuperscript{57} Devoto, \textit{Nacionalismo}, 41.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 42.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{61} Delaney, “Imagining \textit{El Ser Argentino},” 628.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{63} Devoto, \textit{Nacionalismo}, 81.
self-critical. Rather than adopting the term *nationalista*, scholars often prefer the term *tradicionalista* (traditionalist), which, although vague, may be applied to those writers who share a belief that immigration in the name of progress had led to a forgetfulness and neglect of traditional values and hierarchies. A key question these intellectuals pursued during the period of the Centenary and through the 1910s was one of how to react to the fundamental social transformations produced from a conjunction of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization.

The influence of the Radical party cannot be limited to the period of the Centenary as it transcends it with roots going back to the nineteenth century and an impact felt well into the twenty-first. Its leader, Yrigoyen, both partook in the *nacionalismo* movement and would in a sense become its victim when it took on a militant, ultraconservative bent. The influence of Krausism upon the UCR and Argentine culture in general was significant, but it has been underappreciated in terms of political theory and its referents to music are completely unexplored. A discussion of Krausist thought and the intellectuals of the Centenary provides insight into the philosophical and political currents swirling in the years preceding the composition and premiere of *El matrero*.

*Argentine krausismo*

Given the almost complete disappearance of Krausist thought from mainstream Continental philosophy, its importance to Latin America may seem unexpected, however, its influence is still felt on constitutional theory and politics in the Rio de la

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64 Echeverría, “Los intelectuales católicos.”

65 See, for example, Girbal-Blacha, “Riqueza”; Echeverría “Los intelectuales católicos.”
Plata region.\textsuperscript{66} Indeed, the Argentine constitution of 1853, in use to this day, was heavily influenced by \textit{Krausismo}, and Raul Alfonsín, the first democratically elected president after the reign of the ultraconservative military dictatorship in 1983, credited Krausism on numerous occasions with being foundational to the UCR.\textsuperscript{67} By the end of the nineteenth century three currents of thought dominated Argentine thought: positivism, traditionalist Catholicism, and Krausism.\textsuperscript{68} At time of the writing of \textit{El matrero} the ideas of Krausism were not overt—one did not belong to a "Krausist" party—but they were, nevertheless, sublimated into the political consciousness of various factions, including, most significantly, Yrigoyen and his Radical party.

Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832) was a German philosopher born in Eisenberg and educated at the University of Jena where he studied with Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Johann Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805).\textsuperscript{69} He would teach at the Dresden Engineering Academy before seeking, and being denied, more prestigious posts at the University of Berlin in 1813 and Göttingen in 1823.\textsuperscript{70} He was exiled from the latter principality because of accusations of subversion after a student revolt in 1831 and sought a position at the University of Munich, but he died the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{67} See for example Carl Stoetzer, \textit{Karl Christian Friedrich Krause and his Influence on the Hispanic World} (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag 1998), 330, 399-407; Julián Barraquero, \textit{Espíritu y práctica de la Ley Constitucional Argentina} (Buenos Aires: Almargo 1899), 61.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Roig. \textit{Los krausistas}, 17.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Stoetzer, \textit{Krause}, 1-2.
\item \textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 4.
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following year. Claus Dierksmeier posits that Krause’s political harassment may have led him to develop a specialized idiom that was abstract even among German philosophers; the abstruseness of the original text may have contributed to the greater popularity of the works in translated form.

Krause’s thought was transmitted through his writings as well as through his student Heinrich Ahrens (1808-1874) and Ahrens’s successor at the University of Brussels, Guillaume Tiberghien (1819-1901). Julián Sanz del Río (1814-1869) brought the philosophy to Spain where it flourished. Roig traces the origins of the philosophy in the Río de la Plata region to members of the generación del ’37 who acquired it during their exile in Montevideo from French men of letters who had left Europe in the 1830s. It made its way through the Argentine educational system in the legal theory of Julián Barraquero (1856-1935) from the University of Córdoba—whose Espíritu y práctica de la Ley Constitucional Argentina (spirit and practice of Argentine constitutional law) (1877) received notice from Sarmiento—Wencesclao Escalante (1852-1912)—who held several government posts and whose Lecciones de filosofía de derecho (1884) was used as a legal textbook for many years—and Yrigoyen himself, who taught from Lecciones at the Escuela Normal de Profesores in Buenos Aires from 1881 until he was ousted after a failed coup attempt in 1905. Carlos Stoetzer is direct in his connection of Yrigoyen and Krause, saying the Argentine president was “unquestionably the most

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71 Ibid., 6-7.
72 Dierksmeier, “Krausism,” 111.
73 Roig, Los krausistas, 11.
remarkable and strongest Krausean influence in the entire Ibero-American continent.”

The future president's most referenced Krausist books were Krause's *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* (*Urbild der Menschheit*, 1811) in an edition by Sanz del Río, Tiberghien's *Introducción a la filosofía* (*Enseignement et philosophie*, 1873), and *Derecho natural* (*Cours de droit naturel*, 1839) by Ahrens.

The philosophy of Krause is complex. He drew on Immanuel Kant but deviated from Idealism in his empirical approach to metaphysics; he also disputed that Hegelian teleological dialectics were necessarily prescriptive of history. The transmission of his philosophy to Spain and the Americas adds further complexities as it was applied to circumstances that neither Krause nor his European pupils could have anticipated. I will focus briefly on elements of Krausism that find resonances in *El matrero*, namely the interrelated concepts of social harmony and organicism and in their application to theories of democracy, law, and political organization.

**Democracy**

The basis of Radical philosophy, the right to vote, is traceable to Krausian ideals of harmony and metaphorical view of society as an organism. Krause’s view of ethics in biological terms is expressed in his *System der Sittenlehre* (1810) where he argues that just as there is one God and all being exists in him, so there is one law and one organism of law. This understanding also alludes to Krause’s theory of panentheism,

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75 Stoetzer, *Krause*, 360.


which views all reality as existing within God. It is distinct from pantheism because it
does not equate the world with God and from Deism or dualism because there is no
distinction or separation between the world and God.\textsuperscript{78} In an ethical system based on
these and other precepts laid out in Krause's \textit{System} “virtue is linked in essential
harmony to God's world plan… only in its sociable exercise could humanity…unite its
highest life and its highest beauty.”\textsuperscript{79} For Tiberghien, Krause's philosophy manages to
assemble in complete unity other ideologies from Zoroastrianism to Christianity to Kant
and Hegel; his system maintains and reconciles the rights of the individual and the
rights of the greater society that other ideologies had ignored or glossed over.\textsuperscript{80} The
adoption of a system such as democracy where each person may express his or her
wishes is vital for the health of the social organism.

Sovereignty is distributed among the various social spheres. National sovereignty
should not be absorbed away from the individual into an abstract entity but linked and
united organically; power is distributed to every citizen; thus, representation is vital for
the state to become a true organism. Lack of organicism was one of the Radicals'
fundamental critiques of what they called the “old Regime”—that is, the oligarchs who
had stifled democratic elections since the unification of the country in 1861.\textsuperscript{81} Yrigoyen

\textsuperscript{78} Stoetzer, Krause, 13.

\textsuperscript{79} “In dieser Anschauung wird uns die Gewissheit, dass die Tugend mit Gottes Weltplan in
wesentlicher Harmonie, in wesentlicher Einheit mit dem heiligen Allleben Gottes steht; dass nur sie zu
unseres Wesens Vollendung führe, dass nur in ihrer geselligen Übung die Menschheit, ihrer selbst und
Gottes würdig, ihr höchstes Leben und ihre höchste Schönheit vereinigen könne” (Krause, \textit{System der
Sittenlehre}, 453).

\textsuperscript{80} Guilliame Tiberghien, \textit{Enseignement de la philosophie} (Brussels: G. Mayolez, 1873), 31.

\textsuperscript{81} See for example Unión Cívica Radical “Manifiesto Revolucionario, 1905,” in \textit{De la República
posible a la República verdadera} (1880-1910). \textit{Biblioteca del Pensamiento Argentino}, vol. 3 (Buenos
Aires: Ariel, 1997), 611-612.
and the UCR rejected political parties, as obstacles to “harmonic completion.”\textsuperscript{82} For them, voting is a natural right; it is the active manifestation of the organic relationship of every member to one another. Free elections would prevent the Republic from being the government of a single man or coterie of oligarchs who make illusory rights and liberties, and allow it to be a government of the popular will by means of associations (that is, the Radical party) that can bring “within its breast all the representations of opinion.”\textsuperscript{83}

Law

Krausists define law as the organic ensemble of free conditions for the harmonic completion of human destiny.\textsuperscript{84} Law is not an objective, exterior social order, but an organic one, that arises from the best interests of the individual.\textsuperscript{85} Human rights come from society, and society is under an obligation to supply them.\textsuperscript{86} According to Escalante, the philosophy of law is the science of fundamental principles of how law

\textsuperscript{82} “Así como fue eminente la figuración de los pueblos al fundamentar la Nación por uniformes heroísmos, así deben identificarse en el perfeccionamiento armónico que debemos realizar. La justicia libertadora y progresista debe extender sus amplios beneficios sobre todos los argentinos y, unidos en el supremo fin común, trabajar incesantemente y poderosamente con los medios y los recursos de todos, por el consecutivo engrandecimiento de la Patria” Hipólito Yrigoyen, \textit{El pensamiento escrito de Yrigoyen}, ed. Gabriel del Mazo (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1945), 120.

\textsuperscript{83} “Es indispensable entonces recuperar el mecanismo electoral, legalmente ejercido, bajo los principios democráticos, con lo que la paz y el orden público serán perdurables, extinguéndose desde luego los vicios actuales. La República dejará de ser el gobierno de un hombre, de círculos o de facciones, que no son sino despojos y absorciones contra la igualdad política, y hacen ilusorias todas las libertades y derechos; será el gobierno de la voluntad popular por medio de partidos o de corporaciones con el confortante y vivificante prestigio de llevar simultáneamente a su seno todas las representaciones de la opinión.” Hipólito Yrigoyen, “Polémica sobre el radicalismo (1909)” in \textit{De la República posible a la República verdadera (1880-1910)}. Vol. 3 of \textit{Biblioteca del Pensamiento Argentino}, ed. Natalio Botana and Ezequiel Gallo (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1997), 633.

\textsuperscript{84} Roig, \textit{Los krausistas}, 40-41.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 70.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 33.
should be and of the evolution of those individuals who have governed in time and space.\textsuperscript{87} Natural law is eternal and immutable, but specific laws change in different civilizations; politics establishes relationships between absolute and relative laws.\textsuperscript{88} Freedom is not the same as arbitrary choice, but occurs when individuals live under laws that could be understood as reasonable and equitable by anyone.\textsuperscript{89} Property rights are necessary because humans need materials to satisfy their needs, but individuals do not have the right to abuse the things they own.\textsuperscript{90} The responsibility of the law was to ensure that everyone has access to the freedoms to which human beings are entitled.

Political organization

Yrigoyen performed his political actions around a belief in the teleology of human life organized around the nation, which he understood as a group of people constituted by a harmony of history and traditions oriented toward the organic realization of its own absolute unity where individual well-being is contingent upon collective well-being.\textsuperscript{91} For the UCR Krause provided a position independent of both liberal\textit{laissez faire} economics and Marxist class struggle. Rights are realized in spheres of family, municipality, nation, and state; social rights are based on the same as individual rights. As part of Ahrens’s “formal society,” which is constituted by religion, law, and morality, the church is one of the important parts of society in partnership with the state and a general sense of

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 38.

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Dierksmeier, “Krausism,” 114.

\textsuperscript{90} Roig, \textit{Los krausistas}, 59.

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 71; Hebe Clementi, “Estudio preliminar sobre ‘El radicalismo como doctrina’ in Hipólito Yrigoyen, \textit{Mi vida y mi doctrina} (Buenos Aires: Editorial Leviatán, 1984), 27.
individual ethics, respectively. The state should not just preserve rights but recognize the autonomy of the spheres of life that it cannot absorb. Krausismo seeks to create a harmonic formulation of liberalism that is more communal than strict individualism and less dictatorial than statism.

Themes of social harmony and organicism would find their way into the libretto of *El matrero*. They may be used to describe the sociabilities of the various characters and their place in the imagined world, which is clarified through an examination of the relationship between text and music. Krause’s thought, already heavily mediated and greatly adapted throughout the nineteenth century, would combine with the sentiment of the Centenary. To arrive at a better understanding of this formative era and the interactions of the ideas of Rojas, Lugones, Gálvez and Krausism I will continue with a close reading of a selection of some of the most important writings of the three authors below.

*Ricardo Rojas*

Rojas’s major contribution to the spirit of the Centenary was *La restauración nacionalista* (1909), a book that placed him on the national stage and influenced political discourse and educational reform for years to come. For Rojas, immigration itself was not the problem, but the influx of foreigners necessitated the creation of

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92 Ibid., 34.

93 A similar restraint is prescribed for nations, who must treat one another as equals (Stoetzer, *Krause*, 39-47).


instruments that could both assimilate newcomers and teach Argentines of their heritage to establish a stronger sense of national identity. Rather than viewing history as a continuous path toward decadence away from a golden age, Rojas’s cultural nationalism (in the Gansian sense) was highly influenced by a Herderian belief in the “spirituality of the earth,” which associated races with lands and allowed for a flourishing hybridity of cultures springing from the connection to geography and climate; Rojas held the singular American feature to be the new synthesis that has been created through the union of the children of immigrants with the current inhabitants. Education in the humanities was key to absorbing outsiders into a homogenous culture, and thus instilling in them a national conscience. He was also insistent in restricting the creation of non-state-supported schools established by immigrant communities, which would allow groups to preserve their languages and traditions, threatening unity.

La restauración nacionalista includes a brief discussion of historiography in which Rojas argues that the humanities can and should be adapted to suit contemporary situations without sacrificing truth. Rojas then explores history as it is taught in modernized European nations—England, France, and Germany—as well as Spain and, finally, the United States. Based on his study of these other countries he presents a curricular plan for Argentina, which includes instruction in Roman civilization, the formation of European nations—Spain, in particular—the expansion of European

96 Devoto, Nacionalismo, 55.


98 Ricardo Rojas, La restauración nacionalista (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria Buenos Aires, 2010), 49.
colonization in the Americas, Native American empires, the War of Independence, and the political evolution of the nation.

Rojas wants to unify the population, which he sees as diverse and therefore dangerous. Cosmopolitanism is a serious problem, generated by allowing immigration to proceed indiscriminately. Symptoms include anarchism, which may only be ameliorated through education. First-generation European immigrants are less important than their children. The former return to Europe or die in Argentina, but their children endure and have a common feature (“matiz común”) that enables them to become constituent members of the American milieu.  

Rojas attacks the civilization versus barbarism dichotomy Sarmiento described in his influential 1845 book *Facundo: civilización y barbarie* (Facundo: civilization and barbarism). Sarmiento had posed this dialectic as the central issue of the times and argued that he and the European-oriented, central-government supporting Unitarians represented the former and the rural, decentralized Federalists, led by the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas with his armies of gauchos, the latter. The book was enormously influential after the fall of Rosas in 1852 and the political rise of Sarmiento and the rest of *generación del ‘37*. Yet Rojas harshly criticizes Sarmiento’s distinction, understanding what had previously been considered barbarism to be an important part of Argentine culture. Rosas, with the support of many rural gauchos, was connected to the land more


than Bernardino Rivadavia—the first president of Argentina, a Unitarian, and proponent of European culture—had ever been. 102 A revision of previously held beliefs and their integration into the curriculum were therefore necessary.

Besides the recommendations he makes with regard to coursework, Rojas also supports a series of cultural developments such as the creation of regional museums, literary anthologies of national authors, public courses on Argentine history, awards established to support travel and study in Germany, France, Spain, and the provinces, and protection of archeological objects and sites. Beyond merely describing the educational and cultural poverty of the nation, Rojas actively contributes to solutions. His nine-volume Historia de la literatura argentina (history of Argentine literature) played an important role in national construction through the building of an Argentine canon. 103 Paul Groussac, a contemporary intellectual, famously quipped that Rojas’s book about Argentine literature consisted of more pages than the entire corpus he was referring to. 104

Rojas’s vision of America was liberal and free from clerical manipulation; the state should support public education, not foreign clergy (clero exótico). 105 America is a place of inclusion and synthesis, created from the fusion of Indian and European—a

102 “Había más afinidades entre Rosas y su pampa o entre Facundo y su montaña, que entre el señor Rivadavía o el señor García y el país que querían gobernar. La Barbarie, siendo gaucha, y puesto que iba a caballo, era más argentina, era más nuestra.” Rojas, La restauración nacionalista, 195.


104 Devoto and Pagano, Historia de la historiografía argentina, 9.

105 Rojas, La restauración nacionalista, 219.
sentiment he explores more fully in _Blasón de plata_ (1912).  

This blending of Spanish, Native American, criollo, gaucho, black, and mestizo, rather than creating a culture of Sarmentine barbarism, ensured the nation’s continuity, but only if that union is combined with the educational solutions Rojas offers in _La restauración nacionalista_.

Although he was accused by some contemporaries as advocating xenophobia, his writings were not explicitly anti-foreigner. In the 1922 epilogue to the revised edition of _La restauración nacionalista_ it appears that already Rojas is distancing himself from ultraconservative nationalism. He broke decisively from the anti-democratic parties in the 1930s, but because of the high degree of influence his book had upon the following decades, there is no denying that his thought contributed substantially to some of the roots of authoritarian nationalism.

Many ideas proceeded from _La restauración nacionalista_ that impacted not only the perspective of the Uriburista coup, but politics and aesthetics in general, contributing to the cultural milieu into which _El matrero_ was born. Unlike the ultraconservatives, however, Rojas sought to open a path for immigrants to become citizens through elementary and secondary education; this liberal agenda was related to his Romantic and optimistic view of the Americas as a place of synthesis. The elevation of local figures through the creation of literary anthologies initiated a continuing search for past figures.

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108 Devoto, _Nacionalismo_, 68.

109 Rojas, _La restauración nacionalista_, 314.
Argentine greatness, and may have spurred contemporary artists to contribute to their own tradition. Rojas’s revision of Sarmiento’s barbarism/civilization dialectic was likewise influential in literary and political discourse.

His later work *Eurindia* provides a more detailed set of ideas for how culture had been and could continue to be cultivated in a uniquely American way. The book was originally published in 1924 from a series of articles printed in the Sunday edition of the newspaper *La Nación* beginning in 1922. Rojas says he does not intend to provide a recipe for the creation of American art, simply a “guiding deity” (“deidad guiadora”) for artists who choose to use the resource as such.

The book argues that American creative identity should be distinct from the European. In the New World it is the rural countryside rather than the city that has produced authentic culture because the latter has been constantly penetrated by armed foreigners. Native Americans had civilization before the Conquest, and the expulsion of the Spanish was a nativist claim against a colonizer. The historical schema is as follows: the precolombian natives were defeated by the Spanish, who were defeated by the gauchos, who were defeated by European immigrants, who were defeated by autochthonomous artists, or to put it another way, *exoticismo* (exoticism) was newly conquered by *indianismo* (indianism). Literary history repeats this scheme with first indigenous folklore; then Neoclassicism, then gauchesco poems, then positivism and

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111 Ibid., 12.

112 Ibid., 21.
Now Argentina waits for the assimilation of exotic (that is, European) civilization by Indian tradition. Exoticism and indianism are necessary for political and cultural growth respectively. Neither gaucho nor cosmopolitan barbarism on its own is acceptable; instead, the source of Argentine civilization must be an art that expresses both phenomena, known as “Eurindia.”

Rojas deals systematically with dance, music, architecture, sculpture, painting, and poetry; each art form receives five chapters moving from general remarks on the topic to precolombian, colonial, cosmopolitan, and nationalist aspects of each. He praises music as the subjective art par excellence. Rural, folk culture is the richest source for melodies by reason of its primitive purity. The Russian Five are admirable for their incorporation of ethnic inspiration. The art of Chopin, Mozart, and Grieg has its individuality and delicacy from the origin of their respective countries. Wagner is both profoundly German and universal.

Drawing on diffusionist anthropology, in a chapter titled “Our primitive music” he identifies the pentatonic scale as a feature that connects the Native American to the Asian. Gaucho music on the other hand has Spanish roots but is influenced by Indian land, race, and arts. In a section called “Our cosmopolitan music” Rojas states that while it would be easy to document the repertory of theaters and conservatories it would be much more difficult to trace the passing of that repertory to the urban and rural populations. On the cosmopolitan stage, Buenos Aires is exceeded in the Americas

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113 In *Eurindia* Rojas expresses his hostility to Neoclassicism, calling it “colonial pseudoclassicism.” His term for modernismo was decadentismo, another common term for the fin-de-siècle movement. I discuss the aesthetics of modernismo (which is distinct from the English cognate, Modernism) below.
perhaps only by New York; but Rojas cannot help but denigrate his northern neighbors, alleging Argentine sensibility surpasses that of the “Yankees.”

Rojas expounds on a theme he had addressed more broadly in his *La restauración nacionalista* in the subsequent chapter titled “Nationalism in music.” Music education had witnessed the most fertile period in history in nineteenth-century Europe when the apotheosis of Wagner’s creations and formation of the Russian school occurred. Argentina by contrast is still in its incipient stage; its people are full of admiration for their European counterparts, which demonstrates the spiritual excellence of the nation. Rojas blames political conditions for the relative dearth of musical production.

He criticizes artists such Héctor Panizza—who incidentally would conduct the premiere of *El matrero*. Panizza had achieved a level of international recognition, but seemed to forsake Argentina, like Odysseus seduced by Circe instead of returning to Ithaca. By contrast, Rojas praises Alberto Williams, Arturo Berutti, Pascual de Rogatis, and Julián Aguirre, who, he says (incorrectly), exploit the song of the Indians to open the national music for the following generation. These composers actually drew on criollo material, which Rojas may have assumed contained the elements of aboriginal art. In any case this “new school” included Carlos Lopez Buchardo, Floro Ugarte, Jose André, and Felipe Boero. Whereas earlier generations were deaf to the rich source of native inspiration, these composers would create original works.

Rojas’s impact on Boero’s life and work was manifested in several respects. Boero’s own career exhibits the same focus on building institutions to promote the nation. Rojas’s advocacy for archeological preservation and dissemination through
curriculum foreshadows Boero’s work with schools and insertion of folkloric, gauchesco content into his musical works for a wider reception. The composer also adopts many of Rojas’s tenets of artistic nationalism in genres of opera, piano music, and art song.

*Manuel Gálvez*

Gálvez was less concerned with articulating a program of public education, yet like Rojas he too sought to draw on historical precedent for contemporary practice. The nationalism he endeavored to awaken in Argentine society was one that rejected materialism and cosmopolitanism in favor of an “authentic,” “traditionalist” vision, critical of individualism. Informed by the hierarchical system of the church, his vision separated a heroic past from a decadent present.

For these reasons Gálvez is often associated with the Catholic nationalism or integralism that achieved prominence in Argentina with Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum* in 1891.¹¹⁴ Gálvez deviated from other Catholic nationalists, however, by focusing on the inner morality of the upper class, rather than the construction of an openly theocratic state.¹¹⁵ Repression of the working class on the part of the elites was the product of capitalist greed and antithetical to the paternalistic spirit they should cultivate. Gálvez was not against representative government per se, but the idea of universal suffrage was to him ridiculous; stifling dissent through dictatorial repression by a morally upright minority, however, was an acceptable method to channel the energies of the nation and the masses.

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Oscar Terán situates Gálvez within the *modernismo* literary movement championed by the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, which flourished in Latin America between 1890 and 1910.\footnote{Terán, *Historia de las ideas*, 155-161.} He views the period as a reaction against positivism while at the same time being influenced by scientific thought. *Modernista* authors sought beauty over all else, and like the Romantics, they were opposed to utilitarianism. As opposed to Romanticism, however, *modernismo* did not find nature to be the ultimate source of beauty and civilization to be its opposite. Instead, as in Oscar Wilde’s dandy figure, it prized the artificial, excessive, and affected. It stood in opposition to the bourgeois values of economy and unrefined, uneducated aesthetic taste. Its antagonism toward industry had an antiimperialist stance in Latin America in reaction to the expansion of the United States with its supposedly crude pragmatism.

Gálvez’s signal contribution to the spirit of the Centennial was *El diario de Gabriel Quiroga* (the diary of Gabriel Quiroga).\footnote{Manuel Gálvez, *El diario de Gabriel Quiroga* (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 2001).} In spite of the fact that originally only 500 copies were printed, Gramuglio characterizes it as emblematic of the “spirit of the Centenary,” though Terán notes its significance also lies in the fact that it was adopted by the nationalist right later on.\footnote{Gramuglio, “Introduction,” 9; Terán, *Historia de las ideas en la Argentina*, 162.} The book is the fictional diary of a man named Gabriel Quiroga, whom scholars consider a stand-in for Gálvez.\footnote{Terán, *Historia de las ideas*, 162; Gálvez himself states that the name “Gabriel Quiroga” is a pseudonym for a friend (*El diario*, 76).} Gálvez’s choice of the diary genre made its impact more immediate (and less cerebral or theoretical), allowing for less documentation than a traditional scholarly contribution would have.
required.\textsuperscript{120} The use of fiction allows him to distance himself slightly from some of the more controversial opinions expressed, since as editor he is not responsible for the ideas of the “author.”\textsuperscript{121}

Gálvez begins the diary with a prologue dedicated to Mitre and Sarmiento, the “great spirits who exalted the nation.”\textsuperscript{122} He notes that diaries bore him unless they are of great men such as Gabriel Quiroga, whom he met when they studied law. In the space of four years Gabriel had accepted and discarded a variety of ideologies, including socialism, anarchism, and neo-mysticism. Disillusioned with humanity, he began to analyze himself and created a personal vision of the universe. After his travels to Europe, he finally came to know truth and achieved the moral perfection of his soul.

In the style of \textit{fin-de-siècle modernismo}, Gálvez characterizes Gabriel as a dilettante, who was very hesitant to publish his diary, disdaining celebrity. He defends Gabriel’s dilettantism against the stereotypical representatives of positivism—pedantic spirits, fashionable pseudoscientists, academic writers, and insufferable scholars—who fail to recognize that the dilettante is the product of refined civilization, an exponent of distinction, grace, and culture, and a polymath in the spirit of Plato, intimately familiar with the history of the nation. In a not-so-subtle jab at Rojas’s \textit{La restauración nacionalista}, published the previous year, Gálvez says that if he had written a pedantic, dogmatic book like sociology officials with opulent documentation and excessive analysis, he would have received praise from universities and government offices.

\textsuperscript{120} Gramuglio, “Introduction,” 46.
\textsuperscript{121} “Mi condición de editor no me responsabiliza de las ideas del autor.” Gálvez, \textit{El diario}, 76.
\textsuperscript{122} “A la memoria de aquellos dos espíritus eminentes que enaltecieron a la patria” (Gálvez, \textit{El diario}, 59).
Instead, he appears more interested in the new public reader. Gálvez’s use of the dilettante as narrating speaker allows him to use a simplified language that avoids over-stylization or mannerisms.

Gálvez notes that this is a sociopolitical book that should unify the country through the transcendent naturalism of its ideas and exaltation of nationalism. He is a patriot and therefore judges the country with a high standard, disdaining national “megalomania.” This patriotism was newfound as before the writing of the diary Gabriel was a Romantic who detested the nation for love of humanity. Only as a result of his sojourn in Europe were his ideas of country born. He is a patriot because he loves his native land intensely, understands the bitter sadness of the conquered provinces (by which he means everything outside of Buenos Aires), and shivers to the roots of his soul with the deep poetry of national musics.

The fictional Gabriel begins by noting that to publish is to lose part of oneself, but destiny has declared that this book be written for the sake of the nation. The publication of the diary is in homage to the country, and because it is both sincere and true, it is at times harsh and cruel; the book is also for curious foreigners who would like to learn about Argentina. The diary proper begins January 4, 1907 and laments the current materialistic culture that has abandoned the nationalist ideals of truth and spirituality. A few years previously the nation had been poor and ignored by foreigners yet rich in

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124 Ibid.
125 Gálvez, El diario, 74.
patriotism, and confident in a noble, collective national identity, distinct from Europe. To reclaim the nation’s spiritual life citizens must relearn old ideals.

Patriotism—which, following Illari, could also be termed sentimental nationalism—is a feeling so deep and unreasoned that it is often confused with instinct. For this reason, it only exists in the towns where men are the genuine products of their race and environment. Patriotism may still exist in the cities but under a thick covering of cosmopolitanism; only through a full return to the past can the nation encounter its soul. The Spaniards never forgot their debt to the church, which guided them through the Middle Ages. Unlike Spain, which had been unified by Castile in the center of the country, Argentina had been unified by decadent, coastal, cosmopolitan Buenos Aires, which corrupted the provinces as the fount of immigration. The capital was a beautiful prostitute; it had no self-identity, but was merely a poor imitation of London and Paris.

Argentines did not inherit Spain’s spirit of individualism, but its “fatal spirit of dissociation.” The rebellious and hateful nature inherited from the Native Americans remains in the Argentine’s blood; as a result, unification is difficult if not impossible without either a strong caudillo-style leader or threats from a foreign adversary. Protestantism signifies “complete denationalization” by introducing a discordant and strange doctrine that will lead only to spiritual disintegration. The best method of defense would be to expel all apostles of foreign religions and international social

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126 “Nosotros no hemos heredado de España su individualismo, pero sí su fatal espíritu de disociación.” Gálvez, El diario, 100.

127 “Completa desnacionalización” Gálvez, El diario, 95.
doctrines (for example, anarchism) to protect the constitution. The foreigner must “be argentinized,” his soul inundated in the vastness of the national soul.  

Gabriel celebrates violence for its purifying effects, as it cleanses the country of its impurities. Argentina should declare war on Brazil as this would result in an explosion of patriotism and unify the nation. Conflict would destroy cosmopolitanism and exalt the theological virtues of patriotism: faith in, as well as charity, altruism, and tolerance toward fellow Argentines. War would likewise raise the international profile of the country and put a halt to excessive immigration. Compared to Brazil, Argentina has a superior economy and race, but Brazil is more unified as a result of its Portuguese language, which exists in a sea of Spanish; the various regions of Argentina, by contrast, appear more related to neighboring countries than to one another—Jujuy to Bolivia, Mendoza to Chile, and Misiones to Brazil.

Gabriel argues for the professionalization of the writer, who should not need to come from a wealthy family or be employed by the government (which could corrupt him) to survive. Contradicting Rojas, Gálvez says that the Argentine writers from previous generations were abominable and the literary mythology surrounding them absurd. Aside from several books by Sarmiento, Martin Fierro by José Hernández, and Fausto by Estanislao del Campo, national literature can hardly be said to exist.

For Gabriel the nation can only exist when there is a shared tradition and community of ideals among the citizens, but the latter is absent in Argentina. He remarks bitterly that Sarmiento and Alberdi civilized and Europeanized the nation

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128 “La República necesita que el extranjero se argentinice, es decir: que su alma se anegue en la vastedad del alma nacional y que su corazón se temple en la pauta del sentimiento nacional.” Gálvez, El diario, 96.
through immigration. If they were alive today they would see that the *criollo* plazas have been replaced with English parks; “barbarous” and poor Spanish language has been “smoothed” and “enriched” by French, Italian, and German words, and tea has been substituted for *hierba mate* (a typical Argentine beverage). Inverting Alberdi’s statement, which sanctioned the migratory deluge, “gobernar es poblar” (to govern is to populate), Gabriel coins a new phrase in keeping with Rojas’s agenda, “gobernar es argentinizar” (to govern is to argentinize).

The average Argentine, he continues, is superficial and lacks the democratic spirit, which only exists in the souls of superior beings and true aristocrats. This person’s driving focus is climbing the social ladder, but this is a new quality, having come with cosmopolitanism through Buenos Aires. Like Rojas, he praises the “barbarous” old Federalists who were in actuality fine examples of the democratic process. In spite of his initiatives to bring in more immigrants, Sarmiento is among the greatest of the Argentines because he understood the national soul. His Unitarianism is incomprehensible because he is the genuine Federalist and old Castilian type. In a cultural vacuum he would have been a caudillo. Alberdi, on the other hand, declared that whatever is not European is uncivilized, thus negating Americanism and the mixture of races, even among the well-bred. In actuality there is a cultural connection between the mestizos and whites of Hispanic America, as evidenced in musical similarities between folk and art music and instruments.

According to Gabriel, art is the genuine product of society and reveals the sentiments, traditions, and ideas of the people. Music, and above all “folk music” (*música popular*), uncovers these most completely and shows an important distinction
between the interior and litoral regions of the nation.\textsuperscript{129} The interior is more conservative and lethargic, which is why in some provinces its music has changed little in 200 years. The guitar and accordion have not penetrated this area; instead the primitive harp, \textit{quena} (flute), drum, and violin are the typical instruments. The musical genres—\textit{yaravíes}, \textit{huanitos}, \textit{chacereras}, etc.—are mournful, in minor keys, mysterious, and resigned to fatalism. The singers have dark, nasal voices. The Buenos Aires-dominated coastal region has forgotten its music. For Gabriel and Gálvez, immigrants have dislocated the gaucho’s songs and exchanged them for tango, a repugnant, sensuous product of cosmopolitanism with no connection to the Cuban genre of the same name.

Superficiality, Gabriel continues, is a serious condition among Argentines and has its roots in the immigrant, Indian, and African. Against recent anti-traditionalist ideas a vague and undefined, but strong sentiment has formed called nationalism. A better name would be “traditionalism,” which brings to mind ideas of the past. Gabriel says that he and his fellow people are Latin, Spanish, and American, but above all Argentine, taking their collective consciousness from their shared history, environment, and heritage. Nationalists aim to strengthen the people’s spirit by conserving tradition, literature, and art. They long for the spiritual greatness of the country, which they love above all else, and combat all causes of denationalization.

Important characteristics exhibited in \textit{El diario} that would help shape the years preceding the premiere of \textit{El matrero} include a sense of loss of national culture, which should be reclaimed. The spirit of self-criticism in the name of patriotism likewise impacted Argentine intellectual discourse and \textit{gauchesco} literature. The idea that the

\textsuperscript{129} Gálvez, \textit{El diario}. 
provinces, and in particular their music, represent the true identity of the nation in contrast to the decadence and inauthenticity of urban-based popular arts (for example, the tango) resonates with the writings of Rojas and especially Lugones. Gálvez’s paternalism is an important connection to the ultraconservative nationalists, but it is also a feature of liberals going back to the 1880s, who took the wisdom and authority of the elites for granted. This paternal attitude was inherited from Sarmiento and his peers and had roots in colonization. The push for the continued professionalization and independence of the writer was similar to the process musicianship had undergone beginning in the late nineteenth century and which would continue to develop in the twentieth century through the creation of societies such as the Sociedad Nacional de Música (National Society of Music), founded by Boero and others in 1915.

Leopoldo Lugones

Unlike Gálvez, Lugones was neither an Hispanophile nor a Catholic.130 He viewed the culture of the gaucho as the ideal source upon which to model the social structure of modern Argentina and articulated the qualities of this figure and the reasons for his importance more systematically than either Gálvez or Rojas.131 Lugones’s political allegiances shifted dramatically over the course of his life. Devoto characterizes his philosophy as zigzagging gradually (but sporadically) to the right, from anarchosocialism in the late nineteenth century to authoritarian ultraconservativism in the

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130 Devoto, Nacionalismo, 42-106.

131 Lugones, El payador; Leopoldo Lugones, La guerra gaucha (Buenos Aires: Centurión, 1962).
twentieth. Terán identifies one constant to be his elitism: a conviction that it was duty of the talented, virtuous minority to direct the masses below.

Lugones is today recognized as the most significant Argentine literary figure of his time. He dominated the nation’s intellectual landscape in the decades surrounding the turn of the century, being named inspector general of education and director of the Biblioteca Nacional. He retains a central place in the canon as recognized by luminaries such as Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986), in spite of Lugones’s militaristic and autocratic views. His first book-length exploration of gaucho society, La guerra gaucha (the gaucho war) was published in 1905. It is connected to his earlier socialist tendencies in its rejection of bourgeoisie principles, as well as its “cult of violence.” Deviating sharply from Gálvez, Lugones is highly critical of Spain and the Catholic Church. He blames the European nation and the Jesuit order for many of the nation’s ills and contrasts them with the gaucho’s primitive civilization, which was in harmony with nature.

His speeches at the Teatro Odeón in 1913 enshrined Jose Hernández’s 1872 poem Martín Fierro as the quintessential epic of the Argentine nation. Once seen as low-brow and intellectually irrelevant, for Lugones, gauchesco poetry must serve as the source sine qua non of contemporary literature, its importance to Argentina analogous

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132 Lugones later criticized his 1911 biography of Sarmiento for expressing liberal ideologies (as well as its poor grammar); Devoto, Nacionalismo, 78-79.

133 Terán, Historia de las ideas, 170.


135 Devoto, Nacionalismo, 84.
to that of the Iliad and Odyssey for Greece. The speeches also articulated a patrilineal continuity between the gaucho chiefs of the early nineteenth century and the patriotic oligarchy attending those conferences. Thus, Lugones connected the paternalistic social hierarchy of the 1800s with the 1900s and showed through historical precedence that the worker should assume a creed of respect, patriotic and obedient to the patrician caste.\footnote{Faír, “Influencia,” 94; Leonardo Losada, “Aristocracia, patriciado, élite. Las nociones identitarias en la élite social porteña entre 1880 y 1930,” Anuario IEHS 20 (2005), 395.} The gaucho was the ideal prototype of the Argentine people, embodying traits such as bravery and introspection, while eternally disinterested in material wealth.

These speeches were the cultural highlights of the year and saw several foreign intellectuals in attendance. Scholars such as Devoto recognize that these events did not mark the first time the gaucho had been considered a figure of national significance, as Lugones’s biographer-son later would have it.\footnote{Devoto, Nacionalismo, 95-96.} The approving presence of the foreigners in attendance did, however, demonstrate that Argentine culture was worthy of respect, even among the international intellectual elite.

For Lugones El payador was the culmination of what he called his uniquely Argentine work.\footnote{Ibid.} The book begins with a chapter discussing the importance of epic national poetry, which can only be created through a conjugation of three elements: beauty, truth, and goodness. The production of the epic poem was important for a people to demonstrate that they could be counted among the superior nations of the world.\footnote{Lugones, El Payador.}

\footnotetext[137]{Devoto, Nacionalismo, 95-96.}
\footnotetext[138]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[139]{Lugones, El Payador.}
The second chapter “the son of the pampa” discusses gaucho history more specifically; and, like *El diario*, is filled with the racist and sexist assumptions of the day. The gaucho was the hero and civilizer of the rural Argentine provinces after the Spanish conquest had failed in the face of the territory’s immensity and natives’ hostility. The aborigines’ commitment to barbarism is clear from the profusion of guitars in the countryside and their refusal to adopt this (supposedly) superior instrument; thus their orchestras were incapable of producing harmonies. The only means by which to bring civilization to the pampas was the ascetic, armed struggle, known as the “conquest of the desert,” and the only race capable of contending with these barbarians was the gaucho.

Conceived in conflict, bringing with him the stimulus for civilization, the gaucho was the progeny of the conquistadors, who left the country after ravishing aboriginal women as their spoils of war, thus creating the mestizo race. Two features of the native endured: skin color and free spirit. Their ancestral pride did not permit the gauchos to assimilate into the cities where only servile tasks awaited them, and their individualism tied them to the horse. Yet they are distinct from the Native in having the best human qualities: serenity, courage, ingenuity, sobriety, vigor, as well as more sentimental attributes such as compassion, courtesy, hospitality, elegance, melancholy and social virtues such as honor, frankness, and loyalty. Negative qualities include laziness and pessimism, which leads to a resignation toward inferior conditions and fatalism.

The love of women was another “weakness” absent in the aboriginal ancestors, who viewed the female gender as little more than a domestic laborer. The gaucha is stoic, reservedly proud of the fame of her mate. Eager for marriage, her isolation and
loyalty combine to make her extremely tender toward her children. Her beauty
ephemeral, it is gone after the birth of the first child.

Lugones notes that the gaucho who does not play the guitar is strange, and the
payador, an expert folkloric guitarist and singer, is a national icon, respected
everywhere. He serves God, meditates to fall into deep trances, and fears apparitions
and the devil. The gaucho embodies the civilization of rural Argentina, yet his efficacy in
conquering the plains consisted of being, like the Native, a genuine product of the
environment.

In spite of the confusing times of the day the prototype of the contemporary
Argentine, Lugones continues, is the gaucho. Still, his disappearance has been good for
the nation because he had an inferior element from the indigenous blood. The upper
class, the caudillos of the gauchos, consisted of the white race and had proven
themselves worthy of leadership. They were conversant in French literature, Italian
opera, and English social customs. While the oligarchy could have avoided democracy
through rigged elections (which they did for several decades), they had the intelligence
and patriotism to prepare the country for democracy against their own interests.¹⁴⁰

The gauchos also helped ensure separation from Spain not only culturally but
militarily through service as soldiers in the War of Independence (1810-1820). Rightly
called the “guerra gaucha” (gaucho war) the revolution began the series of calamities
that befell the race. The gaucho has suffered much misery and been exploited for
political ends. His liberty “consisted in the endurance of his horse and the efficacy of his

¹⁴⁰ Here Lugones is referring to the Saenz-Peña law of 1912, passed by the liberal oligarchs,
which granted universal male suffrage.
Barbarism was revived of necessity in the *matrero* (gaucho fugitive) to fight injustice. He was exiled from his land by the bourgeoisie in exchange for immigrants who would plow wealth from the earth. The gaucho accepted his demise with reserved and proud pessimism.

The folk music of the gaucho had connections to the high art of Europe, according to *El payador*. The conquistadors brought their instruments from Spain. Through musical examples Lugones attempts to show that the sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti bear a familial resemblance to the various folk dances of the gaucho, not for reasons of imitation but as a result of a deep connection due to the superior intelligence of Scarlatti and the instinct of the gaucho, which developed through natural selection. Lugones ties the music of the *media caña* to Modest Mousorgsky’s *Boris Godunov* by pointing to the use of unison harmonies in both.¹⁴²

Lugones distances Argentina from Spain, joining Sarmiento in calling it “our stepmother” and linking gaucho language and democracy with Catalan. Castilian is paralytic, corresponding to Spain’s fanatical and absolutist tendencies. Far from being a “New Spain” the American continent is free from the Continent’s decadence. *Martín Fierro* was consecrated as the epic national poem, created not by Hernández himself, but through a crystallization of the culture of a people, the soul of the race; the writer had simply been an interpreter and synthesizer of this collective spirit. Lugones’s love of Greece and disdain for Christianity (for him, an Eastern religion of slaves; it is antisocial due to the centrality it places on personal salvation) led him to center gaucho culture

¹⁴¹ Lugones, *El payador*, 55. The *facón* was the typical knife of the gaucho.

¹⁴² The connection, of course, exists only in Lugones’s imagination.
around the Classical world, from the Iliad and Odyssey, through Occitan, Dante’s *Commedia* and works that were only nominally Christian, until reappearing in Argentina among the gauchos.

A free and democratic society, Lugones continues, flourished in many Spanish cities as a result of Southern French influence. Music advanced as well; coincident with an explosion of new instruments, the Greco-Roman tradition was transformed completely with the birth of polyphony in the motets of the troubadours and the use of consonant thirds. Phillipe de Vitry established laws on the proper construction of melodies still valid today; tonality developed through the work of Guido d’Arezzo.¹⁴³

Following the destruction of their temples, pagan musicians assimilated into the people and were the agents of the Renaissance. Gothic Christianity was from its origin opposed to Hellenism; whereas the former valued truth—which is mutable and changes between societies—the Greeks valued beauty—which is constant throughout history.¹⁴⁴ The latter is the aesthetic bequeathed to the Argentine whose ancestors survived the Albigensian crusade, fled to Spain, fought in the Moorish wars, and had the fortune to at their conclusion discover America, bringing their Hellenic civilization with them and thus continuing the “lineage of Hercules” in the gaucho.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ “La música enriquecióse con docenas de instrumentos nuevos, entre los cuales la viola, madre del violín, engendró el maravilloso ser viviente que es este instrumento, convirtiendo, así, la voz del arte en palabra: vale decir, alcanzando uno de los resultados más bellos, al consistir el objeto de aquel en la espiritualización de la materia. La tradición grecorromana transformóse enteramente, con la introducción de las diafonías y la elevación de las tercias naturales a consonantes; y al empezar el siglo XIV, el Ars Contrapuncti de Felipe Vitri formuló en leyes vigentes hasta hoy, la técnica de aquella construcción de la melodía. Guido d’Arezzo, el inventor del soneto, inició el sistema de la tonalidad. Por último, la polifonía nació con los motetes de los trovadores.” Lugones, *El payador*, 209.

¹⁴⁴ “Cada época tiene su verdad y su bien, a veces contradictorios con los de otras épocas; al paso que, una vez alcanzada, la belleza es permanente.” Lugones, *El payador*, 214.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 203.
The spirit of Classical Greece is sustained in the immortal race of the Argentine people who value beauty, life, and liberty. These qualities lift humanity out of materialism and force of law, which are fundamental to all despotism. Only by recognizing the injustice committed against the gaucho in the past—and not simply by writing systematically in the language of the pampas (as many of the gauchesco writers do)—can Argentine civilization progress. In closing, Lugones declares that exalting the unique virtues of the gaucho is the proper way to ensure the best possible future for the nation.

The Lugones of the 1910s sounds very different from the Lugones of the 1920s, who would vehemently condemn the liberal oligarchy as a failure and turn to the military as the sole institution worthy of allegiance. By 1924—when his essay “La hora de la espada” (the time of the sword) appeared—violence and war had for him become powerful tools of purification. Lugones supported the 1930 coup and argued that only repression would cleanse the administration, judicial system, and universities of yrigoyenism and communism, an awful forshadowing of the guerra sucia (Dirty War) from 1976-1983.

Important characteristics from Lugones’s writings that would shape the Argentine milieu include his elevation of gauchesco poetry to the status of Classical epic and the gaucho to the rank of national archetype. His sense that national literature should (and could) be produced that would allow Argentina to be perceived as an equal to that of the


147 Rock, Authoritarian Argentina, 77.
“great nations” of the West likewise proved influential. These efforts to raise cultural prestige occurred simultaneously with those of Argentine composers with regard to opera, the musical corollary to epic poetry (at least in terms of grandiosity and social perception). Lugones’s paternalistic elitism adheres to that of his contemporaries and would remain influential in Argentine culture for several decades.

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*El matrero’s* connections to the thought of Rojas, Gálvez, Lugones, and Krause are evident in diverse ways that a simplistic label, such as “nationalism,” is unable to capture. Rojas’s push for Argentines to be taught their rich cultural history impacted education and politics; Lugones’s elevation of the gaucho would enshrine the horseman as the quintessential icon of nationality and the ideal figure for an opera; Gálvez’s vision of a nation in which clear hierarchies defined society influenced how the Argentine story would be told and the nation “welded” together; and Krause’s social harmony provided a system of ideas vital to the milieu of the era. Each intellectual complemented the thought of the others in many ways, even as they simultaneously contradicted one another with regard to certain details. In the following chapters I show how *El matrero* relates to the cultural currents Lugones, Rojas, Gálvez, and Krausism helped initiate.
Chapter 3: Boero’s Life and Milieu

The life of Felipe Boero [was] an existence completely consecrated to teaching and art with an accent of sincerity always elevated and never bastardized; he left a lasting impact on our musical art.

—Carlota Boero de Izeta

With this eulogy Carlota Boero de Izeta closes the final chapter of her father’s biography.¹ The tribute, acknowledging in a few words the composer’s impact and range of interests, could have been applied to any number of Felipe Boero’s compatriots. Indeed, in many ways Boero epitomized his generation, yet he was distinct in several key respects. Most composers of his age were taught by one of two pedagogues, Alberto Williams (1862-1952), a dominating force in Argentine music, or Pablo Berutti (1866-1914), a composer who came from a family with deep musical roots.² Principal contemporaries of Boero include Constantino Gaito (1878-1945), Carlos Lopez Buchardo (1881-1948), Floro Ugarte (1884-1975), Josué Wilkes (1883-1968), José André (1881-1944), and Pascual De Rogatis (1880-1980).³ With the exception of De Rogatis, each of these men would study in Europe and upon returning to the Americas work to raise the level of musicianship among local composers and

¹ “El 9 de Agosto de 1958 se apagó la vida de Felipe Boero: una existencia enteramente consagrada a la enseñanza y al arte; con un acento de sinceridad siempre elevado y jamás bastardeado, dejó una obra perdurable en nuestro arte musical.” Carlota Boero de Izeta, Felipe Boero (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1978), 172.


performers through the establishment of schools, institutions, and professional associations.⁴

Boero was prominent within the group and pursued a wide variety of interests, including teaching, the composition of opera and chamber music, and direction of choral singing. His seven premieres at the prestigious Teatro Colón far exceeded most of his contemporaries. Unlike several of them, such as Lopez Buchardo, Ugarte, and Wilkes, however, there is no evidence that he sought out university or National Conservatory posts, nor did he attempt to earn his livelihood solely as a composer. Instead he was a pedagogue of children and adults, serving as inspector of primary schools and director of amateur singing groups. A motivating factor that may link these diverse undertakings, I would argue, is a sense of duty to national development—especially powerful during the period following the Centenary—which could be advanced through education in Argentine history and art as well as the strengthening and, where necessary, establishment of cultural institutions. A sketch of Boero’s life and works shows that the composer executed several Rojasian directives through the inclusion of Argentine folkloric content in art music and formation of associations meant to sustain and elevate culture in the nation.

Artistic Milieu 1880-1930

Institutions, composers, and associations

In order to appreciate Boero’s achievements it is necessary to examine the artistic milieu in which he operated and which had experienced the development of

several major cultural institutions in the decades preceding his birth. Mario García Acevedo begins the first of his two-volume history of Argentine music in 1853, the year of the creation of the national constitution following the ouster of Federalist dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas from power. Instructors of primarily Spanish and Italian descent were responsible for pedagogical activity with the most serious students traveling to Europe for advanced training. Support of the musical education system became more pronounced with the establishment of the Escuela de Música y Declamación de la Provincia de Buenos Aires in 1875 and the first Conservatorio Nacional de Música founded by Juan Gutiérrez in 1888. Demand for conservatory training grew substantially in the capital. By the last decade of the nineteenth century 3500 students were enrolled in five conservatories. Williams founded the school that would later bear his name in 1893 where many of the most important Argentine composers of the next century would study.

Mid-nineteenth-century musical life in the capital city was vibrant with continuous operatic seasons interrupted only for exceptional circumstances; indeed, the lyric theater dominated the attention of the public through the early part of the twentieth century.

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6 Ibid., 25.


8 García Acevedo, *La música argentina durante el periodo de la organización nacional*, 25.

9 Ibid., 30.
century with the composition of chamber music flourishing as well.\textsuperscript{10} Opera houses existed in the capital in the 1700s, but construction of new venues began in earnest from the 1850s onward. The first house to hold the Teatro Colón moniker was inaugurated in 1857, followed by Teatro de la Ópera in 1872, Politeama Argentino in 1879, Teatro Nacional in 1882, and Coliseo Argentino in 1907.\textsuperscript{11} The erection of the new Teatro Colón opera house in 1908 marked an important milestone of cultural achievement, attracting internationally renowned musicians to the nation for the next century and beyond. The five opera houses each offered simultaneous seasons that year.\textsuperscript{12} Francisco Hargreaves (1849-1900) wrote both theatrical and domestic musical works and has the distinction of having composed the first Argentine opera (\textit{La gatta bianca}) to be performed, first outside of the country in 1875 in Vilá, Tuscany (a town near Florence where he studied at the Royal Conservatory of Music), and two years later at the Teatro Victoria in Buenos Aires.\textsuperscript{13} The first Argentine opera on a local topic, \textit{Pampa}, by Arturo Berutti premiered in 1897 at the Teatro de la Ópera.\textsuperscript{14}

The second decade of the 1900s witnessed the establishment and continued development of Argentine cultural institutions that would affect the remaining century, such as the creation of sister organizations, the Asociación Wagneriana in 1912 and

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 11-12.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 107-113; Arizaga, \textit{Enciclopedia de la música argentina}, 296-298.

\textsuperscript{12} Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” viii.

\textsuperscript{13} Arizaga, \textit{Enciclopedia de la música argentina}, 179.

\textsuperscript{14} Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” 3.
Sociedad Nacional de Música in 1915. The stated intent of the latter was to perform works of Argentine composers and to foster the cultural development of Argentine schools and institutions. To spread opportunities among members, no composer could appear more than twice a year on the program. They held their first concert on November 5, 1915. The audience included intellectual luminaries such as Leopoldo Lugones and Victoria Ocampo, the music publisher Carlos Lottermoser, and the “indefatigable chronicler of Argentine music” Gastón Talamón. The Sociedad Nacional de Música (now Asociación Argentina de Compositores) established the Premio Municipal (municipal prize), whose laureate would have the opportunity to perform the winning work at the Colón. Awards proved important for Boero’s career as each of his operas was premiered there as a result of a competition.

In spite of its name, the Asociación Wagneriana (“Wagner Association”) featured many compositions by Argentine composers in its concerts, and the society’s raison d’être was similar to the Sociedad Nacional de Música: to elevate the culture of the nation as well as offer native composers a venue for the performance of their works. Indeed, several of Boero’s own works were premiered at concerts organized by the

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17 Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” 80; Boero de Izeta, Boero, 47.


19 Boero de Izeta, Boero, 169.

20 García Morillo, Estudios, 229.
association. The Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de la Nación established the Conservatorio Nacional de Música in 1924, appointing Lopez Buchardo as director; music critic Ernesto de la Guardia, as well as composers Athos Palma (1891-1951), Gaito, and Ugarte served as instructors.²¹

The publication of Argentine music periodicals increased considerably during this time, evincing the growth of cultural programs ancillary to composition in the realms of music journalism and criticism. From the beginning of the century to 1915 no more than two titles were published, though one title was the norm, and occasionally no periodicals were issued. After 1916 two titles per year were printed consistently, and by 1927 seven journals were in circulation.²²

The 1920s would witness the beginning of the rise of Modernism in Argentine music and the decline of the previous period of what I call Occidentalism. In many ways the earlier composers set the path for the more progressive ones, yet they were often critiqued by their younger counterparts. Omar Corrado notes the significance of the return of Juan José Castro (1895-1968) and Juan Carlos Paz (1901-1972) from study in Paris in 1925 and the subsequent founding of Grupo Renovación in 1929 with José María Castro (the former’s brother), Gilardo Gilardi, Jacobo Fischer, and Paz.²³ The motivation behind their association was explained in their manifesto.²⁴

²¹ Arizaga, Enciclopedia, 99.


²³ Corrado, Música y modernidad, 13; Guillermo Scarabino, El Grupo Renovación (1929-1944) y la nueva música en la Argentina del siglo XX (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigación Musicología “Carlos Vega” Universidad Católica Argentina, 2000), 79.

²⁴ “El Grupo Renovación se constituyó el 21 de septiembre de 1929 para procurar los siguientes fines: 1°. Estimular la superación artística de cada uno de sus afiliados por el conocimiento y examen
The first, second, third, and fifth points of their founding document are not altogether antithetical to the philosophy of the Sociedad Nacional de Música. They address the desire to increase performance, distribution, and publication of members’ works. In the fourth and sixth points, the manifesto declares that diffusion should extend to works by foreigners and commits to expanding public tastes that will lead to the support and development of musical culture. To this end the group encouraged the performance of Neoclassical and dodecaphonic pieces. Juan José Castro’s appointment as director of the Teatro Colón, though brief, would symbolically cement Modernist aesthetics as predominant within Argentine art music culture and confirm a waning appetite for early twentieth-century Romanticism.25

Occidentalism

Composers active in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are often described in terms of nationalism. Authors such as Juan María Veniard, however, have located nationalism much earlier in the nineteenth century, defining it as simply the inclusion of folkloric references.26 It is true that the history of gauchesco material in art music is longer than its associations with nationalism. The most prominent composer of the first half of the nineteenth century, Juan Pedro Esnaola, disdained its use, but


gradually it would become acceptable in salon works. Hargreaves, for example, published several piano works that contained folkloric titles such as “El pampero,” “El cielito,” and “La milonga.” These early uses of musical Volkstümlichkeit may be more understood as similar to eighteenth-century European imitations of local color, but lacking the intent to engender deep emotional associations with the nation. Indeed, the piece that has often been cited as the initiator of musical nationalism, “Rancho abandonado” by Williams may have actually drawn on a kind of “tourist appeal,” in which serious associations of national consciousness were only added by the composer later.

The dawn of Argentine musical nationalism has been confounded in part through Williams’s self-promotional propaganda. The composer stated that his travels through the rural countryside in the late nineteenth century inspired him to adopt the gauchesco style and compose “Rancho abandonado.” Although Deborah Schwartz-Kates accepts the general veracity of Williams’s claims, even she identifies “elements of fantasy” in his reminiscences. The quotation that is supposed to represent Argentine music’s embrace of the gaucho in fact consists merely a brief nine measures in the B section of

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28 Veniard, La música nacional argentina, 35, 43.

29 Taruskin discusses this kind of retroactive association in Taruskin, “Nationalism.”


a single piece in a five-piece suite. Williams’s importance is undeniable as perhaps the most singular and significant figure in Argentine compositional history; he did not, however, single-handedly usher in this movement decades before Lugones’s idolization of the gaucho, when rural topics became much more pronounced in Argentine music. “Musical nationalism” if it is to be understood as the incorporation of elements unique to Argentine culture remained subordinate to cosmopolitan trends that dominated musical output until after the Centenary, when eagerness to explore a uniquely Argentine repertory became more accepted, even dominant, among academic composers, including Williams. 

Perhaps another hindrance to a proper dating has been the nomenclature used in reference to composers of the early twentieth century. In much previous scholarship the labels of “generación del ochenta, noventa, etc.” (generation of 1880, 1890, etc.), have been used to characterize the music of Argentine composers. García Morrillo adopts these labels in his 1984 monograph on Argentine music history. Carmen García Muñoz applies them in an article from 1986 in which she credits Jaime Perriau’s Las generaciones argentinas (1970)—who in turn is indebted to the philosophy of José Ortega y Gasset—as the source of inspiration. Veniard’s proposal

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32 The rest of the piece maintains the rhythm but abandons the characteristic harmony for the remainder of the section (Melanie Plesch, “La lógica sonora de la generación del 80: Una aproximación a la retórica de nacionalismo musical argentino” in Los caminos de la música: Europa y Argentina, ed. Federico Spinola (Jujuy: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, 2008), 78).


34 García Morrillo, Estudios sobre música argentina, 18.

35 Carmen García Muñoz, “Apuntes para una historia de la música argentina: I. los compositores nacidos entre 1860 y 1890. La música de cámara,” Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica
of “camadas” or “waves” set according to the compositional dates of the composer is just as mechanical as García Muñoz’s. Scholars of musical nationalism, such as Sacchi, have accepted these labels uncritically. More recently, Plesch perpetuates the distinction in the title of her article “La lógica sonora de la Generación del Ochenta” if not in the content of the piece itself. According to this theory, composers from various “generations” would specialize in certain styles, but this can fail to recognize the fluidity of historical changes and its impact on music. Rather than utilize divisions that categorize the output of composers a priori, it is more beneficial to recognize cultural developments more broadly that intersect with aesthetics and social and political occurrences in distinct ways.

A preferable concept for understanding the situation and demonstrating the continuity and change of the period is that of Occidentalism. The term encompasses concepts of nationalism and cosmopolitanism and may be used to characterize the mode of thought dominant in Argentine music from about 1880-1930, describing initiatives to incorporate the ideals of the West as structural to Argentine identity. It shares the liberal outlook of the central government that valued international openness and European and Anglo-American affinity while sublimating regional features. Occidentalism arises out of the writings of postcolonial theorists, such as Walter Mignolo, who finds that epistemology itself is hopelessly Eurocentric by virtue of the


36 Veniard, La música nacional argentina, 18.

37 See Sacchi, “El matrero.”

38 Illari, “Williams, Occidentalist.”
West’s self-imposed racial, philosophical, and scientific hegemony; knowledge is colonial because Europe was and continues to be the source of understanding.\textsuperscript{39} Modernity is constructed around the colonial concepts of race and capitalism.\textsuperscript{40} Positivism and faith in science and progress are themselves supporting notions of liberalism (and then neoliberalism) destined to preserve the West’s traditional hegemony.\textsuperscript{41}

Boero was not a colonial subject of the Spanish crown, but still exhibits a structural dependency on Europe vis-à-vis the very art tradition he would present as Argentine. In spite of Boero’s efforts to offer an independent voice, he cannot help but be caught in the Eurocentric aesthetics of the period. Reliance does not, of course, imply inferiority. Derivation leaves plenty of space for elaboration, especially for artists in a musical tradition that emphasizes originality. Simply because one needs to understand Puccini to appreciate Boero does not disqualify the Argentine’s considerable originality. On the contrary, the new context requires a deeper engagement with the two braches of the Western art music tradition, enriching our appreciation of both. Internal tensions persist, however, as European and local styles coexist in musical nationalism. In terms of style, Occidentalist music was predominantly international in outlook through 1910, when it began more vigorously incorporating folkloric idioms. It is significant, as we shall see in chapter 4, that Boero’s gauchesco idiom is not pronounced before he

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\textsuperscript{39} Walter Mignolo, \textit{The Idea of Latin America} (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 11, 43.
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leaves the country in 1912, but appears in earnest after he returns in 1914 during the heat of nationalistic fervor.

Life

As Bernardo Illari points out in his study of Ricardo Rojas and Carlos Vega, the various understandings of nationalism are easily confused as the concept has been adopted by diverse groups who form theories that are sometimes quite developed and coherent, sometimes less so. He divides the ways by which we can approach the discussion of nationalism into sentiments, ideas, and actions.\footnote{Bernardo Illari, “Vega: nacionalismos y (a)política,” in Estudios sobre la obra de Carlos Vega, ed. Erique Cámara de Landa (Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical, 2015), 142.} Boero was certainly a committed nationalist in that he appears to have genuine emotional engagement with the idea of the nation as articulated by the Centenary writers. He did not, however, generate new ideas or doctrines of nationalism; gaucho folklore had been incorporated into Argentine art music before by men such as Williams and Julián Aguirre. As the reception of *El matrero* demonstrates, however, ostensibly fueled by his sentiment, Boero was able to develop their ideas, putting them into action in a way that neither of his predecessors could through the grandiose and popularly appealing operatic genre.

The environment in which Boero operated offered immense opportunity to a talented and determined musician for nationalistic action. His efforts at building local cultural institutions reveal his optimistic enthusiasm, but he faced serious obstacles. Social and political problems plagued the early part of the century. While the Argentine economy was booming, its reliance on exports of raw materials to support growth caused it to suffer devastating losses from which it would struggle to recover, severely limiting opportunities, artistic and otherwise, after 1930.
Birth and musical training

It was into this milieu of challenge and possibility that Boero was born. His parents were Angel Boero (born in Buenos Aires, 1837) and Josefina Mas (born in Montevideo, Uruguay, 1845). The couple married in 1868, and Josefina gave birth to eleven children, five of whom survived to be counted in the 1895 census. Angel was of European extraction; as late as 1869, and making an appeal to jus sanguinis, he identified his nationality not as Argentine but Italian. He served as an instructor at the Colegio Nacional Buenos Aires. Several of his relatives operated a flour mill in Santa Fe and his family was well-off enough to be involved in various land transactions in southeastern Córdoba province.

On May 1, 1884 in Buenos Aires, Josefina gave birth to a son, baptized Santiago Felipe Boero on September 11 of that year. The boy studied at the Escuela Normal de Profesores de la Capital from 1897-1901 and graduated at age 16. Encouraged by his

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46 Delius and Lloet, “Reseña.”


48 Guillermo Kraft Limitada, Quien es quien en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft Limitada, 1955), 100; Boero de Izeta, Boero, 16.
parents to pursue music, Felipe studied piano, theory, and composition with Pablo Berutti.⁴⁹ Pablo’s brother Arturo Berutti was a successful composer, having premiered the previously mentioned *Pampa* in 1897.⁵⁰ Pablo Berutti was a well-respected composer in his own right, though his music is virtually unknown today, as much of it is lost. He earned a doctorate of music at the Conservatory of Leipzig where he studied with Solomon Jadassohn. While there Pablo had won the prestigious Mozart Prize—a distinction bestowed upon only one other foreigner, Camille Saint-Saëns. He returned to teach in Buenos Aires after declining a position at Leipzig.⁵¹

Like his mentor, Boero was given the opportunity to train in Europe. The Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública de la Nación (National Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction) awarded him the Premio Europa, a prize that offered promising young composers the opportunity to study for four years on the Continent. Previous laureates included Ricardo Rodríguez (1879-1951), Wilkes, Ernesto Drangosch (1882-1925), and André, each of whom would achieve some measure of musical success in the following decades.⁵² Boero had initially planned to follow Berutti to Leipzig but ultimately decided to study at the Paris Conservatoire with Paul Vidal.⁵³

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Boero left Buenos Aires with his wife of three days, Helena Gorostiaga, on November 9, 1912.\footnote{Boero de Izeta, Boero. La nación, November 6, 1912, 13. Josefina Mas de Boero, Pablo Gorostiaga, Alberto Gorostiaga, Jorge Boero, and Pablo Berutti attended the wedding.} According to his daughter and biographer, Carlota Boero de Izeta, his time in France was quite illuminating as he was exposed to a variety of cultural experiences: he reportedly attended many plays and concerts—including the infamous premiere of Igor Stravinsky’s Rite of Spring—and met Claude Debussy, Camille Saint-Saëns, Maurice Ravel, and Vincent D’Indy. He counted Manuel de Falla among his friends.\footnote{Boero de Izeta, Boero, 31.} In addition to his studies with Vidal, he received lessons from Faure.\footnote{Kuss, “Nativistic Strains,” 238.} The outbreak of World War I ended his stay in 1914, halfway into his four year term. According to Boero de Izeta, several piano works came from this period, though she notes that they were not premiered until several years later. Impresiones de Toledo, Evocaciones, and Visions rápidas (all from 1913) are suites that depict scenes in Europe such as the Venetian Rialto bridge and the monastery of El Escorial in Spain.

Return to Argentina (1914-1918)

Mirroring the experiences of Gálvez’s fictional Gabriel Quiroga, Boero de Izeta credits the composer’s time abroad with enhancing his sense of duty to his country, encouraging him to work to elevate its cultural offerings by adopting and incorporating the institutional practices and compositional developments of Europe.\footnote{Boero de Izeta, Boero, 32.} Soon after returning to Buenos Aires he began these efforts by joining with the other Premio
Europa winners to found the Sociedad Nacional de Música on October 18, 1915.\textsuperscript{58} Sacchi characterizes Boero as perhaps the most fervent nationalist of not only his decidedly nationalistic generation, but of all composers in Argentine history.\textsuperscript{59} Indeed, the nation (though not necessarily his own) seems to have occupied Boero’s musical concerns from an early age; a juvenile opera \textit{Sangre romanola} (lost) was based on a section of the Italian Edmondo De Amicis’s patriotic children’s novel \textit{Cuore}.

Boero sums up his philosophy of Argentine nationalism in a lecture he gave in 1915, published in \textit{Correo Musical Sudamericano}.\textsuperscript{61} Here he highlights distinct but related elements that should constitute a national program of cultural development, including the preservation of folkloric music, its cultural elevation, and its (re)popularization; each of these objectives may be accomplished by ingesting gauchesco references into genres of art music.\textsuperscript{62} He credits the lack of artistic independence and musical isolation as the reasons Argentina had thus far failed to produce “great works” of art that would distinguish itself among the nations.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 34.

\textsuperscript{59} Sacchi, “\textit{El matrero}, 114.”

\textsuperscript{60} Boero de Izeta, \textit{Boero}.

\textsuperscript{61} The lecture was published as part of conference proceedings \textit{Correo Musical Sudamericano} 1 (29), October 13, 1915. (Quoted in Sacchi, “\textit{El matrero},” 116. The copy Sacchi consulted at the Biblioteca Nacional is missing as of March 2012).

\textsuperscript{62} “Necesidad urgente de conservar nuestra música popular, estilizando y defendiendo los tesoros inagotables del ‘folklore’ argentino; de honrarlo elevándolo hasta las más altas manifestaciones de las formas clásica y moderna; en una palabra de nacionalizar nuestro joven arte musical, propiciando por último la formación del teatro lírico propio,” Ibid.

\textsuperscript{63} His daughter adds that while artists are born in every country some places have better resources and institutions than others, thus increasing the probability of their success (Boero de Izeta, \textit{Boero}, 33).
For Boero, the Teatro Colón was part of the problem but also the means to a solution. Its impresarios were required to present few Argentine works per year with the understanding that shorter is better. Failing in the populist mission he envisioned for it, the Colón did not take culture to the people, nor did it promote the music of national composers. Boero campaigned for Spanish in the Colón, which had been almost completely absent before his first opera in 1918. The use of the language had been slowed ostensibly due to the hesitance of foreign singers to adopt the Argentine vernacular. He appealed to authorial privilege couched in the work-concept, saying “the use of Italian or French is a tacit submission to secondary elements of interpretation…what is logical is that the performer should conform to the work not the work to the performer.” He was optimistic about the future of Argentine music based on the country’s abundance of folkloric sources.

A 1918 poll in the literary journal Nosotros mailed to certain musicians, critics, and men of letters shows that Boero’s ideas about musical nationalism, already mature by 1915, were by no means unique for the time. The survey was sent in response to the assertions of music critic, Talamón, of the importance of folklore in the same journal and rebuttals to the contrary by an anonymous “friend of Nosotros” and the composer

64 La Angelical Manuelita (1917) by Eduardo García Mansilla was the first opera in Spanish (see Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” 67 and Juan María Veniard, Los García, los Mansilla, y la música (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Musicología “Carlos Vega,” 1986), 103), but it only received one performance and was not well-received. Sacchi, “El matrero,” 114; De la Guardia and Herrera criticized El Angelical Manuelita for having little interest either in music or plot (Arte lírico, 66). An earlier opera Huemac (1916) by Pascual De Rogatis had been composed in Spanish, but it was translated to Italian for the premiere at Colón (Kuss, “Nativistic Strains,” 194.)

65 Boero de Izeta, Boero, 36.


Armando Chimenti. The survey itself consisted of two questions: the first asked whether it was possible for American nations to create their own type of music based on folklore as other countries had; the second asked whether the musician should follow an American, universal, or other European trend. Lugones responded concisely that not only was the use of folklore possible, it was inevitable; the artist should be influenced by personal inspiration and his environment. The music critic Ernesto De la Guardia and pioneering nationalist composer Aguirre were among those who also responded favorably to the idea of folklore in music. Like Lugones, they were noncommittal as to a particular provenance for inspiration, appealing to the independence of the artist. Boero’s works and statements over the course of the following decades reveal an affinity for the sentiments of Aguirre, De la Guardia, and Lugones regarding the importance of folklore. As for choice of musical tradition, it is clear that Impressionism and the Italian operatic tradition exemplified in Puccini would be important frameworks on which to graft the “Americanist” gauchesco idiom.

_Early success_

From Boero’s perspective, the Colón had staged far too few Argentine works since Héctor Panizza’s _Aurora_ in its inaugural year of 1908, which was sung in Italian. Indeed, only two works by nationals had been performed in the ten years between Panizza’s opera, _Aurora_, and Boero’s _Tucumán: Huemac_ by De Rogatis and _La_
Angelical Manuelita by Eduardo García Mansilla. According to Boero de Izeta, Colón was often referred to, perhaps somewhat pejoratively depending on the perspective of the speaker, as “La Scala en La Plata”—referencing the famous opera house in Milan and geographic region where Buenos Aires is located, respectively.70

The lack of Argentine works being performed was blamed on the idea that audiences demanded well-known singers, many of whom were Italian and ostensibly only willing to perform works in that language.71 Questions of potential profitability may have also made impresarios wary of investing in works by composers who lacked name recognition. In spite of these limitations, Boero managed to premiere all six of his operas at the Colón. Boero’s desire to set Spanish may have even eclipsed his sense of urgency to have the best singers perform the opera, a consideration vitally important for a young composer whose works had hardly been heard and whose reputation (indeed, whose entire career) could rest on a single night’s premiere. The oddity of the language in the context of an opera may have caused impresarios to delay its adoption for fear that audiences would object using ridicule, violence, or worse, absence.

The lyric theater remained a dominant focus of Boero, beginning with his first premiere at the Colón in 1918. Tucumán’s reception was generally positive; some critics said Spanish was not apt for singing but others announced that the opera marked the affirmation of an Argentine lyric art.72 In their 1933 summary of operas performed at the Colón, Ernesto De la Guardia and Roberto Herrera noted that while Tucumán is a solid

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70 Boero de Izeta, Boero, 36.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., 39, 41.
work of youth, *El matrero* is undoubtedly a superior work (they repeat statements of this nature for *Raquela*, the other “criollo” work preceding *El matrero*, as well).  

Perhaps as important as the Argentine press’s reception for Boero’s career was that of international audiences. A translated Italian performance in Rome at the Teatro Costanzi was successful from the perspective of *La razón* and garnered the approval of at least one foreign language press, *Journal Français*, which especially praised the intermezzo and Boero’s simple style.  

*Ariana y Dionisio*, a one act opera-ballet, premiered at the Colón on August 7, 1920. While some commentators said this was a more mature work than *Tucumán*, others objected that it moved away from the “nationalist” tendency—presumably referring to its choice of language (Italian) and Classical setting. De la Guardia and Herrera found the work to evince the composer’s facility and sincerity with the best parts being the dances, apparition of Zeus, and finale.

The jury for the Municipality of Buenos Aires—consisting of Williams, Gaito, De Rogatis, López Buchardo, and Ricardo Rodríguez—chose *Raquela* among six submitted operas for performance on June 26, 1923. It premiered as a double billing with Strauss’s *Salome*, the latter conducted by the German composer himself.  

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75 Felipe Boero, “Ariana y Dionisio.” (Full score microfilm of the opera held by the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, no date); Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 55.

76 Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 57.

77 Ibid.

78 De la Guardia and Herrera, *El arte lírico*, 286.
de Izeta states that this concurrence symbolically elevated the status of the young Boero.\(^79\) The press called the performance a success, comparing the applause Boero received favorably with Strauß’s and remarking on the folkloric dancing.\(^80\) De la Guardia and Herrera could not help but compare *Raquela* to *El matrero*, saying the former contains succinct versions of the musical characteristics of the latter.\(^81\) After *Raquela* Boero began the opera *Siripo*, but was interrupted by preparations for *El matrero*.\(^82\)

Boero’s 1925 premiere at the Teatro Colón, *Las bacantes*, returned to Classical mythology as source material. Boero himself expressed some doubt in the work, and his daughter acknowledged that it was hurriedly organized.\(^83\) De La Guardia and Herrera noted that there were problems of adaptation, but stated that Boero’s music was estimable.\(^84\) The work is a translation of Euripides’s *Bacchae* by Leopoldo Longhi, who taught at the Universidad de La Plata and commissioned Boero to compose music for the production.

In spite of the lukewarm sentiment with which composer himself regarded *Las bacantes*, with four premieres at the country’s most prestigious lyric theater by 1925 Boero had already achieved considerable success. Yet his name is indissolubly linked

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79 “Pero el autor de *Raquela* era de los que creía que el artista debe influir en la opinión del público cuando se trata de mejorarla; así, con esta obra demostró que también los tipos populares criollos podían elevarse hasta el teatro lírico y enaltecer nuestra cultura” (Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 59.)

80 Ibid., 58-60.


82 Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 75-76.

83 Ibid., 64-65.

in Argentine music history to the fifth work performed at the Colón, *El matrero*.\(^{85}\) It was without a doubt his most successful composition, receiving performances around the country in the year of its premiere and through the subsequent decades. By the end of the century the work was produced 67 times in 18 seasons, and was parodied at the Teatro Sarmiento.\(^{86}\) The first performance outside of the capital took place in Rosario on November 2, 1929, followed by premieres in Bahía Blanca (1932), La Plata (1933), Santa Fe (1933), Córdoba (1944), Tucumán (1945), Mendoza (1948), and Mar del Plata (1948), often coinciding with patriotic holidays.\(^{87}\) It was the first domestic opera recorded in commercial form, and it inspired a 1939 film.\(^{88}\) Kuss sees in it the possible germ of Argentina lyric theater, calling it the country’s “classical nationalist opera.”\(^{89}\)

The Argentine premiere of Yamandú Rodríguez’s play, *El matrero*, occurred in Teatro Nacional of Buenos Aires in 1923. Octavio Ramírez of *La nación* noted that Rodríguez is known as a popular author, but neither the Colón nor foreign theaters knew of him until the opera.\(^{90}\) The success of *Raquela* may have prompted Boero to set Rodríguez’s play. According to Boero de Izeta, others also wanted to stage the drama, but Boero had already secured the rights.\(^{91}\) The libretto and play are explored in more

\(^{85}\) García Morillo, *Estudios*, 194.

\(^{86}\) Sacchi “*El matrero*,” 110.

\(^{87}\) Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 95-96.

\(^{88}\) Sacchi, “*El matrero*,” 110.

\(^{89}\) Kuss, “Nativist Strains,” 191.


\(^{91}\) Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 75.
detail in the fifth chapter. They both follow the same basic mythical plot, being set in the rural pampas when gauchos supposedly roamed the countryside freely.

The reception was overwhelmingly positive among the important local dailies. *La nación* noted that Boero was wise to keep the music simple for the simple folk. It is not overly technical, looking better on a staff than in performance, as is sometimes characteristic of the genre. The music is suitable for the environment and the characters, whose rustic simplicity would certainly have been disturbed had it been enveloped by “stormy symphonies.”

*La prensa* called it genuinely criollo “without fill.” It praised the brevity of the final section where the *matrero* dies without a romanza and Pontezuela’s pain is not expanded into a big aria. *El hogar* said it was the most successful Argentine work of the 20 performed at the Colón. The second act received the bulk of the criticism, but according to Boero de Izeta, the composer wanted to imprint a melancholic tone—similar to that of late afternoon in the countryside—in contrast to the animation of the first act and tragedy of the third.

The opera was met with approval among members of the country’s intelligentsia as well. In the literary journal *Nosotros*, Mayorino Ferraría called it the best performance of an Argentine opera realized to date. He praised Rodríguez’s use of “primitive”

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92 *La nación*, “En el Colón se estrenó anoche con mucho éxito ‘El matrero,’” July 13, 1929, 9.

93 *La prensa*, “En el Colón se estrenó anoche ‘El matrero’ del maestro Felipe Boero,” July 13, 1929, 18.

94 Luis Bouche, “En veintiún años de existencia se han representado en el Colón veintitrés obras argentinas,” *El hogar*, February 14, 1930.

language, as well as the quality of the libretto, which, he said, is notable because most Argentine composers had had to endure setting inconsistent and weak texts.

Rodríguez, by contrast, animated his characters with real passion. He considered the music to be “simple and sincere,” with a “frankly nationalistic character” and without “technical complications.” In spite of the virtues he saw in the work, Ferraría noted that certain Italianate reminiscences seemed odd (“provoked a smile”) in a gauchesco environment. In his opinion, Boero would have done better to draw more on the “crude flavor” (rudo sabor) that Ferraría said was especially present in the first and third acts.

Regardless of the few perceived shortcomings (“tales o cuales fallas”) of the work Ferraría refers with optimism to the promise of the “young composer.”

Praise for *El matrero* was not universal. The journal, *Disonancias*, for example, strongly favored Italian opera against nationalistic music. The bicentennial of Beethoven’s death had been a major event in Argentine culture and the great composer seems to have still been very much in the consciousness by 1929. The July-August issue of *Disonancias* includes a cartoon that depicts God sending Beethoven back to earth with his hearing intact, but after listening to *El matrero*, Beethoven begs God to make him deaf again (figure 3.1). It is the issue’s only reference to Boero’s work, and Corrado suggests that its criticism was based less on aesthetics and more on its

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97 Ibid.

98 Corrado, *Música y modernidad*, 75-77.

99 Ibid., 117-134.
hostility toward institutions of power and pro-Italian concerns over nationalist sentiment.\textsuperscript{100}

Figure 3.1. Cartoon from \textit{Disonancias} 3(18): 11.

\begin{center}
\begin{minipage}{\textwidth}
\textit{Dios hizo que Beethoven volviera a la vida y recobrara el oído; pero oyó “El Matrero” y suplicó:}

\textit{—¡Señor, Señor, devuélveme la sordera!}
\end{minipage}
\end{center}

Where \textit{El matrero} was neither praised nor mocked, it was largely ignored.

According to Boero de Izeta the opera was almost performed in Spain, England (in

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 75-77.)
English translation), Chile, and Uruguay, but the arrangements never came to fruition because it was difficult to translate the materials (singers, costumes, scenery) and, perhaps, gauchesco mythology to other countries. Boero de Izeta’s biography is very useful for its painstaking collection of conceivably every positive newspaper mention; the lack of foreign commentary regarding *El matrero* in the year of its premiere is therefore all the more patent. Among the foreign press, she only lists the *New York Times* as making note of the work in 1929. Even here the journalist only mentioned its general reception in Argentina. The relative lack of international recognition may have encouraged Boero to forgo pursuing gauchesco material as a foundation for “national opera.”

A number of other factors may also have contributed to the abandonment of gauchesco styles for future theatrical compositions. Groups identifying as *nacionalistas* became much more violent in the 1930s following the fall of Hipólito Yrigoyen. Nowhere does Boero seem to embrace the violent rhetoric of the ultraconservative nationalists, which by this time included Lugones (see chapter 2). The liberal-conservatives who came to power over the hardline *nacionalistas* favored cosmopolitanism to nationalism. Although members of Grupo Renovación—Paz and Juan José Castro in particular—embraced progressive, anti-liberal politics, the modernism and avant-gardism they

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101 Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 94. Of course, even if it cannot be immediately understood it could be comprehended and appreciated, which is part of this dissertation’s goal.

102 Boero de Izeta mistakenly places the date of the article in July 1929 when it was actually printed December 1, 1929 (*Boero*, 84, 104.)

furthered came increasingly into favor likely due to the renewed focus on cosmopolitanism. Boero’s desire to complete Siripo, and, perhaps most importantly, the decline of the gauchesco style in contemporary literature, may have also dimmed his interest in utilizing folklore as a source for more operas. Furthermore, the worldwide financial collapse limited demand for operatic performances. Perhaps Boero was becoming more focused on areas of interest outside of composition yet equally in line with ethic of the Centenary, such as pedagogy. He completed only two more operas (one of which he had already begun in the 1920s) in his remaining 28 years after premiering four in a little over a decade.

Later career, 1930-1958

1929 witnessed the peak of Boero’s compositional career as well as the traditionalist musical style initially supported by the Sociedad Nacional de Música. In seeming contrast to his success in the adult world of opera, after 1930 he focused his efforts on raising the level of pedagogy in the public schools.\textsuperscript{104} At various points in his career he served as director of the Juan Martín de Pueyrredón school, instructor at the Escuela Normal de Profesores, technical inspector of primary schools of the Consejo Nacional de Educación (National Council of Education), and teacher of singing for the Instituto Nacional de Educación Física (National Institute of Physical Education).

One intriguing detail of Boero’s life from this period that may inform our understanding of \textit{El matrero} is his involvement with the Agrupación Juan B. Justo, a performing group.\textsuperscript{105} Its namesake, Justo (1865-1928), founded the Argentine Socialist


\textsuperscript{105} Corrado, \textit{Música y modernidad}, 317.
party in 1894. Drawing its support from the working class, the party favored the improvement of the quality of life of the poor through income redistribution and price controls. Its politics were moderate, disdaining violence. It shared the belief in universal suffrage with the Radicals and in the organicism of Krausism. Attracting and naturalizing immigrants were important parts of the Socialists’ political strategy. Boero was a member of the Agrupación at its founding three years after Justo’s death and was well-regarded enough among its members to receive an homage in 1934, though details regarding his relationship with the performing group are sparse. Boero de Izeta makes no mention of the Agrupación in her biography, but admitting associations with leftist politics during the military dictatorship (1976-1983) would have been unwise to say the least given the murderous nature of the regime in power at the time of her writing. Boero’s involvement may have been less a political matter and more of a practical one in terms of finding a venue for the performance of Argentine works, an activity that remained important throughout his professional life.

Similar to his stated motivations for composing operas, in this stage of his career Boero sought to perform traditional music through the promotion of choral singing. The composer believed that Argentines are individualistic by temperament and thus reluctant to engage in any kind of collaborative work that requires sacrifice. Singing in a chorus was thus far from a simple entertainment; it was necessary to bring the collective together as one. To this end Boero supported the creation of workers’ choruses for

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adults. In 1934 the Consejo Nacional de Educación invited him to form singing groups. Two years later he organized large choirs of workers with as many as 2100 singers participating.\textsuperscript{109}

Despite these varied interests, opera remained an important part of Boero’s activity, though he would never again achieve the success he had found with \textit{El matrero}. \textit{Siripo} premiered in 1937 with text by Luis Bayón Herrera and dealt with the lover’s vengeance of a spurned Native American chieftain. Boero adapted Arturo Capdevila’s play of the same name for \textit{Zinicalí} (1954), which explored the culture and myths of the Roma. Kuss calls his later operas a “retrenchment” from the gauchesco style, and indeed they moved away from the gaucho and Argentine topics in general.\textsuperscript{110} They retain elements of the musical language of Boero’s other operas, but their novel subject matter and unique musical settings and reception make them deserving of further study even if they represent a style that had gone out of fashion among the more progressive composers.

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The artistic communities in which Boero circulated impacted the genres he chose for composition. Instruction at the Conservatoriore taught him the latest Impressionist styles, which he would employ in some of his most intriguing pieces, including \textit{El matrero}. Composition awards enabled operatic premieres at the prestigious Colón. His exposure to classic and current operas at that internationally renowned opera house likely influenced his compositional style. Organizations such as the Sociedad Nacional

\textsuperscript{109} García Morillo, \textit{Estudios}, 192.

\textsuperscript{110} Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” 159.
de Música gave Boero opportunities to perform chamber works, and his participation in pedagogical activities on a nationwide level provided venues for many of his choral pieces. In the following chapter I will analyze a diverse collection of compositions that showcase Boero’s Occidentalism and competency in a variety of styles.
Chapter 4: Analysis of Selected Compositions

The domain of gauchesco art has always been the banks of the Plata, and the unnamed river is like a harmonious heart within its body of classical stanzas, which know nothing of alien flora but do speak of a tree, the ombú, and a kind of grass, the flechilla.

—Jorge Luis Borges

Thus a young Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986) considers the regional sources, Argentine and Uruguayan, for a native literature in 1924.¹ His ship to Geneva left Buenos Aires in the same year Felipe Boero returned from Europe (1914). In the years following the Centenary he, like Boero, would explore the artistic possibilities pioneered on the continent only to turn again westward to seek inspiration in what he perceived to be authentic American traditions.² Boero’s journey to the musical land of the gauchesco was more circuitous than his physical travels from Paris to Buenos Aires; in a musical sense, he may be said to have brought some of those “alien flora” with him to enrich his own compositions. In the 1910s he would demonstrate his proficiency in the then-current Impressionist style as well as a sense for dramatic—even operatic—dialog, both of which would inform his magnum opus. He would consistently evince an interest in the popular even in his “European” compositions, and this seems to have transitioned smoothly into his consideration of the gaucho and efforts to make El matrero appealing on several levels. As the decade turned to the 1920s he would explore more locally Argentine materials.


² Jason Wilson, Jorge Luis Borges (London, Reaktion, 2005), 36.
There have been several generalizations of stylistic traits of Boero’s oeuvre, but few in depth analyses of specific pieces. Only *El matrero*, which I discuss in chapters 5 through 7, has received individualized attention from multiple scholars. An analysis that goes beyond a labeling of stylistic provenance and accepts the pieces as vehicles worthy of hermeneutic interpretation inspired by the previous discussion of literary and sociopolitical considerations, enables a deeper level of understanding for an artistic voice that was inspired by, but unique among, European and Latin American contemporaries. Due to their unfamiliarity full analyses and a comprehensive study of entire pieces are necessary so as to move beyond vague generalizations; for that reason, I have transcribed large portions of characteristic pieces and placed them in the Appendix for ease of reading. Here I will focus on works that preceded *El matrero*, and on a few of Boero’s later gauchesco and pedagogical compositions.

The analysis that follows reveals several aspects of the composer’s oeuvre. While Boero’s style changed over time, he had achieved a level of maturity upon his return from France when his style was distinctively Impressionist. His technique made use of the whole-tone scale, Debussian harmony, and motivic variation, which would reappear later in *El matrero*. Aesthetically, the pieces lack the teleological direction of Romanticism but tend to focus around an evocation of a particular place. Impressionism is most apparent in his Hellenic pieces, which draw on the mythologies of Classical antiquity for content. His interest in the *gauchesco* appears to have come to the fore after his return to Argentina in 1914. Throughout his career he showed a special concern for setting text to music.
Changes in composition reflect the political, social, and aesthetic vicissitudes of the day as well as Boero's own career path, and the genres upon which he focused helped determine his style. Rather than order chamber and art songs chronologically, it may be more useful to organize materials according to general style—broadly, international and gauchesco Occidentalism—then situate ensemble and genre within. Following the discussion of smaller genres, I summarize and describe each of Boero's operas and close with a brief example of one of his pedagogical pieces.

*International Occidentalism*

*Piano works*

Boero’s music demonstrates a sophisticated grounding in chamber music techniques for genres such as art song and piano solo as early as the 1910s. Carlota Boero de Izeta dates all of Boero's non-gauchesco piano compositions to 1913, which indicates they were written during his European sojourn, though several were not performed until 1918, several years after his return to Argentina. The piano suites *Impresiones de Toledo, Evocaciones, and Visiones rápidas* each consist of three pieces. They feature chromaticism and virtuosic passages with tonal relationships often organized around the major third. Textures are sparse, often simply reduced to two voices and sustaining pedal.

In the piano set *Visiones rápidas*, Boero evokes the countries of Spain, Italy, and France in “Aldea Castellana,” “El Rialto,” and “Pescadores de Morgat” respectively. These are locations his biographer indicates he personally visited during his studies.

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abroad. Each piece makes use of ostinato figures, beat displacement, and contrasting sections of lyricism and idiomatic runs. “Pescadores de Morgat” is the final and third piece in this set (see example 4.1 for an excerpt and Appendix A.1 for the entire piece).

The piece may be divided into two large sections. The first is chromatic, dissonant, and has an unstable sense of tonality and meter—the ostinato pedal point notwithstanding—while the second—beginning in measure 40—is diatonic, consonant, and much more rhythmically and melodically regular.

Example 4.1. “Pescadores de Morgat” measures 1-12.

The episodic quality of “Pescadores de Morgat” as well as its formal and harmonic idiosyncracies invite programmatic interpretation. The opening key signature and left hand ostinato indicate a center of F-sharp while the right hand fleshes out the dominant ninth sonority in the first measure. The performance markings indicate the use of both the sostenuto and sustaining pedals, creating a lush and continuous texture, perhaps representing the rolling waves of the sea. A chromatic, lyrical melody enters in

4 Ibid., 32.

5 Felipe Boero, Visiones rápidas (Buenos Aires: Lottermoser, no date), 16-20. Held by the Universidad Católica Argentina.
the fifth measure and displaces the meter across the barline, creating a hemiola effect. In line with Impressionistic procedures, this sets up a melodic-harmonic polarity between the diatonic right and chromatic left hands. The pitches mimic the restless *agitato* tempo marking, never seeming to settle into the ostensible tonal center. Beginning with a G-natural, the flattened second scale degree, the right hand moves freely along the keyboard incorporating pitches within F-sharp major and minor. A D-natural in measure five implies the minor key as does an A-natural in the following measure, but one beat later a D-sharp then G-natural enrich the otherwise diatonic melodic line. Measure 9 begins on the tonic and descends chromatically to the dominant. The right hand moves up an octave for the next phrase (measures 12-17) and maintains all white notes against the F-sharp rooted chord in the left hand, finally resting on an A-natural, the third of F minor.

A *Tempo I* indication in measure 18 and an F-natural rooted ostinato (transposed down a semitone from the first measure) mark the second subsection of the first section. The parallelism with the opening of the piece appears to break from the tonal system of the piece, but even this may be understood as a kind of reversed pre-dominant to dominant movement from an augmented sixth chord with F-natural and G-natural being approached from the F-sharp minor sonority. With a dominant seventh E-flat added in the right hand, the chord ends unresolved as the melody passes through several chromatic dissonances, borrowing freely from F major and minor scales until measure 24 where D-sharp is enharmonically respelled as E-flat and again the dominant seventh of C hints at the key to come. The chord is held through measure 28 at which point a repetition transposed down a half step of material first heard in
measures 12-17 occurs. The right hand continues the transposed repetition in measure 34 with a ninth chord built on E, but the left hand breaks out of the repetition. A series of ascending lines follow, with accidentals dropped with the exception of the seventh scale degree of A harmonic minor to which the piano resolves in measure 39. One might imagine the first large section of the piece representing the fisherman out at sea, with the texture of the left hand signifying the undulating waves and the right hand symbolizing the retrieving and casting of nets. As the semitones dip lower, so do the nets as the men diligently seek out their livelihood.

The remainder of the piece is marked by regular phrasing and tonal clarity. It does not bear the markings of the gauchesco topos and barring more evidence of provenance it may be said to represent a kind of generic folk sentiment. This section may represent fishermen’s song as they transport their catch to their village. The melody drops the chromatically disjointed motion of the beginning, and the tonal center is clarified: the piece hardly deviates from A minor, aside from a few secondary dominant chords. The right hand’s lyricism seems to bear some resemblance to a folk song with the second phrase repeating the first. The following two phrases (measures 48 and 52 respectively) share a similar affinity to one another while the fourth phrase seems to be interrupted on its route to A minor with the entrée of the subsequent section in measure 55.

Here the key signature changes to two flats, and the piece centers around G minor with material that is constructed similarly to the folk song in measure 40: balanced, lyrical phrases and a diatonic melody. After half step tremolos in measure 62 the melody repeats an octave higher. In measure 69 the key signature changes to a
victorious G major with the new forte melody doubled at the octave in the right hand as
the townsfolk ostensibly welcome back the men on their way to sell their catch at the
fish market. Hemiola occurs in measure 70, evoking a folkloric dance-like quality. A
coda begins in measure 76, and the piece ends on a strong triple forte dynamic
marking.

In a piano set composed the same year as Visiones rápidas, Boero
demonstrated an affinity for other Impressionist techniques, such as the whole tone
scale and planing. Continuing the Spanish theme explored in “Pescadores de Morgat,”
Toledo is a set of character pieces revolving around geographic or architectural features
of that ancient city, including “La Catedral” and “La Plazoleta de San Juan de los
Reyes.” The first piece, “El Tajo,” refers to the longest river on the Iberian peninsula
(see example 4.2 for an excerpt and Appendix A.2 for the complete piece).6

Example 4.2. “El Tajo,” measures 1-10.

The piece is constructed around a recurring A section (measures 1-16) that may
represent a gentle flowing of the river as the listener is transported on a boat through
the countryside. It opens with flanking A-flat octaves in the high treble and low bass;
parallel fourths in the right hand outline a D-flat major sonority. Perhaps foreshadowing
melodies constructed around the whole tone scale, the first three measures are

6 Felipe Boero, Toledo: El Tajo (Buenos Aires: Ortelli Hnos, no date). Held by the Universidad
Católica Argentina.
transposed down a whole step in measure four. The bass continues the whole step movement downwards, but instead of continuing the sequence, the right hand and later the left hand proceed in the C-natural whole tone scale for the remainder of the section.

The B section represents a break from the Impressionism that began the piece, into Romantic, teleological harmonic momentum and thematic development. In measure 17 the key signature changes to three sharps, and the piece moves away from the whole-tone scale to center around F-sharp minor with clear dominant-tonic motion across the barline from measure 18 to 19 and new thematic material in the highest voice. The melody is developed continually as the piece becomes increasingly agitated with chromatic upward runs on 32nd notes until descending in measure 37-38 to a restful D major chord in the left hand with duplets in the right. Wagnerian chromaticism emerges until the underlying harmonies begin to settle into Impressionistic harmonic motion once again. The turbulence of the river finally loses momentum as the following measures present a contrast by featuring more harmonic stability and deceleration with the indication “lamentoso sin rigor de mov.”

The piece begins to move again with the reappearance of the theme from the beginning in measure 50 and a new harmonic center of D-flat major. A strong dominant seventh chord held in measures 54-56 resolves with a key signature confirmation of the new center in 57. A lyrical melody over a guitar-like accompaniment signals a departure from previous sections. A shift to the parallel minor, respelled as C-sharp, occurs in measure 63 but maintains the same theme from measure 57.

The dominant of C-sharp/D-flat builds tension from measure 71-74 until a deceptive progression to open B-flat octaves when the opening material returns to close
the piece—albeit raised a whole step, suggesting that the trajectory of the listener has been from the west, upstream. The transposed repetition continues for eight measures; the ending cuts measures 9 and 10, but returns to measures 11-16 to reiterate the ending of the opening section. A short codetta follows with parallel fourths in the right hand and melodic material related to the opening theme.

An analysis of Boero’s early piano pieces reveals a mastery of late Romantic harmonies and Impressionistic techniques such as beat displacement and the use of the whole-tone scale, modal mixtures, bitonality, parallelism, and free treatment of dissonance. The incorporation of lyrical and folk-like material within these pieces foreshadows later works. The compositional style that Boero demonstrates here would not appear again in the same genre, as the remainder of his keyboard output hearkened fully to the gauchesco style, abandoning many of the late Romantic and Impressionistic aesthetics.

Vocal works

Vocal music appears as a concern for Boero early on. None of the pieces he composed before 1913 were published, and they are apparently lost, but his daughter’s catalog of his works indicates an Occidentalist interest in literary poetry rather than folk culture. “L’Angelus” and “Ave María” for voice and piano are the earliest ones from 1904. The titles and poets of his unpublished “Nid d’hiver” (1905) by François Coppée, “Adieu” (1907) by Alfred de Musset, and “Le Printemps” (1907) by Victor Hugo suggest a preoccupation with mid-nineteenth-century Romantic French literature. The Spanish

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7 The order of the following pieces—“El Catedral” coming second and “Plazoleta de San Juan de los Reyes” at the end—contradicts this literal geographic program, however, as the Medieval cathedral lies to the East of the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes.
language also features prominently in these early works with Boero drawing on texts such as “Tarde triste” (1907) and “Tus ojos” (1907) by Luis Arengo and “Coplas” (1907) by Alberto Ghiraldo. The identity of Arengo is unclear, but Ghiraldo (1875-1946) was a politically active, leftist with first Radical and then anarcho-socialist allegiances around the turn of the century. The choice of text on the part of Boero is intriguing and may indicate sympathies for Ghiraldo’s interest in the lower classes, though the composer’s penchant for setting modernista poetry may have been just as much of a factor.

Vocal music would continue to occupy Boero throughout his career, in grandiose genres such as opera as well as the intimate art song. Les ombres d’Hellas (The shadows of Hellas) and Les ombres d’Hellas II are two sets of ten pieces for solo voice and piano composed between 1910 and 1930, set to the work of Argentine poet Leopoldo Díaz (1862-1947). The text is drawn from the book Las sombras de Hellas-Les ombres d’Hellas, which is a collection of 105 poems on characters from Greek mythology that was published in 1902 in a bilingual Spanish and French poetic edition translated by Frédéric Raisin. Classical mythology and Alexandrine verse were

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9 Ibid. See chapter 2 and Oscar Terán, Historia de las ideas en la Argentina: diez lecciones iniciales (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2008), 155-161.


commonly used elements among French Symbolist and Latin American modernista poets.\textsuperscript{12}

In contrast to his later pronouncements concerning the importance of the vernacular, Boero set the French rather than the Spanish poetry to music; even the performance indications are in French rather than the more usual Italian language. The pieces he chose reference various mythological characters including Ajax, Cassandra, Ariadne, Charon, Orpheus, Eurydice, nymphs, and the chimera. Their order as Boero organizes them differs substantially from Díaz’s original. While they do not create a straightforward narrative, per se, they may be read in a selective, linear fashion.

The compositions are complex in comparison to the folk songs and dances of 1914 and more related to French art song than to anything originating from the pampas. “Le Rhapsode” (“El rapsoda,” “the rhapsode”), the first piece in the collection, may be understood as a kind of introduction to the musical set (see example 4.3).

\begin{footnotesize}
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Dans ma maison, vieillard, je t'invite à me suivre !
La noblesse du cœur éclate dans tes yeux ;
Ta chevelure a l'air d'un bois couvert de givre :
Serait-tu quelque roi mendiant, quelque Dieu ?

Je ne suis qu'un rhapsode errant et malheureux !
Je vais de Thèbe à la muraille consacrée,
Où d'Œdipe sanglant on voit l'ombre éplorée,
Rappelant la vengeance implacable des cieux !

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13 Diaz, Les ombres d'Hellas, 168.

Spanish version:
Detén la marcha, anciano, en el umbral amigo!
De varonil belleza tu rostro está nimbado,
Tu larga cabellera parece un bosque helado...
¿ Eres un dios, acaso, eres un Rey mendigo?

— Soy un rapsoda errante... La estéril ruta sigo
Que conduce de Tébas al muro consagrado,
Allí, donde el fantasma de Edipo ensangrentado,
Recuerda la venganza de algun dios enemigo.

Y esta vision me llena de un infinito espanto !...
Por aplacar á Némesis elevaré mi canto,
Como el divino Orféo, junto al Hadés obscuro.

Despues, sacrificaremos un albo corderillo
Y de Astarté funesta, bajo el opaco brillo,
Pronunciarán mis lábios la frase del conjuro.

English translation:
In my house, old man, I invite you to follow me!
Nobility of heart explodes in your eyes;
Your hair is like a frozen forest
Are you a beggar-king, perhaps a god?

I am only a wandering and unhappy rhapsode!
I go from Thebes to the holy wall,
Where bloody Oedipus sees the somber shadows,
Recalling the implacable vengeance of heaven!

And this vision fills me with horror!
So to appease Nemesis, I sing,
As Orpheus before, a sparkling hymn...

Come! We will sacrifice a little white lamb!
And, without fear of Astarte’s funeral rays,
I shall conquer the spirit of darkness.
Et cette vision me remplit d’effroi !
Aussi, pour apaiser la Némésis, je chante,
Comme jadis Orphée, un hymne étincelant...

Viens ! nous sacrifierons un petit agneau blanc !
Et, sans craindre Astarté ni ses rayons funèbres,
Je saurai conjurer les esprits des Ténèbres.

The text’s presence as the opening of the song cycle suggests that the poem may be read as a kind of statement of purpose for the rest of the collection. A dialog proceeds between the unnamed speaker and the eponymous rhapsode, a reciter of poetry in Classical times. The presence of a conversation and use of a speaker whose occupation is in telling stories frames the cycle as proceeding from this bard’s mouth. There may be more to the use of this particular figure than as simply a reciter of poetry. Romantic poets understood the Homeric tradition as originating not from a literal blind poet, but an accumulation of tradition transmitted through various authors and rhapsodes. The speaker could thus represent the shared tradition uniting Argentina with not only France, but the cradle of Western civilization, Greece.

Set in Alexandrine verse, the poem, like the others in Díaz’s Les ombres d’Hellas, is structured as a sonnet with octave and sestet. The rhyme scheme is consistent in both Spanish and French texts (ABAB, BCCB, DDD, EFF). The first speaker ends his invitation at the end of the first quatrain. The rhapsode introduces himself in the second half of the octave and recoils in horror at the visions of Oedipus his poetry inspires in the first tercet. The thought of Orpheus’s musical powers seems to

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allow him to regain composure enough to tempt the anger of Astarte in the final half of the sestet.

The Impressionistic style of the song is conveyed in its through-composed form and harmonic instability. The piece begins on a dissonant A-flat minor chord in second inversion with an added D-flat 11th (see example 4.4 for an excerpt and Appendix A.3 for complete piece). The third measure moves to a C-sharp minor seventh chord before switching to a B major chord in second inversion with an added sixth (G-sharp). The floating tonality continues through much of the piece with key changes following the structure of the text. The relationships of tonalities are occasionally quite distant as “Le Rhapsode” shifts from six flats to no flats and back to six flats to end on a G-flat major chord.


The music articulates the identity of the two persons in dialog. The piano accompanying the first speaker continues the dreamlike opening with a mostly diatonic melody in the voice followed by modal mixture in measure 11. A cadence on the fifth
scale degree provides some tonal clarity in spite of the underlying chromaticism. Quartal block chords in measures 14-17 intensify the sense of the speaker’s awe at the guest, until he finally asks in hushed wonder whether he is a beggar king or a god. The rhapsode moves the piece (measure 22) to diatonic, triadic harmony, that seems to suggest a more reserved and pensive (“nostalgique”) attitude, cadencing in the ostensible key of the piece, G-flat major in measure 26. After the harmonic certainty of his introduction, the tonality begins to break down in apparent reaction to the horror of his Oedipal vision. Word painting on “cieux” (heaven) also conveys the terrifying vengeance of the gods, occurring on the highest note of the piece on double forte.

The abrupt change of key signature provides a visible cue to the opening of the sestet. Slow harmonic progressions and a rising vocal line build tension in a kind of dry recitative style until the rhapsode resolves to sing with a determined G major chord approached from its dominant in second inversion. His declaration that he will defiantly sing as Orpheus had done connects this song with a later piece in the cycle, further suggesting the appropriateness of “Le rhapsode” to open the work. The final tercet returns us to the key of G-flat major, mixing lyricism in the first line with dry recitative in the final two. Hopeful and defiant against the threat from Astarte, an authentic final cadence with a minor dominant ends the song on the ominous text “darkness.”

The sixth piece in the cycle, “Eurydice et Orphée,” follows a similar pattern (see examples 4.5 and 4.6 for text and a musical excerpt and Appendix A.4 for the complete piece). Each octave and sestet develops a self-contained scene with parallels of grief and then hope in the first and second quatrain and tercet respectively. In the first

\[15\] Ibid.
quatrain, Orpheus discovers the body of Eurydice and determines to travel to the underworld to recover her. In the second, he uses the power of music to aid his journey. Pluto’s resistance to his pleas in the first tercet are balanced by Charon’s touching sympathy in the final one.

Through-composed, the song ostensibly begins in the key of E-flat major, but never cadences on the supposed tonic. The monophonic opening features a starkly-voiced, widely spaced E-flat octave in the right and left hands. This seems to reflect the cold, mute, and still corpse of Eurydice. The wandering harmonies move suddenly to an F-flat major chord in the third measure to a C-flat major chord to G-flat minor to D-flat major to an F major chord with a minor seventh that moves to an A major chord to close the first sentence.
Example 4.5. Text of “Eurydice et Orphée” from Les ombres d’Hellas.\textsuperscript{16}

Lorsqu'il vit Eurydice à ses pieds étendue
Muette et froide, sa douleur fut débordante !
Sa lèvre murmura cette prière ardente :
"De descendre aux Enfers! qu'elle lui fût rendue!"

Et tel fut le pouvoir secret de l'harmonie,
Qu'on vit tout s'embraser au feu de son génie,
Que le sombre Achéron s'arrêta dans son cours,
Et que son chant dompta les tigres et les ours.

\textsuperscript{16} Felipe Boero, “Eurydice et Orphée,” from Les Ombres d’Hellas (Sociedad Nacional de Música, no date): 24-27.

Spanish version:
Cuando miró á la esposa exangüe, muda y fría,
Fue su dolor sin límites y desbordado y ciego ;
Y formuló su labio, con palpitante ruego :
«Al negro Hadés, sus manes, iré á buscar un dia!»

Y tal era el oculto poder de su harmonía,
Que todo lo abrasaba su inspiración de fuego,
Las hoscas fieras iban para escucharle — y luego
El fúnebre Aqueronte sus ondas detenía.

Mas, á Plutón adusto no conmovió su lyra ;
Sú voz profunda y triste, como lamento expira
En la remota margen donde se implora en vano...

Sólo Caron detuvo su nave sibilina,
Y vióse una furtiva lágrima cristalina
Humedecer el rostro del imponente anciano (Díaz 156).

English translation:
When he saw Eurydice lying extended at his feet
Silent and cold, his grief was overwhelming.
His lips murmured that ardent prayer
"To descend to Hades! That is what will be done!"

And such was the secret power of his harmony,
We saw all impassioned by the fire of his genius
That the dark Acheron stopped its course,
And his singing tamed tigers and bears.

But Pluto remained deaf to the strains of his lyre,
Of the complains of his voice that sadly sighs,
On this dreary beach where all hope is vain!

Charon stopped his enigmatic boat
Near the edge, and we saw, furtive and crystalline,
A wet tear on the eye of the divine ferryman.
Mais Pluton resta sourd aux accents de sa lyre,
Aux plaintes de sa voix qui tristement soupire,
Sur cette morne plage où tout espoir est vain!

Caron pourtant retint sa barque sybille
Près du bord, et l'on vit, furtive et cristalline,
Une larme mouiller l'œil du passeur divin.


The wandering quality of the harmony may reflect the broken psyche of Orpheus.

After remaining static in octave unison for 3 and a half measures, the pain of seeing
Eurydice “mute and cold” is reflected in the tortured diminished chord outlined in the
voice. When Orpheus speaks in measure 8, however, the harmony finally seems to
have recognized its purpose and begins to move to E major in earnest. From measure
6 until the cadence and change of signature to four sharps most of the notes fit within the key of E major with the exception of a passing tone D-natural in measure 8 and a broken cadence in measure 9 that moves to C-sharp in the following measure. From here the phrase moves decisively toward the new tonic with a I64-V-I cadence, reflecting the resoluteness of the hero to descend to the underworld.

The next section beginning in measure 12 changes the texture of the piano from accompanimental block chords to two contrapuntal voices; triplets in the right hand flow over a bass line in the left. Harmony alternates between tonic and dominant until measure 15 when a flat seventh scale degree appears and the dynamics grow toward a forte in measure 16. When the next phrase begins in measure 17 Boero indicates “Recit.,” perhaps allowing the voice the freedom to slow and depict the river Acheron stopping its course to listen to Orpheus’s singing. The bass line descends, cleverly depicting the journey down to Hades. A series of major triads with augmented fifths in measure 22-23 models the frustrated disappointment the hero must feel at Pluto’s deafness to his entreaties. Tremolos in the left hand along with multi-measure crescendo markings move from an F-sharp major ninth chord to an E-flat seventh chord to a B major seven-nine chord that resolves to an F major sixth chord in measure 26.

From here the transition to D flat major becomes clear with an A-flat major seventh chord outlined for an entire measure before finally resolving the tension in measure 29 with a Tranquille tempo marking, piano dynamic level, and a tonic chord arpeggiated in the left hand. Harmony alternates between I and V as the dynamics fall to a pianississimo marked una corda in measure 37. The melody in the voice and right hand inflect the parallel minor mode in measures 38-40, perhaps depicting Charon’s
quiet tears in response to Orpheus’s song. Weak dominant-tonic resolution marks the end of harmonic motion in measure 41 as the piano outlines a tonic chord, diminishing in loudness and slowing until the end.

The order of the following pieces seems to suggest a coherent, albeit non-linear, narrative. “Vox ruinæ,” is a lament, that appears to depict Orpheus’s anguish over the death of his beloved.17 It falls immediately preceding “Caron,” who is ferrying an unnamed someone (presumably Orpheus, though again, note that these poems were not contiguous in Díaz’s original) who is “singing through the darkness” (“chantant, à travers les ténèbres”) on the way to the “realm of death” (“royaume de la mort”).18 In “Les nymphes au bain” (the nymphs bathing), the eponymous characters “sing nuptial odes in unison,” recalling the creatures that ripped Orpheus to shreds after he swears off marriage in the myth.19 Finally, L’automne closes the cycle with a nostalgic theme of maturity leading to life’s end: “The forest of my dream has its yellowed leaves.”20 Closing the cycle with the poetic “I,” the rhapsode appears to reenter the story, bidding his host a melancholy farewell.

The preceding analysis shows Boero’s command over the Romantic and Impressionist styles as well as his careful attention to the relationship between text and music. The harmonic vocabulary and treatment of the melodies are not altogether different in the vocal music as compared to the piano music. Boero composed relatively

17 Díaz, Les ombres d’Hellas, 209.
18 Ibid., 149.
19 “Chantant à l’unisson les Odes nuptiales” (Ibid., 47).
20 “La forêt de mon rêve a ses feuilles jaunies” (Ibid., 59).
little for piano in the 1920s, and he never returned to the Impressionistic titles or dense
cromaticism of the 1913 character pieces composed during his European sojourn.
Vocal music, however, continued to play a central role in his output. He generally turned
away from the complex harmonies of Les hommes d’Hellas for his songs and choral
works, but retained them for sections of his operatic oeuvre.

Gauchesco Occidentalism

Boero’s musical style changed over the course of his career, in relation to his
shifting and often overlapping vocations as student, children’s pedagogue, opera
composer, and teacher of adult choruses, but also in response to dynamic tastes and
genre expectations. Rather than divide the works into European inspired and gaucho
inspired I recognize that the utilization of folkloric music itself is an Occidental move.
The pieces from 1914 and later contrast greatly with the pieces of 1913 for piano alone
and reflect a strong preoccupation with folkloric material.

Melanie Plesch introduces semiotic approaches to scholarly understandings of
the Argentine nationalistic musical style of the turn of the twentieth century.21 Drawing
on Sausurian metholodological discourses via Leonard Ratner and Kofi Agawu, she
argues that culturally constructed gauchesco topoi have created a rhetorical system
agreed upon by composers and listeners.22 She traces the dissemination of styles in
traveling circuses, sheet music, and traditionalist performers. According to her

21 Plesch, “La música en la construcción de la identidad cultural argentina”; Melanie Plesch, “La
lógica sonora de la generación del 80: Una aproximación a la retórica de nacionalismo musical argentino” in Los caminos de la música: Europa y Argentina, ed. Federico Spinola (Jujuy: Editorial de la
Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, 2008), 108.

22 Kofi Agawu, Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music (Princeton:
interpretation of the reception of these topoi, a work need not quote extensively or exclusively from a known genre, but can freely incorporate a plethora of topics to create a mélange of “Argentinidad.”\textsuperscript{23} Indeed, Boero synthesized distinct musical elements in his work, but more than simply incorporating hybridity—which is only one possible aspect of local reference—the gauchesco style invoked through various folkloric (and art music) genres represented ideas that would have strongly connected to the image of the nation in a variety of contexts in the minds of listeners and performers.

\textit{Chamber, Choral, and Symphonic works}

Boero’s gauchesco chamber music oeuvre includes a transcription of \textit{Suite Argentina} for string quintet called \textit{Motivos del llano} (motives of the plain), \textit{Tres aires populares} (three popular airs), and \textit{Piezas criollas para quinteto de arcos} (criollo pieces for string quintet).\textsuperscript{24} Choral works play a more distinct role in Boero’s career upon his appointment as director of adult choruses. Many of them are based on folk topics, including \textit{El Gato correntino}—an often performed choral work—\textit{El Triunfo, La Firmeza, La Huella, El Prado, El Palito, La Media Caña, El Escondido, Chacarera, La Criolla, and Vidala de Carnaval}. \textit{Todo es amor} is based on a traditional Spanish tonada. According to Boero de Izeta’s catalog, other choral works include \textit{El Hogar Paterno} by the gauchesco author Rafael Obligado, and \textit{Buenos Aires} and \textit{La Independencia} by the nineteenth-century poet and essayist Carlos Guido Spano.\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{23} Plesch, “La lógica sonoroa,” 71-72. \\
\textsuperscript{24} Boero de Izeta gives the range of 1930-1940 (Ibid.).  \\
\end{flushright}
Boero composed symphonic works with rural references in this period with *Madrugada en la pampa* premiering in 1924. The two orchestral suites, *Danzas Argentinas* and *Suite Argentina* were written between 1920 and 1930. The former consists of stylized folk dances such as the “Gato,” “La media caña,” “La Huella,” and “El cielito.” The first three premiered in 1924 under the baton of internationally renowned conductor, Ernest Ansermet, then directing the Asociación del Profesorado Orquestal. As recorded by Boero de Izeta, *Suite Argentina* contains one movement, “Estilo,” with clear references to folklore in the title, and four others that imply the countryside’s rural ambiance: “Madrugada,” “La Siesta,” “El Bailecito,” and “Rodeo.”

**Voice**

“Ay, mi amor,” written, according to Boero de Izeta, between 1910 and 1930, and published in 1948 by Lottermoser, is based on a traditional text. Its harmonic naiveté does not explicitly quote or imitate a known genre, but the piece does evoke Argentine topoi in the imitations of a strummed guitar and what Plesch calls a sense of loss so characteristic of the nationalistic gauchesco style, a “pena extraordinaria” (extraordinary pain) (see example 4.7 for text, 4.8 for a musical excerpt, and Appendix A.5 for the complete piece). The melody is simple, lacking chromaticism and the form is ABAB strophic with cadential rhyme between the sections. The lines of text follow an eight-syllable, seven-syllable pattern that is reversed in the final B section. This couplet is

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followed by either a repetition of the text in the B section or the five syllable refrain in the A section. “Cielos, ay mi amor” appears at the end of each section with a very catchy syncopated leap of a fourth from dominant to tonic that bears a stylistic connection to the *estilo.*

Example 4.7. Text of “¡Ay, mi amor!”

Strophe 1
 Parece que oigo un suspiro.
 ¡Ay de mí! Dónde será
 ¡Cielos, ay mi amor!

Si será de la que adoro,
 Que de mí se acordará
 Si será de la que adoro,
 Que de mí se acordará
 ¡Cielos, ay mi amor!

Strophe 2
 Me aconsejan que la olvide,
 Pero no puedo olvidar

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29 Ibid., 231, 232.

30 English translation:

Strophe 1
 I think I hear a sigh.
 Alas! Where will she be
 Heavens, oh my love!

If you will be the one I love,
 You will be remembered by me
 If you will be the one I love,
 You will be remembered by me.
 Heavens, oh my love!

Strophe 2
 I am advised to forget her,
 But I cannot forget
 Heavens, oh my love.

Those who know not love
 Come to advise me
 Those who know not love
 Come to advise me
 Heavens, oh my love.
Cielos, ay mi amor.

Los que no saben querer
Me vienen a aconsejar
Los que no saben querer
Me vienen a aconsejar
Cielos, ay mi amor.

Example 4.8. “¡Ay mi amor!” Measures 1-11.

The opening outlines the tonic with frequent authentic progressions from the dominant. A flourish in the fourth measure leads to a guitar-like arpeggiation of a perfect authentic cadence in measure five and a change of tempo from allegretto moderato to lento in measure six. The voice enters with an ascent by half step to the fourth scale degree before descending to the sixth over tonic; measure 9 features a secondary
dominant moving to D minor and then to a B-flat major chord in measure 10. The declamatory melody is consistent with Argentine folkloric sources. The harmony prevents the closure of the line, in a sense musically requiring the presence of the refrain (“Cielos, ay mi amor”). Measure 11 returns to the dominant of F major with a chromatic passing tone in the piano. The modal mixture is characteristic of folkloric genres (though usually the movement is from minor to major and back to minor). The tempo slows as the melody reaches a climax on the highest note of the piece. An authentic cadence in measure twelve ends the phrase.

The B section of the strophe in measure 15 alternates between 16th notes in the treble range and arpeggiated block chords emphasizing the second beat. The key center abruptly shifts to the relative minor with frequent C-sharps, spelling the dominant. In the second phrase in measure 19, the melody begins a third lower than it did with the same text in measure 15 with similar accompaniment, but in the next measure the melody and then the accompaniment reunite with the trajectory of the first strophe’s measure 8. The cadential rhyme with measure 8 thus begins several measures before the refrain. A four measure interlude follows until the final strophe begins in measure 29. The second strophe is an exact repetition of the first. The most noticeable differences are the number of syllables in the first line of the B section and the varied cadence in which the voice moves from the seventh to the eighth scale degree, creating a final climax.

The work moves beyond a simple folk recreation in its Occidentalist creation of a chamber piece out of a folk song. Boero’s sophisticated use of harmonic extension

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belie the surface-level simplicity of the piece. The gauchesco features include the arpeggiation of the piano chords, which imitates the strumming of a guitar, and melodic flourishes that give the piece a unique, appealing novelty.

Piano

_Canciones y danzas argentinas_ for solo piano consists of ten pieces with names that explicitly refer to gaucho music, including the _triste, estilo, gato,_ and _media caña._ Boero wrote four of the pieces in 1914 and these were performed the following year at a meeting of the Sociedad Nacional de Música. The final six were not composed until 1918. Several were premiered separately. The pieces themselves are not highly stylized but evoke the rhythms and melodies associated with their eponyms; they are almost completely diatonic, and change keys within movements rarely except to highlight new formal sections or in imitation of their models.

An examination of the “Media caña” movement will provide an interesting comparison with the setting of the same genre in _El matrero_, discussed more fully in chapter 6. According to Boero de Izeta, this piece was composed by 1918 and premiered at Sociedad Nacional de Música in 1920. Deborah Schwartz-Kates notes the similarity between Boero’s “Media caña” and a 1916 collection by the traditionalist performer Andrés Chazarreta (1876-1960) who published many arrangements of folkloric works (see examples 4.9 and 4.10 for excerpts and Appendix A.6 and A.7 for

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32 Felipe Boero, _Canciones y danzas argentinas_ (Buenos Aires, Lottermoser, no date). Held by the Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

33 Boero de Izeta, _Boero_, 193.

34 See Isabel Aretz, _El folklore musical argentino_ (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1952); see also Sacchi “_El matrero_” and Schwartz-Kates “The Gauchesco Tradition.”
complete pieces). Whether this indicates that Boero used Chazarreta’s transcription as a model or that both of them drew from the same repertory is unclear, but it does indicate that the perception of an “authentic” reference to the gaucho is there.

Example 4.9. “Media caña” measures 1-21 by Felipe Boero.
Example 4.10. “Media caña,” measures 1- by Andres Chazarretta.

The folkloric model consists of a repeated “aire de pericón,” followed by an “aire de zamba,” and an “aire de gato.” Chazarretta’s version, includes each of these elements. Boero’s opening is similar to Chazarretta’s realization with a repetitive octave-doubled bass line outlining tonic and dominant triads, but where Chazarretta turns to a waltz like accompanimental bass Boero retains the opening material as a passacaglia and adds a melody. The “aire de zamba” B section begins in measure 19 and proceeds similarly to Chazarretta’s material, but with a more active bass accompaniment. In both cases the key changes to the subdominant. After repeating the B section, the melodic “aire de gato” begins with the same melody in both versions in measure 50. Again, the
left hand takes a more active role in Boero’s version with what initially appears to be vorimitation of the right hand.

The second section of the “aire de gato” (measure 66) also begins in a manner similar to Chazarreta’s version, but begins to add completely unexpected chromaticism, slipping a half step up to E major in measure 69. The piece quickly shifts back to A-flat major in measure 74 to end the section before returning to opening material. A brief codetta using A material brings the piece to a close on an arpeggiated A-flat major chord. The two “media cañas” share some similarities, but Boero’s adds complexities totally absent in Chazarreta’s.

Piano works return to prominence in 1935 with Aires populares argentinos, which consists of thirteen pieces that draw on gauchesco themes; some borrow from folkloric genres, such as “Chacarera mendocina,” while others such as “Lamento gaucho” contain folkloric allusions through instrumental mimicry but associations with particular repertories are vague. These later gauchesco pieces seem to accept more sublimation of the folkloric content into an art music idiom. They do not tend to isolate gauchesco occurrences as Alberto Williams does in “El rancho,” but absorb folkloric tendencies throughout.

Estampas argentinas is a set of piano works written in 1950. The titles refer to folk genres and ambiances.37 Obvious to listeners couched in Argentine musical folklore, the melody of “Vidalita de Montiel” is similar in contour to the “matrero” theme of the eponymous opera, particularly in the piano piece’s measure 5 where all that is missing is the parallel third running below the moving notes in the right hand (compare

37 “Chacacera de Ramayo,” “Vidalita de Montiel,” “Misachico,” “Camino Solitario,” “Bailecito Alegre,” and “Crepusculo Pampeano”
examples 4.11 and 4.12). Sacchi confirms the connection of the *matrero* theme to the *vidalita*, a genre Aretz notes is common in the northeast of Argentina and the area around Buenos Aires (example 4.13).\textsuperscript{38} Plesch traces the emergence of the *vidalita* as a folk topos in the work of Williams and its status as a signifier of pain or loss.\textsuperscript{39} The piece may seem harmonically restrained for the late 1930s, but it is by no means a mere arrangement of a folk melody. Boero seems to be hearkening back to eighteenth-century models such as Domenico Scarlatti as he passes the theme around in various voices, keeping almost contrapuntal motion throughout. The piece follows a rounded binary form with a theme, contrasting key area, modulatory developmental section, and return.

\textsuperscript{38} Aretz, *El folklore musical argentino*, 133.

\textsuperscript{39} Plesch, “*Una pena extraordinaria,*” 227.
Example 4.11. “Vidalita de Montiel” from *Estampas Argentinas* by Felipe Boero.  


Example 4.13. “Vidalita” in Aretz’s *El folklore musical argentino*.  

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The opening arpeggio evokes Plesch’s guitar strumming topic as the rhythm and melody confirm the gauchesco reference. The right and left hand trade thematic material through the beginning measures. The first measure’s dotted eighth, sixteenth, eighth motive is repeated, varied, and used as the motivic basis for the entire work. In the second measure a rising triad ends with the theme moving down to the fifth of the tonic chord across the barline. A transitional section in measure 6 begins in the tonic and moves to the secondary key area in measure 10.

What might be termed the secondary theme—likely highlighted by the composer himself with the double barline—begins in measure 11 with a perfect authentic cadence on G minor. A lyrical melody arises in measure 13, contrasting with the figurations that began the work. The section ends on a dominant seventh chord of the relative minor in measure 19, which is carried across the double barline to the second part of the B section transposed up a fourth. Developmental variations of the motives heard in the previous sections continue, as D flats signal a move toward A-flat major in measure 25. Harmonic instability continues through the section with a B-flat major chord moving to a B-flat minor chord. A G dominant seventh chord in measure 27 moves to a B-flat dominant seventh chord to E-flat. The return to the tonic lacks stability as measure 30 moves to the dominants of G minor, B-flat major, and eventually E-flat. The A section returns in 33.

The first theme, which in retrospect may seem to have served as an introduction to the lyrical middle section, appears in its entirety through measure 37. New material is introduced to avoid the movement away from the tonic. The remainder of the piece borrows and varies the thematic material explored previously with harmonies outlining
the tonic, dominant, and subdominant, and ends with gradually fading dynamics. Although a short, deceptively simple piece “Vidalita de Montiel,” evinces a learned, Occidentalist connection to eighteenth-century keyboard styles. In contrast to Williams’s “El rancho” the folkloric content is pushed to the forefront while the art music styles are made less distinct.

Theatrical Works

Detailed studies of Boero’s other operas do not exist and considerations of space prevent comprehensive analyses here. A brief synopsis of the works and comments regarding the musical content of the pieces—particularly where they may be compared or contrasted with El matrero—follows. Boero’s theater works (Tucumán, Ariana y Dionisio, Raquela, Los bacantes, Siripo, and Zincalí) are generally Italianate, but may be further generalized into several stylistic categories, including French, gauchesco, exoticist, and mixtures thereof.

According to his daughter, Boero had composed his first mature opera Tucumán—which he called an “episodio lírico”—in 1914. The work draws on veristic and French styles and is set to a libretto by Díaz, author of the text of the art songs Les hombres d’Hellas. It won the Premio Municipal, which earned it the right to be premiered at the Colón theater in 1918. As only the second opera ever performed in Spanish there, it helped establish the use of the vernacular in the prestigious venue. The subject of the libretto is the defense of the northwestern city of Tucumán by General Belgrano, and the work consists of one act with two scenes.

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41 Boero de Izeta, Boero, 183; Felipe Boero, “Tucumán” (full score microfilm of the opera held by the Library of Congress, Washington DC, no date). The title page contains a stamp indicating the location of the original at the archive of the Teatro Colón.
The plot follows a path similar to *El matrero* in the ill-fated trajectory of star-crossed lovers and celebration of Argentine culture. In the first scene Governor Aráoz announces that Belgrano has defied the orders of Buenos Aires and determined to defend the city against the Spanish invaders. Fernando, a criollo patriot, and Mariana, daughter of the elderly Spanish nobleman Don Alfonso, are secretly in love. The young man pledges to return, but is wounded in the second act and dies in his beloved’s arms. Mariana rejects her father as well as her Spanish race and follows the patriots in their struggle for independence.

The music is similar to the lush harmonies of Boero’s French vocal works and the Italianate sectionalized arioso of his later operas. Kuss identifies one popular tune, serving as the basis of the tenor’s aria, yet in spite of the rural setting Boero does not draw on gauchesco material to the extent he would in later operas. Argentine composers, even those with interest in musical nationalism—such as Carlos Lopez Buchardo, Floro Ugarte, Gilardi Gilardi, and Athos Palma—had at this time (1918) not incorporated gaucho music in their operas. The choir features prominently with a Greek-chorus kind of function, commenting on the state of the action as well as expressing the emotions of the populace. The relatively small cast of major roles remains a characteristic of many of Boero’s operas. Fernando and Mariana have two extensive duets roughly following a *scena ed aria* structure. An extended aria featuring Mariana reduces the performing forces accompanying her to harp with doublings in the

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43 Ibid., 219.
44 Ibid., 170-171.
viola and woodwinds. Later, she sings a prayer in the form of an Italianate aria; a strategy Boero would employ in his gauchesco operas, *Raquela* and *El matrero*.46

*Ariana y Dionisio* (1920) is a one act opera-ballet set in Boero’s French style. Like *Les ombres d’Hellas*, also set by Díaz, this work draws on Greek mythology.47 Although the opera-ballet was originally conceived in Spanish, the performance occurred in Italian because, according to Boero de Izeta, it was difficult to find Spanish-speaking singers in a musical culture still dominated by foreign-born musicians even after the success of *Tucumán*.48

In the first part, Teseo has abandoned Ariana after she saved him from the Cretan labyrinth, and she is exiled to the island of Naxos. The sirens bemoan the suffering of Ariana, who determines to kill herself, but Zéus appears and prohibits her from committing suicide because she will wed Dionisio. The second scene begins in an enchanted plaza with the wine god’s entourage singing and dancing toward Ariana. Dionisio offers her his love, which she accepts. The celebrations continue through the night, finally dissipating as the lovers unite in a deep embrace.49

Boero maintains his preference for fewer major characters; only Ariana (soprano), Zéus (baritone), and Dionisio (tenor) have solo material. His interest in Hellenic topics continues from the *modernista, Les ombres d'Hellas*. The work opens

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46 Ibid., reh. 44; Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” 224.

47 Boero, “Ariana y Dionisio.”

48 Boero de Izeta, *Boero*, 57.

with an extensive prelude set to a whole-tone scale eliding with a chorus of sopranos and altos. Ariana enters with arioso material that begins in G-flat major but that remains highly chromatic and unstable. The first act closes with Zéus’s declaration and celebratory dancing by the graces. The second act begins with choral singing among the worshippers of Dionisio, who enters with an extensive solo section, mixing arioso and recitative freely to a chromatic harmonic accompaniment. Ariana joins him in a duet. The work ends with an extensive epilog called “Fiesta de Baco” that exhibits dances by various members of Dionisio’s entourage. The chorus and lovers return and the work ends on a pianississimo F major chord.

*Raquela*, a *boceto lírico* (lyrical sketch) marks a decisive step toward a more national and popular style through the addition of *criollo* songs. Víctor Mercante was the author of the libretto. The full-score manuscript may reveal that Boero was prepared to present the work in Italian as the lyrics are in both languages.

In the story, Don Lucio, mayordomo of an estancia, has organized a celebration to commemorate the year’s first crop. Raquela, his daughter, is assisted in the preparations by the peon Honorio. They are secretly in love. The head *paisano* of the nearby town, Servando, is an invitee who had seduced Raquela only to abandon her. Raquela is troubled and perhaps ashamed by his attendance and orders Honorio away, saying her destiny is not with the peon. Honorio leaves, not understanding the cause of

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50 Ibid., 57-58.

51 Felipe Boero, “Raquela,” (full score microfilm held by the Library of Congress, Washington DC, no date); Felipe Boero, *Raquela*, piano-vocal score (Buenos Aires: Lottermoser, 1923). Another possible reason for the inclusion of Italian lyrics may have been a desire to perform the work in Europe.

52 Plot synopsis adapted from De la Guardia and Herrera, *El arte lírico*, 274; Boero, *Raquela*; and Felipe Boero, “Raquela.”
her disloyalty. Servando arrives and attempts to rekindle the affections he and Raquela had shared, but she rejects him. A dance ensues, but the prima donna does not join the festivities. Honorio returns as night falls to approach Raquela and convinces her to flee with him, but Servando finds them and challenges Honorio to a duel. During the fight Honorio gains the upper hand, provoking Servando to draw his revolver. Raquela leaps in front of her beloved and receives the bullet. The partygoers rush to the scene, but Raquela dies in Honorio’s arms as she reveals her secret to him.

The music juxtaposes areas of dense chromaticism and folkloric reference, but there are no spoken words as in El matrero.53 The piece begins with a multi-sectional prelude, combining repetitive dancelike patterns with chromatic melodic content. A choir of tenors and basses singing in homorhythm opens the first scene, followed by the soprano Raquela and her bass father. Servando, a baritone, and Honorio round out the major roles. The lyrical arioso that populates much of the work is reminiscent of the stylistic material that predominates in El matrero. The folkloric set pieces such as “La huella” are diegetic with closed forms and form the basis of almost half of the boceto lírico.54

Boero’s late operas, premiered after El matrero, embrace more elaborate, involved plots and abandon gaucho references. Siripo premiered in 1937, and though it lacks folkloric elements, the opera still had connections to national history, as it was based on the 1789 play of the same name by the local-born poet and dramatist Manuel

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de Lavardén.55 The first and third acts of the original work were lost in a fire but reconstructed (with questionable authenticity) in 1918 by Luis Bayón Herrera, and the play was revived that same year.56 The setting is the banks of the Paraná around the time of the conquest.57 The Timbú natives hate the Spanish invaders, but remain meek until Siripo, brother of the cacique Marangoré, incites them to revolt. He vacillates, however, because he is in love with Lucía Miranda, the wife of Sebastian Hurtado, a Spaniard. He decides to attack when promised that Lucía will be kidnapped unharmed. The Spanish commander, Nuño de Lara, sends Hurtado away to trace the path of the Paraná and scavenge for food. Siripo uses the opportunity to profess friendship and gain access to the Spanish fort. The Timbúes set a fire; in the chaos Marangoré dies, but Siripo escapes with Lucía.

The second act begins with Siripo as chief in place of his fallen brother, and his passion continues to increase for Lucía who waits along with her captive father for rescue by Hurtado. Yara, formerly Siripo’s most beloved, becomes increasingly concerned as Lucía pretends to return the new cacique’s advances but uses their differing religions as the pretext for her delay in returning his affections. Without revealing his identity Hurtado arrives as a messenger of Nuño de Lara and declares that if Siripo will surrender and become a Christian the Spanish will offer the Timbúes peace. Siripo shockingly accepts the offer, revealing his infatuation for Lucía. Hurtado cannot believe that Lucía would return the love of the cacique and demands to speak with her.

57 Synopsis adapted from Plate “Operas de Teatro Colón” and Felipe Boero, “Siripo,” (piano-vocal score microfilm of the opera held by the Library of Congress, Washington DC, no date).
alone. She reveals that it had been a ploy to buy time. Siripo discovers the identity of Hurtado and that Lucía still loves her husband. Furious, the chieftain restrains himself from killing them only because of his feelings for Lucía. The final act opens with the Timbué performing dancing rituals to ward off the evil spirits. Siripo’s actions have concerned the tribe. Cayumari, a Timbué faithful to the Spaniards, agrees to help Hurtado and his wife escape, but Yara spots the lovers and the natives shoot arrows at them. Siripo, seeing Lucía mortally wounded, begs to be killed as well and the curtain falls.

The exoticist opera features a larger cast than Boero’s previous works. Perhaps this reflects different circumstances at the Teatro Colón, which is now able and willing to hire enough Spanish-speaking singers to populate a more typical musical drama. Lucia Miranda and Hurtado are the soprano and tenor lovers with Siripo filling the role of the jealous baritone. The Spanish soldiers and Timbué tribesmen round out most of the other named singers. Two choruses are called for; one for the Europeans and the other for the Americans. Act I begins with a brief prelude opening on Hurtado and his companions. The characters speak utilizing rhythmic text and sectional arioso dialog, both familiar from *El matrero*. Hurtado has a short arietta over a guitar-like accompaniment. Marangoré has an extended arioso section reminiscent of Liborio’s “Tale of the hornero” (discussed further in later chapters). As in *El matrero*, extended preludes begin the second and third acts. The prelude of Act III features a multi-sectional dance, with some unmarked folkloric musical material and a “huayno”

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58 Though note that according to Boero de Izeta, Boero had begun composing *Siripo* after Raquela premiered in 1923 (*Boero*, 75).
appearing with its characteristic rhythms. Geographically speaking this genre is not found in the Paraná region at all but in regions of Incan influence to the far north and west, indicating Boero was less concerned with an attempt at realism than with evoking a pan-Native American.

The “retrenchment” Kuss finds may be related to the lack of gauchesco material and the presence of complex harmonic language, reminiscent of Ariana y Dionisio and Les hombres d’Hellas, as opposed to the purposeful naïveté of El matrero. Choral singing is also less prominent. Siripo received positive reviews from several of the major dailies, including La prensa, La razón, El mundo, and El diario. The relative lack of enthusiasm in their reviews as well as their small quantity in comparison to the reaction El matrero engendered, however, seem to reflect a diminished interest in the composer’s works. The piano-vocal manuscript score was prepared presumably for publication, which never took place.

Boero’s last work to be performed at the Colón was the exoticist Zincalí (1954). The libretto was adapted from the eponymous play of 1927 by fellow Argentine Arturo Capdevila (1889-1967), and centers on the journeys of the Roma people. It was the last premiere of the season in 1954 and is totally devoid of any Argentine musical or textual references. The work is in five scenes and set in the Camargue region of Southern

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59 Aretz, El folklore musical argentino, 178.
60 Ibid.
61 Kuss, “Nativistic strains,” 159.
62 Boero de Izeta, Boero, 163-167.
France. Rumaxal, the oldest of the Roma, speaks with Zincalí, whom the chiefs elect as their king. Malena loves Zincalí and speaks with his mother, Zemfira, who promises her her son in marriage. Andori, an elderly woman whom the tribe considers a witch, tells Malena that she will not marry and never reign. As Zincalí is being named king, driven by the crowd, Andori confronts Zemfira, claiming that she promised that her son would wed the old woman’s daughter, who had been lost but who had now returned as a Christian princess. The crowd rejoices, but Malena is furious. Zincalí, in spite of the love he professes to Malena, agrees to marry Jahivé daughter of Andori.

The following scene begins in the mansion of Duke Dorian, the adoptive father of Jahivé, where a party to honor Zincalí is taking place. Jahivé appears accompanied by her friend Emma who admires the former’s Roma dress. A group of guests, including her fiancé Klinsor, also congratulate Jahivé on her costume. Zincalí reveals that he gave Jahivé the beautiful dress and tells the story of a Roma girl kidnapped who must now reign over the tribes. Dorian reacts in fear, knowing Jahivé’s past, but tries to hide this from his guests. Zincalí does not reveal the true identity of Jahivé.

Andori offers to read Jahivé’s palm, but what she sees causes her to recoil in terror. She departs in sadness, and Zincalí enters, revealing Jahivé’s true origins to her and leaving with a stolen kiss. Jahivé is doubtful, but meets him later in a hidden Roma hut. They profess their love and prepare to mount horses to set sail to Santa María del Mar, Zincalí’s homeland. Andori drunkenly enters and reveals that she had slipped a love potion to Jahivé to ensure her union with Zincalí. Jahivé is furious, and Andori agrees to make another potion to return her to her normal state, but the concoction kills Jahivé.

64 Synopsis adapted from Plate “Operas de Teatro Colón” and Felipe Boero, Zincalí (piano vocal score microfilm held by the Library of Congress, Washington DC, no date).
Jahivé. The following scene opens with the Roma tribes joyfully awaiting their king and his bride at Santa María del Mar. The mood turns to despair when it is revealed that Jahivé is dead. Zincalí returns the ashplant representing his reign, saying he no longer wants to be king. His mother offers him Malena, but she has only contempt for him and curses him and his race. Andori returns and raves that there is a phantasm in the church. Zincalí and the Roma declare it is a miracle, saying it is the revered Sara, Roma handmaiden of the three Marys who saw Christ first upon his resurrection. Andori sees her daughter in the apparition, and Zincalí likewise sees Jahivé and accepts the ashplant as the caravan of Roma resume their eternal wandering, exclaiming the miracle they have seen.

In a note on the title page of the manuscript of the piano-vocal score, Boero writes that there are musical quotes from Liszt, serving as an homage to his Hungarian roots. Lombardic rhythms peppered throughout, including in the first prelude, are likely meant to evoke Roma music. Rhythmic speech is prominent as several roles are completely spoken and the main characters have melodramatic sections also. Boero provides the chorus prominent material throughout the work, including in the finale. Instrumental preludes of varying lengths open each of the scenes and an extensive interlude divides the last one. In the second prelude Boero notes that Liszt's music can be heard in the distance. The number of sung characters is larger than Boero's earlier operas. Much of the work proceeds using tonally complex, sectional arioso, freely drawing on the whole tone, major, and minor scales. Reviewers follow the trend Siripo's
commentators had set, acknowledging the premiere with kind words, but stopping short of showering the opera with praises as they did for *El matrero*.  

_Pedagogical works_

In some respects, gauchesco works themselves were pedagogical in their attempts to teach Argentines, “old” and “new” (that is, immigrants) of their nation’s history. Works specifically targeted for educational venues or events may therefore be seen in relation to one another and to his folkloric works. The pedagogical pieces are simpler and purposefully less sophisticated; they seem to have been written in response to specific, occupational needs. Their analysis reveals a striking contrast to Boero’s more sophisticated pieces and shows a willingness to figuratively descend from the Parnassus of *Les ombres d’Hellas* and apply his compositional energy to “lower” genres for the sake of the nation.

“El Escondido” contains many of the characteristic features found in Boero’s other realizations of folkloric genres (see example 4.14 for an excerpt and Appendix A.9 for complete pieces).

One such feature, a repetitive chordal outline sung with vocables, appears immediately in the tenor voice. Sopranos enter with the melody in measure six and are matched with parallel sixths consistently in the tenor while the alto and bass fill out the triads. Syncopated rhythms further mark the melody as gauchesco. The piece is simple to the point of naïveté and therefore accessible to even the youngest students.

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65 Boero de Izeta, _Boero_, 171-172.

66 Felipe Boero, _El Escondido_ (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1952). Held by the Universidad Católica Argentina.

Himno a Sarmiento, a work Boero de Izeta designates as one of the composer’s 15 “himnos escolares,” or school hymns, consists of two verses with refrain (see example 4.15 for text, example 4.16 for an excerpt and Appendix A.10 for the complete piece). This genre has a long history in Argentina among composers in the classical tradition, such as Juan Pedro Esnaola (1808-1878), the most important composer of the
early nineteenth century.⁶⁷ The panegyric text praises the late president, calling him “vibrant in the glory of the Argentine heavens” (example 4.15). In addition to the “one thousand voices of children” singing his praises, the second verse adds the “echoes of the valley, the sky of the pampa, the voice of the seas, the light of the dawn, [and] the eternal mountain.” The final line “And America hears your immortal name” is repeated several times in a coda that crescendos, seeming to embody the grandeur of the former president, echoing throughout the Western hemisphere.

The cover features a photographic portrait of the former president visually incarnating the “Majestoso” performance indication. The typical form of a hymn is maintained except the refrain appears only once and the strophes each receive written-out accompaniment that maintains the same harmonic structure (see excerpt in example 4.16 and Appendix A.10). The martial, double-dotted rhythms spread throughout the piece seem to evoke the military power of the country, somewhat contradicting the poetry exalting the president’s “dogma of praise and love.”

The strophes hardly deviate from G major employing only the occasional secondary dominant progression (measures 11-12 and 15-16 for example). The refrain beginning in measure 25 moves slightly further afield, modulating through various sonorities before returning to G major for the second strophe.

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Example 4.15. Text of *Himno a Sarmiento* by Eduardo Maria de Ocampo.68

Verse 1
Vibrante en la Gloria del cielo argentino
Te cantan su canto mil voces de niños;
Son voces ungidas de Dios y de Patria
que exaltan tu dogma de paz y de amor

Refrain
¡Sarmiento vidente, Sarmiento maestro,
de excelsas virtudes tu vida fué ejemplo!

Verse 2
Pronuncian tu nombre los ecos del valle,
El cielo en la pampa, la voz de los mares,
la luz de la aurora, la eternal montaña:
¡Y América escucha tu nombre inmortal!

The second verse maintains the same melody with a louder, fuller accompaniment and omits the refrain.

Example 4.16. *Himno a Sarmiento* measures 1-10 by Felipe Boero.

The preceding analyses show that Boero employed a variety of techniques chosen in accordance with the desired expression in the appropriate genres. For non-gauchoesco piano and vocal works he demonstrated firm grounding in chamber music conventions and early twentieth-century harmony. In these pieces, key areas are clear with dissonances and the whole tone scales providing color. In his early gauchoesco works he did not deviate to a large extent from the supposed models on which he drew. After *El matrero*, when Boero’s operas ceased to have folkloric references, other genres seem to adopt the gauchoesco more earnestly. In these later works he did not rely on exact quotations of pampan genres, but combined folkloric and art music techniques to evoke the rural countryside and imaginary past. The preceding discussion aims to provide a step toward a fuller understanding of the oeuvre of a pivotal nationalistic composer.

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An examination of Boero’s life and works reveals an Occidentalist outlook in line with the nationalism of the Argentine Centenary and Krausist *Yrigoyenismo*. He had
mastered Impressionism as a result of his schooling at the Conservatoire. His French songs reveal a subtle and sophisticated gift for text setting. Boero’s interest in the less-educated classes is revealed in his pedagogical works but has roots in his earlier pieces, such as “Pescadores de Morgat,” showing that his accessible style predates his turn to the gauchesco. His folkloric pieces range from those maintaining a close relationship to their model to complex artistic expressions, but they are consistent with an interest in maintaining popular appeal. Even in pieces that do not quote directly, as in “¡Ay, mi amor!” there is a strong connection to the gauchesco in its naïve style and theme of loss.

Boero’s perspective, although correctly couched in terms of “nationalism,” is far removed from the fascist ideologies current in many European countries in the interwar period. His privileging of the Spanish language was not motivated out of a sense of racial superiority in any explicit way, but like Ricardo Rojas and other Centenary writers, out of a sense of duty and determination to strengthen Argentine culture. Boero’s concern for the education of the public and his desire to recognize the contributions of Argentine composers were meant to elevate the nation as a whole in line with the Occidentalist outlook reflected in his compositions. The subsequent chapters discuss the musical and literary contents of El matrero more specifically and further explore the literary and sociopolitical influences of the times.
Chapter 5: Play and Libretto

To produce an epic poem is, for all peoples, the eminent certification of vital aptitude because this creation expresses the heroic life of its race.

—Leopoldo Lugones

Yamandú Rodríguez’s play, El matrero, premiered at the Teatro Nacional in Buenos Aires on July 6, 1923.¹ Rodríguez was an Uruguayan author of popular gauchesco literature, and his drama found success in Argentina, receiving more than 100 performances, as well as praise from major newspapers such as La prensa for its “artistry, criollo flavor, good taste, and dances.”² Felipe Boero attended an early performance and approached Rodríguez to convert the play into a libretto perhaps because of its accessible style and regional subject matter.³ The partnership was fortuitous for both, but especially for the composer, as El matrero was his most successful work, judging by the high number of productions of the piece in Buenos Aires and around the country and by the nearly unanimous praise it received from contemporary journalists and music critics.⁴


⁴ Ibid. Rodríguez had similar success with the play 1810. Little is known concerning the process of the conversion from play to libretto. In a monograph on her father, Carolota Boero de Izeta hardly mentions the playwright, merely acknowledging what was already clear from the credits: that he played a role in translating the play into the libretto; Carlota Boero de Izeta, Felipe Boero (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1978), 75-99.
In the introduction and chapter 2 I outlined the political and intellectual discourse enveloping the 1910s and 1920s. In chapters 3 and 4 I discussed the artistic milieu in which Boero and his contemporaries operated and how that related to their Occidentalist-nationalist agenda. Here I will identify main themes in the texts of the play and libretto and relate them to the literary and intellectual discourse explored in chapter 2; then I will discuss the works within the frame of the canonic bandit narratives of Argentina, as well as Latin American foundational myths as found in the literature of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries.

**Comparison of Play and Libretto**

Comparative studies of source material and libretto have a rich history in opera criticism. An example of such an approach that looks at opera’s early years is Tim Carter’s exploration of the differences in the telling of the myth of Ariadne in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and Ottavio Rinuccini’s libretto for Claudio Monteverdi’s *Arianna.* Such a methodology has been used in criticism of twentieth-century works, for example, Philip Brett’s studies of Benjamin Britten’s *Peter Grimes* and *Billy Budd.* In the former, Brett traces the development of Grimes from brutish ruffian in George Crabbe’s original poem to misunderstood and dissociated individual. The character of Vere, who orders

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5 The source used for the play is Yamandú Rodríguez, *El matrero* (Buenos Aires: Perrotti, 1931), hereafter Rodríguez, 1931 play. The source for the libretto is Yamandú Rodríguez, *Libretto de ‘El matrero’* (Buenos Aires: Perrotti, 1929), hereafter Rodríguez, 1929 libretto.


the execution of Billy, is similarly changed from cold, authoritarian leader in Herman Melville’s novella to distressed lover in E. M. Forster’s adaptation.

Source material comparison approaches have likewise been applied in Latin American opera studies. Through an intertextual analysis, Maria Alicia Volpe shows how key changes in the transcription of José de Alencar’s novel *O Guarani* to Italian libretto for Carlos Gomes’s adaptation affected the myth of Brazilian national genesis as retold in the opera. Durval Cesetti notes further that the elimination of Indianist elements in the opera, which are present in the novel, may have allowed the libretto to avoid the most unfortunate, racist elements of the original source. I will further discuss this opera and its nationalist implications later in the chapter.

A similar close reading is informative in an examination of how *El matrero* relates to the discourse surrounding the Centenary. Some of the themes resonant with the ideas of Leopoldo Lugones, Manuel Gálvez, Ricardo Rojas, and Krausist thought are apparent in the original play and easily translate into the opera. Others, while nascent in the drama, are more clearly presented in the libretto through omissions (and sometimes additions) of key text.

The play and libretto follow the same basic narrative. The setting is the rural domain of the gaucho—the term being used by Rodríguez in the more general sense of the inhabitants of rural Argentina and Uruguay (see my discussion of Francisco Muñiz and V. Martín de Moussy in the introduction). The action takes place in the area of the

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farm of Don Liborio whose daughter Pontezuela fantasizes about the *matrero*, a fugitive of the countryside; a man of “unconstrained freedom,” he is condemned by her father and his laborers as an outlaw. Pedro Cruz, a gaucho singer, arrives at the estate and is offered hospitality by Liborio, even as the landowner’s workers and village guests angrily suspect that he is the *matrero*. Liborio defends the stranger, who later asks for Pontezuela’s hand in marriage. The woman’s father tells him that, if he settles down and works the land, Pontezuela will be his. Pedro agrees, but, upon finding that his beloved wants nothing to do with any man except the *matrero*, declares that he will bring her the mysterious outlaw even as Liborio, furious at his daughter’s obstinacy, orders his workers to burn down surrounding fields to smoke the *matrero* out of hiding. Pedro returns wounded and dying and reveals, to Pontezuela’s despair, that he is the *matrero*.11

The figures of Pedro and Pontezuela may be read in light of Lugones’s description of the archetypal male and female gauchos in *El payador*. Pedro fits the characteristics Lugones articulates almost completely: besides pretending to be the eponymous *Payador*, he plays the guitar and is fierce and brave. His love of Pontezuela corresponds to the supposed “weakness” Lugones says the figure exhibits towards females. Pontezuela likewise matches well Lugones’s model *gaucha*. She is stoic and reserved. Her eagerness for marriage is channeled into her passion for the *matrero*.

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11 There is no indication in either the play or the libretto who or what wounded Pedro.

Liborio, by the same token, may be counted among Lugones’s elite who have proven themselves to be a “caste worthy of leadership.” Indeed, the work demonstrates the paternalistic model originating among Sarmiento and his contemporaries and further advocated—with ethnic, nationalist overtones—by the Centenary writers in which the upper classes are portrayed as benevolent, rational beings, act as guides for the supposedly less rational lower classes, and serve as the only legitimate source of social advancement. This arrangement is represented by Liborio’s acceptance of Pedro as potential son-in-law with little or no hesitation, in spite of the latter’s appearance as a property-less, wandering singer. The “vagrant gaucho, unlanded and without fixed work or domicile” is archetypical in Argentine literature.

The potential for such a figure to have access to upward mobility, however, is less common; indeed, it is completely absent in the nineteenth-century canonic tales of Martín Fierro and Juan Moreira discussed below.

In the libretto the connection to a paternalistic social model is strengthened. The difference between both the texts becomes clear almost immediately upon a glance at the designation of the setting. In the play, Liborio’s home is called a chacra, that is, a small farm. The libretto, by contrast, calls it an estancia, a large ranch specifically identified with Argentina’s nineteenth-century elite. It is not unequivocally clear that Liborio is the owner of this estancia. The composer’s daughter notes that the setting is an estancia, but also calls Liborio the “puestero” or “farmer responsible for running of

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13 “Aquellos patrones formaban, por lo demás, una casta digna del mando” (Ibid., 46).

part of a large ranch.” Liborio may simply be the senior worker in charge of the peones. However, he does note the setting of the dance as “his ranch.” Indeed, there is no indication that he is anything but the owner of the estancia in the libretto, yet Liborio is a “gaucho” in the opera, not an elite landlord. By changing the setting of the location and retaining the language of play that identifies the ranch as belonging to Liborio, Boero and Rodríguez may be conflating the identities of gaucho and landlord into one figure, though this remains unclear. What is apparent, is the elevated setting and unchanged dialog that maintains Liborio’s ownership of the setting.

Whether he owns the ranch or is its superintendent, Liborio occupies a higher social plane than the others. Juan Pablo Dabove characterizes fictionalized life on an estancia as an experience where the landowner—or in this case, perhaps, his proxy—rules over an idealized and peaceful society; it is an “arcadia” devoid of violence and under the protection of its master. Beatriz Sarlo notes that the evocation of a golden age of rural life may not have been as accurate a vision of society as the elites and their apologists would believe. The setting, and Liborio’s role within it, affects the reading of many of the most important events of the opera. Rather than operating on the same economic level as most of the other characters, and acting as head of the community


16 Rodríguez, 1931 play, 14; Rodríguez, 1929 libretto, 8.


simply due to his relative age and wisdom, Liborio’s role as leader seems connected to his status as landlord or overseer.

The organization of the relationships among the characters in the opera and play further points to Liborio’s elevated status. At no point in the dialog is there any mention of the honorific “Don”; and it is absent in the play’s list of personages (see figure 5.1). The libretto, 1936 piano vocal-score, 1929 playbill, and advertising posters for the opera, however, explicitly include the title in reference to Liborio (see figures 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4). In the play, “Don” appears in the appendix, which states that he is 60 years old and has white hair and a gray mustache. The honorific is more likely in reference to his age than to any kind of superior economic status, but it still differentiates the elder gaucho from the others.

The hierarchical relationships between characters are also further distinguished at the outset in the opera as compared to the play. The latter lists them vertically, with a short description to the right (see figure 5.1).
PERSONAJES

PONTEZUELA  (hija de Liborio)
PANCHITA
ROBUSTIANA  (paisanas)
JACINTA
JULIA
GERUNDIA
LIBORIO
PEDRO  (el Lucero)
AGUARA
ZAMPAYO  (peones de la chacra)
MARGARITO
ZOILO
PIRINCHO
LIBERATO
RUDECINDO  (vecinos de Liborio)
LEON
ALONSO
BRAULIO
ELEUTERIO

Figure 5.1. List of characters as presented in the play. Rodriguez, 1931 play.
Figure 5.2. List of characters as presented in the libretto and piano vocal score.

Rodriguez, 1929 libretto; Boero, *El matrero (piano-vocal score)*. 1936.
Figure 5.3. List of characters as presented in the 1929 official program for Teatro Colón.

Donación Boero.
Figure 5.4. Poster advertisement. Donación Boero.
They are ordered by gender with the females listed first and the males last. Pontezuela is described in relation to her father. Next, a series of female *paisanas* (peasants) appear, followed by a listing of the male characters, beginning with Liborio (who receives no description), and Pedro, who is described as “el Lucero,” a nickname for the *matrero*. Finally, a list of “peones de chacra” (peons or laborers of the farm) appear along with “vecinos de Liborio” (neighbors of Liborio).

Liborio’s place in Rodríguez’s original social construction is almost nondescript. He appears on an equal level with seven other characters, and the peons are not said to work for him exclusively but are described in relation to the farm. Excluding the *matrero* there are, thus, two levels of male social relationships: Liborio and his neighbors on one plane and the laborers on another. The women are listed first and not in relation to their male counterparts.

The libretto pairs the women with the men and changes the title of the characters originally labeled *vecinos* to *paisanos*, eliminating the social equality implied between the peasants and Don Liborio, who appears with the aforementioned honorific and now stands at the head of the list (figure 5.2). Connections are made between the male and (depleted) female characters, with the three women listed in a row followed by the remaining ten men. After Pedro, the names of the *peones* appear, but rather than being described in relation to what is now the estancia rather than the *chacra*, they are said to belong to (“de”) Don Liborio. The former *vecinos* are now *paisanos* and their relationship to the women is clearer. Thus, in the libretto, there are at least three social levels. Liborio is both literally and figuratively “on top” in the opera—with a clear sense
of dependence placed on the other characters—followed by the *paisanos*, and finally the *peones*. Pedro, existing outside society, does not fit into this relational network.

Rodríguez’s character descriptions in the play’s appendix shed further light on the motivations of the personages. For instance, the reason for Liborio’s disdain of the *payador* is his love for his *criollo* race. For him, the gaucho musician is useless because he lacks the industry to stand against the “invasion of foreign workers” who want to evict them from their land.\(^{19}\) This motivation is nowhere explicitly present in the dialog, though it helps clarify the ideological bent of both play and libretto.

Pontezuela is treated sympathetically—albeit in a dismissive, diminutive way—in the character descriptions. Rodríguez notes that she has a tender heart, but respect for her father’s ideas has made her set aside her romantic nature, and hard work has made her more acrimonious.\(^{20}\) Pedro is likewise portrayed sympathetically in the descriptions, in spite of the actions reported in the play (but absent in the libretto) discussed below that describe his capacity for violence. Love has softened him, yet his death confirms Liborio’s teaching that lacking hard work, their culture will be overrun.\(^{21}\)

Because this opera is so unknown and its character-archetypes obscure outside of Argentina, a detailed synopsis is helpful to understand the characters in their contexts so that their stated and assumed motivations may become apparent. Such an analytical synopsis of play and libretto reveals a paternalistic Liborio, who is the epitome of the

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\(^{19}\) “Ama su raza. Para defensa del criollismo, predica la necesidad del trabajo. Considera que el gaucho debe atrincherarse en los zurcos, si quiere hacer frente a la invasión de extranjeros laboriosos que amenaza desalojarle.” Rodríguez, 1931 play, 112.

\(^{20}\) “Es una dulce mujercita de tierra adentro. La necesidad y el respeto a las ideas del padre la hicieron apartar de su natural romántico. El trabajo puso desenvoltura en su ademán y acritud en su voz.” (Ibid.).

\(^{21}\) “El amor le dulcifica…Su muerte confirma la prédica del viejo Liborio” (Ibid.).
Centenary’s traditionalist ideal. The community he oversees is harmonious in the Krausist sense with the various sectors of society working together under sound leadership. The lessening of the agency and intelligence of the villagers increases Liborio’s stature within the community, which relies on his paternal guidance. He is presented as more empathetic and consistently treated with more respect by the other characters in the libretto. The villagers are consistently treated with less esteem, appearing to show their dependence on their leader.

My point in outlining differences is not to say that Rodriguez suddenly adopted Lugones’s paternalism and Yrigoyen’s Krausist sensibilities when he prepared the libretto. The changes may in some cases simply offer clarity to what was latent in the play. The differing conventions of the art forms may also play a role in emendations. Opera has the benefit of music, making meanings apparent through a medium unavailable in theater. The length of plays must be condensed in lyric theater, and authors often need to make cuts that are not always based on their vision for the work so much as for practical purposes. It should be noted that a full recording on CD last only about 75 minutes, so cuts do not seem especially necessary. On the other hand, El matrero’s length is similar to the veristic operas it is often compared to: Il trittico, Cavalleria rusticana, and I pagliacci. Regardless of motivating factors for changes, they have a real impact on our understanding of the work and should be thoughtfully addressed.

Act I

My aim in the following sections is not to give an exhaustive account of the minutiae of the opera, but to provide enough information so that characters’
relationships and actions may be sufficiently analyzed. For this reason, I have been selective in which vignettes I address and thorough in my discussion of them. The curtain opens on a festive scene at the ranch of Liborio. The play notes that the host has thrown the party to celebrate the end of threshing, but the libretto offers no such explanation, perhaps allowing the assumption that such occasions are commonplace on the estancia, indicative of the supposed owner’s fatherly generosity. Liberato, a paisano, is speaking of the matrero. The text appears later in the play but immediately in the opera where the character speaks in detail concerning the mysterious figure, creating an atmosphere of fear around the vagabond gaucho. In the play, by contrast, Liborio puts an end to the frightening conversation relatively quickly. Fear seems to appear less rational in the libretto, because the reason for the townspeople’s terror of the matrero’s is never given, as it is later in the play. The libretto continues the discussion, eliciting an “Ave Maria” from one of the paisanas, as Liborio declares that his ranch is a place of tradition.

Panchita, a paisana, politely suggests that the guests go home because of the lateness of the hour. Liborio responds to her concern with contempt in the drama (“despectivo”) but only sarcastically (“con sorna”) in the libretto. Her petition may be seen as a show of courtesy, where she is asking a fellow villager who is hosting a party for permission to leave, or having a tone of supplication, depending on whether or not her request is brought before someone above her social station. There is no performance indication in the play, but the libretto calls for the delivery to be done “amable” or “kindly.” In the play Gerundia suggests the media caña dance in response to Panchita’s concern, but it is Liborio that mentions it in the libretto. This change may
have been made for practical reasons (Gerundia, is cut from the opera), but also shows the influence of Liborio, who makes all decisions, dispels fear with a single word, and controls the comings and goings of his guests. He himself does not appear to participate in the dance, a key compositional decision which I will return to in chapter 7.

The atmosphere of fear remains absent in the play but continues and is augmented as the second scene of the libretto begins. Pontezuela enters in each, but her appearance is accompanied by shouts and barking in the opera, where it is preceded by 20 measures of a dissonant and harmonically unstable instrumental interlude. In both sources she complains of the cowardice of the *peones* accompanying her, but in the opera it is clear that fear has pervaded the entire party as well. The men in her entourage ask Liborio to reprimand her for seeking out a noise she had heard without their knowledge. Instead, her father remarks on her bravery and asks why she would do such a thing. She responds that she does not know, but in the play the indication is that she says this “enigmatically,” suggesting that she had left with a purpose in mind, perhaps hoping to find the *matrero*, the subject of the next question. The speaker in the libretto is Zampayo, an attendee of the party, showing that fear of this figure had preoccupied the minds of the guests, whereas in the play it is one of the members of her entourage. The libretto also notes that the name of the bandit provokes a general sense of unease.

Pontezuela scorns their fear and tells her father that the sound was the fallen nest of the *hornero* (ovenbird). The play includes a speech from Liborio that does not appear in the libretto, striking both for its content as well as its absence from the opera. He asks his daughter if she has forgotten of the *matrero’s* robbery that followed their
hard work plowing the land. He was so terrifying that after he came the alfalfa would not rise for fear of seeing him; he scalped a girl and ravaged another in spite of the fact that he was one and they numbered one hundred.

The absence of Pedro’s backstory in the opera is remarkable. The character-type of the matrero has a history in Argentine literature, but circumstances vary from tale to tale. Without the specific crimes levied against him, Pedro is merely an outsider, not the murdering rapist he is in the play, and without the specific cause of the villagers’ fear, they seem less rational. The attitude of Liborio and his daughter toward this mysterious specter, on the other hand, appears logical; Lucero, rather than a frightening marauder, seems more like a nuisance. In the play, if Liborio appears braver, it is at the expense of appearing rational. Throwing a party after dark with such a fearsome bandit on the loose could be considered foolhardy, even callous—and certainly not fatherly—since, as host, he will not be forced to make his way back home in the dead of night. His guests, on the other hand, must travel and hope for a safe return.

A paisano interrupts Liborio’s reminiscence, noting the gathering darkness and initially reuniting the text of the play with the libretto. But whereas Liborio orders a malambo in the opera, in the play another guest notes the fearsomeness of not only the matrero but his horse. Pontezuela responds that perhaps the matrero is not so valiant and is only a gaucho hoping for the hand of a girl. Zoilo, a peón, calls her crazy—a gesture of disrespect notably absent in the opera—and adds that the matrero is a tiger who would return to the mountains with his prey. Liborio puts an end to the argument and tells the gathered crowd that Pontezuela would reject the matrero if approached. Pontezuela vacillates, lowers her eyes, and obediently agrees with her father.
Liborio immediately changes the subject and reunites the play with the libretto in calling for a *malambo*, but he is interrupted by guests who are still fearful. Liborio ignores their protestations and, in the play, orders one neighbor to go outside to fetch water in spite of his fear, a cruel and unnecessary action considering the very real danger of the *matrero* that Liborio had just noted, hardly in keeping with Krausist sociabilities. As more guests move to leave in both sources, Liborio exclaims in exasperation “and these are my *criollos!*” to which even Pontezuela protests for compassion. A villager notes that it is late, but Liborio says that the reason his guests are eager to leave is not the hour—as gaucho feasts could last through the night—but the fact that the *matrero* has been mentioned.

Finally, Liborio orders them close and tells the tale of the *hornero* in an effort to alleviate their fear. In the story, the more powerful *tordo* (thrush) steals the home of the *hornero*, who had worked hard to build his nest. The victim in response turns to others of his species for help. Cooperatively they seal the *tordo* in the stolen home and leave him to die. The tale serves as a model for the society of the play’s *chacra* and libretto’s estancia. The *tordo* represents the outlaw *matrero* who would destroy the harmonious society Liborio and his paisainos have worked so hard to perpetuate. The *hornero* tale is key to understanding Liborio’s worldview, and I will return to the piece in more detail in chapter 7. Suddenly the sound of a horse surprises the guests.

Pedro enters the stage and sings an ode to Pontezuela from outside the gathering place of the partygoers. Following the newcomer’s knocks on the door Liborio asks (“decisively” according to the play) who he is. Pedro introduces himself as a *payador*, to which Pontezuela orders the men not to open the door. The *matrero*-in-
disguise asks for something to drink and a place to rest, in response to which, and over his daughter’s protestations, Liborio orders the door open. Pedro enters and speaks directly to Pontezuela, saying he has come to this ranch looking for her. Pontezuela rebuffs him, saying that the guitar is his beloved, and that he who is able to play the *hueya* (a folk dance genre) is never alone.

Zoilo returns from inspecting Pedro’s horse and accuses the newcomer of being the *matrero*. The play merely notes that this excites Pontezuela, but the libretto adds that she jumps in front of him, ostensibly in order to defend him from the villagers. When Pedro surrenders his *facón* (a large knife) to Liborio, however, she turns away in disgust. The symbolism of the weapon is important. It is a characteristic tool of the gaucho, crucial to his identity; the knife is not only used for the hunting and skinning of animals but also for defense. The *matrero* in disguise thus shows his submission to his host.

Liborio dismisses his guests, finally admitting to the lateness of the hour. The libretto highlights their foolishness by adding that they leave with comic precaution. Liborio returns the *facón*, welcomes Pedro to the estate, and in an act of generous hospitality offers the *payador* his bed—symbolically opening up the society of the ranch to the outsider. His suspicion that the guest is the *matrero*, however, is further aroused when Zoilo tells him that Pedro’s horse was trying to leave by a route known to lead toward Lucero’s whereabouts. After sending his daughter to bed, Liborio begins to load his gun.

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23 This may also be read as a phallic symbol and his surrendering of his masculinity.
Act II

Act II begins with Liborio asleep on a chair as a laborer plays taba (a game of chance). Liborio awakens and immediately asks Zampayo for Pedro’s whereabouts. Zampayo comically complains about having to follow Pedro around all day. The payador appears and requests the shears. In the play Zampayo insolently asks if he will cut his own tail, but Pedro notes that he wants to trim the hedges under Pontezuela’s window. As he cuts, Pedro remarks that to call a type of person like the matrero “Lucero” (“morning star”) is a misnomer for someone so mysterious. In the play Liborio says that one should only name him after signing the cross and calls the matrero a chaotic mix of a jaguar and owl, a bad omen.

Pedro’s response in the libretto is almost verbatim to the play, but whereas the former says he speaks it “intently” (“con intención”), the latter has him doing so mockingly or sardonically (“burlón”). He says that although it has been an entire year since the matrero had been seen in the countryside, he still frightens the villagers. It is significant that the tone of mockery is diminished in the libretto, especially when directed at Liborio. The leader of the estancia is consistently treated with respect by all characters.

Liborio signals to Zampayo, who claims to have seen the matrero, though only vaguely and at night. He proceeds to describe him in almost supernatural terms, indeed, in the libretto Liborio crosses himself, a gesture of piety in line with Manuel Gálvez’s

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25 “Vean que llamar Lucero un tipo como el matrero… es mucha luz pa un tapao!” (Rodríguez, 1931 play, 58; Rodríguez, 1929 libretto, 17).
ideal leader. Pedro challenges Zampayo, asking the color of the *matrero*’s hair. Eyeing Pedro carefully Liborio describes Lucero as having Indian features, smooth-faced, thin, with calm eyes (a portrayal that exactly matches Rodríguez’s characterization of Pedro in the appendix). Zoilo enters and Zampayo asks him to describe the *matrero*; Zoilo responds that he is blond, which elicits mockery from Pedro. Liborio notes that the tales vary according to the person who relates them, and Pedro responds sarcastically in both texts (a rare instance of mockery directed toward Liborio in the opera). In many respects, Pedro’s continuous argument that the *matrero* is somehow a figment of their imaginations+ rings true as the monster they seek does not exist, at least not with the qualities they imagine him to have. Of course, that argument is less convincing in the play, which names his specific acts of violence.

At this point, the libretto and play diverge slightly. While the argument between Pedro and Zoilo escalates in both, in the play Zampayo intervenes. The stage directions note, however, that Liborio causes the peacemaker to halt because he wants to see Pedro’s true nature, a rational, if dangerous, act in keeping with stories of gaucho fierceness. Pedro cries out and begins to attack Zoilo with his *facón*; Zoilo, in turn, loads his revolver, but Pedro relents, perhaps with the knowledge that he will be killed either by Zoilo’s gun or by the rest of the villagers and peons, who would not look kindly on a stranger murdering one of their own. Pedro’s meekness causes Liborio to abandon all fear that he is the *matrero*. After Zoilo exits, Zampayo begins to mock the *payador*, to which Liborio orders silence. In the libretto, it is the sight of Pontezuela that causes Pedro to lower his facón. Zampayo and then Liborio also order Zoilo to be at ease. In either source Liborio is presented as a rational actor, who has complete control over his
underlings, yet Pedro’s motivation is presented more clearly in the libretto. He cares for nothing, except to please Pontezuela.

Pedro serenades Pontezuela, telling her his law is meekness. He is rebuffed, as Pontezuela extols the beauty of the countryside and the sound of cowbells over Pedro’s guitar. She leaves Pedro and Liborio alone. The father notes that he is saving her haughtiness and rebellion for a gaucho with affection, a *facón*, and a plow. She was born very sweet, but because of a disability he has had to increasingly rely on her; as a result, she became strong and hard. According to the character descriptions in the play, an attack of paralysis meant he could not use his right hand and can only move his right leg with difficulty and thus cannot work.\(^\text{26}\)

Pedro asks what will happen if a “gaucho malo” (evil gaucho) arrives (ostensibly referring to himself as the *matrero*). Liborio says that he will find bread and pure intentions, but in response to Pedro’s question as to what will happen if this type of individual comes for Pontezuela, her father vehemently replies that this shall never occur. In a shocking hypothetical, Pedro suggests that the *matrero* could unite with Pontezuela in Liborio’s “field” (that is, under Liborio’s watchful eye), but Liborio rejects the notion dispassionately.

After a pause, Pedro asks if he would give his daughter to him. Liborio replies that one cannot hitch oxen with music, indicating that life as a *payador* is unsustainable. Yet, whereas the libretto notes that Liborio answers compassionately, the play directs him to deliver the statement ironically. Liborio then asks if he is able to weave. Pedro responds that he can, on the strings of the guitar, but Liborio exclaims that if he wants

\(^{26}\) Rodríguez, 1931 play, 112.
his daughter he must sing a different song, that of the hornero; he must build a nest with the broken strings of his guitar. Pedro vehemently states that he has come to win Pontezuela, and Liborio replies that she will be his when he puts down roots. A brief pause in the play has no counterpart in the libretto; in the former, it is as if Pedro reflects before pledging his life to sedentary civilization and Liborio’s harmonious society, and leaving the ways of the barbarous matrero. In the opera Pedro shows no sign of reflection and immediately agrees to Liborio’s terms.

The scene is extraordinary for several reasons. For a caring father to offer his daughter to a stranger is remarkable under any circumstance. The preconditions he demands are relatively modest, and Pedro agrees to them quickly. The difference of social station in the play is considerable, but such a distinction pales in comparison to the variance in status exhibited in the libretto, where Don Liborio oversees an estancia rather than merely a small farm. Ostensibly he could have chosen anyone in the village to wed his daughter, but instead he chooses a landless payador as the man to offer his most valuable possession. This sentiment corresponds to that cultivated by the Centenary writers, who viewed the rule of the rural elite as having been not only fair, kind, and rational, but also exceedingly munificent.

Pedro’s acceptance of the terms laid out by Liborio are equally striking. It seems unnecessary for someone who could apparently disappear and reappear at will to need to acquiesce to the civilizing stipulations unless he really desires the settled lifestyle. The matrero could easily kidnap Pontezuela, if he really only wanted a female companion. Perhaps he is still under the impression that the daughter will follow the wishes of her father, but by the end of the narrative, when Pontezuela reveals her true
feelings for the *matrero*, Pedro still does not spirit the young woman away. The interaction is significant because it embodies Sarmiento’s civilization/barbarism dichotomy in the persons of Liborio and Pedro respectively. Recognizing with the Centenary writers that the loss of the gaucho was a national tragedy, the story offers a way to bring the two sides together. Fate intervenes, however, preventing the union, in accordance with Lugones’s recognition that the old gaucho must pass away to make room for modernity.

Liberato enters with a message. In the play he says it is from the neighbors, but in the libretto it comes from the gaucho people, a statement that may reinforce the sense that Liborio represents leadership on a scale larger than a single farm. Liberato asks for a quarter of his workers as, on Liborio’s advice, they have decided to hunt the *matrero*. Liborio calls upon his men, instructing them to, as *horneros*, find the hiding place of Lucero and kill him. After his workers leave, he notes that Pedro has remained behind. The *payador* says that instead of hunting the bandit, he will put away his guitar. He asks Liborio to speak with Pontezuela about his final song as a *payador*. At this point the second act ends in the libretto, but the play continues with merely a scene break as Pedro exits.

*Act III (opera), Act II continued (play)*

The opera includes an instrumental prelude in five sections with songs of *paisanos*.27 The sense of the waxing of time is reinforced in the setting of the libretto, which indicates that it is now dusk, perhaps giving Liborio time to think about how best to approach his daughter. In the play he is circumspect, even hesitant, in how he

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27 Sacchi, “*El matrero de Felipe Boero,*” 141.
introduces the topic of matrimony, but in the libretto he is quite direct. In either case he eventually says that he intends that Pontezuela marry Pedro because of the latter’s love for her. Liborio appeals to the idea that at another ranch without the tordos (that is, the matrero) she will be happy with quiet work. Her shock in the play and defiance in the libretto coalesce into her rejection of her own gender; she eventually declares that she is not a woman, and, although she has been silent until now and followed his counsel, she must not let her heart be muzzled. She rebuffs him in spite of his increasingly demanding tone. Liborio declares that she is a woman and must obey him; she replies that she has hardened her soul; her chest has been flattened by the pampas, and therefore she has the right to choose her own lovers.

Pedro enters and looks questioningly at Liborio. Liborio painfully admits that he must take back his word and exits, leaving Pedro and Pontezuela alone. Pontezuela reveals that there is another man with whom she is infatuated. Initially she hesitates to reveal his identity, saying he is a thistle that wounds but never binds her. With increasing vehemence Pedro urges her to name the man. Finally she says he is the matrero.28 She praises his reason, stubbornness, and aggressiveness. Pedro cries out with despair saying that if he had known, he would have acted differently and leaves to prepare his horse.

Liborio, who has overheard their conversation, is furious and tells Pedro to hamstring the matrero if he comes near. He threatens Pontezuela, disowns her as his daughter, and calls all of his peones together. He orders them to bring back the skeleton of the matrero. Pontezuela bursts out, horrified that they will kill him, and

28 “Un matrero” in the play (Rodríguez, 1931 play, 97); “El matrero” in the libretto (Rodríguez, 1929 libretto, 29).
appeals to her father, calling him the familiar “Tata.” When these protestations seem to have no effect, she orders the peones to have no compassion, so that Lucero may rise red with blood in her prayers. The more they persecute him, she exclaims, the more she loves him.

Pedro returns, but Pontezuela orders him to leave (with hatred and disdain according to the libretto). Liborio demands that his peones set fire to the marsh, which elicits an exclamation from Pontezuela. Pedro tells her (decisively, according to the libretto) that, if he does not die, he will bring the matrero to her and exits. There is considerable ambiguity in the remainder of the act. Pedro’s intentions in the final scene are completely unknown. Perhaps he intends to kill each of his pursuers one by one, perhaps to die, perhaps to retrieve his iconic horse that had returned to the wilderness in the first act or some other evidence to show Pontezuela that he is Lucero. The libretto notes that his attitude is resolute (“resuelto”) rather than resigned, and the play suggests that he has been renewed by Pontezuela’s passion.29

Alternatively, it may be that Pedro plans to spirit Pontezuela away, and he must escape to the countryside to secure his fearsome matrero-horse, presumably the only steed powerful enough to take the lovers to safety. If so, Lucero would likely have revealed himself to her and they would have formulated a plan to run-off together. Romeo and Juliet kinds of complex (and usually thwarted) lovers’ plans have long histories in literature, so the outcome would likely have been the same. Alternatively, with the horse he could have revealed himself to the villagers and Liborio, showing that the outlaw was in fact changed to the civilized figure they see before them. In any case,

29 Cf. Rodríguez, 1931 play, 101 and Rodríguez, 1929 libretto, 30.
the ambiguity is not resolved through the rest of the opera, as the next time we see Pedro he is in his death throes.

Liborio shouts a battle cry. He exits in the libretto, but in the play he tells his daughter not to cry, that similarly his field faces cuts, fire, rakes, sun, and then becomes a cornfield. She says she loves the matrero but will forget about him tomorrow and exits. These interactions, cut from the opera, highlight Liborio’s total lack of empathy. His single-mindedness to achieve his goal and rid the countryside of the matrero, which overcomes even his rationality to preserve his fields, is present in both, however.

The libretto notes that far away there is the sound of fighting; the land is set ablaze, and shots are heard in the distance. Pontezuela, left alone, calls on God for help. She says she does not know how to speak to Him, but that He hears sighs. She says that Lucero lives close to God because he has no nest; he is a cub always on the run. She asks only that God save him. Her romantic nature spoken of in the character descriptions is made manifest here. In this brief prayer she expresses her tender spirit, hidden from all, even her father. A deeper reason for her feelings toward the matrero is revealed at this point; she does not only love his fearsomeness, but pities his solitude and laments his persecution.

Pedro enters, wounded and half-blind; he drops his facón and calls out for Pontezuela. He says her face is his payment; he is Lucero, her beloved; he tells her to look at him as he dies. The play notes that she runs to him as he falls; she drops to her knees and holds his head, calling him her beloved and noting that, alas, even she had treated him as a vagrant. He says he was almost a hornero, that he would have been a horse plowing the earth for her. She exclaims that now he is here and takes his hands,
again confessing her love. It is at this point in the libretto that he dies, but in the play his last line is a request that she hold him like a mother so that he may be born while he dies. This final line is striking for its evocative imagery and corresponds to Lugones’s argument that the fearsome gaucho, after having expended his usefulness in clearing the pampas of the native peoples, must die to allow the modern nation to, in a sense, be born.

The peones enter soon after, following the matrero’s footprints and noting that they have found his facón. They see Pontezuela with his body and call Liborio. Their surprise at seeing Pedro indicates that they were not responsible for his murder, or that, if they were, they did not recognize him as the payador guest. Liborio enters and asks about Lucero, to which Pontezuela responds that he has come to rest here. Liborio exclaims that it is the singer. Pontezuela notes that he sings no more, and she always expected him this way, wounded and bloody; at night he will sing in silence for her. This is the end of the libretto. A brief five-measure musical conclusion completes the opera.

In the play, Liborio adds that now he understands the suffering of the matrero. It is a pain of longing to be part of the order Liborio has worked so hard to cultivate, but to which Lucero had been banned. He will accuse no one of the murder. The times have killed him for no one could tame him. 30 He adds that he is tired and instructs his daughter to sleep because in the morning she must cry for Lucero as well as plant. Even in the midst of this tragic moment, his single-minded determination to diligently work to ensure order cannot be stopped.

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30 “Bien colijo su penar!
No acuse a naide! Al fianao
Estos tiempos lo han matao
por no poderlo amansar… (Rodríguez, 1931 play, 110).
The death of the wandering gaucho is tragic, yet not a symptom of moral decay, according to Lugones, who in *El payador* argues that ancestral pride made assimilation impossible. Dabove notes that in nationalist narratives the outlaw figure often belongs before or outside of time, as his existence in the modern world would have presented a “living anachronism.” Unlike several of the “foundational romances” Doris Sommer explores, where the offspring of the hero and heroine represent the consolidation of the nation, in bandit narratives, the fugitive dies so that the future is not “contaminated” by him and his propensity for violence that works outside of the state. So it is in *El matrero* where no one is guilty of Lucero’s death. If any blame should fall on Liborio, it is couched in his sorrow and regret, reducing or eliminating his culpability. It is a testament to his authority that he may declare himself free of guilt. The fact that both Liborio and Pontezuela saw the value of Pedro in one of his various guises (either the *payador* seeking to become a farmer or the *matrero* desired from afar) shows that in spite of being part of the gaucho elite, they, on some level, could connect with him, even if they initially failed to recognize him.

_Tales of Banditry and Foundational Fictions_

Reading the libretto with Lugones’s criteria for an epic in mind suggests a comparative reading with the work he deemed sufficient to bear that designation: Hernández’s Martín Fierro saga. Such an examination should be accompanied by a discussion of the other bandit narrative central to nineteenth-century Argentine literature: Eduardo Gutiérrez’s *Juan Moreira*. Malena Kuss notes in passing that _El_...

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31 Dabove, _Nightmares_, 289.

matrero may be read as a condensing of gaucho tales (she mentions Moreira by name). Yet while the stories are unified in the fact that the eponymous character of each is a sympathetic bandit-figure, the opera is distinct in several respects from the two archetypal tales. An in depth examination of a repertory as deep as the gauchesco genre is impossible in this space. Still, a brief comparison of the political outlook of the two nineteenth-century tales and their relation to El matrero is informative.

I have focused on Argentine themes and circumstances because the opera was an exclusively Argentine phenomenon, and it is my intention to understand the connections between the opera and its society; but it must be acknowledged that the Uruguayan literary tradition from which Rodríguez sprang is a rich and complex subject in and of itself. Rodríguez took his point of departure from the gauchesco repertoire, which was regional, centered as it was around the capitals of Argentina and Uruguay. Since Sarmiento, Alberdi, and others of the generación del ‘37 fled Argentina for Montevideo, the developments of each nation’s literary and political intelligentsia have been linked. The connection is reinforced by the strong influence of the Martín Fierro and Juan Moreira tales upon the development of drama in each of the nations. Pablo Rocca goes so far as to say that in the nineteenth century, Uruguay and Argentina were part of the same cultural process. The Río de la Plata region witnessed a common

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34 Dabove, Nightmares, 176-198.


36 Pablo Rocca, Poesía y Política en el siglo XIX: Un problema de fronteras (Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2002), 11.
flourishing of the gauchesco style in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and although the developments took different paths, it is still beneficial to center discussion around the two quintessential tales that helped found the literary tradition.

*Martin Fierro and Juan Moreira*

Hernández published *Martín Fierro* in 1872 and *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* in 1879.³⁷ The first book of poetic verse relates the adventures of the title character whose cold-blooded murder of a black man forces him to flee into the wilderness of the pampas and live among the “savages” (Native Americans) to escape justice. Although Hernández portrays the killing as morally ambivalent, Fierro’s bravery and strength are consistently presented as admirable. In *La vuelta*, however, Fierro characterizes his previous illegal actions as regrettable and antisocial. His advice to his sons is to obey rather than oppose the law. He is presented as completely (and rightly) under the authority of the elite, not at odds with it.³⁸

The Moreira legend is based on the life of an individual who died in 1874. Unlike the Fierro tale, which is set in poetic verse, Gutiérrez’s narrative was prose and published as a newspaper serial between November 28, 1879 and January 8, 1880; the story was later developed into a genre of dramatic theater productions by José Podestá (1858-1937).³⁹ The feuilleton and play versions follow the same general narrative. An Italian shop owner had borrowed some money from Moreira, but when he asks for


repayment the immigrant denies the loan had ever taken place. Moreira appeals to the authorities, but the mayor who is infatuated with Moreira’s wife, Vicenta, sentences Moreira to jail for extortion. After his incarceration he challenges the shop owner to a duel and kills him; he later slays the mayor and flees into the countryside as an outlaw before being stabbed in the back while climbing down a building to escape his pursuers.40

Josefina Ludmer contrasts the two stories, calling La vuelta and Juan Moreira continuations of La ida, but with opposing characters—the peaceful and the violent gaucho respectively.41 In La vuelta, Fierro has succumbed to official pressures of the liberal state regarding right and wrong; he has become “a conforming subaltern” in Dabove’s words, resigned to the “small mercies” of those in authority.42 Moreira, by contrast, represents the continuation of the “gaucho malo” tradition of confrontation; he is the “ultimate icon of popular resistance to state violence.”43 In comparison to these canonic works of Argentine literature, representing the rebellious and loyal gaucho respectively, El matrero certainly more closely resembles that of the submissive type in La vuelta. Lucero is portrayed more clearly as a “gaucho malo” in the play, where his previous actions are discussed openly, but both the play and opera recognize the social redemption of the matrero, who seeks to join Liborio’s community and by extension the liberal state it may be said to represent.

40 Ibid.


42 Dabove, Nightmares, 174; Sommer, Foundational Fictions, 111.

43 Dabove, Nightmares, 178.
El matrero’s historical lateness does not preclude its “foundational” status in the sense that Sommer explores in her discussion of Latin American fiction from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Similar to La vuelta and Juan Moreira, the opera presents a gauchesco myth with contemporaneous political ramifications. The guiding principle in El matrero, as in many of Sommer’s mythical romances with grand, nationalistic implications—such as Doña Barbara by Rómulo Gallegos, María by Jorge Isaac, Iracema and O Guarani by José de Alencar—is the “impossible love between historically antagonistic lovers (sectors) [which] underlines the urgency for a national project that would reconcile the antagonisms.”

O Guarani

Volpe similarly characterizes the narrative of Alencar’s O Guarani and the libretto based on it (Il Guarany) as a so-called origin story, that is, a mythical narrative that offers cognitive matrices, which foster a collective consciousness. The Guarany tale explores the events preceding the conjugal union of Peri, a “good” Indian male (as opposed to the “evil” Indians represented by the Aimoré tribe), with Cecilia, a white European woman. The couple’s (presumed) offspring symbolizes the birth of the nation and dual heritage of the Brazilian people. The evocation of a remote, Brazilian landscape at a formative, but nondescript, period in the country’s history serves to create a setting out of which a story may represent the beginning of the nation.

44 Sommer, Foundational Fictions, 174.

45 Volpe, “Remaking the Brazilian Myth,” 180.

46 Ibid. Of course, notably absent representatives in O Guarani are representatives of the African foundational ethnic group, a point addressed by Sommer (Foundational Fictions, 154-155).

47 Volpe, “Remaking the Brazilian Myth,” 182.
should be noted that there is an element of attempted racial coupling in the narrative of
*El matrero*. Pedro, though presumably of *criollo* heritage, is described as having Indian
features in the character list at the end of the play, as well as by some of the individuals
in both play and libretto. The violence associated with the *matrero* (but absent in
Pedro) likewise may be connected with the fierceness incompatible with progress that
Lugones associates with native peoples.

These kinds of “foundational fictions” or origin stories could play a role in national
construction due to their didactic qualities—a fact well-known by Rojas whose historical
writings were an important part of his plans to educate the Argentine populace. Similar
to *Il Guarany*, *El matrero* features archetypal characters that represent diverse sectors
of the nation at a significant point of national development. Initially a conjugal union
seems possible between the headstrong female protagonist, Pontezuela, and the
vagabond outlaw, who is feared by the ignorant villagers. Drawing on these
approaches, the characters in *El matrero* may be considered symbolic of the nation’s
origin, before the “polluting” influx of the deluge of immigrants, and evocative of a
golden age in Argentine social history, which should be prescriptive for a harmonious
contemporary society. The “fierce” protagonist, Pedro, is pacified and becomes the
Fierro of *La vuelta*, but his full incorporation into society is interrupted by fate, or
perhaps more accurately, ritual sacrifice. Such is the way it must be if we are to

48 Rodríguez, 1929 libretto, 18; Rodríguez, 1931 play, 63-64, 113.

subscribe to Lugones’s argument that only by passing from the national scene could the gaucho truly free the country to progress.\(^{50}\)

In contrast to the Brazilian story, which takes place near the beginning of the Conquest, *El matrero* opens long after colonization, on the cusp of the organization of the modern nation. The roots of Argentine history have been laid; the gauchos are beginning to become civilized, and all that is left is a final step into the modern age, which would be symbolized by the outlaw gaucho surrendering his vagrant lifestyle. *El matrero* further differs from *Il Guarany* in that, rather than anticipating the birth of the nation through the hypothetical progeny of an ethnically mixed couple, the civilization (Liborio) and barbarism (Pedro) remains forever unmatched, and the protagonist dies without progeny.\(^{51}\) In this narrative, Argentina would thus be doomed to decades of instability as a result of the “gobernar es poblar” decision of its leaders to attract immigrants who know nothing of the nation’s history. Following Rojas, however, there would be hope as these newcomers could be integrated into society by learning of their heritage through tales such as *El matrero*.

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The preceding reading of the play and its transcription into the opera highlights its resonance with several concerns and ideas in the 1910s and 1920s. In the libretto there is a wider margin separating the various social class, highlighting economic

\(^{50}\) Borges calls the gauchesco novel of 1926, *Don Segundo Sombra*, an elegy, which suggests an ending or loss as opposed to an epic that celebrates the deeds of a founding hero; Gwen Kirkpatrick, “Cultural Identity, Tradition, and Legacy of Don Segundo Sombra,” in *Don Segundo Sombra* ed. Patricia Steiner and Gwen Kirkpatrick (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), xv. Similar to the character of Sombra, Pedro is peaceful in the end, disdaining violence.

\(^{51}\) But note the allusion to rebirth at the end of the play.
stratification. The opera emphasizes the rationality, empathy, and benevolent generosity of Liborio and, by extension, the oligarchic elite. There is little distinction in the libretto between middle and lower classes, except to articulate their existence. As a bloc they are presented as more cowardly and less rational in the opera; they are open to guidance from above (that is, from Liborio). In general, there is also a substantial reduction in the sense of social tension by restricting the tone of insolence directed at Liborio.

The narrative of the opera is consistent with the view of the Centenary writers that the “barbarism” of the gaucho should be reexamined and “civilization”—when it is presented as existing in the absence of rural national heritage—critiqued. Rojas’s desire to reach out to and educate the public is present in the populist and didactic outlook of the work. The elevation of the gauchesco to the operatic stage—a feat rehearsed to some extent by Boero earlier in the decade with Raquela (1922)—may be seen as analogous to the kind of elevation Lugones sought with regard to the gauchesco epic. Significantly, although immigrants are excluded, they do not become the subject of anything like the vitriolic xenophobia the author of El payador would advocate for in his 1924 “La hora de la espada.” Instead, the libretto portrays the hierarchical, socially harmonious relationship valued in the Krausism espoused by Yrigoyen in the 1920s. The music, discussed in the following chapters, reinforces the sense of social hierarchies found in the libretto, as styles distinguish between those who are counted among the elite and those who are not.
Chapter 6: Musical Analysis of *El matrero*

*The beauty of the nation should not be as a sack of pearls; but as the ocean where the pearls are born and which is open to all the pearl fishers.*
—Leopoldo Lugones

These closing statements to Leopoldo Lugones’s *El payador* seem to promote an aesthetic of inclusion at odds with the intolerance of his later writings, encouraging artists of whatever background to dive into the ocean that is Argentine culture and share the treasures they find with the nation and the world. Such a mission of revelation would require the discovery or selection of a regional art, followed by an Occidentalist transformation of that art into a product capable of achieving “universal” acceptance. Alongside Ricardo Rojas in *Eurindia* and the multi-volume *Historia de la literatura argentina*, in *El payador* Lugones supplies the justification to make the gaucho representative of the local; Manuel Gálvez’s urgings to look to the Old World for inspiration provide an avenue to connect to the cosmopolitan. Opera was the most prestigious genre of Boero’s era, and it offered a means by which to elevate regional culture and in the process unite the national and international.

Due to the professionalization and institutionalization efforts of Alberto Williams and his contemporaries the goals of the Centenary writers would seem more within reach than ever by the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, art music in its then-current state was still strongly connected enough to the European continent to require travel by many Argentine composers for study. Such journeys occurred before, during, and following Boero’s study at the Conservatoire, serving as a testament to the fact that
the most significant source of art music was still on the opposite side of the Atlantic.¹ Gálvez reflects the sentiment of the times when he notes Buenos Aires remained a place with civilization but no culture, making the Old World and provinces the ideal locations from which to draw.² This promiscuous appropriation made Argentine works a rich amalgamation of styles.

In the introduction, I address the hermeneutic possibilities that arise out of a critical examination of a diversity of styles; such an approach requires an inquiry into the various kinds of music present within the opera. An analysis of *El matrero* reveals affinities with diverse sources. Malena Kuss, Deborah Schwartz-Kates, and Esteban Sacchi, have summarily explored the variety of styles within the work, which combines aspects of Italian opera, French Impressionism, and gauchesco idioms. In the following analysis, I demonstrate more thoroughly the existence of several distinct styles. Dividing the work into its constituent parts—prelude, interlude, aria, melodrama, etc.—facilitates this kind of analysis.

**Sources of Inspiration**

Before exploring *El matrero* in depth it is informative to examine its potential and likely sources of influence within Argentina, specifically the repertory of the Teatro Colón, print music culture, and folkloric informants. The work blends elite and rural repertories and sets them into an art music genre. The process of assimilation of folkloric music may be seen as similar to that of the gauchesco writers; composer and author alike appear to make efforts to adopt the idioms of the nearly extinct rural

1 Like Boero and others, Juan José Castro received the Premio Europa to study in Europe (see chapter 3).

populace as a constitutive element in their works, which were high art genres—opera and books of fiction and poetry respectively—that had histories requiring adherence to certain expectations.

Kuss and Sacchi have categorized diverse European models that Boero, in Occidentalist fashion, brought together as “Italian,” “French,” and “folkloric,” while Schwartz-Kates identifies Italian and gauchesco styles, without noting French elements.³ Sacchi provides the most thorough musical study of the opera with detailed analyses of the folkloric repertories from which Boero drew; he understands the “diatonicism, juxtaposition of melodic motives, the formal contrasting structures, the employment of pedal notes, parallelisms, whole-tone scales, etc.” as indicative of a French Impressionism.⁴ He also points to Giuseppe Verdi and Giacomo Puccini as likely sources of inspiration, but does not indicate specific works. Kuss perceptively notes that Boero’s “elaborate harmonic language…recalls Saint-Saëns and Charpentier,” but she does not ground this statement in analysis of El matrero.⁵ Instead of reiterating their findings I will build upon them by consulting specific works that Boero may have been reacting to, and that his listeners would been aware of, by drawing on a select list of operas that had been performed at the Colón.


⁴ “Esta amplia introducción al ultimo acto es una pieza de carácter descriptivo con innegables influencias debussyanas por su diatonismo, la yuxtaposición de motivos melódicos y de estructuras formales contrastantes, el empleo de notas pedales, paralelismos, escalas por tonos, etc.” (Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 142).

⁵ Kuss “Nativistic strains,” 217.
The European-based repertory available to Boero was immense, not only through a growing music publishing industry centered around Buenos Aires, but through performances at the many musical venues, including the Sarmiento, Odeón, Maipu, Ateneo, Apolo, and Colón theaters. The Colón specialized in opera, with Verdi and Puccini dominating the repertory. A list of works performed in 1908, the inaugural year, provides a characteristic sample of the period before full municipalization in 1931. Of the seventeen productions, four (Aída, Rigoletto, Otello, and Il Trovatore) were by Verdi and two (Madama Butterfly and Tosca) by Puccini. Of the remaining eleven operas, seven were in Italian, five of which were by Italian composers (La Gioconda by Amilcare Ponchielli, I Pagliacci by Ruggero Leoncavallo, Paol...Mefistófeles by Arrigo Boito, and II barbiere di Siviglia by Gioacchino Rossini, Don Giovanni by Wolfgang Mozart, and Aurora by the Argentine Héctor Panizza).

Italian works, Puccini’s in particular, would dominate the productions through the 1910 and 1920s. La fanciulla del West was performed in 1911 (one year after its premiere), 1915, and 1920. Its setting among cowboys—the North American gauchos—is similar to that of El matrero. Puccini’s triptych of one-act operas—consisting of Il tabarro, Suor Angelica, and Gianni Schicchi—was performed at the Colón in 1919, the same year as its European premiere. Other operas with which El...
matrero has been compared include the veristic duo of I Pagliacci and Cavalleria Rusticana by Leoncavallo and Pietro Mascagni respectively.\textsuperscript{10} The former had been performed ten times between 1908 and 1929, the latter five times.

That is not to say that Italian works were the only ones available to audiences. The Teatro Colón’s inaugural season also witnessed performances of two French operas: Ambroise Thomas’s Hamlet and Jules Massenet’s Cendrillon. Thomas proved quite popular at the opera house with Hamlet and Mignon appearing in nine seasons between 1908 and 1926. Massenet was even more favored with at least one work (and sometimes two or three) performed every year between 1908 and 1925 (usually Manon or Thaïs). Another notable and potentially influential French work performed in the early part of the century was Paul Dukas’s Ariane et Barbe-bleue in 1912. The two German works (Tristan und Isolde and Siegfried) performed in 1908 were by Richard Wagner, who retained an important place in the repertory over the following decades.

The popularity of Italian composers was considerable relative to most contemporary German ones. Richard Strauss was an exception as his Salome, Elektra, and Der Rosenkavalier were each performed multiple times at the Colón before 1929. The dominance of Puccini and Italian opera and Boero’s own comments regarding Verdi and Claude Debussy suggest their operas as likely candidates for comparison.\textsuperscript{11} Puccini’s synthesis of Verdi, Wagner, and other late nineteenth-century opera composers make distinctions among the three difficult, but contrasts may be made


\textsuperscript{11} Sacchi, “El matrero,” 116-120.
based on specific works by Puccini, the veristic composers—most notably Mascagni and Leoncavallo—and the early twentieth-century French styles of Debussy and Dukas.

Opera was not the only musical entertainment available to listeners, of course. Genres of art song and solo piano featured prominently in Argentine cultural life. It is more difficult to trace editions of these kinds of works in the country than performances at the Colón theater, but the capital city boasted a thriving music publishing industry comparable to other large cities in the Americas. Ricordi established a publishing house in Buenos Aires called Ricordi Americana in 1922. Boero published keyboard editions of his gauchesco theater works, Raquela and El matrero, with Lottermoser and Perotti.

Styles such as Impressionism were perhaps more likely to have been disseminated via piano music. Debussy’s Pelleas would not be performed until 1931 and, Dukas notwithstanding, the previous French generations typified by Massenet and Thomas would remain much more present in the Colón than later ones. Boero’s own works for solo keyboard and accompanied voice (discussed in chapter 4), greatly influenced by his time at the Conservatoire, attest to such a route of transmission.

Melanie Plesch has noted that the spread of folk topoi in art music was accomplished thanks largely to the publishing industry of the late nineteenth century, which printed keyboard works meant primarily for private consumption. Williams’s “Rancho abandonado” and Aguirre’s “Tristes” are the paradigmatic examples of works that continued to facilitate the spread of musical notions of the gauchesco.

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14 Ibid., 256.
Transcriptions of folkloric works were also available. Andrés Chazarreta (1876-1960) published eleven volumes of arrangements, and Schwartz-Kates has argued that Boero’s “media caña” (Act I, measures 136-241) is based on one of these realizations.15

There is no evidence that Boero performed any kind of ethnographic fieldwork himself, but he did report having contact with a group of musicians from the region of Corrientes.16 The Correntino area is the likely setting of the opera, and the music matches the extant gaucho culture very well, suggesting Boero’s familiarity with the locale even if he personally never traveled there. Boero may have been aware of the work of Ventura R. Lynch (1851-1883) whose transcriptions of folk songs and dances in 1883 were reissued in 1925 by Rojas as Cancionero Bonaerense.17 This kind of “armchair ethnomusicology” has its limits, but it may have served the composer well in exposing him to a popular repertory in a less stylized way than salon music would have.

The identification of works that were performed or published in the proximity of Boero is not meant to indicate a direct inspirational link. The composer lived in a cosmopolitan musical world both in terms of soundscapes and access to published works. Identifying causation is conjectural at best, but it is beneficial to demonstrate some operatic and folkloric connections that, while they may have been transmitted by


17 Plesch, “The Topos of the Guitar,” 261; Ventura R. Lynch, Cancionero Bonaerense ed. Ricardo Rojas (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Literatura Argentina, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1925). Carlos Vega’s musicological investigations into music of the rural countryside were also circulated through his publications—especially Danzas y canciones argentinas (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1936), La música popular argentina (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1941), and Panorama de la música popular argentina (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1944)—though most of these occurred after the premiere of El matrero.
various means, show at the very least Boero’s likely exposure to a variety of musical styles.

Stylistic Elements of El matrero

Treatment of Folkloric Styles

Gauchesco references saturate the opera (see table 6.1). The treatment of folkloric idioms is similar in some respects to the practices of Puccini. *La fanciulla del West*, for example, features music with ostensibly folkloric roots by quoting a Zuni melody in Jake’s aria, “Che faranno i vecchi miei,” but the national perspectives of Puccini in the North American cowboy opera and Boero in *El matrero* could not be more different. Puccini and his listeners are aware that he is dealing with a foreign object, while Boero is drawing on what he would like to perceive is an authentic, local one. The scene with the organ grinder in *Il tabarro* is perhaps more relevant being both diegetic and evocative of the rural Italian commoner, though it too lacks the ideologically Occidentalist qualities of *El matrero*. There was no national program attempting to elevate the rural Italian in Puccini’s opera as there was the Argentine gaucho in Boero’s.

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18 For musical examples of *El matrero* see Edition in Part II.

Table 6.1. Recurring and folkloric motives in *El matrero*.\(^{20}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Act I measure(s)</th>
<th>Act II measure(s)</th>
<th>Act III measure(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>2-3, 5-6, 25, 62-63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Malambo”</td>
<td>8-19, 37-38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Estilo”</td>
<td>29-30, 257-262</td>
<td></td>
<td>258-275, 303-312, 506-513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Payador</em> theme</td>
<td>408-430, 590-606</td>
<td>54-56, 80-85, 201-204, 364-367, 384-386</td>
<td>206-209, 246, 258-275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Media caña”</td>
<td>136-237, 494-500</td>
<td>436-446, 499-503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gato correntino”</td>
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<td>16-34, 61-79</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Cancionero binario colonial” (“milonga,” “tango antiguo”)</td>
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<td>241-249, 399-418</td>
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<tr>
<td>Love motive (variation of <em>matrero</em> motive)</td>
<td></td>
<td>259-263, 299-310</td>
<td>141-144, 246-349, 503-505</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Cifra”</td>
<td>453-456, 484-504, 89-92</td>
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<td>249-258, 382-389</td>
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The practice of incorporating popular tunes is much deeper in art music’s roots than the Italian opera tradition alone; it permeates European musical compositions throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The use of vernacular traditions does not enter Argentine opera through Boero, but hearkens back to Arturo Berutti’s *Pampa*, which draws on gauchesco subjects and tropes. Boero's *Tucumán* continues that practice, yet it is not until *Raquela* that he brings gauchesco musical idioms to the operatic stage.

Sacchi systematically places Boero’s use of the folkloric style onto a spectrum that measures the level of reference. Some evocations he identifies as “explicit” (*explicito*) others as “stylized” (*estilizado*), and still others as “implicit” (*implicito*). Recognizing that all supposed gaucho borrowings are stylized in the context of an opera, it remains useful to categorize Boero’s use of perceived folkloric material.

Sacchi’s analysis may appear too generous in what it considers implicit or stylized evocations of folkloric material to someone (such as myself) who has not been raised in Argentina and had the opportunity to be exposed to the folkloric repertory from a young age. Indeed, many instances would not successfully pass all of Peter Burkholder’s guidelines for the identification of musical borrowing. In the case of *El matrero*, however, folkloric references are not “borrowed” as Burkholder defines the practice; that is, they do not necessarily take from a specific, existing work and insert

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23 Ibid.

the material into the new one; rather, the allusions are to the broader culture of the gaucho. *El matrero* does not need to draw on specific works to tie it to folkloric sentiment, instead, it may reference gauchesco topoi, or musical signs with cultural associations.25

Plesch’s recent work on gauchesco topics shows that the identification of reference may go beyond borrowings from specific genres or instrumental idioms; she identifies melancholy, sadness, and extraordinary pain as topics in gauchesco literature that find their way into music.26 Contemporary reviewers and scholars of Argentine music such as Kuss, Schwartz-Kates, and, in particular, Sacchi have been consistent in connecting *El matrero* to gauchesco idioms, yet they have not applied the concept of topoi to this issue, which can support some of their more obscure findings and may, in fact, expand our appreciation for the impact of the gauchesco on the opera as a whole.

Burkholder’s guidelines for determining whether borrowing has occurred can still be informative when viewed in light of Plesch’s topoi.27 He argues that the case is stronger when it can be shown that the composer knew about or had access to the existing piece (or in Boero’s case, repertory) about which the claim is made. The more unusual or individual the elements that are shared, he continues, the more convincing the connection. Burkholder also tends to be more favorable to accepting a proposed citation as fact if it has a clear reason for existing rather than simply being an arbitrary


26 Ibid.

occurrence, and one would expect many folkloric references in an opera about gauchos with nationalist connotations.

Diegetic

The work's most obvious attempts to connect to gaucho musical traditions are the diegetic moments. The first and most expansive of these occurs in Act I, measure 109 with a "media caña" called for by Liborio to forestall the panic of his guests. As discussed in chapter 4, the folkloric model consists of a repeated "aire de pericón," followed by the "aire de zamba," and "aire de gato" (see Chazarreta's version, which includes these elements, in Appendix A.7). Boero’s "aire de pericón" is comprised of a four-measure, instrumental basso ostinato, moving from tonic (measures 136-7) to first-inversion dominant chord (measures 138-9, see example 6.1). Repetition in the bass is partially obscured by the contraltos and basses who vary the second measure of the four-measure phrase in measure 141.

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After eight measures the soprano and tenor add a melodic layer (measure 144), which descends in unison for four-measures until breaking into harmony. At their cadence in measure 152 the contralto, tenor, and orchestra continue with the initial four-measure ostinato until the soprano and tenor reenter with the descending, four-measure, unison line in measure 156. The soprano varies the last four measures of the A section by descending to the third of the tonic rather than ascending to the tonic itself. The excerpt moves to a B section (“aire de zamba”), which briefly modulates to the subdominant (measure 167) with contrasting material, followed by the “aire de gato” in measure 192. It then returns to A material (measure 200) and ends the piece with a short codetta (beginning in measure 231). From this excerpt we can observe that Boero’s diegetic gauchesco style uses the various musical elements appropriate to the model: it relies on regular four- and eight-bar phrases; it is diatonic; the instruments remain in the background, accompanying the voices; it uses closed forms; the harmonies are largely tonic and dominant, using root position chords; and the melodies are either conjunct or triadic.29

The “gato correntino” that appears toward the beginning of Act II (measure 16) provides another extended folkloric allusion (see Edition and example 6.2). The version by Chazaretta (example 6.3) features the more common triple meter, but a similar melody.30 This section is one of two places in the opera where the traditional orchestra is substituted for the decidedly more gauchesco instrumentation of guitars. Similar to the chorus in the “media caña,” the four-part male TTBB voicing outlines simple harmonies, moving between tonic and dominant for the first six measures before


30 Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 147.
subdominant, to dominant, to tonic cadential motion, and switching to duple-compound meter, punctuated by hemiolas.


Example 6.3. “Gato correntino” measures 1-12 by Andrés Chazarreta.31

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Act III's prelude contains both a Guaraní chorus and "danza popular" (measures 24-35 and 68-96; see Edition, Act III and examples 6.4 and 6.5) where the composer again calls for guitars. The Guaraní sections are clearly marked as folkloric by the language, the unexpected texture, and orchestration. The "danza popular" is likewise marked as diegetic with the "peones playing guitar in a ranch in the distance."32 Chirping birdsong—rapid and high figurations in the flute—may tie the singers to nature, highlighting their connection to the earth.33

Example 6.4. Song in Guaraní in *El matrero*, piano-vocal score Act III, measures 24-32.

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32 "Los peones guitarrean en un rancho lejano," measures 67-95.

33 Sacchi, "*El matrero* de Felipe Boero," 142.

Nondiegetic

I will begin an identification of the nondiegetic gauchesco style by considering Boero’s own designations in the score (see table 6.1). The stage indications for the explicit “malambo” in measure 8 of Act I, for instance, ask two *paisanos* to dance in the center of the scene (see Edition and example 6.6). It returns later rhythmically and melodically as nondiegetic music, sandwiched between material without clear references to folk music (measures 37-38). Boero himself notes that the “malambo” returns in measure 49 in complex duple against triple time with the entrance of Braulio and Zampayo and following a short speech by Liborio whose rhythm also appears related to the triplet against duplet rhythm. A “media caña” quote in the strings accompanies its reference by Pontezuela in measures 494-500 of Act I after its diegetic appearance.

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One area that does not have a diegetic performance or score indication is Act I, measures 548-573. The rhythm is so repetitive and uncharacteristic of art music styles, however, that it clearly signals a gauchesco reference. Sacchi and Schwartz-Kates classify it as a *milonga* rhythm, and it corresponds to Plesch’s topos and Lynch’s transcription of the same name as well (see examples 6.7 and 6.8). It returns, once again associated with Liborio, in Act II measures 399-413.

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Boero’s "matrero motive" brings together his utilization of reminiscence motives—discussed below—with quotation of folkloric genres. The figure occurs in measure 290 after Zampayo names the cause of the people’s fear. The performance indication “misterioso” coupled with the sense of power withheld in the soft playing of the full brass section combine to elicit an ominous sensation. As I noted earlier, the melodic material of this passage bears a striking resemblance to the vidalita transcribed by Aretz (see example 4.13 in chapter 4).36

36 Sacchi, “El matrero,” 134; Aretz, El folklore musical, 134.
Some of Sacchi’s “implicit” folkloric designations may be described as subtle, but the idea that the work has internalized the folkloric style, rather than drawing on it in a picaresque manner, is a compelling notion, especially when considered in light of Boero’s nationalistic agenda. Schwartz-Kates identifies various consistencies between gauchesco and Italianate styles, including the preference for “balanced periodic structures, the reliance on simple and subordinate harmonies; and the dependence on thin, homophonic textures.”

Although some of the harmonic language of *El matrero* would be familiar in the works of Puccini, Boero’s work seems overall less harmonically dissonant and melodically disjoint than the Italian’s operas and even his own earlier dramas like *Ariana y Dionisio* and *Raquela*. A fan of the veristic composers would hardly be expected to confuse much of *El matrero* for the music of the Italians.

In calling Boero’s 1923 opera, *Raquela*, a “transitional” piece Kuss notes the distinction between the “learned chromatic style” and the simple melodic and harmonic structure of folk music. She continues, saying the “easy flow of melodic discourse—which successfully transfers to erudite music the prosodic inflexions of vocal folk music—and the subtle handling of the harmony are...the final stage of a gradual process of grafting vernacular idioms into the academic style of his earlier works.”

The harmonic language of *El matrero* may be seen as a hearkening back to a more conservative nineteenth-century style, but Kuss would seem to prefer to view it as a further blending of the gauchesco and art music styles, making transitions between


39 Ibid.
distinct spaces much smoother. The opening of the opera, for example, contains two sets of rapid quintuplets moving in octave-unison from sol to do before shifting to the rhythm indicated as “malambo” in the score (example 6.9). A convincing source upon which the opening is modeled would be difficult to prove even with topic theory, but it would also be difficult to prove with certainty that this has no connection to the gaucho. Example 6.9. Opening of _El matrero_, piano-vocal score, Act I measures 1-7.

A Venn diagram illustrates this relationship (see figure 6.1). The overlap constitutes musical styles that may appear in either art music styles or stylized folklorisms. The art music sphere that does not overlap would constitute chromatic melodies or rhythms with a high degree of beat displacement and evocations of Impressionism or Modernism. The non-overlapping gauchesco side would consist of highly repetitive or characteristic rhythms or melodies. The same kind of distinction could take place with the performing forces. The guitar is unusual in the context of an opera whereas the trombone is not a typical gaucho instrument.
Figure 6.1. Venn diagram showing relationship overlap of harmonic and melodic elements in gauchesco and art music styles in *El matrero*.

Sections like the opening manage to find a middle ground between styles characteristic of art music and those that would not be alien in stylized folk music contexts, at least in terms of melodic and harmonic content. Other excerpts that Sacchi has marked as “estilo” and “cifra” may similarly be understood as gauchesco allusions within an art music framework of orchestral instruments, classically trained voices, and the operatic stage. Folkloric references populate much of the work and may pull “gravitationally” toward a less chromatic style with more dancelike rhythms without necessarily referring to gauchesco idioms directly, or doing so in such a subtle way as to be almost at the subconscious level of even a listener well-versed in Argentine folklore. Such an
integration may reflect the very process of hybridization Lugones advocates for in *El payador*.

In measure 29 of Act I Sacchi identifies an “estilo” that consists of rising dotted-8th, 16th notes as evidence of his “implicit” style (example 6.10). Boero’s likely familiarity with gaucho folklore implies that he would know of this and other genres, passing Burkholder’s test of awareness of an existing repertory. The “estilo” of Boero’s *Canciones y danzas argentinas* contains dotted quarter, eighth notes rhythm (example 6.11). Although the piano piece does not follow the same melodic patterns as the portion of the opera Sacchi indicates, or match the set patterns Plesch identifies in the music of Julián Aguirre or Lynch in his *Cancionero Bonaerense* (example 6.12), folkloric genres need not narrowly quote specific pieces to reference them topically.\(^{40}\)


Example 6.11. “Estilo” measure 7 from *Canciones y danzas argentinas* by Felipe Boero.


Another example of Sacchi’s “implicit” style is the identification of the cifra.⁴¹ At no point in the opera does Boero indicate that he knows he is drawing from this particular genre, as he does with several other folk repertories such as the “malambo” or “media caña” either through score indications or diegetic performances. Still, there are similarities in excerpts of the cifra recorded by Lynch and the folklorist Isabel Aretz in terms of the arpeggiation, imitation of guitar strumming, and free tempo (example 6.13 and example 6.14).⁴² A flourish of the harp in measures 90 and 92 in Act II recalls the guitar figurations of the same cifra, peppering the work with folkloric allusions (see example 6.15). A descending line of five phrases and rising arpeggiated flourish is further evidence of a cifra in Act III, measures 249-258 (example 6.16). Compared to the clarity with which other genres are cited, these are very subtle, enhancing the


almost subconscious expression of the imagined gaucho. Beyond purely musical elements, the combative attitude of Pontezuela may be seen as evocative of the spirit of the payada, a singing and playing competition among payadores, which often draws on the cifra. Plesch’s argument regarding the sentiment of folk topoi applies well here.

Example 6.13. “Cifra” from *El folklore argentino* by Isabel Aretz.

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45 Plesch, “Una pena extraordinaria.”
Example 6.15. “Cifra” from *El matrero*, piano-vocal score, by Felipe Boero, Act II
measures 90-92.

Example 6.16. “Cifra” from *El matrero*, piano-vocal score, by Felipe Boero, Act III
measures 252-258.

*Structure, Dance, and Characters*

The structure of the work may be compared to other contemporary operas, but it
retains several points of singularity. Perhaps the most obvious alteration in the transition
from the original play to the opera is the subdivision of acts from two to three. Kuss says
that this was to satisfy the conventions of opera. As aside from the veristic works and Strauss’s *Salome* and *Elektra*, most contemporary dramatic works in the Colón’s repertory did consist of three acts. The relatively short length of *El matrero* aligns it, however, with *I plegiacci*, *Cavalliera rusticana*, and the operas of *Il trittico*. A recorded performance from 2000 only lasts 75 minutes with no substantial cuts.

It may appear that the insertion of dance should be credited to the incorporation of folkloric material, but of course dance has deep roots in French opera. Ambroise Thomas’s *Hamlet* may not be the most obvious model for a folkloric work as it is set by a French composer drawing on a long-dead English writer, but the opera includes several dance scenes, including a “Danse villageoise.” Diegetic movement scenes also occur in works by the veristic composers and Puccini, for example the chorus of the bells in *I plegiacci* and the waltz in *La bohème*.

The small number of featured roles distinguishes the work from some of the larger scale operas of Puccini, such as *La fanciulla del West* or *La bohème*. In the Italian works, furthermore, the love triangles tend to feature a soprano rather than mezzo-soprano as prima donna. The three main characters of *El matrero* consist of a mezzo-soprano (Pontezuela), bass-baritone (Liborio), and tenor (Pedro). These vocal *Fachs* are also unlike those found in some of the more contemporary short works such as the one-act operas found in *Il trittico*, *Cavalleria Rusticana*, or *I Pagliacci*. The unique plot of *El matrero*, featuring circumstances dissimilar from those found in the Old World, may have dictated the distinctive vocal pairings, as a soprano gaucha would not be as convincing as a mezzo. Pontezuela’s lower voice lends her character a more

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assertive affect, perhaps reflecting an independent rebelliousness familiar from the eponymous prima donna in *Carmen*—itself performed eight times at the Colón between 1908 and 1929.⁴⁷ Pedro and Liborio’s respective tenor and bass-baritone fall into the young suitor, father voice-type roles. Aside from Panchita—a soprano secondary character with very little vocal material—whether the remaining villagers and *peones* sing or speak in rhythm instead, is optional according to the vocal score’s stage indications. Even the material performed by secondary characters with written melodies tends to be sparser than that of their major role counterparts. The conditions at the Colón may have limited rehearsal time, encouraging Boero to make decisions that kept the number of characters who would need extensive practice together to a minimum.⁴⁸

*Preludes and Interludes*

Overtures and preludes have long histories in opera, being common even in shorter works such as *Cavalleria Rusticana, I Pagliacci, Il tabarro,* and *Gianni Schicchi.* The opening to *El matrero,* by contrast, can hardly be called an introduction and is similar to Strauss’s one-act operas *Salome* and *Elektra,* which start immediately with the action. Such an abbreviated introduction also resembles the first Argentine opera performed at the Teatro Colón. Composed by the conductor of *El matrero’s* premiere, Hector Panizza, *Aurora* (1908) begins with rapid 16th notes outlining the tonic (A major) for four measures at which point the chorus enters. Also like *El matrero,* extended interludes begin Acts II and III. The interlude preceding Panizza’s third Act is the longest and subtitled “Intermezzo Epico.”

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⁴⁸ Boero had acknowledged the lack of resources necessary for the development of a strong Argentine musical program (Sacchi, “*El matrero* de Felipe Boero,” 117).
The opening affect of *Il trittico* and *Cavalleria rusticana* contrasts significantly with *El matrero’s*. Many of Puccini’s tragic works begin somberly. *Il tabarro*, for example, opens with muted strings and *ppp* woodwinds in a minor key. Even *La fanciulla del West*, which features a more rambunctious opening than *Il tabarro*, and whose hopeful ending suggests a similar kind of opening, begins with dissonances that betoken a plot filled with strife, only to end in victorious ecstasy. *El matrero* by contrast begins with a vivacious rising gesture, similar to *I pagliacci*. Unlike Leoncavallo’s work, however, Boero’s does not include a B section descent into melancholy, foreshadowing the future tragedy, and instead of a prologue warning the audience of the violence to come we have a gauchesco dance. *El matrero*’s “optimistic” opening need not be considered a flaw, of course, but simply serve to make the final pronouncement of death, already shocking in its brevity, all the more so. The happiness of the instruments also lends a mocking—or at the very least less serious—tone to the speech of the *peones* and *paisanos* discussing their fear of the *matrero*. Boero’s likely familiarity with a variety of models from which to draw underscore his compositional sensitivity for selecting the one best for his work.

In addition to setting the mood, preludes and interludes offer Boero an opportunity to showcase his proficiency in a variety of styles without interrupting the flow of the drama. Chaotic and unstable chromaticism at the beginning of Act I, scene 2 demonstrate the composer’s mastery of a more complex harmonic idiom. A melody constructed from the whole tone scale and soft timbral colors at the beginning of Act II indicate the influence of Debussy and Dukas. Here, Boero uses his technical skills and
dramatic sensitivity to depict a lazy scene in which Liborio has been lulled to sleep in spite of his concerns over his new guest.

The prelude to Act III is delineated into five sections by diegetic, folkloric material, specifically a Guaraní call-and-response chorus and a “danza popular.” The stage directions indicate that the excerpt is depicting twilight on the plains. The first section hovers mostly around tonic and dominant pedal points with birdsong imitations in the upper register. Two motifs, one of them the "matrero theme," provide structure with the first in the oboe in measures 1-3 and the second in measures 4-5 in the strings.

The second section begins with a soloist singing in Guaraní, a language whose roots are indigenous to the Native American population, but with variants spoken among the mestizos. A male chorus responds in close, four-part harmony. The programmatic rodeo of the third section draws less on folkloric material and maintains a rhythmically choppy, highly chromatic sonority. The fourth section (measures 68-96) is marked “danza popular” in the piano-vocal score and has peons performing the work on guitars. A transition begins in measure 97, and measure 111 reiterates the opening theme. The Guaraní call-and-response returns in measure 115 ending with rapid passages in the solo flute, evocative of birdsong, which allows some experimentation with extreme registers.

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49 Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 141-142.

50 Ibid.

51 Guaraní is one of the national languages of Paraguay along with Spanish.

52 Cf. Sacchi’s analysis (“El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 142).
An interlude toward the end of the final act (measures 441-467) begins triple forte, following Pedro’s pledge to bring Pontezuela the matrero and Liborio’s furious call to arms. According to the piano vocal score it programmatically enacts the flight and struggle of Pedro with those chasing him. It is highly chromatic and avoids cadencing on a tonic.

*Reminiscence Motives*

Several melodies reappear throughout the work that may be called “reminiscence motives” (see table 6.1). The “matrero theme” is an associative theme in the tradition of Puccini and Verdi related to the melody Boero uses for his “Vidalita de Montiel” (see chapter 4). Boero de Izeta and Sacchi confirm that the melody comes from a folkloric source. Its first occurrence coincides with Zampayo naming the eponymous character in the brass of Act I, measure 292. It reoccurs in 317 in reference to fear of the matrero. It first associates with Pedro as he enters the home of Liborio and has various reappearances throughout the work. The horns quote the “matrero theme” in Act III, measure 482 and through the remainder of the opera as Pedro dies.

Diegetic folkloric quotations also occasionally reappear outside of their original contexts. In measure 495 of Act I, for example, the “media caña” melody appears with Pontezuela referencing it sarcastically. Some motives appear to function structurally to tie together scenes, rather than dramatically evoke the story or represent objects,

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locations, people, or ideas. One such structural recurrence appears in measures 25 and 62-65 of Act I, alluding to the beginning of the opera (cf. measure 4).

**Arias and Solo Arioso**

The first extended solo section occurs in measure 325 of Act I with Liborio’s “Tale of the hornero.” His musical palette draws primarily from the European art tradition, Puccinian arioso in particular. An in depth analysis provides insight not only into this excerpt, but the harmonic language of most of the arioso solo and dialog sections. The subject of the section is the attempted robbery of the nest of the hornero bird by the more powerful tordo.

The section preceding the tale was modulating away from D-flat major and had stopped on the dominant of F minor in apparent preparation for Liborio’s entrance (measure 325). Rather than beginning with the tonic, however, Boero repeats the dominant harmony and instructs the voice to start on the chord’s seventh, delaying V-I resolution for several more measures. The arioso section that proceeds is through-composed and tonally rich, modulating to the relative major of F minor (measures 333-4). There is no strong, authentic progression from secondary dominant to secondary tonic; instead, the bass is suspended and moves to the third of the tonic, which then moves to the root. After a fermata the harmony becomes increasingly complex for the next section of the text with a sudden shift to a G-flat major chord (measure 336) from a cadence on A-flat major, reflecting the conflict in the text between the hard working and criminal birds. What could have initially appeared to be a Neapolitan of F minor in root position becomes an unresolved dominant seventh chord of C-flat (measure 337), but

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then raises the root a half step to create a fully diminished seventh chord of A-flat. This second phrase ends on a D-flat major triad (measure 340).

The third phrase (measure 341) begins decidedly more chaotic than previous ones—perhaps reflecting the confrontation of the hornero and tordo. The orchestra no longer merely accompanies or doubles the voice, but acts independently, until Liborio sings the highest note yet of the excerpt (measure 344), as the victim is thrust out of his home. At this point the old gaucho seems to take control of the piece as it slows and descends to the first authentic cadence of the excerpt on F minor when it seems the story could end on this tragic and ominous note. Harmonic instability follows in the next phrase, punctuating Liborio’s warning to pay attention (measure 353). But the subsequent section (measure 358) centers the piece on A-flat major with the orchestra playing accompanimental patterns under Liborio’s lyrical melody bringing hope once again as the hornero calls on his compatriots to assist him in evicting the intruder. The cadence on A-flat minor at rehearsal 28 marks the end of Liborio’s most harmonically stable section yet.

In the following phrase Liborio sings over a chromatically descending bass, which eventually outlines a i 6/4 (measure 374) of C minor moving to V and finally to C; this chord quickly elides with an ascending chromatic scale in thirds (measure 377), depicting the flock of horneros rushing to aid one of their own.56 A descending line from C to string tremolos on F (measure 380) anticipates the tonality of the following section, which begins harmonically stable as the birds cooperatively arrive to help one of their own. The dynamics build, and in measures 392-3 the story closes with an ominous

Phrygian cadence in F minor under the dramatic text “death” sung on the highest note of the excerpt.

As in Puccini’s music, solo sections are largely integrated into the musical structure as a whole, rather than treated as separate numbers. There are a few significant exceptions, such as “Pontezuela mi vigüela” in Act I, measures 408-440. Almost immediately following Liborio’s highly chromatic, tense tale of the hornero is a harmonically simple, but technically challenging aria sung by Pedro. The love ode to Pontezuela was tremendously popular among audiences to the extent that it was published as a separate piece of sheet music; it is an immensely appealing introduction to the title character.57 The simple, almost naïve harmonies, lyrical melody, and virtuosic range suggest folk topoi of “estilo” and “triste,” appearing to connect Pedro to the countryside in a more direct way than Libroio.58 “Pontezuela mi vigüela” has light accompanimental figuration simulating a “vigüela” (guitar, also spelled “vihuela”). The focus on the voice is a feature Boero shares with Verdi and Puccini and a point of similarity they have with the folkloric repertory.

The aria opens with a seven-measure A section that ends on a half cadence in measure 414. The voice is accompanied by thirds in the bass line, characteristic of the “estilo.” The subsequent A’ section repeats the initial three measures before varying the melody and harmony and repeating dominant to tonic progressions in measures 418-9 and 420-1. The B section begins with the same kind of parallel motion in thirds between the basses and tenor before returning to guitar-like arpeggiation. This section consists


58 Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 149-150;
of two four-measure phrases with the first ending in measure 426 and the second on a perfect authentic cadence in measure 429. This phrase is extended for two measures before concluding the aria in measure 431.

Pontezuela’s “Tata Dios” is another example of an aria set apart from its surroundings. As in Tucumán and Raquela, the piece is a prayer sung by the female lead toward the end of the opera.59 In Act III measure 458 “Tata Dios” begins in B major and remains through-composed, but harmonically stable and melodically conjunct throughout, in keeping with its status as a supplication, as Pontezuela asks God to protect the matrero. The opening fourths outline the strings of the guitar, text painting Pontezuela had expressed in Act I while mocking Pedro’s connection to the instrument (Act I, measure 484).60 Vocal doubling in the orchestra at the unison or octave is a consistent feature that seems to be adapted from Puccini; it is exhibited especially in measures 459-480. The key is stable until the end (measure 481) where Pontezuela’s melody suddenly slips from the second scale degree to the flat second scale degree and the third of the dominant of the mediant chord (harmonically respelled). Cadencing the prayer on the parallel major of the relative minor implies a kind of melancholy desperation, as if Pontezuela could not quite reach back to the tonic, but must collapse on the submediant. The harmony slides up chromatically to an A major chord, the key of the rest of the opera.


Much of the opera consists of free, sectional arioso mixed with recitative similar to Liborio’s “Tale of the hornero.” This style is reminiscent of Puccini and the veristic composers. The through-composed form of these sections allows the dialog to flow freely and for text and dramatic situations to be highlighted. Aside from the opening prelude, “gato correntino,” and final cantabile section sections, Act II is largely constructed around this style of music mixed with drier recitative-like patterns, rhythmic speech, and brief ensemble sections (see measures 48-57 and 80-471). Arioso allows Boero quite a bit of freedom in expressing scenes such as the conflict between Pedro and Zampayo, who remains suspicious of the newcomer.

In measure 80 Pedro begins with an unaccompanied recitative until the orchestra rejoins when Liborio enters with material centering on A major (but with an unmarked key signature). 16th-note arpeggios in the flutes join sustained notes in the lower register of the horns and pizzacati in the strings for the speeches of Liborio and Zampayo (measures 85-96) who are trying to convey the danger of the matrero. The orchestra then changes to sparser chords on the first and last beats of the measure (measures 97-100). A continuous 16th-note chordal accompaniment, key shift, and rising dynamics from measure 101-109 reflects the growing tension between Pedro and Zampayo when the payador points out the illogic of their continued fear of the matrero, who has not been seen for over a year.

The key changes to A-flat major in measure 117 as Zampayo begins a soliloquy describing his encounter with the outlaw. The tonality seems to unravel as the peón speaks. We begin Zampayo’s phrase in measure 129 with a clear tonic but devolve to a
dominant ninth chord on F-sharp followed by a fully-diminished seventh chord for Pedro’s challenge in measure 138. To the simple, but challenging, question of what color the hair of the fugitive is, Liborio seems to intervene to rescue his faltering laborer. He describes Native American features, which Zampayo corroborates. A key change to E major and “Piu mosso” marking accompany Zoilo’s entrance in measure 164 and raise the tension, especially following the contradictory testimony that the matrero is blond.

Later in the act, Liborio agrees to supply the paisano, Liberato, with men to hunt the fugitive. Instrumental interludes depict the peones preparing to track and kill him. Liborio turns to Pedro who has overheard their plans. When the older gaucho asks whether he will hunt the matrero, the younger man responds that he will instead prepare to leave his life as a wandering singer with the cantabile “V’ia clavar” (measures 527-565). The melody has a striking similarity to what Kuss describes as a tune of popular extraction from Tucumán.61 The duet begins with a through-composed, lyrical, and diatonic solo section sung by Pedro until measure 542. Liborio enters, doubled by the low strings with new—but equally lyrical and diatonic—material, uniting the men in their desire for Pedro and Pontezuela to wed.

Scene 1 of Act III (measure 129) likewise begins with arioso as Liborio and his daughter converse. The subject of the text is similar to the extended dialog section in Act II in that it too centers on Pontezuela’s marriage to Pedro. The section emerges out of the prelude’s Guaraní male chorus and solo birdlike flute section, perhaps reminding listener’s of the hornero/tordo conflict between the civilized and barbarous gaucho that

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will be played out, in a sense, in the disagreement between father and daughter. Liborio emerges from the bucolic scene and begins to very coaxingly approach the topic of matrimony in measure 129. Sparse strings and woodwinds evoke gentle persuasion. A sudden change of key from A-flat to A major, and Allegro tempo marking as Pontezuela begins speaking, reflect her rejection of the offer. Boero deftly elides the sections using a common-tone modulation from Liborio’s D-flat as the third of the new tonic.

With an Andante tempo marking, Liborio tries to coax her again. Her second refusal in measure 148 builds with a quick scale in the strings, increasing in loudness from a *forte*. Over violin, viola, and cello tremolos, she chooses freedom over her own gender, rejecting womanhood. Liborio now turns to spoken word, which is often used for the most expressive moments in the opera, but Pontezuela, after answering back in the same manner, returns to A-flat major with a “Deciso” performance marking, as if to resolutely state that her conclusion is final in measure 165. Later, Pedro arrives (measure 204) and attempts to woo Pontezuela into loving him. The flexible nature of the arioso allows him to make impassioned pleas (measures 219-247) and her to reject his advances, indifferently at first (measures 249-259), but with increasing vehemence (measures 265-268).

**Melodrama**

One of the most prominent characteristics of the opera is its reliance on rhythmic melodrama—or spoken word with specific durations set above music—to express text rather than recitative or arioso alone. Indeed, Boero notes that some of the roles may be spoken entirely. The extent of unsung text declamation is singular among Argentine
works and would remain a stylistic preference in the composer’s later operas. In terms of precedence, Ludwig van Beethoven’s *Fidelio* and Carl Maria von Weber’s *Der Freischütz* both contain moments of melodrama and had been performed at the Colón in 1927 and 1926 respectively. The moments of unpitched text with musical background are quite limited, however, in comparison to their use in *El matrero*. There are instances of spoken dialog in several Italian works from the preceding decades—the final announcement of Turiddu’s murder in *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Canio’s declaration that the comedy is over at the end of *I Pagliacci*, the greedy heirs at the end of *Gianni Schicchi* and the eponymous character himself noting that his consignment to hell seems overblown—but again these are few and far between. Unlike the veristic composers, Boero maintains uses melodrama at many points throughout the work.

Melodrama allows a more natural declamation of the gauchesco text—a special concern of the composer. The range of dramatic situations in which Boero calls for spoken voice varies quite a bit, from fearful to festive to tragic and many emotions in between. The opening features a speech by Liberato telling others of the terrifying *matrero* in a hushed tone (“sotto voce”). As in many of the aforementioned works of Mascagni, Puccini, and Leoncavallo, the spoken word is also used by Boero for moments of intense drama. In Pedro’s death scene (Act III, measure 482-499) the *matrero* expresses himself only in spoken words while Pontezuela responds with a mixture of vocal melody and rhythmic text. The lack of pitch in Pedro’s speech allows a good degree of freedom in the execution of his lines, and also seems to realistically

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suggest the payador’s weakened state. Scenes like these contradict the sense that Boero simply used melodrama because quality singers were unavailable, and suggests that it was the range of affect it allowed, and its sharp contrast with sung word, that the composer sought.

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An analysis of *El matrero* reveals the complex network of styles the composer brings together to create his most popular work. My intent has been to identify several distinct, but flexible, categories of musical idioms. Italiante operatic, gauchesco, and Impressionistic styles play important roles in key parts of the Occidentalist work. These may be understood to do more than simply exist side by side, and in the next chapter I will examine how they interact with one another as well as with the text of the libretto in light of the era’s sociopolitical discourses.
Chapter 7: Social Interpretation of *El matrero*

_The gauchos accepted, of course, the patronage of the pure white [race] with whom they never thought to equate themselves politically or socially, recognizing a kind of dynastic power that lay in their urbane ability to govern….Those landlords formed…a caste worthy of leadership._

—Leopoldo Lugones

Leopoldo Lugones’s views of the civilization of the gaucho may seem extreme in their privileging of a white race, but they were common to the times—though admittedly these were times he helped shape, at least in Argentina. Felipe Boero's work retains this hierarchical vision but appears to soften the ethnic overtones; there is no “pure white race” distinct from any other; there are only gauchos, evocative of a more open, liberal, and harmonious—if homogenous—vision of society. *El matrero* goes beyond presenting a picaresque scene of rural tragedy and articulates a model for contemporary Argentina in line with Centenary and Krausist ideas. In this “origin story”—or at least narrative with guidelines for contemporary society—the leader of the estancia is not racially distinct from the others. He is deserving of his position, as demonstrated by his wise and generous actions. His elevated distinction is articulated not only in the text but through the interaction of the work’s libretto and music. The union of the veristic, Impressionistic, and folkloric, shows the compatibility of the gaucho and the European, the truth of the mythical lineage that Lugones and Ricardo Rojas promote, and the Krausist social harmony of the community of laborers and villagers.

Here I will explore a critical approach to the styles identified in chapter 6 in light of the text of the libretto and the work of the Centenary writers. The musical dialects do not simply exist side by side but may be understood to interact. Seeing them in dialog allows one to view the perspectives they represent as distinct and relatable to each
other. A reading of the work sensitive to the possibility that music may articulate social structure permits an association of styles with different classes that express particular views. In *El matrero* while the characters’ texts and musics articulate distinctive voices they seem to unite to express a perspective sympathetic to the Centenary writers within a Krausian framework of social harmony.

The division of characters in the opera into high, middle, and low classes is perhaps an oversimplification but provides a useful model upon which to base discussion and accords with the hierarchical, paternalistic vision of society Manuel Gálvez, Rojas, and Lugones inherited and advanced. The lower and middle classes are distinguished by joining in explicit, diegetic music making, which always features folkloric material. The main characters representing the upper or upwardly mobile classes may have their orchestral accompaniment occasionally colored by folkloric material—perhaps symbolizing their connections to gaucho society—but they do not participate in the gauchesco music making, and their voices are marked by art music or highly sublimated folkloric styles. The music may initially appear to reintroduce Lugones’s racialized vision by placing Native American and gaucho influenced material in a decentralized or lower position in comparison to European art music. Such is always the tension in Occidentalism, but the deep embedding of folk styles that Boero is able to accomplish may be seen to reframe, or at least challenge, the relationship.

*Style and Class Distinction*

Melanie Plesch, drawing on Josefina Ludmer, has argued that the gaucho was “used” to express a kind of “argentinitidad” in salon music of the late nineteenth and early
twentieth centuries through musical topoi or signs related to folkloric music.¹ In the pre-
Centenary works of nationalistic composers like Alberto Williams and Julián Aguirre
these moments were relegated—or to use Ludmer’s term “distanced”—to less central
positions of individual pieces, reflecting the actual treatment and marginalization of the
rural population the music represents. A similar process may be said to be at work in El
matrero, which consigns the most direct occurrences of folkloric content to the mouths
and bodies of the “lesser” characters, particularly the rural laborer. It is important to
make the piece as a whole sound “Argentine” but has little to no agency in terms of
affecting the drama. In places outside of the onstage music-making, gaucho elements
are consigned to the background. Unlike the “huella” in Williams’s “El rancho
abandonado,” however (which appears briefly in the B section out of a suite of five
pieces), the quotations with regional allusions permeate the fabric of El matrero.

Viewing the work in terms of its social and literary background has implications
for its interpretation. Deborah Schwartz-Kates has understood the work to be a kind of
critique of the Argentine powers-that-were for the extermination of the gaucho.² She
sees Pontezuela as representative of Buenos Aires, urban society, which bears guilt for
bringing about the end of the gaucho. The “Matrera theme” for Schwartz-Kates
expresses Pontezuela’s fantasy (see Act II, measure 259), and it is derived from the

¹ Melanie Plesch, “La lógica sonora de la generación del 80: Una aproximación a la retórica de
nacionalismo musical argentino” in Los caminos de la música: Europa y Argentina, ed. Federico Spinola
(Jujuy: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, 2008), 65-68.

through a Symbolic Native Heritage: The tradición gauchesca and Felipe Boero’s El Matrero” Latin
American Music Review 20, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1999): 4; Boero, El matrero, piano-vocal score, i;
Rodríguez, 1929, 6, 17-23.
matrero theme.³ She translates the text accompanying the theme as “Always at prayer time, I stake out my thorny ‘matrera’ on the pitchfork. And I appear as a sweetheart at the corral gate, when memories make me cry.” She understands Pontezuela to be referring to herself as the matrera, the female equivalent of matrero. When that matrero theme reappears at the end of the opera (Act III, measure 515), it has an accusatory bent to it, as the young woman remains “trapped in her world of unfulfilled dreams,” never realizing her guilt in bringing about the demise of Pedro and by extension the gaucho.

All the members of the opera, including Pontezuela, however, are gauchos, and not everyone is exterminated, only the one without a fixed domécile. Sacchi and I see the motive as more of a genuine love theme, and its reappearance in the finale represents the final confirmation of that love. Schwartz-Kates translates “Matrera” as a way of Pontezuela referring to herself and this appears concurrently with the theme, but the adjective “retobada” modifying “Matrera” is not used for people unless in a deprecating way, and would be the kind of term this proud woman would likely not use on herself. When used for animals, however, the term simply means wild. The more likely reference is to Pontezuela’s horse, which has nothing to do with the theme.

The idea that Pontezuela remains in a state of fantasy regarding what she has done, mirroring porteño society, does not ring true with Boero’s own performance indications because at the end of the opera she is directed to sob in the arms of her father in reaction to the death of her beloved.⁴ Understanding her love of the matrero as


⁴ “Solloza en los brazas del viejo.” Boero, El matrero piano-vocal score, 181.
foolish, as Liborio does initially, sells short her character’s resonance with the
Centenary writers. Unlike him, she is able to see the value of the outlaw figure’s fierce
independence, something that even Pedro appears to underappreciate. Furthermore, as
I show in chapter 5, the play makes it clear that no one is guilty of Pedro’s death. If
there is some symbolic loss, it may be more related to the destruction of the laudable
aspects of gaucho culture rather than the group itself. The idealized rural features that
were “destroyed” include folkloric traditions such as the paternalistic system of
governance associated with the pampas and the social harmony rural society
supposedly enjoyed.

The “Elite” Style

The relationship of the characters with one another and the role of music in
marking Liborio and Pontezuela’s elevated stature is perhaps nowhere more apparent
than early in the first act. Liborio, in an effort to alleviate the villagers’ and peons’ fear of
the matrero, orders guitarists to play the “media caña.” There is no indication that he
takes part; in fact his use of the third person plural imperative, “Puntéen,” (“pluck,” that
is, the guitar) to initiate the performance, distances himself from the action. Perhaps
being too old to dance himself, he acts as the paternalistic lord of the manor, dictating
commands to his subjects, ostensibly with their well-being in mind.

After the diegetic song and dance scene, Liborio, in a characteristically didactic
moment responds to the people’s seemingly irrational fear of the matrero with the “Tale
of the hornero,” which describes the conflict between the hardworking hornero and

5 “Puntéen; con ‘Media Caña’”; Act I, measure 125-128. Rodríguez’s play (1931) inserts an
exclamation point rather than a semicolon after “Puntéen.” It is conceivable that Liborio orders others to
play guitar so that he may dance, but there is no indication of this.
villainous *tordo*. The subject of the text is simple, evocative of folktale in its anthropomorphic presentation of an aviary society and folk-wisdom in its sense of justice. In spite of the earthy subject matter, however, the music is complex. As discussed in chapter 6, Liborio’s extended solo arioso is unified around a tonic of F minor, but its internal harmonic complexity, chromaticism, open form, disjunct melody, relative lack of authentic cadences, and prominent use of instruments as fellow participants in the drama, contrast greatly with the simple, folklike material of the *peones* and *paisanos* recently heard in the “media caña.”

The composer consistently seems to musically set apart the symbolic members of the elite by associating the clearest examples of gauchesco musical dialect with the lower classes. In the remainder of the opera while Liborio and his daughter Pontezuela do embrace folkloric characteristics, neither of them take part in any of the diegetic music-making or social dancing. Although ostensibly a lower-class character, Pedro with his path to gaucho nobility apparent, similarly does not participate in these kinds of events. Clear folkloric references sometimes do appear associated with the main characters in the orchestral accompaniment, demonstrating the connection between the gauchos. Yet even here it often occurs when they evoke scorn or disregard, as when Pontezuela refers to a series of gauchesco musical genres in Act I, measures 457-477. The earlier diegetic music of the “media caña” is repeated when Pontezuela mentions the traditional dance as a possible activity lowly enough for a recently arrived *payador* to focus upon.

Another passage where folkloric reference initially appears associated with the upper classes is in Act I, measures 521-546. It begins when Liborio speaks to his
peones, but it is perhaps better understood as a segue to representing their exaggerated and irrational fear of the matrero. Liborio has finally dismissed his guests. As they leave nervously, a humorous milonga sounds, whose syncopated dance rhythm has a comic quality in this context. The folk music content is not used to represent a dignified elite but the foolishness of the ignorant and small-minded, belittling those most associated with that music in the context of the opera.

Nondiegetic folkloric music appears briefly in Act II, measure 399 where a “milonga” rhythm accompanies Liborio’s lyrical melody, but Liborio never adopts such a rhythmic flavor in his own material. In fact, he is actually telling Pedro to leave the life of the payador behind in favor of the world of the hornero, and the folkloric reference is not to be associated with Liborio so much as with the lifestyle Pedro ultimately must abandon. The gauchesco material represents the payador character that Pedro rejects, but may also symbolize the outlaw ways of the matrero that he must sacrifice to be united with Pontezuela. The lyric duet between Pedro and Liborio begins with music that is relatively simple harmonically and may hint toward the folk topos, perhaps showing the gaucho link between the bloodlines of the two men. Here the matrero seems to completely reject his old life and accept the life of the hornero.

In measure 436, after Pedro and Liborio’s extensive dialog section, Liberato arrives, according to the piano-vocal score, on horseback. The music turns from the veristic arioso dialog section to a folkloric one reminiscent of the “media caña” or “valseado” style, clearly associating Liberato, the paisano, with the gauchesco and

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7 Boero, El matrero piano-vocal score, 117.
marking a break from the previous section. When Liborio then summons the peones to him, a variation on that theme appears marking their answer to their leader’s call (measures 472-482). The music returns to a more Italianate operatic, dry recitative style for Liborio’s speech with woodwinds offering timbral punctuations (measures 482-498). When the peones respond, the “valseado” reference in the strings returns (measures 499-503). The divisions between the two dialects articulate character types, the elite on the one hand and the lower classes on the other.

While Liborio and Pontezuela eschew strong associations with the most obvious instances of folkloric music, they also avoid musical references markedly outside of the stylistic mainstream of much of the piece. Various preludes and interludes evoke Impressionistic otherness such as the opening 11 measures of Act II, which abruptly moves from whole-tone scale material to more traditional tonality at the entrance of Liborio. As he begins to speak in measure 12 the orchestra modulates toward A major with dominant to submediant chordal progressions repeated several times. Liborio’s recitative elides with the “gato correntino,” but once again he does not take part in the singing, which occurs offstage. The piece is not integral to the action, but highlights the utopia that is Liborio’s ranch where the plains ring with peasant song. Impressionism returns in measure 35 but dissipates in measure 44 when Pedro enters with melodrama sparsely accompanied by the orchestra, transitioning into arioso dialog.

With these techniques Liborio, Pontezuela, and even Pedro are set off from the rest. The association of nondiegetic folkloric material with elite characters suggests a connection with gauchesco society, but one that is elevated from other members of the
group. Boero is thus able to separate the classes, while at the same time uniting characters under one community using the same network of topoi.

_The Middle Class and the Noble Gaucho_

The middle class cannot be said to be represented in any kind of direct way, but certain attributes are reflected in the deeds and attributes of various characters. Even the elite characters show some bourgeois qualities. Liborio’s focus on the virtues of hard work resonates with traditional middle class values. Pontezuela’s independent streak could be connected to the ideals of the liberal bourgeois.

The libretto’s _paisanos_ occupy an intermediate position in between Liborio and his _peones_. David Rock characterizes the idealized relationship of the Argentine middle class at the turn of the twentieth century with the landed class as “dependent” and “clientelist” in contrast to the more “aggressive entrepreneurial instincts” of their bourgeois counterparts in the US, Britain, and Germany. ⁸ Liborio’s treatment of the villagers seems to reflect such a vision. The _paisanos_ look to him for leadership in many matters—especially regarding the feared _matrero_—though they have a higher social status than the _peones_, not directly serving the landlord. Musically, however, they are little differentiated from the lower classes. They are instructed to engage in the same kind of diegetic music-making as fellow guests of Liborio during the “media caña” of Act I, for example.

More so than their correspondence to the _paisanos_ vis-à-vis economic status, the middle class may be symbolically present in Pedro’s desire for and access to social mobility. Leonardo Losada notes that a strong aspect of the elite’s view of themselves

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was the idea that they existed in a meritorious society open to worthy newcomers.  
While economic ambition may certainly reflect the aspirations of the upper or working classes, Pedro’s dependency on Liborio, and the landowner’s generosity toward his guest, could correspond to the idealized attitude of the middle class as “clientelist,” which are also values traditionally associated with the gaucho. In spite of his status as a fugitive, which would seem to preclude access to economic mobility, the *matrero*’s social status is based, to a large extent, on his own merit and choice. Liborio’s acquiescence to the request for his daughter’s hand in marriage places the decision of whether Pedro should continue outside the bounds of the community as a hunted outlaw or follow a path to social acceptance squarely in the newcomer’s hands. Admittedly, Liborio expresses doubt that his daughter will accept the advances of Pedro, but his openness to what seems an impudent request suggests a tendency to view class as a flexible, rather than rigid, structure. The workers and other villagers, by contrast, show no interest in social mobility and seem content with their economic statuses.

Pedro’s desire for acceptance by Pontezuela and Liborio, along with dramatic considerations, such as the fact that he is a major character, help explain why he does not adopt the diegetic musical practices of the *paisanos* and *peones*. Where one might assume Pedro would be given a distinct voice, one that corresponds strongly to a folkloric accent, he is not. He speaks the musical dialect of the upper class, partially removed from the gaucho laborers.

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Like Liborio and Pontezuela, Pedro’s music does contain folkloric reference. His aria, “Pontezuela mi vigüela,” provides an excellent opportunity to infuse the matrero’s speech with gaucho qualities. The cavatina simulates a guitar in the accompaniment and references it in the opening lyrics. The guitar is an instrument with strong affective power in the realm of the gauchesco.\textsuperscript{10} Sacchi points to the “estilo” as a folkloric reference.\textsuperscript{11} The musical inspiration is undoubtedly the gaucho, but the style is is much more sublimated than the diegetic moments.

The presentation of the aria as an aside, heard by no one except the audience, is somewhat ironic, since this moment could have presented an opportunity for the stranger to prove his identity by performing “live.” As it is the payador has no moment of diegetic music. Such a lacuna should probably have made Liborio even more suspicious that his guest was not what he claimed to be. Yet the “missing” diegetic moment also unites the stranger more with Liborio and Pontezuela than with the others. Both father and daughter are able to see the nobility in the matrero, Pontezuela in the wandering, romantic loner, Liborio in his strength and work ethic, but neither values the very element—folkloric singing—that the guest purports to bring. Such a characterization of the harmonious social relationships is a trope found in much gauchesco literature; Beatriz Sarlo’s discussion of Ricardo Güiraldes’s \textit{Don Segundo}


Sombra highlights the fictionalization of a homogenous society where the culture of the elites and their workers were not separated.  

It is significant that explicit quotation of folkloric genres appears in the mouths of the upper echelons of gaucho society when they are rejected, as in Pontezuela’s reference to the “media caña,” but not when the traditions they (figuratively) represent are missed or longed for. In “V’ia clavar” of Act II, measure 527 for example Pedro laments the loss of his guitar, which he will destroy to use to build a scarecrow for the farm where he and Pontezuela will live. Schwartz-Kates compares the piece to romanza with a folkloric vidalita, and Kuss traces it to a tune that she describes as popular in Tucumán. Yet, the gauchesco inspiration is so heavily sublimated that Sacchi, the scholar who has cited the most such references, does not note any. The folkloric accent has been deeply immersed into a dominant art music style. Nothing escapes the general texture of the piece and there is no indication that Boero intended this brief section to represent anything outside of the typical musical qualities of the work.

Folkloric music inspired much of the less explicitly gauchesco music, and it is significant that it does so in a deeply sublimated style. Symbolically this would declare the gaucho character of Liborio, Pedro, and Pontezuela but also highlight their distinction from the lower classes. It is ironic that while the payador represents several of the old values that Liborio upholds, he is ultimately rejected by members of the opera’s assembled elites. Granted, the two characters symbolize two versions of gaucho traditions. Pedro is willing to change to join the civilization of Liborio, while Liborio single-mindedly believes that to preserve the gaucho ways, he and his laborers

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must work hard and eliminate any threat to that agenda. The character of Liborio may be related to Rojas’s characterization of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento as a figure who does not realize that by eradicating “barbarism” he also will eliminate values he took for granted but which are integral to Argentine culture.13

Peones and Paisanos

The musical evocation of the lower classes occurs through the use of explicit, diegetic folk song and dance styles associated with the poor, rural gaucho. Further separating the social groups, Boero directly states that the non-diegetic speech of the ancillary figures (with the role of Panchita being the one exception) may be entirely spoken in rhythm rather than sung.14 This may be due to concerns about rehearsal time or to convey a more realistic portrayal of the drama, but it also contributes to a further distinction of the members of the population.

Each of the three acts features at least one moment of diegetic music. The “media caña” is the first such occurrence, uniting the paisanos and peones in joyful song and dance. The “gato correntino” in the second act is performed by peones in the fogón (fire pit area) according to the piano vocal score.15 For the “danza popular” in the third act (measures 67-98) the piano-vocal score indicates the performers are to be peones from a distant ranch.16

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14 Felipe Boero, El matrero, piano-vocal score, i.

15 Boero, El matrero, piano-vocal score, 64-66. The orchestral score does not mention the specific characters that perform.

16 Ibid., 135.
Perhaps one of the most appealing moments of folkloric music is absent in the play. The song embedded in the prelude of Act III (measures 23-34 and 114-123) is sung in a *criollo* variant of Guarani, a Native American language. The libretto notes that the villagers are singing on their way home after work, and they likely represent inhabitants either of the countryside or the village who are laborers on Liborio’s ranch. Like the Impressionistic elements of the prelude, the Guarani chorus has no effect on the action of the opera. The presence of these singers adds to the realism of the piece and further emphasizes the local color of the region’s setting in the province of Misiones or, more likely, Corrientes.

Later in the same prelude other representatives of the lower classes—peons on a distant ranch—perform a “danza popular,” which Sacchi identifies as the “polca correntina” and “chamamé.”\(^\text{17}\) They use only the guitar, an instrument clearly associated with a folkloric rather than art music context. In Boero’s time this folkloric repertory was underexplored and he may have learned the tune directly from Correntino musicians, explaining the generic title “danza popular” rather than something more specific.\(^\text{18}\) Guarani material returns at the end of the prelude, segueing into Liborio’s proposal for his daughter to marry Pedro.

The reception of *El matrero*, discussed in chapter 3, may give some further indication as to the relative value of gaucho and European musical cultures. Where commentators criticized the work it came mostly from the sense that there was a kind of cognitive dissonance between folkloric and art music related to the debate regarding

\(^{17}\) Sacchi, “*El matrero* de Felipe Boero,” 148.

\(^{18}\) Ibid.
whether the ideal sources of Argentine art should be urban or rural. Newspaper dailies hardly noted an inconsistency, but Mayorino Ferraría in the literary journal Nosotros stated that the presence of gaucho folklorisms within an opera should “provoke a smile,” that is, the incongruence risks turning the opera into something comical. Perhaps the criticism was due to the perception that Boero had failed to deftly handle the disparate materials, but it also may have been the combination of what were perceived as lowbrow and highbrow genres. There seems to have been a sense that the gaucho did not belong on the operatic stage. This was in spite of the fact that other, equally earthy characters had been long adopted in opera, including the cowboys, North American gauchos, of La fanciulla del West. Of course, Puccini was working with, for him, exoticist material, whereas Boero had adopted the quintessential national figure. The lack of a similar kind of criticism of Puccini’s work therefore suggests that the issue was related to national identity as well as aesthetic concerns.

The Excluded

If El matrero is to be understood as a model for the contemporary nation it is just as significant who it excludes as who it includes in that imagined society. Purposeful forgetting of people groups is common in nationalistic projects; gauchos themselves were evicted from the national history in Sarmiento’s time. Exclusion has played a significant role in at least one other Latin American opera with prescriptive possibilities.

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19 The avant-garde journal Martín Fierro also criticized nationalistic music for stylistic incongruities of folk and art music (Omar Corrado, Música y modernidad en Buenos Aires (1920-1940) (Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical Ediciones, 2010), 27).


for the nation. Enslaved Africans and mulatos have been major actors in Brazilian history and culture, but are notably absent in the origin story told in Carlos Gomes’s *Il Guarany*, discussed in chapter 5. The mulato is also completely missing from *El matrero*. Indeed, until only very recently individuals from African descent were totally absent from Argentine constructions of identity. Alejandro Solomianski criticizes Rojas’s *Eurindia* for that very exclusion and demonstrates its participation in a larger trend.\(^{22}\)

The characteristic of the gaucho as a mixture of white and Native American may be seen as a metaphysical inclusion of both. Boero goes beyond that by adopting a *criollo* Guarani chorus in the prelude of Act III, a more direct statement as to the place of the aborigine in Argentine history. Yet without a voice other than as a diegetic interloper the presence is relatively weak.

Given Boero’s own Italian family history (discussed in chapter 3) and the circumstances of the nation in the early twentieth century, the absence of the immigrant is particularly striking. None of the characters may be said to represent the influx of foreigners so often spoken of negatively in the literature of the Centenary. Only in the play’s character descriptions does a mention of immigrants appear, and here they are given as the reason Liborio disdains the uselessness of the *payador*: he fears that the shiftless nature of the gaucho betokens an “invasion” of non-Argentine workers.\(^{23}\) This concern matches that of the Centenary authors exactly, combining the nostalgia for the gaucho with the distrust of foreigners.


\(^{23}\) Yamandú Rodríguez, *El matrero* (Buenos Aires: Perrotti, 1931), 112.
The art music style so important to *El matrero* represents a centuries-long European tradition, which could be seen to represent the Italian, French, or German newcomers, but a foreigner alluded to in the style of Giacomo Puccini or Claude Debussy is likely not the same kind of immigrant causing the perceived problems of poverty and urban overcrowding identified in the time of the Centenary. The refined European characteristics evoked by arioso and Impressionistic mixtures of timbre differ greatly from the styles of music that might have presumably been associated with the immigrant who was often attacked as anarchistic or a threat to political, social, and economic stability. Art music, if it represents the Italian, French, and German foreigner may instead represent the imported aspects that Gálvez and Sarmiento before him noted as especially sought after: refinement, tradition, and civilization. The association with the upper class characters suggests that although “Argentine,” the privilege of being distinguished as part of the European tradition is reserved for a select few.

Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, has played an outsized role in the country’s economics and politics. In spite of this impact, the urban dweller is as excluded as the African or immigrant. Granted, the presence of inhabitants of a city would appear out of place in a rural setting, but the fact that a rural locale—likely somewhere in the province of Corrientes—was chosen as the site of the action is telling in and of itself in this narrative of national identity. The music reflects the location and cannot be said to indicate that the native urbanite played any role in the history of Argentina, in spite of the outsized influence of Buenos Aires.
Failure of the Original Vision

If the work is to be understood as prescriptive of contemporary society, the tragic ending presents a challenge. Boero had a preference for setting librettos with calamitous denouements, and series of misunderstandings leading to death have long histories as bases for opera. The unfortunate finale cannot be ascribed merely to the dictates of the genre, however, because the libretto was based on a play and in any case that would miss several potential connections to contemporary views of society. The tragic conclusion suggests fault; the upper class as the ones with the most agency would appear to bear some of the blame, but guilt, if it exists, is spread among all of the characters.

One possible understanding is to note the Eve/Pandora characteristics of Pontezuela; the seemingly innocent woman who brings about calamity as a result of her own apparently minor character flaws: gullibility for Eve, curiosity for Pandora, and stubbornness for Pontezuela. Perhaps it is Pedro’s failure to assert leadership over the “weaker sex.” Just as Adam is unable to withstand Eve's temptation to eat the fruit, so Pedro is unable to control Pontezuela’s passion for, ironically, himself. He may also play a role in his demise for having been a fugitive for many years before finally accepting Liborio’s authority and the “civilized” life. The lower class's irrational fear of Lucero also be the cause of his death, but they lack the ability and wherewithal until Liborio offers them his assistance. In a sense they are also responsible for failing to rise to the level which Liborio demands of them so that they may stand against the “invasion” of foreigners noted in the play as part of the landowner’s motivation for hating the “shiftless” gaucho represented by the matrero.
Mirroring the Centenary writers’ characterization of Sarmiento, if Liborio bears guilt it may be due to his overwhelming love for his gaucho people, which can only be preserved through civilization, a presumably noble cause. Unbeknownst to him of course, this passion is fated to usher in a wave of immigration, the very “invasion” he fears. In this respect he is as much a victim as Pedro; his love for his race helps bring about (in his mind) its downfall.

Implications for Argentine Nationalism

The use of explicit diegetic gauchesco music as a way of distinguishing the characters does not necessarily represent an inferior self-view on the part of Boero. The twentieth-century Argentine elite had as much claim to the domain of art music as their European counterparts, being descendants of the same tradition. The nationalistic agenda of *El matrero* may be seen to have dual aims: to (re)create a state of affairs that pertain to the nation and society and to showcase the creative activity of the nation to demonstrate its standing among its international peers.

Ludmer notes that until Lugones “modernized” gauchesco writing, the high, European, scientific tradition was viewed as incompatible with the low, creole, popular one, even mutually exclusive. The Occidentalist use of these styles to represent particular groups of individuals does more than clarify the social position of the inhabitants of the world of the opera, it articulates a vision concerning the relative value of the European, gaucho, and Native American heritages. While retaining each of these

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the opera appears to link the “greater” art with Western Europe and the “lesser” one with the material more directly coming from the New World. Such a strategy accomplishes the goals of Lugones, Rojas, and Gálvez of drawing on the gaucho to raise the level of national culture by uniting it with the European intellectual tradition, while articulating a hierarchical construction of society.

The Occidentalist-nationalism of the Centenary was not insular or isolationist but accepted the approval of outside groups. Boero did not achieve the kind of international recognition bestowed upon Lugones’s gauchesco criticism in the early 1910s. There is no indication that this was primarily what he sought, given the local subject matter and stylistic material of the piece. Kuss, citing Donald J. Grout, points to the challenges of transplanting nationalistic opera.\(^{26}\) Although the music featured similarities with the international Puccinian style, the text could hardly have made a more striking break from cosmopolitan expectations in the language of the opera. Spanish language opera had made progress within Argentina and around Latin America, but still remained something of a novelty at the Teatro Colón and was totally unheard of in most of Europe and Anglo America. Boero went beyond simply setting the vernacular, drawing frequently on an obscure dialect that required not only a strong commitment to its learning from the performers but almost certainly made the work more difficult to transport outside of the country. Boero also lacked the support of a strong advocate like Lugones who turned José Hernández, author of the Martín Fierro saga, into an admired figure.

Boero’s circumstances, of course, differed from those of Hernández. The poet wrote in an accessible style, which found immediate popular acceptance but suspicion from the literary elite for decades. Boero’s commercial success did not rise to the level that Hernández achieved, perhaps due to the difference in genre. Hernández’s medium was the printed word, which invites close study of text, whereas Boero’s staged musical drama was a genre where already difficult to comprehend lyrics—occurring on a stage with a full orchestra and potentially more than 2000 spectators—were made even more challenging through the dialect. Outside impresarios were no doubt hesitant to produce a work in an unfamiliar setting in a language that is at moments nearly unintelligible to Spanish speakers unversed in Argentine literary conceits or gaucho myths. The gauchesco movement had reached its climax with the rise of the Centenary generation and the output of literature devoted to gaucho themes diminished in the 1920s and 1930s. Boero’s work was thus at the late point in the movement, perhaps marking its artistic climax and subsequent waning of interest.

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A critical reading of how musical styles articulate the presence of classes in *El matrero* reveals a resonance with the social structure articulated in Krausist political philosophy, as well as the paternalism espoused by the Centenary writers. Nationalistic success was achieved partially through recognition at home, but remained incomplete, lacking approval from abroad. The disregard of the international community has largely continued to this day in spite of valiant scholarly efforts on the part of Kuss, Schwartz-Kates, and Sacchi. The artistic output of an entire era should not be dismissed because it drew on “inauthentic” materials or was influenced by a compositional style that would
fall out of academic fashion. *El matrero* is a fascinating conglomeration of diverse techniques and ideas that could not have been developed anywhere other than Argentina. To ignore the production of Boero and his contemporaries is to miss a rich artistic period.

The preceding reading of the opera in light of Argentine history and literature may risk casting aspersions on the nationalistic school of composition due to its hierarchical, paternalistic outlook, but, of course, art music in every country and century has at various times been created by those whose sympathies lie with elitist, exclusionary systems. As I discuss in chapter 2, it should be remembered that although authors such as Rock have connected the ideology of the Centenary to the murderous dictatorship of the 1970s and early 1980s, there were many ideological strands centered in the 1910s and 1920s that could have pushed the country in alternative directions had the political will both within the country and outside of it had been different.²⁷ No period is without blame and few pieces of art—elite or subaltern—can claim to be unblemished by contemporary biases. An honest reading of this and any opera should be open to examining ideologies that have since fallen out of fashion. To avoid a potentially critical reading of Argentine music for fear that that would undermine its appeal is to tacitly acknowledge its inferiority to works that can withstand such critical inquiry. The study of music has great potential to reveal ideas and modes of thought present in the society and individuals that created it, and such analysis can only deepen our understanding of and appreciation for a work of art.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

And with one strike of the instrument
He turned it to kindling

He said, “I break the guitar
so it will not return to playing,
no one will have it to play
you can be sure....”

—José Hernández

These dramatic lines begin the final stanzas of José Hernández’s epic, El gaucho Martín Fierro. The destruction of the gaucho’s most beloved instrument speaks to a sense of closure or loss. An irony in Hernández’s poem is that, in spite of the seeming finality of the destructive gesture, Fierro does “return to playing” with another epic, La vuelta de Martin Fierro. Indeed, El gaucho Martín Fierro represented part of the beginning of the powerful influence the gauchesco style would have on other arts, such as music. Thus, the smashing could be seen as a symbolic unleashing of poetic energy to Hernández’s fellow Argentines.

These two ways of seeing the guitar’s destruction—closure and release—may be recalled when considering El matrero and the silencing of Pedro’s own instrument, his voice. The death of Lucero could be read as a signal that Felipe Boero had broken his own symbolic guitar, turning away from the gaucho as source, as it seemed Hernández

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1 Y de un golpe al instrumento
lo hizo astillas contra el suelo,

“Ruempo, dijo, la guitarra,
Pa no volverla á tentar;
Ninguno la ha de tocar,
Por siguro tenganló....”

had done in *El gaucho Martín Fierro*. Indeed, the composer would never again set a piece of lyric theater in the gauchesco style in spite of his success with Yamandú Rodríguez’s play. Only one other opera, Constantino Gaito’s *La sangre de las guitarras* (the blood of the guitars, 1932) drew on gaucho elements. In concert with *El matrero*, these works may thus represent a kind of sublime finale to a short-lived operatic tradition. On the other hand, it also may represent a breaking open, a release of energy into a variety of genres, forms, and styles.

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The purpose of this project has been to examine the connections between *El matrero* and its society. Following the introduction, in chapter 2, I discuss different theories of nationalism, applying them to the circumstances of early twentieth-century Argentina. An engagement with sociopolitical developments of the period inform a close reading of the major thinkers of the Centenary, as well as Krausist philosophy, which had an impact on the years surrounding the composition and premiere of *El matrero*. In chapter 3 I discuss Boero’s life, which was devoted to the development of cultural institutions and the composition of nationalistic music, revealing an Occidentalist outlook. Analysis of his works in chapter 4 shows that he was an accomplished musician who could skillfully apply Impressionist and late Romantic techniques at will; he was sensitive to text setting and creatively mastered the musical use of gauchesco idioms. A close reading of the play and libretto in chapter 5 reveal connections with

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Krausism and the Centenary intellectuals. In chapter 6 I demonstrate that Boero had ample opportunity to experience some of the latest art music and likely interacted with folkloric musicians. In the penultimate chapter I offer an interpretation of *El matrero* from a critical perspective, drawing on my discussions in previous chapters.

Although *El matrero* and *La sangre de las guitarras* mark the end of the gauchesco operas, folklore would be adapted into new aesthetics. Composers such as Gilarido Gilardi (1889-1963) with the symphonic parody *Gaucho (con botas nuevas)*, Juan José Castro (1895-1968) with his *Corales criollos*, Carlos Guastavino (1912-2000) with his art songs and guitar and piano pieces, and Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983) with his early piano, dramatic, choral, and chamber works draw on gaucho-inspired, folkloric material with immensely appealing yet diverse results. These subsequent schools of composers stylistically moved away from what appeared to them to be outdated Romantic and Impressionist aesthetics, yet they benefited from the release of creative and institution-building energy symbolically transmitted in the smashing of Pedro’s proverbial guitar. Not only did they adopt aspects of the gauchesco in their works, many of the institutions Boero helped develop—from primary school music programs to adult choruses to professional associations—still exist to this day in one form or another, ensuring the endurance of a strong artistic community in spite of political and economic vicissitudes.

Much still needs to be explored regarding Boero’s musical heritage within the Argentine music tradition. Indeed, despite the efforts of Malena Kuss, Melanie Plesch, Omar Corrado, Esteban Sacchi, Bernardo Illari, Silvina Luz Mansilla, Deborah Schwartz-Kates, Juan María Veniard, Pola Suárez-Urtubey and many others to bring
the works of the early twentieth-century Argentine composers to light, the entire period of “nationalist” music deserves more attention and consideration. Future studies should continue to examine Occidentalisim to determine to what extent that phenomenon permeated artistic society, particularly in terms of compositional style and institutional development. Argentina went through many dramatic changes throughout the twentieth century and a tracing of the stylistic shifts in light of the political circumstances Boero and his contemporaries found themselves in would shed new light on the fascinating and complex relationship between art and society.

The difficulty in exploring the era lies partly in scant access to sources, particularly the operas of composers such as Arturo Berutti, Héctor Panizza (who conducted the premiere of El matrero), and Boero’s close contemporaries, Floro Ugarte, Constantino Gaito, Pascual de Rogatis, and Carlos Lopez Buchardo to name a few. Preservation is also a key concern as the paper upon which the works have been written continues to deteriorate. Thanks to the forethought of Kuss, microfilm exists of many of the operas at the United States Library of Congress, but as I observed from my own comparison of the 2010 digitized source with the 1974 microfilm, quite a bit can be missed without a full color, high-quality reproduction.

Sadly, Argentine compositions of the twentieth century are little known outside of the culture that produced them. Such a state of affairs is unfortunate, not only for the legacy of the artists that created these tremendous works, but for international audiences who have only the narrowest of understandings of Latin American music. Great as popular genres such as tango are, Argentine art music also deserves to be appreciated, not only within the country but outside of it, for its immense appeal. With a
better understanding of these works, it is my hope that a wider hearing will follow. I am optimistic that the critical edition of *El matrero* included here will make it possible to further explore Boero and the culture of the period.

In this study I have examined ideas in circulation in the times surrounding the creation of *El matrero* to better understand the various themes of the work. A discussion of the play and libretto provides further insight, as does a musical analysis of the composer’s other works and comparison with his other operas. The richness of Argentine culture and the ingenuity of its people produced world-class works of art in Boero’s time. As conceptual barriers are replaced with understanding, perhaps we will one day witness “La vuelta de Pedro Cruz” in the sense of a surge of well-deserved interest in *El matrero* and works of its period. The opera’s recent and periodic revivals in Argentina suggest something of the sort has already happened, but the “Llegada de Pedro Cruz” (arrival of Pedro Cruz) in the rest of the world has yet to occur. Perhaps with a fuller appreciation of aspects of the fascinating culture and rich musical tradition that produced it, that will not forever be true.
Appendix: Complete Musical Compositions from Chapter 4

“Pescadores de Morgat” (A.1)

“El Tajo” (A.2)

“Le rhapsode” (A.3)

“Eurydice et Orphée” (A.4)

“La media caña” (BOERO) (A.5)

“La media caña” (CHAZARRETA) (A.6)

“Ay, mi amor” (A.7)

“Vidalita de Montiel, ” (A.8)

“El escondido” (A.9)

“Himno a Sarmiento” (A.10)
“Pescadores de Morgat”¹ (A.1)

¹ Felipe Boero, *Visiones rápidas* (Buenos Aires: Lottermoser, no date), 16-20. Held by the Universidad Católica Argentina.
“El Tajo”\textsuperscript{2} (A.2)

\begin{verbatim}
Lento y apacible

PP breve lento

m.d. m.g.
rall.
p

sost.

\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{2} Felipe Boero, \textit{Toledo: El Tajo} (Buenos Aires: Ortelli Hnos, no date). Held by the Universidad Católica Argentina.
"Le rhapsode"³ (A.3)

Tu cheveu lare a l'air d'un bois couvert de givre.

Serais-tu quelque foi mendiant,

Quelque Dieu?

Modéré

Je ne suis qu'un Rhapsoode errant et mal heureux!
Je vais de Thèbe à la muraille consacrée.

Retour (dramatique)

où d'Œdipe sanglant on voit l'ombre éplorée.

Agité

Réveillant la vengeance implacable.

Cable des cieux!
...Et cette vision me remplit d'épouvante!

Aussi pour apaiser la Némésis Je

augmentez toujours

avec ampleur

chanter! Comme jadis Or

phénée, un hymne étin
cence

S.N.M. 36
Viens! Nous sacrifierons un petit agneau blanc!

El sans craindre Astarté ni ses rayons funèbres augmentes toujours

Je saurai conjurer les esprits des Ténèbres!
VI

Eurydice et Orphée

CHANT

Lentement (dramatique)

Lors qu'il vit Eu-ry-dice à ses pieds é-ten-

PIANO

Sa lè-vre mur-mu-ra cet-te pri-ère ar-den-te:

---

céndre aux En-fers! Quel-le lui fût ren-du-

Andante
et tel fût le pou-voir se-crет de l’har-mo-
ni-e, Qu’on vit tout s’em-bra-ser au feu de son gé-ni-e,

(Recit)
Que le sombre A-ché-ron s’ar-rê-ta dans son cour-
er

S.N.M. 36
ta les tigres et les ours!
Mais Pluton resta sourd aux accents de sa

lyre... Aux plaintes de sa voix qui tristement soupirait

Animez

En animant toujours

re, Sur cette morne plage où tout espoir est

Tranquille

vain!

S.N.M. 36
ron pour-tant re-tint sa bar-que sy-bil-li-ne Près du
bord,
et l'on vit, fur-
tive et cris-tal-li-ne, U-ne lar-me mouiller l'œil du pas-seur di-
un peu retenu

Au mouvement
vin!

S.N.M.36
"¡Ay, mi amor!"\(^5\) (A.5)

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Los que no saben querer me ven ir a consolar

me

los que no saben querer me ve

nen a consolar

Cielos, ay mi amor!
“La media caña” by Felipe Boero\(^6\) (A.6)

"La media caña" by Andrés Chazarreta⁷ (A.7)

“Vidalita de Montiel” (A.8)
“El Escondido”\(^8\) (A.9)


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Himno a Sarmiento (A.10)

Majestuoso

Canto

Piano

10

Canto

Piano

20

Canto

Piano

28

Canto

Piano
Bibliography


Boero, Felipe. “‘Ariana y Dionisio.’” Full score microfilm of the opera held by the Library of Congress, Washington DC, no date.


———. *Canciones y danzas argentinas*. Buenos Aires: Lottermoser, no date.


———. “Raquela.” Full score microfilm held by the Library of Congress, Washington DC, no date.


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PART II: CRITICAL EDITION OF EL MATRERO
Sources

Full Scores


Piano-Vocal Scores


Location: Donación Boero del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica “Carlos Vega” at the Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Contains edits in the hand of Boero. Call no. AMAA – DB – 14. PVUCA

Text
Rodríguez, Yamandú. Libretto de ‘El matrero.’ Buenos Aires: Perrotti, 1929. LIB

———. El matrero. Buenos Aires: Perrotti, 1931. PLAY
Source Description

Full Scores

There is one full orchestral score in the Teatro Colón archive (TC), which was not available for consultation at the time of this writing. It is an unsigned autograph manuscript with handwriting that matches Boero’s. It was the source for the premiere, but the same manuscript was used for later performances and emended numerous times between 1929 and the creation of microfilm in 1975 (TCM). Based on handwriting it is safe to presume Boero made some of these changes but not others. A very few emendations were made between the creation of the microfilm and the digitization of the manuscript in 2010 (TCD).

Measurements were not possible to take of TC, but the manuscript consists of 30 staves. Later insertions of less wide, shorter, 24 stave paper with the plate stamp “Marca ‘CLAVE’ N° 3724 Ind Arg” appear on 5 pages in Act I and 15 pages in Act III (see critical notes). The orchestral score is separated into three books, each corresponding to an act. Act I consists of 113 pages, Act II 121 pages, and Act III 118 pages.

Piano-Vocal Scores

The Museo Gauchesco, the location of PVRG, had suffered a flood during my visit in 2012 and remained closed until just recently. The score could not be consulted. PV is the first printed edition published in 1937. Dimensions are 32 centimeters by 24.5 centimeters with 181 pages. Schwartz-Kates notes the existence of a second edition by Perrotti in 1980 that incorporates changes for the 1948 performance. Rather than engrave the work once more, she states that the publisher inserted handwritten pages where the changes occurred. I was not able to find a copy of this edition to consult. The PVUCA edition is the same as PV but with written additions in Boero’s hand. Sacchi reports that according to Boero de Izeta, the changes to the PVUCA copy of the edition were made by Boero between 1948 and his death. Several of the changes correct errors in PV.


3 Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 122.
Text

In addition to the full score and piano-vocal score, the sources of the text include an edition of the play from 1931 (PLAY) and libretto from 1929 (LIB).\textsuperscript{4} PLAY’s measurements are 18cm by 10cm and it consists of 111 numbered pages. LIB’s measurements are 18cm by 12cm and it consists of 31 numbered pages.

\textsuperscript{4} Sacchi notes an edition of the play from 1923, but I was not able to find such an edition (Sacchi, “El matrero de Felipe Boero,” 123).
Editorial Principles

In assembling this edition my intention was to reconstruct the source used for the 1929 premiere, while also indicating probable emendations by the composer between 1929 and the date of his death in 1958. Most importantly, I wanted to make most editorial decisions as transparent as possible. The edition was realized primarily using TCD, which had the benefit of providing high-resolution, color images, but I omitted changes that were clearly not made by Boero (that is, those that took place between 1975 and 2010). For example, some pencil markings date from after the creation of the 1975 microfilm, such as an indication on page 101 seeming to mark the score for a 1988 concert. For purposes of consistency, I standardized instrument names (see table 8.1).

Table 8.1. Instruments with original names and names used in the Edition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES IN TC</th>
<th>EDITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Octavin</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flautas 1ª y 2ª</td>
<td>Flauta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboes 1º y 2º</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Inglés</td>
<td>Corno inglés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinetes 1º y 2º La (Si bemol)</td>
<td>Clarinete en la (Clar. la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fagotes 1º y 2º en Fa</td>
<td>Fagote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornos 1º y 3º en Fa Cornos 2º y 4º5</td>
<td>Corno 1, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trompeta 1ª y 2ª Trompeta 3, 4</td>
<td>Trompeta 1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombones 1º y 2º Timbales</td>
<td>Trombón 1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombones 3ª y Tuba Timbales</td>
<td>Trombón 3, Tuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbales Cymbalos</td>
<td>Timbales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triángulo G. Caja</td>
<td>Triángulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bombo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 “En Fa” is penciled in at the beginning of the score.
Edits to original black ink were made in red, dark gray, and blue pencil. Notes that were either added or crossed out in TCM are included, but with smaller noteheads. Where notes are crossed out and new ones added, the newer notes are included and the older, often unintelligible ones are excluded (see critical notes). Later emendations that cue instruments, highlight time changes, reiterate previous indications, indicate bowings, and cross out doublings are excluded as many of these appear to be in the hand of someone other than the composer, such as the various conductors of the work.

The primary source for transcribing the characters' spoken words was TC, but I note significant differences between the LIB and the text used in the Edition in the critical notes. PV was used primarily for clarification of text placement, spelling, and occasionally to verify notes. Acting directions follow TC, which are minimalist compared to LIB, which tends toward greater detail. I maintain the spellings of TCD and PV for the gaucho dialect, Spanish, and Guaraní. I also kept instrumental transpositions as notated except for the trumpets in Act III, which change to the key of C after having been in B-flat. I maintained the original language for performance indications (usually Italian), instruments (Spanish), and stage directions (usually Spanish). Rehearsal numbers are the same in both TC and PV. To keep consistency between the parts, when fermatas or accidentals appeared in one instrument I placed them in every part, which I note in the critical notes. I did not add dynamics and articulations to additional parts.
### Critical Notes

#### Act I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Note/Rest</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>Bass</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Triplets are marked in TC m. 8-9, but not 10-15. Matched triplets with other instruments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jacinta</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>“Ave Maria” written into TC to match PV. Present in LIB, but not until after Liberato’s second line. The lines appear later in the PLAY (p. 32) with “Ave Maria” spoken by Gerundia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Violins, Viola</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Pencil markings add slurs ending on downbeats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Flutes</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Added staccatos to match Cl and Picc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-35</td>
<td>SATB</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Laughter absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Liborio</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>“¡Pait!” Absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Cymbals</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>Crossed out in red colored pencil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Instrument(s)</td>
<td>Modifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>Liborio</td>
<td>TC lacks exclamation point. PV includes one; followed PV for grammatical sense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Rest 1</td>
<td>Clarinet, Bassoon, Cymbals, Jacinta</td>
<td>Fermatas in red pencil not included in the original or in PV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Rest 2</td>
<td>Flute, Oboe</td>
<td>Piano marking in blue pencil conflicts with forte marking in other instruments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Note 3, note 4</td>
<td>Trumpet 2</td>
<td>F-sharp crossed out and changed to A. G crossed out and changed to B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Notes 4, 5</td>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>Staccatos added to match Violin 1 and 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Notes 3, 4</td>
<td>Cello</td>
<td>Staccatos added to match Violin 1 and 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-46</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Trumpet 1, 2</td>
<td>TC measure crossed out; included as smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>TC notes crossed out in pencil;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure Range</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-51</td>
<td>Above strings</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Hairpin crescendo penciled in measures 49-50; decrescendo hairpin penciled in measure 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Rudecindo</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Zampayo has text “Tire” in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Above strings</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Accellerando marking in pencil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65, 67-74</td>
<td>Bass Drum</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC notes crossed out in blue pencil; included as smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67-69</td>
<td>Trumpets,</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC measures crossed out in gray pencil; included as smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trombones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Zampayo</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>No indication of Zampayo’s laughter in LIB, but direction for Pirincho to laugh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72-4</td>
<td>Trumpet 1, 3,</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC measures crossed out in gray pencil; included as smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trombones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Panchita, Zampayo</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in LIB missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Measure</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-115</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Insertion of five pages of 24-stave paper with the plate stamp “Marca ‘CLAVE’ Nº 3724 Ind Arg.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Zampayo</td>
<td>Beat 2</td>
<td>Three triplets do not match two syllables of text. First triplet extended to quarter note.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil; included with smaller noteheads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-124 note 1</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>Note 1 in each measure</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in TC gray pencil; included with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128-129</td>
<td>Zampayo</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text added in TC in blue pen matches PV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132-133</td>
<td>Zampayo</td>
<td>Notes 3-4, 1-3</td>
<td>“Un peludo” text in TC and PV; “una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page Range</td>
<td>Instrument(s)</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Note(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152-155</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Staves are switched with horns 1 and 2 on top staff and 3 and 4 on the bottom staff. It isn’t clear where the division goes back to normal. Edition maintains staff placement and does not switch instruments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192-195</td>
<td>Horn 2, 4</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Staff that was horn 2, 4 is changed to 3, 4 in TC. Edition leaves the staff placement as normal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197-198</td>
<td>Flute, Oboe</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>No staccatto markings in TC, but staccatto markings are found in other instruments. Edition includes markings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199, 237</td>
<td>SATB</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
<td>“Mirarse” in TC and PV; “mirarnos” in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Da capo marking in TC says to go back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to reh. 10 (beginning of Media caña, m. 136). No D.C. marking in PV. Edition writes out measures 136-166 as measures 200-230. TC says to go to “2da cosilla,” which to match PV would be the double bar at m. 199. After TC m. 230 (PV m. 203) PV repeats TC mm. 192-200 (PV mm. 165-173) for PV mm. 204-211. Edition includes PV mm. 204-211 (based on TC mm. 192-199) as mm. 231-238 to match PV and creates a coda that easily transitions to the next section. Performance indications marked “come prima” in edition.
notes and inserts a respelling of the same chord following the rhythm in the trumpets. The indication beforehand is spelled “TBONI!” in pencil. Edition adopts the changed rhythm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>256</th>
<th>Violin 2</th>
<th>Note 1</th>
<th>In TC to the right of the first note (E-sharp) there is a c written in lighter pencil along with a “do#.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>Trombones, Tuba</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>TC crosses out notes and inserts respelling in pencil. Edition uses the respelling. The rhythm of trombone 3, tuba is changed to match trombone 1, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Timbales</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC notes added in gray pencil; included in the Edition as small noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258, 260</td>
<td>Bass</td>
<td>TC scratches out notes in red pencil. Includes with small noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Cello, Bass</td>
<td>TC scratches out notes in gray and red pencil; included in Edition with small noteheads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Violin 1</td>
<td>“Sul ponticello” crossed out in gray pencil in TCD but not TCM; indication is included in Edition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275-6</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290-1</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>TC crosses out half note tied to eighth note and changes to eighth note in gray and blue pencil. Edition keeps emendation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Violin 2</td>
<td>TC crosses out E-sharp and writes G-sharp in gray pencil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Trumpet 1</td>
<td>Note 1 (lower)</td>
<td>TC crosses E-sharp (or natural) and writes in an illegible note with “sol#” to the right in gray pencil. Edition accepts the emendation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>English Horn</td>
<td>Notes 1, 2</td>
<td>TC writes “si” and “la#” over tied A-sharps in gray pencil. Edition uses emendations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-315</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in TC and PV does not appear in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309-311</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Aguará</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text “Ya es tarde” in LIB missing in PC and TC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Timbales</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>TC has a half note for the full measure, but edition changes this to whole note to fill the measure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>Trumpet 1, 2</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC crosses out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
notes in red pencil.

“Risas” marked in Liborio’s part in TC and PV likely relate to the other characters. “Risas contenidas” in PV. Absent in LIB and PLAY.

TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

Rising scalar sixteenth notes (same as Oboe) crossed out in TC and replaced with a B-natural half note in gray pencil.
notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

363-367 Trumpets, Trombone 1, 2

368-374 Brass

400 Bass Note 1

418 Pedro Notes 2-3

421 Pedro Note 3

429-31 Woodwinds All

429-31 Pedro All

notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition as small noteheads.

TC is missing dot to complete the measure. Edition adds a dot to match horns.

“Todo” in TC changed to “tuito” to match gauchesco lexicon in PV, LIB, and PLAY.

“Que” in PV and TC; “Y” in LIB.

TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition with smaller noteheads.

Ossia in PV included
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>432</td>
<td>All parts</td>
<td>All</td>
<td></td>
<td>All parts with the note “al no. 37” and a connecting pickup note in the violins. Edition includes the section apparently intended for removal, but not the connecting notes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>434-41</td>
<td>Woodwinds, Viola</td>
<td>All</td>
<td></td>
<td>TC crosses out notes in red and gray pencil; included in Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>443-44</td>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>All</td>
<td></td>
<td>TC crosses out notes in red and gray pencil; included in Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>455</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Notes 5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td>“La menta” in TC, PV; “las mentas” in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>478</td>
<td>All parts</td>
<td>Full measure</td>
<td></td>
<td>In TC all parts are crossed out in pencil with a note “al no. 52” but TCM does with smaller notehead in Edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Instrument(s)</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>481-483</td>
<td>Liborio and Zoilo</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Liborio has the text “Vea! Llegó pa’ rodar.” in measure 481, moved to 483 in PV and TC, which is the same in LIB and PLAY. TCD has Zoilo speaking the text but not TCM; edition follows TCM, LIB, PLAY and PV.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>482</td>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TCD crosses out notes in gray pencil but not TCM; edition follows TCM with smaller noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>494</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC has “Movendo poco” crossed out and replaced with Andante Mosso in pencil. Original retained in Edition in brackets.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505-7</td>
<td>Bassoon, Bass</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC crosses out and replaces illegible notes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Part(s)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>510</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC originally had too many beats, but makes emendations in blue pen; emendations are retained in the Edition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>511</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Notes 1 and 2</td>
<td>TC has sixteenth-dotted eighth rhythm reversed from the other instruments. Edition changes to a uniform rhythm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>521</td>
<td>Trombones, Tuba</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC crosses out notes in gray pencil; included in Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>526-7</td>
<td>Trombone 1, 2</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC crosses out notes in gray pencil doubling cello and bass and adds new ones; the emendation is retained in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532</td>
<td>Trombone 1, 2</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC crosses out notes with gray pencil; included in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Author/Instrument</td>
<td>Notes/Reference</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>549</td>
<td>Liborio Notes 1-2</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Güeno” absent in LIB; present in PV, TC.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551-555</td>
<td>Characters All</td>
<td></td>
<td>Text in TC and PV absent in LIB.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>564-571</td>
<td>Characters All</td>
<td></td>
<td>Text in TC and PV absent in LIB.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>568-69</td>
<td>Zampayo All</td>
<td></td>
<td>TC does not include rhythm for text; Edition uses rhythm in PV.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>573-81</td>
<td>Woodwinds All</td>
<td></td>
<td>TC crosses out notes in red pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>584</td>
<td>Viola Note 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edition adds B-flat missing in TC to match Violin 2 (and arpeggio in Violin 1).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590</td>
<td>All</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Concierto 1988” written in pencil in TCD (but not TCM) along with indications that imply a cut.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Act II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Note/Rest</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Piccolo, Flute</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC lists top staff as “Flute 1” instead of “Octavino” and 2nd staff as “flutes 2 and 3” instead of “Flutes.” Octavino returns later in the act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>Liborio</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in PV and TC (in pencil) absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Liborio</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in PV and TC absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48-50</td>
<td>Flutes, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC crosses out notes in gray pencil (and red pencil in measure 50 for Cl and Bn); included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48-60</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in PV, TC absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-53</td>
<td>Piccolo, Trumpets</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes added in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-53</td>
<td>English Horn, Clarinet, Bassoon</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Horn, Triangle, Harp, Cello included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

54-55 Oboe, Horns, Violin 2, Viola Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

54-55 Horns, Cell All Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

56 Clarinet, Bassoon, Violin 2, Bass Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

57 English Horn All Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

57 Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Timbales Notes added in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

58 Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon Notes crossed out in gray and red pencil
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Instrument(s)</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58-66</td>
<td>Violin 1</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray and red pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96-99</td>
<td>Triangle, Cymbal</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray and red pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Note crossed out in gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>English Horn, Clarinet</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Note crossed out in gray and red pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Moderato” crossed out of Mosso Moderato at the top of TC in gray pencil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-104</td>
<td>Cymbals</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in red and gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bassoon Note 1

Pedro Note 1

Woodwinds, Brass, Percussion

Cello, Bassoon All

Pedro All

Trombone 1, 2 All

Pedro All

Zoilo, Liborio All

noteheads.

G-natural half note replaced with eighth-note F-sharp.

TC has D crossed out and replaced with E to match PV.

Small notes crossed out in TC in gray and red pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Small notes crossed out in TC in gray and red pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Text in PV and TC absent in LIB.

Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

“Dijunto” in TC and PV absent in LIB.

Text does not accompany notes in TC; Edition follows
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>193-201</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text after “gaupetón” in TC and PV does not appear in LIB. LIB contains brief alternate dialog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Pontezuela</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>“¿Lo asusté?” not in TCM or LIB. Added in TCD to match PV and PLAY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>Notes 3-5</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Horn 2, 4</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>No change of key signature in TCM. Edition adds 5-flats to match PV and reduce accidentals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230-249</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in TC and PV absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Pontezuela</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Pontezuela sings text in TCM but speaks in PV. TCM includes written note “Recitado” in blue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Woodwinds, Timpani  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Viola  Notes 2-5  Notes added in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Violin 1, 2, Viola  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Viola, Cello, Bassoon  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Harp (treble only)  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

Cello, Bassoon  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; new Bassoon part written in gray pencil;
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Page Range</th>
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<tr>
<td>240-41</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243-46</td>
<td>Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Horns</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil and replaced in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>244-45</td>
<td>Viola, Cello</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil and replaced in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247-252</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Major alterations in TC in blue and gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads; emendations are included with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254-55</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out and replaced in gray pencil in TC;</td>
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<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>Note 2-3</td>
<td>Slurs added to match Violin 1, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296-97</td>
<td>Bassoon, Trombones, Cello</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297-98</td>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray and red pencil in TC. First beat replaced with eighth note instead of original half note; emendations included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>TC measure crossed out in red and gray pencil with Pedro's text inserted into m. 310. The Edition preserves measure 311 using smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311-361</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in PV and TC absent in LIB.</td>
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<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>Horn 1, 3</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes (doubling Hn 2, 4 an octave higher) crossed out and replaced with notes in gray pencil; emendations retained in the Edition using smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347-351</td>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in Violas, added in other strings in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition using smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351-356</td>
<td>Violin 1</td>
<td>All to 356 note 1</td>
<td>Emendations in gray pencil included in the Edition using smaller noteheads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>Violin 2</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emendations in gray pencil included in the Edition using smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>366-67</td>
<td>Cello</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in red and gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition using smaller noteheads.</td>
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<td>Violin 1</td>
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<td>Notes crossed out and replaced in gray</td>
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<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td>Violin 1, 2, Viola, Cello</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC, illegible and not included in the Edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424-425</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in PV, TC absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>434</td>
<td>Flutes, Oboe, Bassoon</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Illegible notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC and not included in the Edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>491</td>
<td>Liborio</td>
<td>Notes 4-6</td>
<td>“Salvaba” in TC and LIB; “sobraba” in PV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>492</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Instruments marked Forte-piano originally have piano crossed out in TC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-503</td>
<td>Los peones</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in PV, TC absent in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505-506</td>
<td>Zoilo</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Zoilo speaks the text in TC, PV; Margarito speaks it in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505-514</td>
<td>Liborio, Zoilo</td>
<td>PVUCA includes the following text (not included in the edition)</td>
<td>PVUCA includes the following text (not included in the edition)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Liborio: ¡Sí! Oye vayan todos!
Zoilo: ¿Y si llegara a resistirse, Don Liborio?
Liborio: ¡Tendrán que difuntianlo, entonces!” The text is absent in LIB and PLAY. It may clarify that the peones are responsible for killing Pedro.

545 Pedro

LIB includes text “Mientas busco el caballo” before “Háblale viejo…”

Act III

Trumpets written in C in TC; Edition retains writing for B-flat trumpets.

24 Un arriero

TC calls the singer “un arriero” (muleteer) but PV calls him “un paisano.” The section does not appear in PLAY. LIB does not reproduce
the text of the arreiro or the paisanos, but in the description of the setting at the beginning of the act it says that the songs of paisanos coming home in the evening are heard.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<td>24-35, 115-124</td>
<td>Arreiro, Tenors, Basses</td>
<td>All</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Text in PV, TC absent in LIB.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Violin 1, 2, Viola</td>
<td>Grace notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>68-97</td>
<td>PV titles the section “Danza popular.”</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>118-121</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>All</td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Notes 2-3</td>
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<td>Notes added in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller</td>
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<td>152-153</td>
<td>Trumpets</td>
<td>All</td>
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<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Flute, Oboe, Horns</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Trumpets</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Horn 2, 4</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>All</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
177  Trombones  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

178-79  Bassoon, Horn 2, 4, Trombones  All  Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

184-187  Horns  All  Notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

216-18  Bassoon, Horn 2, 4  All  Notes crossed out in TC in blue and red pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

222-25  Bassoon, Horns  All  Notes crossed out in TC in blue and gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.

228  Pedro  Notes 3-5  “Tocando” in LIB.

236-37  Trumpets  All  Notes crossed out in TC in blue and gray
<table>
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<th>Section</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>252</td>
<td>Bass</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Note crossed out in TC in gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<td>264-312</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Insertion of eleven pages of 24-stave paper with the plate stamp “Marca ‘CLAVE’ Nº 3724 Ind Arg.”</td>
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<td>264-276</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Text in TC absent in LIB and PV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>“Poco rit.” crossed out in gray pencil in TCD but not TCM; retained in Edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>“Sí” in LIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285-313</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Text in TC absent in LIB and PV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>LIB, PV have text “adios” instead of “mentira.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>English Horn</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil;</td>
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<td>Page</td>
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<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Horn 1, 3</td>
<td>Notes 3-5</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>336-7</td>
<td>Timbales</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Illegible notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil not included in the Edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>337-353</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Text in TC absent in PV and LIB.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338-352</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Insertion of four pages of 24-stave paper with the plate stamp “Marca ‘CLAVE’ N° 3724 Ind Arg.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>362-66</td>
<td>English Horn, Clarinet, Horn 1, 3, Trumpets</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>367-370</td>
<td>Trombones</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Illegible notes crossed out in gray</td>
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<tr>
<td>367-372</td>
<td>Trumpets</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in blue pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>Bass</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Triplets crossed out and replaced with quarter notes in TC; quarter notes retained in the Edition.</td>
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<td>377-8</td>
<td>Horn 1, 3</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<td>379-382</td>
<td>Trumpets, Trombones</td>
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<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<td>Page</td>
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<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>Violin 1</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Page damage in TC; notes illegible and not included in the Edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>392</td>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>Page damage in TC obscures original notes. New notes written in ink included in Edition.</td>
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<td>393</td>
<td>Clarinet, Bassoon</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<td>394</td>
<td>Clarinet, Bassoon</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
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<td>420</td>
<td>Triangle, Bass Drum</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>Eighth note originally in triangle moved to bass drum to connect tie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>420-421</td>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in TC in gray pencil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>421</td>
<td>Trumpets</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
<td>Notes shortened from quarter eighth to eighth; retained eighth in the edition to match the other notes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>446</td>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>Sixteenth note in first bassoons changed to a D-sharp to keep major third interval consistent through the measure and with other instruments.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>448</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
<td>Note 16</td>
<td>F in TC changed to F-sharp to continue chromatic scale; change retained in the Edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>466</td>
<td>Horn 1</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
<td>Quarter note changed to eighth in TC to fit measure retained in the Edition.</td>
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<td>472</td>
<td>Horn 4</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td>Half note changed to dotted half note in TC to fill the measure, retained in the Edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>473-75</td>
<td>Horn 1, 3</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<tr>
<td>475-78</td>
<td>Horn 2, 4, Trombones</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray and red pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
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<td>484-87</td>
<td>Violin 2, Viola</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Notes crossed out in gray pencil in TC; included in the Edition with smaller noteheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
¡A mi, no! Siento algo irreal...
¡Váca!

¿No ves que va...?
¿Se volverán tus yos?

¡Peró...

¡Créalo, créalo!

¿Vaño ha brá al guano que se sabe?

¡Contesta!

¡Retrúque!

Violín 1

Violín 2

Viola

Violoncelo

Contrabajo
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Trombón 3, Tuba
Timpani
Timbales
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Panchita
Jacinta
Zampayo
Liborio
Liberato
Braulio
Rudecindo
Aguará
León
Margarito
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo

¿Qué es esto, bribón? ¡Dará bola al oír eso! ¡Ja, ja, ja, ja, ja!
¡Ja, ja, ja, ja, ja!

Deciso
Moderato con grazia

Movendo
arco

pizz.
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Trombón 3, Tuba
Timpani
Timbales
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Sopranos
Contraltos
Tenores
Bajos
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo

Piú mosso a 2
soli
to
can
un-
"Ga-
to
com-
pás
Ca-
llá-
bo-
ca-
mar-
se
no-
más!

to
can
un-
"Ga-
to
com-
pás
Ca-
llá-
bo-
ca-
mar-
se
no-
más!

to
can
un-
"Ga-
to
com-
pás
Ca-
llá-
bo-
ca-
mar-
se
no-
más!

232
Piccolo
Flute
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón
Trombón 1, 2
Tuba
Timpani
Timbales
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Violín
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo

255

Maestoso

solo

(nullo colla bacchetta

Maestoso

Corda

356

356
¡Máu las!

¡Cáil la tar de, y áun ruido cual quiera - - - --- (breve) pa gan la españa!

¡Máu las!

¡Allégue se m'hi ¡No viene a prada?

¡Repriénda la, viejo!

¡Rit.-------- Tempo Moderato sul pont. arco Deciso arco pizz. pizz.
Piccolo  
Flauta  
Oboe  
Corno inglés  
Clar. si bemol  
Clar. la  
Fagot  
Corno  
Corno  1, 3  
Corno  2, 4  
Trompeta  
Trompeta  1, 2  
Trompeta  3, 4  
Trombón  
Trombón  1, 2  
Tuba  
Timpani  
Timbales  
Platillo  
Triángulo  
Bombo  
Celesta  
Arpas  
Pontezuela  
Zoilo  
Violín  
Violín  1  
Violín  2  
Viola  
Violoncelo  
Contrabajo  

**Ritenuto**

---

No bien en cerro mos a la terne - ra da oímos un rui paja. A avançó juia tuita pe rra. Esta gupai - ya tirópa' jue - ra. ¡A güai - te, le gri - to, moza! No me es - pe - ra. Es - - - divisi Ritenuto (ponticello) pizz. cresc. pizz. arco ¡Sa-li-le! 358
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Tuba
Timbales
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Liborio
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo

El toro a quel, lo mismo que el bando, peliba más que el biacho ca re ro a- arco 367

a 2
soli
a 2
soli
a 2
soli
a 2
soli

-tre ro que es ha ra
- - -
gán hasta te tener cria
- - -

(risas)
El toro a quel, lo mismo que el bando, peliba más que el biacho ca re ro a- arco 367

367

331
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglese
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Fagotto
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Trombón 3, Tuba
Timbales
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo

Rit.
Piú Moderato
a 2
sordina
a 2
sordina
a 2
sordina
a 2
sordina
a 2
sordina

¡Cada cruz, cada rosa, pare un horizonte y se han cenado miles de rosas!

Tuitos -y tan bien dijo el abad-
Que tie ne mie do de has llor te pe ro te viene al buc arco solo (sin sordina) espress.

soli

421
¡Grazias!

¡Abro! No importa quien sea. Aqui hay techo y mate. ¡Den tre! ¡Dios lo guarde!

Deciso

pizz.

Rit.----

arco

Moderato

tranquillo

pizz.

arco

pizz.
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Trombón
Tuba
Timbales
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Pedro
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo

472
40

Rit.---
Tempo
a 2
a 2

<>

no an
dan
tris
¡Me
meden
que uso
hu-
ña y
rit. poco
yo
campo
- - - -
lor!
Soy
como el
tré
lor que
per
ma á
quien
lo-
da-
- - -

Poco piú sostenuto ed. appassionato
arco
Rit.
arco
div.

383
383
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno
1, 3
Corno
2, 4
Trompeta
1, 2
Trompeta
3, 4
Trombón
1, 2
Trombón
3, Tuba
Platillo
Triángulo
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Poncetuela
Violín
1
Violín
2
Viola
Violoncelo

[Movendo poco]

a 2

[Movendo poco]
solo

arco

pizz.

385
¡Y yo camu- - -
¡Soy - - -
¡Y yo camu- - -
flor!
No más llí!
¿Qué pasó?

- (entrando)
  ¡Dos a esa puerta!
  ¡Es el bandito!
  ¡Sal!

Allegro 388
¡Vos, no cinches; que en el viaje. Sale e - - - se hombre y nos a - - - ta! - ¡A - - - Dios!

Va mos. - - (Lejos) ¡Lión! ¡Mon tá con cuiao! - ¡Que! ¡Matungo a lu - - - - 8ve 8ve 8ve 8ve 8ve 8ve 8ve
Liborio

Violín 1
Violín 2
Violoncello
Contrabajo
Piccolo

Flauta

Oboe

Corno inglés

Clar. si bemol

Clar. la

Fagot

Corno 1, 3

Corno 2, 4

Trompeta 1, 2

Trompeta 3, 4

Trombón 1, 2

Trombón 3, Tuba

Timbales

Platillo

Triángulo

Bombo

Celesta

Arpas

Liborio

Zoilo

Violin 1

Violín 2

Viola

Violoncelo

Contrabajo

581

Vivo

Lento

Andante espressivo (no lento)

Recit.

Dále mi cam.

(Salen Pedro y Zoilo)

¿A qué lavo busco el oveja?

- - -

(sottovoce a Zoilo)

Andate a dor

MIR.

Troto de recho al jaul.

¡¡Cruz diablo!!

- - -

solo

Lento

Andante espressivo (no lento)

pizz.

2 div.

pizz.

sordina espress.

solo

sin sordina

pizz.

- - -

solo

Lento

Andante espressivo (no lento)
¿Diga, no vi--do l'a--ti-je-ra--de es--qui-lar?--Yo la gu--arde aí... en el--sue-lo... ¡Y us--tém'hi zo an--dar tu--to el--di-a con si--ñue-lo.--¿A qué ho--ras l'í--ba gu--ar--arco arco arco pizz.
'-- ¿Sí?-- ¿Sí? --' "Si el cantor quiere cantar, yo lo salgo a acompañar, por poco que sea."

Pedro ponía la mano en la nuca y después de un momento de silencio dijo: "¿Dónde está el violín?"

"Si," replicó el maestro, "no se puede hacer ninguna sinfonía sin el violín."
Piccolo
Oboe
Flauta
Coro
Oboe estrado
Flauta
Tuba
Trombón
Posillón
Trompa
Timpani
Timbales
Zampayo
Liborio
Violín
Cello
Arco
Violonchelo
Contrabajo
Pedro
Zampayo
Liborio

Viole

¿El qué? ¡Es este! Arco pizz.

¿Y de qué la ya es?

Va pa'un mes larg

Yo lo vi de medio va

Calmo Rit.

¿Y de qué la ya es?

El qué?

na je den --

¿Qué?

Cáil balo?
¡Mesmo! ¡Yo en el sus...to a quel le vi de al...hom área! Di...en que es un mo...do, lam...piño, de ojos tran...qui...s, de flaco un anda...vel! arco pizz. arco pizz. pizz. pizz. pizz. arco pizz.
¿No o yo?
Pron
to es
ta-

¡Y és
ta-
No en --
tiendomás
canto.

¡Pa

---
an de
la
dure
za

---
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
¡Ponte—zuela, solo mes mo qu'hi go e— tu na de— co ra zón dul— ce y es— pinas por— ——
¿Quién la cambió? ¿Por qué den guño no pasa! Mi pequeña una uca-sión que dé va-ra, lo mismo que pichiön cálculo del niño en una noche he-la da-(via sordina) (via sordina) (via sordina) (via sordina)
Andante

Au-ра,
di-ga-me
vie-jo,
si al-gú-n
dí-
da-
a-
cho
-
llas!
A-
qui ha-
lla-
rí-a
pan,
in-
ten-
cio
-
nes
-
llas!
-
qui-
yen
-
no-
cas-
lle-
ga
-
que
-
qui-

Andante
pizz.
arco
pizz.
pizz.
arco
pizz.
pizz.
pizz.
div.
pizz.
pizz.
444

div.
444
¿Y si jue se por su hija que llega se? - - - -
¿Y a mi, Liborio, me la entregas? - - - -
¡No! - - - -
¡Yo conto todos los perros, le saldría aun! - - - -
¡No! - - - -
...
Un "triste" en las cuerdas.
¡No se enlaçan los violines con canciones! ¿Sabe tenuzar? ¡De ese...!

Moviendo pizz.

388

Una cautela
¡A piáte!
¿Andás de coña a toda?
¿Qué hay? ¿A piáte!
¡Güena!
Ven go de chas que. Hoy el gauchaje pi de una cuarta.
¡Ói do!

(Entran los peones con Zoilo)

Allegro

pizz.
arco

bacchetta
Piccolo
Flauta
Oboe
Corno inglés
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Fagot
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Trombón 3, Tuba
Timpani
Timbales
Platillo
Triangles
Bombo
Celesta
Arpas
Liborio
Violín 1
Violín 2
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo
¡Están más ai, en la man- - gue! ¿Y use no echa u - - - -
¡En sille - - - - los!
Rit. molto----
Lento
Rit. molto----
Lento
dim.
dim.

460
¡Que truje to do, y no me llevo na!
(Salen) -cirque uñís te á mi con-
Le vía de -cirque de mi om-

Pedro

Liborio

Violín 1

Violín 2

Viola

Violoncelo

Contrabajo

Celesta

Arpas

Bombo

Triangles

Platillo

Timbales

Timpani

Tuba

Trombón 1, 2

Trombón 3

Trompeta 1, 2

Trompeta 3, 4

Corno 1, 3

Corno 2, 4

Corno inglés

Clar. si bemol

Clar. la

Fagot

Ejero

Oboe

Piccolo

Flauta
ACT III

NOSY

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in E-flat

Clarinet in A

French Horn

Piccolo

1, 3 Oboe

2, 4 Oboe

1, 2 Clarinet

3, 4 Clarinet

1, 2 Violin

Tuba

Timpani

Timbales

Triangle

Glockenspiel

1, 2 Violin

3rd Violin

Viola

9 Violoncello

2nd Violoncello

Bass

Double Bass

Clarinets

Alto Horn

Alto Saxophone

Baritone Saxophone

Oboes

Flutes

Clarinet

Violins

Viola

Trombones

Tuba

Timpani

Timbales

Triangle

Glockenspiel

Guitars

Espress.

Pizz.

Arco

Pizz.

Arco

Espress.
¡No! ¡Qué no gue! va! — Mi - da ja pincha! -- lin cha. — lle no e' ba ro' vos, ven dra de - 5l - ga la! -- div. div arco 483
Piccolo
Oboe
Flute
Contraalto
Bajo Músculo
Armonía
Coro
Cuernos 1
Cuernos 2
Trompas 1
Trompas 2
Timbales
Trompeta
Tuba
Timbales
Glockenspiel
Guitarra
Poncheuela
Violín 1
Violín 2
Vihuela
Contrabajo
Yo no soy hem ra!
Cuando en el agua he salto al agua--halla un espejo--me lo que bro al correr la novilla--

485
Entra Pedro (a Pedro)
¡De güel va mi pala!
¡El güey no sa-brán capa quién la!
¡Es tribe!
¡Si pu-di-ra al zar me á mi!

Pedro

Violín 1

Violín 2

Viola

Violoncelo

Contrabajo

Timpani

Timbales

Platillo

Triangles

Bombo

Arpas

Ponetezuela

Pedro

Liborio

Violín 1

Violín 2

Viola

Violoncelo

Contrabajo

Timpani

Timbales

Platillo

Triangles

Bombo

Arpas

Ponetezuela

Pedro

Liborio
Y clavar un rancho a ti-pa-a lam-brar un tre-bo.-
- - - -

¡Un po-bre rancho an de ju-era-
-
siem-pre el pam-pe-ro, un es-ti-lo en ca-da-
- - - -

Andante (tutti)
(tutti)
(div.)
(tutti)
(div.)
(pizz.)

Pedro
Violín
Violín
Viola
Violoncelo
Contrabajo
Flauta
Clar. si bemol
Clar. la
Corno inglés
Fagot
Corno 1, 3
Corno 2, 4
Trompeta 1, 2
Trompeta 3, 4
Trombón 1, 2
Trombón
Tuba
Timpani
Timbales
Platillo
Triangles
Bombo
Arpas

Andante

soli
soli
soli
soli
soli
soli
soli
soli
¡Muestran...
¡Ah! ¡Si lo hiciese yo!

¡Ha! ¡i a mi o a ti!

Mosso

Rit.

Tempo Moderato

a 2

soli

a 2

soli

(Colla bacchetta)

(idem)

(Colpo colla bacchetta)

pe-cho-y-dió-flor!
¡Tata, yo no sé hablar te! ¡Pero vosís los suspisos cuan donde en entre el fuego y los - - - tiros, secha - - - rit. musicapal can - - -
}(Sordina)
div.
(Sordina)
(div.
(Pontezuela)}
¡Pedro! - ¡China! Te busco, te es pé rico! -- Tu frente es mi pavo!
¡To má mis ma manos! ¡Te quiero!

-- ran cho y me mella mó el en tre ve ro.

-- Y ven go á cáir en tu ran cho.

-- ¡En mi lay! So lo...

¡Ba li o!

¡E s te es su fa có n! ¡Ta a -- -

¡Es te es su fa có n! ¡Ta a -- -
¡Silencio!
--
¡Se ve!...
--
¡Viejo!

¿Y el Lucero?

Arco
Piccolo
Flute
Oboe
Clarinet
Clarinet B
Fagott

Corno 1
Corno 2
Trombone 1
Trombone 2
Tuba
Timbales

Glockenspiel
Horn

Viola

(sordina)
(sordina)

Pizz.

div. (Sordina)

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