

Jaime Mendoza-Nava and His Song Cycle *País de sombra*

by

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ABSTRACT

Jaime Mendoza-Nava (1925-2005) was an important Bolivian composer. In addition to writing music for the concert stage, he worked as a composer of film music in Los Angeles during the second half of the twentieth century. His life and work remain greatly unstudied, with the majority of his compositions existing only in manuscript form. The present study surveys the available biographical information on the composer and supplements it with new data collected through interviews with the composer's family. The information presented here focuses on the composer's American period as well as his personality traits. The study also examines the development of musical nationalism in Bolivia and other important aspects of Bolivian culture and society, thus creating a historical context through which key influences on the composer are identified. This historical and cultural information also contributes to an examination of Mendoza-Nava's song cycle *País de sombra* (1988). A close study of this work reveals Mendoza-Nava's sensitive setting of the poetry of Ricardo Jaimes Freyre (1868-1933) and his musical references to his Bolivian heritage. A recording of the song cycle by soprano Andrea Ramos and the current author and an edited copy of the musical score conclude the study.

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PREFACE

The need for a much stronger representation of Latin-American classical music on concert stages around the world has been perhaps overstated in academic circles during the past half-century or so. Nonetheless, only in recent years have international performers begun to pay more attention to Latin-American repertoire. This is not to say that performers alone bear the responsibility for the slow dissemination of Latin-American Classical music. Carolina Robertson and Gerard Béhague have noted “the general tendency in Europe and North America to view Latin America as a monolithic cultural area.”¹ This narrow perspective has resulted in “simplistic and reductionist generalizations of traditional musics of Latin America.”² Similarly, music by such composers as Piazzolla, Ginastera, or Villalobos has become part of the canon while diverting the focus from the richness of the Latin-American tradition. As Robertson and Béhague have also noted, only since the 1960s have Latin-American popular musical traditions been considered worthy of musicological research, which began to reveal its diversity.³ This lag in research has undoubtedly played a role in preventing Latin-American classical music from becoming more accessible internationally. The economic underdevelopment and social instability of the Latin-American regions have unfortunately also been significant factors.

¹ Grove Music Online, s.v. “Latin America,” by Carolina Robertson and Gerard Béhague, accessed October 5, 2019, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016072>.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

In particular, Bolivia's vast and complex culture has remained largely unknown, often overlooked and/or misunderstood. Its classical music also remains mostly unknown to international audiences and out of reach for many performers. There are only a few notable studies of Bolivian classical repertoire, which include Susan Cohen's "The Twenty Piano 'Cuecas' of Simeon Roncal";⁴ Javier Pinell's "Four Contemporary Compositions for the Violin by Bolivian Composers with an Introduction to Folk-Related Influences";⁵ Naomi Gjevre's "Three Strings Quartets by Contemporary Bolivian Composers";⁶ and, most recently, Allison Stanford's "Nicolás Suárez Eyzaguirre and his 'Monólogos del Desierto': A Brief Biography and a Performance Guide for Singers."⁷

The present study focuses on Jaime Mendoza-Nava (1925-2005), who is undoubtedly one of the most important composers in Bolivian history. As the first comprehensive study on this composer, it is only an initial foray into the significant research that could be done on his life and work. The study first establishes a historical context by examining key aspects of Bolivian society and the Bolivian nationalistic movement that unfolded parallel to the composer's formative years. The biographical information that follows was collected from a small number of secondary sources that document the composer's career as well as interviews with family members conducted by

⁴ Susan Joyce Cohen, "The Twenty Piano 'Cuecas' of Simeon Roncal" (D.M.A. diss., University of Miami, 1981).

⁵ Javier A. Pinell, "Four Contemporary Compositions for the Violin by Bolivian Composers with an Introduction to Folk-Related Influences" (D.M. treatise, The Florida State University, 1999).

⁶ Naomi K. Gjevre, "Three String Quartets by Contemporary Bolivian Composers" (D.M. treatise, The Florida State University, 2002).

⁷ Allison Stanford, "Nicolás Suárez Eyzaguirre and His 'Monólogos Del Desierto': A Brief Biography and a Performance Guide for Singers" (D.M.A. research paper, Arizona State University, 2015).

the present author in February and March of 2017. Initial interviews were with three of the composer's children in person in Los Angeles and then supplemented with a telephone interview with his wife and further communication with the composer's oldest son. An additional interview with Bolivian conductor Ramiro Soriano led to subsequent interviews with the composer's extended family in Bolivia, which were conducted remotely. The information gathered in these interviews allows for a descriptive portrait of the composer and opens a window into the prominent role he played in American society as an independent composer of film music. The final section of the document offers a detailed discussion of Mendoza-Nava's song cycle *País de sombra* (1988), also focusing on the poetry by Ricardo Jaimes Freyre. This close reading sets the stage for further discussion of Mendoza-Nava's compositional style. The manuscript of this song cycle was found in the Mendoza family's private collection together with several other unpublished musical scores. This cycle was selected for study based on the present author's area of specialty, Collaborative Piano, and for its original and nationalistic characteristics, after a careful comparison with other pieces from the family's collection.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

La Paz's Society in the Early Twentieth Century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Bolivian society was segregated into three distinct social classes: the *criollos*, who were of pure Spanish blood but born in the New Continent, the *mestizos* of mixed blood, and the *indios* or the indigenous population native to the land. Still under a neocolonial structure that followed the country's independence in 1825, the colonial-era bias against the indigenous peoples was actively reinforced by politically motivated campaigns. Nonetheless, despite the strong racial discrimination, Bolivian musicians and other artists recognized and rescued the enormous cultural wealth of the indigenous cultures. By doing so, they aligned with populist and cultural nationalistic movements that were occurring around the world, anticipating the ideas that drove the 1952 Revolution, which overturned Bolivia's oligarchic rule.

The *criollo* elites' perspective on the nation was reflected in *Bolivia en el primer centenario de su independencia* (Bolivia in the First Centenary of Its Independence), an encyclopedic volume published in 1925 on the occasion of the country's hundredth anniversary, and a part of the government's strategy to build the nation's image internationally and attract foreign investment.¹ As Eugenia Bridikhina explains, this official publication depicted a "modern and civilized" Bolivia with a glorified Incan

¹ *Bolivia en el primer centenario de su independencia*, ed. J. Ricardo Alarcón (La Paz, Bolivia: The University Society, 1925), quoted in Eugenia Bridikhina, "Bolivia en 1925: En busca de una imagen," *La Razón*, December 12, 2012, http://www.la-razon.com/suplementos/tendencias/Bolivia-busca-imagen_0_1549045169.html.

past.² However, despite listing some Bolivian composers in a biographical dictionary as contributors to the national music,³ it excluded all representations of the indigenous and *mestizo* groups and their cultural practices, which were strongly present at the time of its writing.⁴ The excluded groups were barely acknowledged in the introduction of the book, which stated that “Bolivia has the urgent problem, as part of its political life, of educating the autochthon people. There is but one dilemma in the face of reality: either implacably eliminate the indigenous races and situate, in their place, others of Caucasian tint, or educate them and incorporate them into the civilization affectuously.”⁵

The book revealed the conflicted relation between white and indigenous inhabitants, which, having persisted from colonial times, was exacerbated during the neocolonial regime that followed the country’s independence. Xavier Albó describes that, after the foundation of Bolivia, “the [colonial] asymmetries and systems of exploitation became even more evident.”⁶ This author explains that, for the Spanish crown, “different forms of taxation—primarily the forced labor draft known as the *mita*⁷—legitimized the

² Ibid.

³ Beatriz Rossells, *Caymari vida: la emergencia de la música popular en Charcas* (Sucre, Bolivia: Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación, 1996), 78-80.

⁴ Bridikhina, “Bolivia en 1925.”

⁵ “Bolivia tiene como problema urgente de la vida política el de la educación de los autóctonos. No hay sino un dilema frente a la realidad: o se eliminan las razas indígenas implacablemente, para situar en su lugar otras de tinte caucásico, o se las educa e incorpora dentro de la civilización, afectuosamente.” Quoted in Bridikhina, “Bolivia en 1925.” Translation by current author.

⁶ Xavier Albó, “The Long Memory of Ethnicity and Some Temporary Oscillations, in *Unresolved Tensions: Bolivia Past and Present*, eds. John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead (Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 13-34.

⁷ “Meaning ‘turn’ in Quechua, the word *mita* designated, in the Inca Empire, a system of temporary labor imposed upon the indigenous communities. It applied to rotating or intermittent work

persistence of indigenous peoples [...], each with their own culture, organization, and territory.”⁸ In contrast, after independence,

...with the recovery of silver mining, the new state no longer required the indigenous system of taxation [...]. Community lands were increasingly acquired to feed the expanding hacienda system of agricultural estates, with former *comuneros* (members of indigenous landholding communities) being transformed into peons. A century after independence, the surface area belonging to communities and kinship groups (known as *ayllus*) had shrunk to less than half its previous dimensions, provoking endless rebellions among these communities that were met in turn by repression and even massacres by the army.⁹

The physical repression of the *indio* was accompanied by the denigration of his persona and cultural expressions. A classic example is the dissemination of the stereotype of the “backward and bloodthirsty” *indio*, which had been revived in the aftermath of the 1899 Civil War.¹⁰ During this Civil War, the elite based in La Paz, represented by the Liberal Party, had allied with the *indios* to seize power from the Conservative elite establishment in Sucre, the capital of the nation. As a result of their defeat, the Conservatives tried to discredit the Liberals while attacking the *indios*, describing them as inherently violent. This posture was then also adopted by the Liberals, who sought to

performed for the public interest, such as the construction of ways and fortresses [...], and the exploitation of gold and silver mines.” “From 1552 onward, the *Recopilación* laws justified the *mita* as a compulsory work service that would benefit the Spanish colonist, who had experienced a decline in workers in the mining industry.” *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450*, s.v. “Mita,” by Cristina Blanco Sío-López, accessed October 1, 2019, <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/apps/doc/CX2587300289/GVRL?u=asuniv&sid=GVRL&xid=18956f32>.

⁸ Albó, “Long Memory of Ethnicity,” 13-34.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰ E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, “Acting Inca: The Parameters of National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2010): 248-261.

cleanse their image while they established the city of La Paz as the new economic and political center.¹¹

The stereotype of the violent *indio* had originated in insurrections against the colonial Spanish reign. During the most famous rebellion of 1781, indigenous leader Túpac Katari “raised an army of 40,000 and surrounded and laid siege to the city of La Paz for 184 days.”¹² The rebellion caused serious woes to the city’s elite population until Katari was captured and executed by being torn into pieces while still alive.¹³ The bloody episode remained in the collective memory of the population, not only fueling the elites’ fear of the possibility of being obliterated by the *indios*, but also giving the indigenous class, who considered Katari a hero, the hope for being vindicated.¹⁴

Albó states that the *criollos*’ fear biased their perception of the artistic movement *indigenismo* that was emerging in Latin America at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁵ *Indigenismo* was seen by the *criollos* as a confirmation of the “primitivism” of the *indios* and “even a dangerous sort of deviation that could end up in racism.”¹⁶

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Ethnic Groups of the Americas: An Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Aymaras,” by James B. Minahan (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2013).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Albó, “Long Memory of Ethnicity,” 24.

¹⁶ Ibid.

However, in reality, it represented and underlined the marginalized and exploited condition of the indigenous peoples.¹⁷

The biased mentality against the *indios* was also reinforced by the social-Darwinist theory, which had become popular in Bolivia since the late nineteenth century. As Beatriz Rossells has documented, institutions and intellectuals, most significantly the *Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz* (Geographic Society of La Paz), founded in 1889, circulated social-Darwinist principles even in characterizations of indigenous music, which they described as monotonous and void of expression and creativity, to say the least.¹⁸ About the “national airs,” as *mestizo* salon music came to be known, they also expressed a deep disgust, associating them entirely with the lower classes of *cholos* and *indios*.¹⁹

E. Gabrielle Kuenzli explains that, in the absence of inclusive discourses, “such as *mestizaje* or the promotion of a racial democracy,” the La Paz elites came to terms with Bolivia’s indigenous nature by promoting a “carefully crafted Inca image, phenotypically whiter and more ‘civilized,’ [which] would imbue Bolivia with a promising and emblematic past that defined national identity and cast Bolivia’s majority indigenous population in a progressive light.”²⁰ This “civilized Inca” image, which was also diffused

¹⁷ *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Latin American and Caribbean Literature: 1900-2003*, eds. Daniel Balderston and Mike Gonzalez (London: Routledge, 2004), s.v. “Indigenismo.”

¹⁸ Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 89-95.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Kuenzli, “Acting Inca,” 248.

by the *Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz*, sought to demote rather than promote the indigenous peoples.²¹

Often appropriated even by the lower classes for political reasons or to denote prestige, the “civilized Inca” image had originated in portrayals of the Incas as “white, Christian, and civilized” that dated back to colonial times.²² The image was also drawn from the romanticization of the Incan culture that had begun in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Authors such as Charles La Condamine and Voltaire had maintained that the Incan civilization was representative of the ideas of the Enlightenment, even prompting the composition of many works with Incan themes. A famous example is the ballet *Les Indes galantes* composed by Jean-Philippe Rameau on a libretto by Luois Fuzelier, which premiered at the Royal Academy of Music in Paris, in August 1735.²³

According to Fernando Ríos, the distorted image of the Incas was also spread by Peruvian *indigenismo* (together with the incorrect notion that Andean/Incan music employs only pentatonic scales) at the same time it was being promoted in La Paz at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁴ The ideological affinity between Peruvian *indigenismo* and the Bolivian elites came into evidence during a visit by Peruvian musician Alomías Robles to the city of La Paz in 1915. Rossells describes that Robles

²¹ Ibid., 248-261.

²² Ibid.,261-266.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Fernando Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz, Bolivian Nationalism, and the Early History of Cosmopolitan Andean Music: 1936-1970” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2005), 30-31.

was touring South America with the purpose of promoting Incan music.²⁵ Robles and his orchestra offered a program that included his own transcriptions of indigenous music, parts of his opera *Illa Cari*, which he had just premiered in New York, and the Bolivian *yaraví Manchaypuito*.²⁶ Regarding the visit, a press article noted:

The flattering reminiscence of Incan and national autochthonous music awakened an enthusiasm for the cultivation of this music, as it is seen among the best facets of our society. The music's sweet melancholy inspired us to love the grandiose past of our antecessors, which we should get to know to be able to pass it on to future generations with the most sacred pride. We should make known what an austere and moral civilization they achieved before the conquest, which brought only oppression, vice, and perversity.²⁷

During an official ceremony after the concert, Robles was also recognized with a medal in gratitude for having vindicated autochthonous music.²⁸

For Rossells, one of the reasons that Robles's performance caused such positive reaction was that he came to Bolivia from abroad.²⁹ The same point of view was expressed by Alfredo Jáuregui Rosquellas, a prominent figure in the Bolivian capital Sucre, after a similar warm welcoming that was extended to Argentinian pianist Héctor Ruiz Díaz and his ideas of revalorization of Latin-American folklore. Jáuregui Rosquellas

²⁵ Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 96.

²⁶ Ibid. The traditional genre *yaraví* is discussed in Chapter 3, Brumas, page 89.

²⁷ "La reminiscencia halagadora de la música incaica y autóctona nacional (consiguió) despertar un entusiasmo apreciable entre los mejores elementos de nuestra sociedad por el cultivo de esta música, cuya dulce melancolía nos enseña a amar el pasado grandioso de nuestros antecesores del que debemos compenetrarnos para transmitir a las posteriores generaciones con un orgullo el más sagrado para hacer conocer la civilización austera y moral que ellos alcanzaron antes de la conquista que solo nos trajo opresión, vicios y perversidades." *La Semana*, February 21, 1915, quoted in Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 96. Translation by current author.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 96-97.

exhorted his compatriots to get rid of their “ridiculous prejudice,” which “has provoked admiration towards anything that is foreign and disdain towards anything that is homegrown.”³⁰ Although visits such as Robles’s and Ruíz Díaz’s may have aligned with the elites’ efforts to romanticize the past, Rossells states that they also influenced their mentality toward being more accepting of the local cultures.³¹

Despite blatant denial and discrimination, Bolivia’s indigenous face was a highly visible reality that was worlds apart from that of the *criollo* elites. As María Eugenia Soux describes, the glaring discrepancy was seen in how La Paz was divided into white and indigenous neighborhoods, with some indigenous neighborhoods having turned increasingly *mestizo* since the late nineteenth century.³² The *mestizo* sector had grown more rapidly on account of the city’s modernization that bolstered small businesses and trade and increased the need for a workforce. This growth was reflected in the ciphers of two censuses. In 1877, La Paz had seventy-thousand inhabitants, nineteen percent of whom were indigenous and forty-two percent *mestizo*.³³ By 1900, La Paz’s indigenous/*mestizo* majority was well above the national average, comprising seventy-six percent of the population.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² María Eugenia Soux, “Música e identidad: la ciudad de La Paz durante el siglo XIX,” in *La música en Bolivia: de la prehistoria a la actualidad* (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Fundación Simón I. Patiño, 2002), 249-262; María Eugenia Soux, “Música de tradición oral en La Paz: 1845-1885,” *Data. Revista del Instituto de Estudios Andinos y Amazónicos*, no. 7 (1997): 219-220, 225-245.

³³ Soux, “Música de tradición oral,” 219-220, 225-245.

³⁴ Kuenzli, “Acting Inca,” 250.

The city's segregation, however, was infringed upon during important Catholic holidays such as Carnival and Corpus Christi, at which time the indigenous inhabitants "invaded" white neighborhoods with their native dances.³⁵ For the indigenous population, music and dance were an ancient tradition that solemnized their feasts.³⁶ The indigenous celebrations had persisted with support from the Catholic Church, which fomented the syncretism of European and Andean traditions in its efforts for evangelization.³⁷ George Squier, who between 1863 and 1865 conducted archaeological expeditions in different communities along the border between Bolivia and Peru, attested that the "savage rituals of the Aymaras had only changed names, and that the feasts that they had witnessed were in essence a detailed repetition of the ceremonies and sightings previous to the Discovery."³⁸ Into the twentieth century, the indigenous celebrations remained in full force, in spite of constant complaints from the elitist groups, who accused the indigenous dances of violating the orderly progress that La Paz's society strived for, asking for their extirpation or, at the least, their relegation to the rural environment.³⁹

Other exclusively-*mestizo* feasts had also outlasted the nineteenth century in the form of patronal devotions, which were celebrated throughout the year according to the

³⁵ Soux, "Música de tradición oral," 219-229.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "...los ritos salvajes de los aymaras solo habían cambiado de nombre y que el festival que habíamos presenciado era en sustancia una repetición detallada de las ceremonias y observancias anteriores al Descubrimiento." George Squier, *Un viaje por tierras incaicas: crónica de una expedición arqueológica (1863-1865)* (La Paz, Bolivia: Los Amigos del Libro, 1974), 164-165, quoted in Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 55-56. Translation by current author.

³⁹ Soux, "Música de tradición oral," 219-229.

mestizos' different trades. In Soux's account, the *mestizo* inhabitants would go out into the streets with elaborate dances and costumes that were very different from those of the indigenous. *Mestizos*, for instance, preferred string ensembles with instruments such as guitars, bandurrias, and violins, over the wooden flutes, such as *zampoñas* (panpipes) or *quenás* (end-notched flutes), that characterized indigenous ensembles.⁴⁰ According to Ríos, *mestizos* sought to "distance themselves culturally from the indigenous people" and display their economic advantage with musical groups that were more expensive to assemble.⁴¹ For this same reason, *mestizos* also came to favor large brass bands during the 1930s and 1940s.⁴² These *mestizo* dances, as Gerard Béhague explains, had originated from catechetical theatre, becoming "true rituals, as cycles of syncretic religious feasts."⁴³ An example of a *mestizo* devotional is the *Fiesta del Señor del Gran Poder* (Feast of Our Father of the Great Power). This devotional was established in the early 1920s by workers from the Rodrigues Market in La Paz, most of whom were residents of the working-class neighborhood *Ch'ijini*. Ríos states that "music-dance troupes, especially the *morenada* and the *diablada* (devil's dance), quickly became central traditions in these annual events."⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Fernando Ríos, "Bolero Trios, Mestizo Panpipe Ensembles, and Bolivia's 1952 Revolution: Urban La Paz Musicians and the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement," *Ethnomusicology* 54, no. 2 (2010): 288.

⁴² Ibid., 287-290.

⁴³ Grove Music Online, s.v. "Latin America," by Carolina Robertson and Gerard Béhague, accessed March 25, 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016072>.

⁴⁴ Ríos, "Music in Urban La Paz," 34.

Criollo-Mestizo Music

Besides the wide array of *mestizo* dances that originated from religious feasts, the *mestizos* also cultivated salon genres that emerged as hybrid adaptations of European and indigenous traditions. Soux states that these “dances/songs took over the salons of the bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century, becoming pieces de rigueur in the pianistic repertoire of *señoritas* (young ladies of the upper classes) and being also interpreted on the guitar and by a wide variety of instrumental groups.”⁴⁵

Denominated *criollo-mestizo*, this type of salon music was present in *criollo* circles, although, as described by Jenny Cárdenas, *criollos* were its “clandestine lovers.”⁴⁶ Rossells also mentions the “double standard” of the elites who stigmatized but still performed *criollo-mestizo* music, usually at the end of parties, in the wee hours of the night, and after having consumed a considerable amount of alcohol.⁴⁷ Wanting to partake in the fun, *criollos* would also secretly venture to *chicherías* and attend the feasts of the popular classes in disguise.⁴⁸

Criollo-mestizo genres, also known as *aires nacionales* (national airs), were widely diffused by military bands through free outdoor performances called *retretas*, a

⁴⁵ Soux, “Música de tradición oral,” 225.

⁴⁶ Jenny Cárdenas, “La música criollo-mestiza de Bolivia: música en la colonia y en la república,” *Data. Revista del Instituto de Estudios Andinos y Amazónicos*, no. 7 (1997): 256.

⁴⁷ Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 55-76. See also Soux, “Música de tradición oral,” 219-245.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* *Chichería* is a tavern where *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage made from corn, is sold.

tradition from Spain that became entrenched in Bolivian society during colonial times.⁴⁹ Since 1862, these informal concerts and societal rendezvous “took place on a regular basis on Thursdays, Sundays, and holidays at the centrally-located *El Prado* boulevard of La Paz, a part of the city that was legally off-limits to indigenous peoples.”⁵⁰ The programs that were offered usually included waltzes, polkas, marches, Cuban habaneras, Spanish pasodobles, and Italian cavatinas. *Mestizo-criollo* music was introduced since 1880, but only after the conclusion of the official performance, and it acquired a significant presence after 1907.⁵¹

An important factor that allowed for the inclusion of local genres in *retretas* was that military musicians, who were predominantly *mestizo*, had grown very used to engaging in celebrations and ceremonies of the ordinary people due to the scarcity of musicians in the city. They even continued to perform in non-official events, despite an ordinance issued by President Gregorio Pacheco in 1896, which prohibited them to do so under the excuse of the need to elevate the musical level of the military bands.⁵² In addition, military bands were central to the establishment of the so-called “national airs” because they traveled around the country alongside army troops. Their mobility allowed them to consolidated stronger links among the different Bolivian regions, for instance,

⁴⁹ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 25.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Cárdenas, “Música criollo-mestiza,” 254.

⁵² Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 109.

with the first performances of the *carnaval cruceño* in La Paz in 1913. By 1925, this traditional genre from eastern Bolivia became standard in their repertoire.⁵³

Among the *mestizo-criollo* genres, *bailecitos*, *cuecas*, *yaravís*, *huayños*, and *kaluyos* were the most popular in La Paz since the mid-nineteenth century;⁵⁴ nonetheless, these genres had been present in Bolivian territory since independence and even before. For instance, Cárdenas considers that the origin of the *cueca*, the Bolivian national dance, could be connected to the Latin-American Wars of Independence because of its existence in different variants in Chile, Peru, and Argentina. Rigoberto Paredes, conversely, states that the *cueca* was well liked by the aristocracy during colonial times and the first years of the republic but was later relegated to popular sectors and replaced by the mazurka and the waltz.⁵⁵ Another example was the *yaraví*, which, as Cárdenas indicates, was very well-loved at the beginning of the twentieth century. Being the closest genre to the indigenous musical expressions, the *yaraví* reminded the *indios* of their ancestors and their history since the beginning of the colonial era.⁵⁶

Influences from Abroad

Because of the strong and constant presence of indigenous and *mestizo* music, it was only natural for Bolivian composers to turn to the local traditions in search of inspiration and identity. However, in addition to the country's own cultural wealth, global

⁵³ Ibid., 108-110; Ríos, "Music in Urban La Paz," 25.

⁵⁴ Ríos, "Music in Urban La Paz," 21-23.

⁵⁵ Cárdenas, "Música criollo-mestiza," 257.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 252-253.

transformations that carried over from the eighteenth century into the twentieth century significantly influenced the development of Bolivian nationalistic art and music.

John L. Walker has emphasized that an increased international connectivity, which he calls “internationalization,” constituted “an important influence in the development of musical nationalism in Latin America” from early on.⁵⁷ This internationalization was possible largely because of the “advent of steam-driven ocean liners in the mid-nineteenth century.”⁵⁸ International exchange also took place across the Americas and was heightened during the 1860s and ‘70s by the adoption of free-trade liberalist doctrines and technological advances such as the railroad, which “thrust out across much of Latin America, speeding transportation between productive zones and urban centers and ports.”⁵⁹ This increased mobility facilitated the exchange of ideas, which happened in all directions. Not only was Latin America the recipient of European culture, as was the case for several composers who pursued advanced instruction abroad, but also Latin-American culture began fascinating European composers and audiences.⁶⁰

Political and economic ideologies spread rapidly from Europe into the New Continent. Thomas Turino observes a direct correlation between the development of Latin-American nationalistic movements and the global dissemination of the

⁵⁷ John L. Walker, “Incas, Liberators, and Jungle Princesses: The Development of Nationalism in the Art Music of Ecuador,” *Latin American Music Review* 37, no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 2016): 4-7.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ *Britannica Academic*, s.v. “History of Latin America,” accessed March 12, 2019, <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/levels/collegiate/article/history-of-Latin-America/108632#60884.toc>.

⁶⁰ Walker, “Development of Nationalism,” 4-7.

contemporary notion of nation that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶¹ He explains that the Latin-American processes of independence were driven by a Liberalist discourse, for which the concept of viability of a nation “involved a threshold of sufficient size and productivity as an economic unit, and longevity and strength as a political-military unit, rather than the contemporary idea of coterminous relations between a cultural unit and a state.”⁶²

William H. Beezley traces the beginnings of culturally-based notions of nation back to the European, Romantic popularization of folklore through literature and music, which he associates with the emergence of Latin-American *costumbrismo*, a literary and musical current that “focused on the local customs and lifestyles of rural peoples and promoted the collection of their music.”⁶³ Richard Taruskin describes the European trend that began at the end of the eighteenth century as a reaction against Age-of-Enlightenment ideas of universality—particularly in Germany, where a national identity was constructed through the elevation of the country’s folk culture, as a way to stand against other European nations and celebrate distinction.⁶⁴ Similarly, the *costumbrista* movement conveyed local distinctiveness and national pride in Latin America, with the

⁶¹ Thomas Turino, “Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations,” *Latin American Music Review* 24, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter, 2003): 169-209.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ William H. Beezley, “The Rise of Cultural Nationalism and its Musical Expressions,” in *Cultural Nationalism and Ethnic Music in Latin America*, ed. William H. Beezley, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018), 15.

⁶⁴ Grove Music Online, s.v. “Nationalism,” by Richard Taruskin, accessed January 28, 2019, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846>.

creation of works such as the operas *Il Guarany* by Antonio Carlos Gomes (Brazil, 1870), *Guatimotzin* by Aniceto Ortega (Mexico, 1871), and *Atzimba* by Ricardo Castro (Mexico, 1896).⁶⁵

The *costumbrista* movement was accused, however, of failing to achieve a true portrayal of the indigenous peoples. It responded instead to the interests of the elites, who were educated enough to appreciate artistic expressions such as opera. Nonetheless, it constituted the beginning of Latin-American musical nationalism. In Bolivia, the influence of *costumbrismo* was reflected in the music of such composers as Modesta Sanjinés (1832-1887), who wrote “more than fifty pieces of national taste,”⁶⁶ and Adolfo Ballivián (1831-1874), who composed the opera *Atahuallpa*.⁶⁷

Another outcome of the *costumbrista* movement was the beginning of the collection and study of rural and indigenous music by either local or European scholars. According to Beezley, this musicological work was a key factor in the rise of Latin-American cultural nationalism during the 1920s, encouraging musical production and providing material for new compositions that began mixing European and folkloric Latin-American traditions.⁶⁸ Notable among many scholars, the French couple Raoul and Marguerite d’Harcourt worked for several years in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. They conducted significant studies, which culminated in the publication of the book *La*

⁶⁵ Beezley, “Cultural Nationalism,” 16.

⁶⁶ Macedonio Urquidi, *Nuevo compendio de la historia de Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Arnó Hermanos Editores, 1921), quoted in Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 79.

⁶⁷ Atiliano Auza, *Simbiosis cultural de la música boliviana* (La Paz, Bolivia: Producciones CIMA, 1989), 86. According to Auza, only a “Funeral March” from Ballivián’s opera survives.

⁶⁸ Beezley, “Cultural Nationalism,” 16-20.

Musique des Incas et ses Survivances (The Music of the Incas and Their Survivors) in 1925, the first major study of Andean music.⁶⁹ Another example is a guide to dances and *coplas* (popular songs) titled *El arte en la altiplanicie* (Art on the High Plateau), published in 1913 by the Bolivian intellectual Rigoberto Paredes. However, according to Rossells, Paredes reflected some of the racial prejudices that circulated among the oligarchic class.⁷⁰

Beezley also notes the significance of the political discourses that were diffused worldwide at the end of World War I, when new European countries were created based on “culture, geography, and historic combinations of people identified by language and heritage.”⁷¹ The post-war peace discussions in organizations such as The League of Nations, of which Bolivia and most other Latin-American countries were members, popularized the idea of nation as defined by a “standard, uniform, and coherent culture” with “common language, shared traditions apparent in literature, music, dance, folklore, costume, and cuisine, and coherent ethnicity.”⁷² According to Beezley, the Mexican (1910) and Russian (1917) revolutions were also major events that sparked nationalist sentiments across the Americas, establishing “new regimes committed to engendering inclusive societies with a shared national identity.”⁷³

⁶⁹ Henry Stobart and Ian Cross, “The Andean Anacrusis? Rhythmic Structure and Perception in Easter Songs of Northern Potosí, Bolivia,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 9, no. 2 (2000): 64.

⁷⁰ Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 81-82.

⁷¹ Beezley, “Cultural Nationalism,” 17-18.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Particularly in Bolivia, there was a prompt reaction to these historical events. For instance, *En las tierras del Potosí* (In the Lands of Potosí), a novel by Jaime Mendoza (not to be confused with Mendoza-Nava), dealt with the subject of the lives of Bolivian miners.⁷⁴ Published a year after the Mexican revolution, it became one of the earliest examples of *indigenismo* in literature.⁷⁵

Also, shortly after the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920, the Bolivian government, under President José Gutiérrez Guerra, created the *Misión de Arte y Propaganda Nacional Boliviana* (Mission for the Bolivian National Art and Propaganda). The objectives of this task force were “to visit all the Bolivian capitals, campaigning nationalistically and awakening a sentiment of fraternity and love toward the most original and characteristic traits of the country.”⁷⁶ Moreover, the task force was intended to travel abroad in order to attract private investment, promoting the country’s culture while cultivating good relations with other nations. This project, however, was truncated only a few months after its creation by a coup d’état.⁷⁷ The Mission for the Bolivian National Art and Propaganda was a rare example of a state-sponsored nationalist program of the type that arose only after the 1952 Revolution.⁷⁸ During its brief existence, it

⁷⁴ Guido Arze, “La novela revolucionaria Boliviana (1934–1964): Transtextualidad, metahistoricidad y receptividad” (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2000), 45–46.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ “...con el objeto de visitar las capitales de la República ‘haciendo campaña nacionalista y despertando el sentimiento de fraternidad y el amor hacia aquello que nuestra patria tiene de más original y característico.’” Translation by current author. Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 108.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 40–44.

helped promote some Bolivian composers through concerts that were organized around the country. Among these composers, Simeón Roncal (1870-1953) was a very influential figure, who composed several *cuecas* for piano that included complex harmonies and technical challenges.⁷⁹ Belisario Zárate was another important composer who wrote the work *Serenata campestre* (Campestral Serenade) specifically for the concerts organized by the task force.⁸⁰

Composers such as Roncal and Zárate and many others were pioneers of Bolivian nationalistic art music, which flourished at the beginning of the twentieth century. The compilation *Aires nacionales de Bolivia* (Bolivian National Airs), published in 1928 by Bolivian composer Teófilo Vargas (1886-1961), is another example of this nationalistic current.⁸¹ Vargas's work was published independently in a few volumes that include collections of *mestizo-criollo* genres rendered in classical style. It also includes other genres, such as overtures, preludes, and religious music with distinct Bolivian flavor, as well as a study on Incan and *criollo* music.⁸² As the composer himself indicated, his aspiration was to provide "historical data in order to build the tradition of the national art of Bolivia."⁸³

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Atiliano Auza, *Historia de la música boliviana* (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, 1985), 131.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid; Teófilo Vargas, *Aires nacionales de Bolivia, tomo I* (Santiago, Chile: Casa Amarilla, 1940), 3.

Another leading Bolivian composer from the same period was Eduardo Caba (1890-1953), arguably the most important and influential. Caba studied in Buenos Aires mainly with Felipe Boero and in Madrid with Joaquín Turina. He lived abroad from 1925 until 1943, spending several years in the Argentinian capital. His most famous works were the *Aires indios* (Indian Airs) for piano and the *Cantares indios* (Indian Songs) for voice and piano published in Buenos Aires circa 1940. These works were popularized by world-renowned interpreters such as pianist Ricardo Viñes and soprano Ninon Vallin.⁸⁴ Caba was also an interpreter of the *charango*, and he performed folk music under the pseudonym Pedro Colque.⁸⁵ He was able to develop a style that was based on Andean indigenous music only after moving abroad.

Similarly to Caba, other Bolivian musicians who were proponents of Andean folklore, most notably José Manuel Benavente (1901-196?) and Alberto Ruíz Lavandenz (1898-1949), were able to develop outstanding careers in Argentina, where populist ideologies were adopted since the late nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Moreover, although Argentinian nationalism centered on *gaucho* music and the *tango*,⁸⁷ it also popularized the Andean heritage of the northwest part of Argentina, more specifically the provinces of Jujuy and Salta. This promotion of Andean music combined with the influence from

⁸⁴ Mariana Alandía Navajas, “Mi obra caminará sola si tiene valor...,” *Piedra de Agua, Revista Bimensual de la Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia*, no 7 (July-August, 2014): 10-15.

⁸⁵ Mariana Alandía Navajas and Javier Parrado, “Caba, Viscarra Monje y Sandi” (online conference, ABAICAM, September 6, 2020).

⁸⁶ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 56-70.

⁸⁷ *Gaucho: mestizo* “horseman and cowhand from the Argentinian and Uruguayan *Pampas* (grasslands).” *Britannica Academic*, s.v. “Gaucho,” accessed February 29, 2020, <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/levels/collegiate/article/gaucho/36200>.

the European romanticization of the Incan civilization resulted in ideas and projects that aimed to construct a Pan-Latin-Americanist identity based on the Andean ways of life. Efforts to build this unifying identity for Latin America were strongly present in Argentinian society during the first half of the twentieth century.⁸⁸

The Chaco War

Despite Bolivian artists who strived to create an original nationalistic type of art, political discourses resisted the construction of a culturally-based national identity. Political discourses, however, started changing in the wake of adversity, when the unification of the country proved to be crucial to withstand an armed conflict. The Chaco War against Paraguay, which lasted from 1932 to 1935, escalated from hostile incidents between the two countries that began as early as 1928. The conflict was over the region known as Chaco Boreal, which Bolivians believed to have large oil reserves and could potentially provide Bolivia with an access to the sea.⁸⁹

Roberto Fernández explains how the *Centro de Propaganda y Defensa Nacional* (National Center for Propaganda and Defense) was used by President Daniel Salamanca to create and disseminate symbolic references that would create a sentiment of belonging

⁸⁸ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 56-70.

⁸⁹ *Britannica Academic*, s.v. “Chaco War,” accessed December 28, 2018, <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/levels/collegiate/article/Chaco-War/22214>.

among the troops, who were predominantly indigenous, and make them feel that the country was worthy of defending on the battlefield.⁹⁰ In Fernández's words:

During this conflict against a foreign enemy, means of communication began to include the *indio* in the collective imaginary of the nation, reinforcing, moreover, an ideal of hard-working woman. The patriotic presence of the eastern regions and inhabitants was also reaffirmed through the portrayal of an ideal Bolivia. The *criollo-mestizo* music reached radio studios, abandoning the gay immorality of the *chichería chola* and its furtive mingle with the indulgent and indecent *criollo* faction who had enjoyed this music in secret and becoming the national aesthetic.⁹¹

Radio broadcasting, which began in La Paz in 1928, became one of the principal means by which President Salamanca carried out his unification strategy. In 1932, when the Chaco War was well underway, Salamanca created the *Compañía de Radio Boliviana* (Bolivian Radio Company) and acquired two radio stations, *Radio Nacional* and *Radio Illimani*.⁹² Particularly during this time, people habitually gathered around the radio in order to follow the news and console the sorrows caused by the war:

By the end of 1933, the existence of approximately 10,000 private radioreceptors was estimated in all Bolivia, with 3,500 to 4,000 found in the city of La Paz, a buoyant metropolis with a population of around 120,000 people. Relatives, friends, and neighbors listened to the news and the habitual programming, going to the houses of the radioreceptor owners. Evening gatherings were enhanced with the commentary about the messages transmitted by the radio stations. Moreover,

⁹⁰ Roberto Fernández, "Prensa, radio e imaginario boliviano durante la Guerra del Chaco," in *La música en Bolivia: de la prehistoria a la actualidad* (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Fundación Simón I. Patiño, 2002), 211-212.

⁹¹ "Es en este enfrentamiento con un enemigo externo, que los medios de comunicación empezaron a incluir al indio como parte del imaginario nacional, además de reforzar el ideal de la mujer abnegada, reafirmandose, a la par, en ese ideal, de lo 'boliviano,' la presencia patriótica de las regiones del oriente y sus pobladores, así como la música criolla-mestiza que dejaba la 'inmoralidad' alegre de la chichería 'chola' y su furtivo amancebamiento con alguna gozosa e 'impúdica' fracción criolla que la disfrutaba en secreto, para llegar a los estudios de la radio y empezar a convertirse en el gusto estético nacional." Ibid. Translation by current author.

⁹² Ibid.

many radioreceptors and speakers were installed in public premises, theaters, clubs, bars, and busy town squares [...] causing a transcendental impact.⁹³

On a Saturday, the day the radios offered more variety, a typical programming included:

From 7:30 to 9:00 pm

- Recordings
- Pianist Simeón Roncal
- War News
- Bolivian Music in Records
- A Quarter Hour of Song Collaborations
- Violin Soloists and Orchestras Playbacks
- World News

From 9:00 to 10:00 pm

- Tenor Ramírez Velarde
- “The Marriage of Figaro” by Mozart with the Illimani Orchestra
- Jazz Programing
- *Criollo* Songs

From 10:00 to 11:00 pm

- War News
- Lira Incaica Boliviana
- Operatic Excerpts
- Bolivian Music with the Parra Orchestra

From 11:00 pm to 12:00 am

- Saturday’s Grand Dancing Programing by the Studio’s Orchestras and Ensembles⁹⁴

Despite the significant presence of “Bolivian” music, radio broadcasting during the Chaco War was only the beginning of a long process of appropriation, in which cultural references that were present long before in Bolivian society were projected as the “cultural face of the nation.”⁹⁵ For instance, Lira Incaica Boliviana, featured in the program above, was a folkloric band led by Ruíz Lavadenz and based in Argentina,

⁹³ Ibid., 213.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 236. Radio Illimani’s program for Saturday, August 25, 1934.

⁹⁵ Fernández, “Guerra del Chaco,” 222.

which recorded at least ten records for the RCA Victor label in Buenos Aires from 1929 to 1934.⁹⁶ Despite its success in Argentina, as Ríos describes, the ensemble's Andeanness had to be toned down for performances in La Paz.⁹⁷ Indigenous *ponchos*, *lluchus* (hats), and *ojotas* (sandals) would normally be replaced by suits and ties in La Paz. Lira Incaica also featured Andean instruments such as the *quena*, *charango*, and *caja* (an Andean indigenous membranophone), which “[did] not become standard in Bolivian folkloric ensembles until the late 1960s.”⁹⁸ Similarly, the *cueca*, of which Simeón Roncal was a major exponent, was recognized as the Bolivian national dance only during the second half of the twentieth century.⁹⁹

The Chaco War helped to disseminate an image of the *indio* that was disconnected from reality and did not stop their discrimination and oppression. Nonetheless, it revealed Bolivia's true complexion, bringing together on the battlefield a diverse group of youth not only from bourgeois and indigenous backgrounds but also from all Bolivian regions from the Altiplano to the eastern jungles.¹⁰⁰ It represented a tragic chapter in Bolivian history with the death of 50,000 soldiers.¹⁰¹ Music was important in the life of the soldiers, helping them cope with the tragedy and raising their morale. The conflict resulted in the copious production of “national songs” that were

⁹⁶ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 67-70.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Cárdenas, “Música criollo-mestiza,” 262-263.

¹⁰⁰ Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 112.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

“obsessively repeated” to honor the soldiers in civic acts.¹⁰² Musical scores and lyrics of *mestizo-criollo* music began to be published in the national press, facilitating the emergence of diverse ensembles that cultivated this type of music.¹⁰³ Moreover, as Cárdenas explains, the *mestizo-criollo* music gained a strong ideological expression that anteceded the 1952 Revolution.¹⁰⁴

A Sui Generis Case

Bolivia’s deeply-rooted racial stigma caused the nationalistic movement to unfold in a way that differed from other Latin-American countries. Turino offers the following criteria for the study of Latin-American nationalism:

First, populist nationalist movements in Latin America were state-initiated programs that challenged the traditional ruling oligarchies by so-called ‘modernizing’ capitalist interests; populism occurred within programs to increase domestic and trans-state capitalist activity beyond the established ruling groups. Second, this situation correlated with the increasingly inclusive notions of the nation marked by the expansion of the franchise, concessions such as labor and land reforms, and increased forging of cultural links with subaltern groups within the state’s territory.¹⁰⁵

The cases of Cuba and Brazil, for instance, clearly show the “symbiotic relationship between the discourse of a more inclusive nationalism and processes of expanding capitalism to new sectors within given states.”¹⁰⁶ In Cuba and Brazil,

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Fernández, “Guerra del Chaco,” 237.

¹⁰⁴ Cárdenas, “Música criollo-mestiza,” 258.

¹⁰⁵ Turino, “Nationalism,” 170.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 180.

emblematic genres such as the *rumba* or the *samba* were first marketed locally to growing urban populations, benefitting from the mass-media technological advances of records and, later on, radio.¹⁰⁷ By 1920, the so-called national music of these two nations had already reached international markets.¹⁰⁸ In contrast, despite the global trends that widely emphasized capitalistic models, the Bolivian *criollo* elite “remained hostile toward the notion of popular sovereignty and the formation of an all-inclusive imagined community.”¹⁰⁹ True efforts to “modernize the economy through state-directed capitalism” and to forge a national identity did not take place in Bolivia until after the 1952 Revolution, which brought about agrarian reform, the nationalization of mines, and the promulgation of universal suffrage.¹¹⁰

However, nationalistic ideologies that promoted the indigenous and *mestizo* cultures began in or outside the country in a non-official way, notably in the work of musicians such as Eduardo Caba, Teófilo Vargas, and many of their contemporaries. The study of the development of musical nationalism in Bolivia confirms the notion, which authors such as Xavier Albó and Guido Arze have expressed, that “[t]he rediscovery of the cultural wealth of indigenous people came about first through the work of artists and

¹⁰⁷ Grove Music Online, “Latin America,” by Carolina Robertson and Gerard Béhague, accessed October 5, 2019, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016072>.

¹⁰⁸ Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 95.

¹⁰⁹ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 13.

¹¹⁰ Ríos, “Bolero Trios, Mestizo Panpipe Ensembles,” 281.

literary figures,” who even denounced directly the injustices committed by the ruling class and inspired the populist ideas that led to the 1952 Revolution.¹¹¹

One of the characteristics of Bolivian art that came to be recognized as such only after the 1952 Revolution was the marked influence of the natural landscape. Intellectual Jaime Mendoza, who was noted as the “exponent of the philosophy of Bolivianism,” sustained that, underneath the social and political realities of the country, the Andean mountains and valleys exert a spiritual influence in all its inhabitants. Mendoza explained that this influence awakens a “territorial soul” based on the images, emotions, and sentiments that are evoked by the Bolivian natural environment.¹¹² According to Rossells, among the artistic and literary figures who reflected the mystic influence of the Andean land were Franz Tamayo, Humberto Plaza, Roberto Prudencio, Fernando Diez de Medina, and Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas.¹¹³

According to Atiliano Auza, after 1952, a great part of Bolivian art either celebrated or criticized the effects of the revolution, in some cases politically aligning with the leaders of the revolution, the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement). In the case of music, state-sponsored nationalistic initiatives focused on the revaluation of Bolivian popular music with very little incentive for art music. Nonetheless, Auza notes the work of such composers as Jaime Mendoza-Nava, Gustavo Navarre, Antonio Ibáñez, Néstor Olmos, and Atiliano Auza, among

¹¹¹ Albó, “Long Memory of Ethnicity,” 31; Arze, “Novela revolucionaria boliviana,” 1-16.

¹¹² Jaime Mendoza, *El macizo boliviano* (La Paz, Bolivia: Ministerio de Educación, 1957), quoted in Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 87-88.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 88.

others, as having further developed the nationalistic aesthetic of the Bolivian pioneer composers of the first half of the twentieth century.¹¹⁴ According to Ríos, despite the governmental politics that promoted *mestizo* and indigenous music, the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* lacked a clear vision of identity and direction for the country, a deficiency that hindered the effects of the revolution and the advancement of the arts.¹¹⁵

The Acoustical Aesthetics of Andean Native Instruments

In Andean music, the term “native” is used to designate musical practices that have survived from pre-colonial times with little influence from the European tradition, as opposed to the term “folkloric,” which refers to popular *mestizo* music. While Andean folkloric ensembles may include indigenous instruments such as the *charango*, the *zampoña*, or the *quena*, the most emblematic Andean native ensembles are large aerophone groupings referred to as *tropas* (troupes), which comprise instruments of the same type but in different sizes that are accompanied with percussion and associated with specific ceremonies. The *quena* is the only indigenous flute that is sometimes played alone, outside ceremonial practices, by shepherds who often carry it while pasturing their herds.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Auza, *Simbiosis cultural*, 63-69.

¹¹⁵ Ríos, “Music in Urban La Paz,” 213-274.

¹¹⁶ Ernesto Cavour Aramayo, *Instrumentos musicales de Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Producciones Cima, 1994), 252.

The *charango* and similar variants are a special case in Andean native music. The *charango* is a stringed instrument derived from the Spanish vihuela,¹¹⁷ which, according to Henry Stobart, was adopted by the indigenous communities from very early on in the colonial era and came to replace the percussion in the accompaniment of songs.¹¹⁸ This author also mentions that the European recorder might have influenced the way in which some indigenous duct flutes are constructed.¹¹⁹

Stobart explains that for the Andean indigenous communities, “musical performance is [a] contextualized activity,” meaning that music is integrated into people’s lives and never understood as a separate sphere.¹²⁰ Musical practices are interrelated with celebrations and rituals that serve as markers for the agricultural activities that, hinging on the Andean rainy and dry seasons, constitute the communities’ principal means of livelihood. In the author’s words, “the seasonal alternation of musical instruments, musical genres, and tunings is one of the principal ways through which the ritual calendar is defined, made known and experienced.”¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Henry Stobart, “The Llama’s Flute: Musical Misunderstandings in the Andes,” *Early Music* 24, no. 3 (August 1996): 472-473. See also Rossells, *Caymari vida*, 57-58.

¹¹⁹ Stobart, “Llama’s Flute,” 473.

¹²⁰ Henry Stobart, “Flourishing Horns and Enchanted Tubers: Music and Potatoes in Highland Bolivia,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 3 (1994): 36.

¹²¹ Henry Stobart, “Interlocking Realms: Knowing Music and Musical Knowing in the Bolivian Andes,” in *Knowledge and Learning in the Andes: Ethnographic Perspectives*, eds. Henry Stobart and Rosaleen Howard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 87.

This particular confinement of certain musical instruments to specific times of the year is believed by the indigenous peoples to play a central role in maintaining the synchronicity of the agricultural calendar. As Stobart describes,

It is dangerous to generalize about such diverse local traditions, but in the Bolivian Andes recorder-type flutes (duct flutes) and large guitar-type instruments tend to be played during the rainy growing season (November-March), and are often specifically said to “call the rain and make the crops grow.” In contrast, panpipes, transverse flutes, and notch flutes (e.g. the *quena* or *kena*), where the player creates the sound using an embouchure, and the small mandolin-like *charango* are usually associated with dry winter months and typically said to “call the frost and wind.”¹²²

This division of musical performance according to the agricultural calendar has to do with two contrasting sound aesthetics that characterize the different types of Andean instruments and correspond to the Quechua concepts of *tara* and *q'iwa*. Stobart explains that

The word *tara* implies a double aspect, such as two people walking together, and is used to refer to the rich vibrant timbre of certain wind instruments. *Tara* richly evokes notions of productivity, exchange, balance and harmony, and is contrasted with the word *q'iwa*, which is applied to thin, clear musical timbres and is said of people who are mean or cowardly, or of objects or concepts which imply dissonance, imbalance or mediated contrast. For example, *q'iwa* was described as “half-man, half-woman,” said of small children who constantly cried, and categorized as *ch'ulla*—single, without its partner.¹²³

Sounds in the *q'iwa* category, although perceived as dissonant and often described as “flavorless” from the indigenous perspective, are analogous to the sound of any “in-tune” ensemble of the European tradition. Conversely, *tara* sounds, which turn out to be more attractive to indigenous ears, have been frequently misunderstood and belittled by

¹²² Stobart, “Llama’s Flute,” 472.

¹²³ Stobart, “Interlocking Realms,” 82.

outsiders who are thrown off by their dissonance. Ethnomusicologist and physicist

Arnaud Gérard explains that:

Nowadays, the music of the different ethnic groups from the Andean area in Bolivia is dissonant and several instruments emit strident and pulsating sounds. The native ensembles are composed of groups of flutes (*tropas*) [...]. The execution is collective and not individual. The flutes play only one melody in parallel, in quasi unison, octaves, fourths, fifths, etc. Intentionally, the pitch is not tuned to the same frequency among instruments playing the same voice, producing a marked beating effect, which densifies or “muddies” the overall sonorous perception. Apart from that, various types of flutes, among them the *pinkillus*, sound with multiphonics (two or several simultaneous sounds are perceived) and roll (pulsating, vibrating sounds are perceived).¹²⁴

Gérard has analyzed the organological characteristics that produce these vibrating sounds, including in precolonial examples. In some cases, the instruments are constructed in pairs with slightly different lengths, which generate two frequencies that, because of their close proximity, join and cancel one another in a periodic pattern. In the case of the flutes that produce multiphonics with “roll effect,” a similar conflicting interaction occurs between a predominant overtone and its fundamental frequency. This phenomenon is primarily achieved through the construction of “complex tubes,” in which the diameter of the inner side of the instrument’s body is varied throughout its length.¹²⁵ The production

¹²⁴ “En la actualidad la música de los diferentes grupos étnicos del área andina de Bolivia es disonante y muchos instrumentos emiten sonidos estridentes y pulsantes. Las orquestas nativas están compuestas por conjuntos de flautas (*tropas*), generalmente de diferentes tamaños, acompañados por instrumentos de percusión como bombos, cajas, tambores, platillos, etc. La ejecución es colectiva y no individual. Las flautas tocan una sola melodía en paralelo, en casi unísono, octavas, cuartas, quintas, etc. El detalle consiste en que intencionalmente no se igualan las alturas entre instrumentos de una misma ‘voz’ lo que provoca un notorio batimiento que densifica o ‘enturbia’ la percepción sonora global. Por otro lado, varios tipos de flautas, entre ellos los *pinkillus* suenan con multifonías (se perciben dos o varios sonidos simultáneos) y redoble (se perciben sonidos pulsantes, vibrantes).” Arnaud Gérard, “Tara, la estética del sonido pulsante—una síntesis,” *Flower World: Music Archaeology of the Américas* 4 (2015): 43. Translation by current author.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 43-44. See also Arnaud Gérard, “Sonidos ‘ondulantes’ en silbatos dobles arqueológicos: ¿Una estética ancestral reiterativa?,” *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 39, no. 1 (2009): 125-

of “multiphonic roll sounds” also relies on the skill of the musicians who must gauge the air pressure they apply to play the instruments.¹²⁶

Gérard’s study elucidates the correlation between the concept of duality that the word *tara* carries and the acoustical means of production of its corresponding sound aesthetic. It also reveals the philosophy behind the confinement of *tara* musical instruments to the period of rains and agricultural production in the Andes.

Another important aspect in Andean native music is its great diversity. According to Stobart,

The multiplicity and diversity of instruments in the Andes is astonishing. Some rural communities play as many as 12 different types of instruments through the course of a single year—each type associated with a particular season, activity or ceremony. Besides such seasonal alternation within a single community, music is also an important marker of ethnic identity; there is immense regional variety in musical forms and instrument construction.¹²⁷

Gérard Borrás clarifies Stobart’s observations, stating that the organological diversity found in the Andes is unlike anywhere else in the world.¹²⁸ Borrás explains that, besides the interconnection between music and ritual, what creates this rich diversity is the communities’ desire to distinguish themselves from one another and their conception of the sound of their musical ensembles as part of their identity.¹²⁹ The wide array of

144; Arnaud Gérard et al., “Nonlinear Behavior of the Tarka Flute’s Distinctive Sounds,” *Chaos* 26, no. 9 (2016): 1–11.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 45-56.

¹²⁷ Stobart, “Llama’s Flute,” 472.

¹²⁸ Gérard Borrás, “Una lectura de la práctica musical indígena altiplánica en la segunda mitad del siglo XX a partir del archivo de medidas de Walata Grande,” in *La música en Bolivia: de la prehistoria a la actualidad*, ed. Wálter Sánchez Canedo (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Fundación Simón I. Patiño, 2002), 458.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 459-474

Andean aerophones is classified in six main families that correspond to the embouchure flutes *siku*, *quena*, and *phala* and the duct flutes *pinkillo*, *tarka*, and *moceño*. As Borrás observes, in the *siku* family, for instance, there are dozens and dozens of different types of troupes, each of which can include from three up to seven voices.¹³⁰

The originality that each community strives to attain is apparent in all musical aspects, including musical scales. Gérard has observed how instrument builders can raise or lower certain tones of the instruments in search for distinct musical colors. The rate of the pulsations can also be modified by slightly lengthening or shortening the instruments.¹³¹ The different instruments' dimensions are registered either in bamboo sticks, which came to replace stone measurements, or model instruments that are generally passed down from generation to generation of instrument makers and kept in substantial collections.¹³²

Gérard has conducted a comprehensive study of the scales of current Bolivian panpipes. While some scales approximate the Aeolian mode, others are pentatonic, combining approximate major seconds and minor thirds.¹³³ In addition, some panpipes feature scales that could be described as approximations of the Ionian mode, whose third and seventh degrees are lowered to avoid half-step intervals. According to the author, the avoidance of the half-step interval allows the musicians to create melodies in at least five

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Arnaud Gérard, "Acústica de las siringas de uso actual en Bolivia: Método y conclusiones," in *La música en Bolivia: de la prehistoria a la actualidad*, ed. Wálter Sánchez Canedo (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Fundación Simón I. Patiño, 2002), 516-517.

¹³² Ibid., 516-517.

¹³³ Ibid.

different pentatonic scales. Similarly, multiple pentatonic scales can be created by panpipes that divide the octave into seven equal intervals.¹³⁴ Gerard has found certain panpipes from central and southern Bolivia that also divide the octave into approximate equal intervals. In the case of the *ayarichi* dance from the community of Tarabuco, for instance, the octave is divided into six intervals of approximately two hundred cents, while for the same dance but from the community of Caiza D, the octave is divided into five intervals, each of approximately two hundred forty cents.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Ibid., 512-519.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 519-520. Anraud Gérard, “Acústica del suri-siku: Una genial acomodación de alturas de sonido que permite una multi-pentafonía,” in *La música en Bolivia: de la prehistoria a la actualidad*, ed. Wálter Sánchez Canedo (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Fundación Simón I. Patiño, 2002), 481-495.

CHAPTER 2

THE COMPOSER

Formative Years and Brief Return to Bolivia

Jaime Mendoza-Nava was born in La Paz, Bolivia, on December 1, 1925.¹ His father, Vicente Mendoza López, after studying law at the University of Paris, held a professorship at the San Andrés University in La Paz alongside different governmental positions that led to his appointment as Bolivia's Minister of Finance in 1938. His mother, Rosa Nava de Mendoza, who also pursued a political career, was elected president of the La Paz City Council and served as the city's first female mayor on an interim basis.² Mendoza-Nava had two older brothers, Vicente and Rene, with whom he was very close.³

Mendoza-Nava began taking piano lessons with Erick Fischer, a German-born teacher who worked at the Colegio Alemán in La Paz.⁴ During his younger years, the composer also studied with Humberto Viscarra Monje (1898-1970), a renowned Bolivian pianist and composer who had trained in Rome and Paris. Viscarra Monje is noted for his educational role in Bolivia as a teacher and director at the National Conservatory in La Paz, having also founded the music academy Man Céspedes in the city of Cochabamba. As

¹ José Andrés Mendoza Bilbao, "Biografía," Jaime Mendoza Nava: El Compositor Boliviano (website), accessed March 13, 2021, <https://jaimemendozanava.com/index.php/biografia/>.

² Jaime Mendoza, email message to author, April 17, 2021.

³ Billie Mendoza, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

⁴ Vicente Mendoza, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

a composer, he cultivated an *indigenista* style, greatly influencing later generations of Bolivian musicians.⁵

Viscarra Monje's piano compositions are characterized by their Andean sonorities, which are integrated with pianistic passages in the style of Chopin. Of particular interest is his character piece "Lamento y Danza" (Lament and Dance),⁶ in which a very dissonant final section, according to Viscarra Monje's daughter, Jessie Viscarra, imitates the dissonance of Andean native music.⁷ Viscarra Monje's interest in Andean native music was likely very influential for Mendoza-Nava, who, at the same time, was undoubtedly exposed to the Andean troupes that had actively persisted in La Paz since pre-colonial times.

Mendoza-Nava was a child prodigy who showed an inclination for classical music from an early age. At age 11, he organized a children's orchestra for an event at which he raised funds for the construction of an orphanage.⁸ Daniel Mendoza, the composer's nephew, recalled a 1973 reunion at which his uncle and friends reminisced about this event. He explains that the orchestra was made up of the composer's classmates, most of whom did not study music and did not own instruments. Mendoza-Nava "borrowed the

⁵ Atiliano Auza, *Historia de la música boliviana* (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, 1985), 132-133.

⁶ Humberto Viscarra Monje, "Lamento y Danza," in *Impresiones del Altiplano* (La Paz, Bolivia: Casa Amarilla, 1943), 3-6.

⁷ Jessie Viscarra mentioned this information during a piano lesson with the present author several years ago.

⁸ Myrna Oliver, "Jaime Mendoza-Nava, 79; Used Classical Training, Bolivian Roots in Composing for TV and Film," *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 2005, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-jun-16-me-mendozanava16-story.html> (accessed March 12, 2021). See also "About Jaime Mendoza Nava," Jaime Mendoza Nava (website), Música Selecta LLC, 2017, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/about>.

instruments from churches, the conservatory... [and,] in sum, from where he knew he could find them.” The composer, then, not only wrote the music for the concert, but also coached and conducted the orchestra, finding ways to work with the non-musicians.⁹

Daniel Mendoza also recalls a story from his grandmother, from when his uncle was still quite young, which demonstrates the composer’s awareness of his environment. During a stay at the family’s vacation property in Copacabana, a tourist town by the shore of Lake Titicaca, the composer seemed rather preoccupied, opting to go for walks instead of joining his friends who were having fun. His mother asked the composer why he did not want to join the fun, to which he replied: “Because, mom, I want to be a musician; and here, a musician cannot survive, there is no future...” His mother then told him: “Son, if you want to be a musician, be a musician, but not any musician, be the best musician.” In Daniel Mendoza’s opinion, this episode laid the “first stone” of Mendoza-Nava’s career.¹⁰

Mendoza-Nava’s international journey began at age 14 when he traveled to Buenos Aires to study at the Spisso Conservatory,¹¹ following the path of many other Bolivian composers who sought to further their careers in the Argentinian capital. Later on, he moved to New York City, where he studied at the Juilliard School of Music while working full time.¹² At the Juilliard School, he enrolled in Special Courses in the fall of

⁹ Daniel Mendoza, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Jaime Mendoza Nava Archive, Facebook Life Events, added August 5, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/jaime.ignacio.733450/about_life_events.

¹² Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author, February 2017.

1945 for one academic year, and subsequently attended the Juilliard Extension Division and the Juilliard Summer School for two consecutive years, studying primarily piano with Harry Knox.¹³

Mendoza-Nava then attended the Royal Conservatory in Madrid, where he famously finished the five-year composition program in only one year, winning the conservatory's First Prize with his "dramatic overture" *Don Álvaro* in July of 1950.¹⁴ According to the composer's niece, María Estela Mendoza, her uncle always tried to speed through his studies. She explains that in order to accomplish such a feat, he studied all day and slept only for two hours; a routine that was sustained with support from his brother Vicente, who was also studying in Madrid at the time and who would help the composer with massages.¹⁵ Mendoza-Nava's teachers in Madrid were the Reverend Nemesio Otaño and Conrado del Campo, with whom he also studied Spanish folk music.¹⁶ In the same year of his graduation, Mendoza-Nava premiered his Piano Concerto, which he wrote in 1946 and revised in 1949.¹⁷ For that occasion, he conducted the Madrid Symphony Orchestra with Argentinian pianist Esther Fernandez as soloist.¹⁸

¹³ Lee Anne Tuason, email message to author, January 22, 2018.

¹⁴ Jaime Mendoza-Nava, Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación Graduation Diploma, Madrid, July 15, 1950.

¹⁵ María Estela Mendoza, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

¹⁶ Música Selecta LLC, "Jaime Mendoza Nava."

¹⁷ Jaime Mendoza-Nava, "Piano Concerto," score, 1949, Mendoza Family Private Collection [online version available at <http://jaimemendozanava.com/index.php/composiciones-clasicas-2/>].

¹⁸ Jaime Mendoza Nava Archive, "Update March 2017: Piano Concerto Found!," Facebook, September 2, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/jaime.ignacio.733450/posts/158775621231359>.

After studying in Madrid, the composer completed an interpretation course with Alfred Cortot in Lausanne and joined Nadia Boulanger's studio in Paris.¹⁹ He reflected on his impressions of Boulanger in a personal note, dated January 1987:

I studied with her in Paris, after winning the first prize of Royal Conservatory of Madrid [sic]. She was a unique person, very religious, and Stravinskian. She was a very close friend of Stravinsky and she had 2 or 3 Stravinsky drawings in her study on Rue Ballu. Her sister, Lilly [sic] Boulanger won the coveted Prix du Rome but unfortunately died very young. Mademoiselle Boulanger used to talk about her with great love and affection.²⁰

In 1952, Mendoza-Nava returned to Bolivia, where he became conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra. According to Bolivian composer and historian Atiliano Auza, Mendoza-Nava renewed the enthusiasm of musicians, audiences, and the press, expanded the size of the orchestra, and performed for the first time in Bolivia works by Copland, Hindemith, Milhaud, and Stravinsky, among others.²¹ During a concert in La Paz in the same year, the composer premiered his dramatic overture *Don Álvaro* and his tone poem *Antahuara*, which, according to Auza, caused contradictory reactions. While the lay audience described the works as “sound chaos,” connoisseurs applauded without any restraint, aware of having witnessed an unprecedented event. While in Bolivia, Mendoza-Nava was awarded with the prize Luz Mila Patiño, a recognition reserved for the most accomplished Bolivian musicians.²² Upon arriving in the country, Mendoza-

¹⁹ Mendoza Bilbao, “Biografía.”

²⁰ Jaime Mendoza Nava Archive, “Jaime’s notes about Nadia Boulanger,” Facebook, March 7, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/jaime.ignacio.733450/posts/269550416820545>.

²¹ Auza, *Música boliviana*, 159-160. According to Mendoza Bilbao, Mendoza-Nava returned to Bolivia in 1951.

²² *Ibid.*, 207.

Nava also led a group of composers who emphasized a nationalistic style. This group was comprised of Antonio Ibáñez, Néstor Olmos, Gustavo Navarre, Jaime Gallardo, and Hugo Aranibar.²³

American Period

The composer then attended the *Congrès de l'Olimpiade International de Musique* in Pasadena, California, in 1953 and, soon after, began working at the Walt Disney Studios.²⁴ While there, he wrote music for television shows such as *Zorro* and the *Mickey Mouse Club*. He also met Billie Johanna Mendoza Hallett, whom he married on April 26, 1958. They had four children: Jaime, Rene, Christopher, and Vicky.²⁵ Billie Mendoza recounts that she and the composer became acquainted because she had to walk through the Music Department in order to get to her office in the Labor Relations Department. She states that she felt impressed by the composer's brilliance.²⁶

During his time at the Disney Studios, Mendoza-Nava became interested in film post-production and began learning about different techniques and procedures for scoring motion pictures. According to the composer's son, Jaime Mendoza, his father would go to Disney's scoring studio just "to observe, to learn, to work with the musicians, or to

²³ Ibid., 134.

²⁴ Mendoza Nava Archive, Facebook Life Events.

²⁵ Jaime Mendoza, email message to author, April 17, 2021.

²⁶ Billie Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

help, if he could help.” At the Disney Studios, the composer met musicians and film editors with whom he worked throughout his career.²⁷

Mendoza-Nava then became the music director at United Productions of America, where he worked from 1961 to 1964, most notably writing music for the cartoon series Mr. Magoo. After this period, he started his own post-production company, Mendoza Productions, which he ran until he retired in 1990.²⁸ Besides managing the company and composing, his work entailed the editing of sound effects, narration and music, and sometimes film editing. Jaime Mendoza describes his father’s company, comparing it to “what would be considered now a small business.” The composer’s facility consisted of a recording stage, a Foley stage, a projection room, a music and sound-effects library, editing rooms, a conference room, and a main office.²⁹

Mendoza-Nava engaged in many different types of projects during this independent period; however, a great part of his work was dedicated to low-budget film—a very active and fast-paced industry in which most producers were looking to make quick profits. Low-budget productions were typically B-movies, intended to accompany major feature films on double bills. They also included exploitation movies, which were sensationalized features that targeted select audiences with their subject matter. Commonly classified into genres such as teen-exploitation, black-exploitation,

²⁷ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

²⁸ Música Selecta LLC, “Jaime Mendoza Nava;” Mendoza Nava Archive, Facebook Life Events.

²⁹ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author. The term “Foleying” refers to the technique of recording the sound effects of a movie live. See Jaime Mendoza, “Jaime’s Other Side,” *Jaime Mendoza Nava* (blog), accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/single-post/2017/04/11/jaime-s-other-side>.

sexploitation, etc., these movies often included content that was prohibited in mainstream film, such as drugs, gore, eroticism, or politically-charged scenes and would run in theaters known as “grindhouses” throughout the day and after hours.³⁰

Considering his company a business, Mendoza-Nava would usually take on every project that arrived at his door. Reflecting on his father’s decision to establish his own independent company, Jaime Mendoza writes: “perhaps what drove Jaime [my father] was his interest in a challenge, maybe his anti-establishment bent, or a desire to find a means of keeping music a part of his work. It was probably best explained as a confluence of both personal and practical needs to be somehow involved in a creative process while just trying to pay the bills.”³¹ The composer’s son Christopher Mendoza explains that his father was “a man from another time period.” He echoes his brother’s thoughts, stating that his father was never part of the American way of life: “He didn’t think of the American dream. He lived for music. He was doing film because he could do music. It was his avenue to be able to record with orchestras and be creative. He did not care about money. He cared about music and intellectual pursuits.”³²

Jaime Mendoza also mentions that, for his father, it was very important to maintain the ownership of his music, which was not the case when he did work for-hire at the studios. The composer saw that he could create a library of his own recorded music

³⁰ *Schlock! The Secret History of American Movies*, written, directed, and edited by Ray Greene (Pathfinder Pictures LLC, 2004), DVD; *Midnight Movies: From the Margin to the Mainstream*, written and directed by Stuart Samuels (Starz Home Entertainment, 2005), DVD.

³¹ Jaime Mendoza, “Just Paying the Bills,” *Jaime Mendoza Nava* (blog), accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/single-post/2017/05/21/just-paying-the-bills>.

³² Christopher Mendoza, in conversation with the author, February 2017.

and score films using a technique known as “tracking”—a very common resource for low-budget films in which written or recorded music is repurposed for different projects.³³ Jaime Mendoza states that his father built a very substantial tracking library, which allowed him to continuously accept work. He estimates that from around three-hundred films and documentaries scored by his father, a good portion of them, “maybe a hundred or hundred fifty, were tracked.” Jaime Mendoza also remembers his father’s very meticulous system of labeling, which registered *when* the tracks were recorded and for which productions. The composer, however, would know all the codes by memory and, when someone brought a project to him, he could identify right away what he needed and where it was found.³⁴

Mendoza-Nava also maintained a sound-effects library, for which he himself would acquire material or have other people record different sounds. Jaime Mendoza mentions that the library included “very interesting sounds that were not easy to find.”³⁵ Vicente Mendoza, who was very impressed by the size of the composer’s library in 1971, describes that his uncle kept all his recordings on cassette tapes and that a great portion of them were later lost during a flood.³⁶

At his studio, Mendoza-Nava would get help from his children. In particular, Jaime and Rene worked with their father during weekends and summer vacations and,

³³ Jeff Smith, “The Fine Art of Repurposing: A Look at Scores for Hollywood B Films in the 1930s,” in *The Routledge Companion to Screen Music and Sound*, eds. Miguel Mera, Ronald Sadoff, and Ben Winters (Abingdon: Routledge, June 1, 2017), 228-239.

³⁴ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Vicente Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

when they were in college, after classes. Jaime Mendoza recounts that they began by doing basic things:

We would be sweeping the floors, cleaning up after the editors, because the editors, in those days, in the analog world, they were *actually* editing film, editing mag stock using moviolas to run the film and the sound together as they edited, etc. And so, often times those cutting rooms would be just a mess. There would be film and mag stock and mag everywhere. And they were not always the neatest. They might leave their coffee cups, their cigarettes' butts. So, we would be the ones who came in, and we would straighten up the cutting rooms, and we would clean them up, and just try to make it a little bit easier for my dad.³⁷

As the brothers got older, the composer would assign them other tasks. They would sometimes organize the parts for the musicians, or even copy the parts and do some editing. Jaime Mendoza states that his father would let them observe and would teach them, and they became very anxious to learn and do more. For the brothers, working with their father “was a great pleasure” and a way to spend more time with him because he was always busy.³⁸ The composer’s daughter, Vicky Mendoza, also remembers helping her father a “handful of times”; for instance, when he needed a child’s voice or child-sized footsteps. She explains that “it was just because of whatever deadline he was under that I came and did that.”³⁹

Jaime Mendoza describes that his father had three or four regular employees but that he would hire more depending on the projects he had going on; and sometimes, up to seven editors could be working for him at the same time. Two of the regular employees were his copyist Lee Allman and his editor Sergei Kortinsky. Jaime Mendoza also

³⁷ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author, February 2017.

describes that “it was common to walk into his father’s studio and find two or three projects in progress.” He explains that the composer never advertised, that he was neither a salesperson nor good at self-promotion, and that most of his work was “secured by word-of-mouth, referral, or by a producer simply walking in the door.”⁴⁰

Vicky Mendoza adds that her father saw his work as a challenge and never seemed to be stressed-out, even though he was always racing and working around the clock; work was never a burden for him but rather a joy and something he coveted.⁴¹ The composer’s niece, Maria Alicia Mendoza, who visited her uncle in Los Angeles around 1973-74, describes that he was an *hombre orquesta* (always multi-tasking) at work and that he kept everyone on their toes.⁴² Jaime Mendoza recounts that it was very impressive watching how fast his father could edit music or sound in the moviola. The composer’s wife, Billie Mendoza, also mentions that she admired how her husband “would pour his heart and soul into his work.”⁴³

During recording sessions, Jaime Mendoza describes that his father had a very high standard for the musicians because he had no room for unnecessary delays. Nonetheless, the composer was always very friendly, respectful, polite, and very appreciative of the musicians who came into his studio, and he would always say: “these are the greatest musicians in the world.” Mendoza-Nava began his recording sessions by conducting pieces to warm up the orchestra, and then, because the musicians were paid

⁴⁰ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁴¹ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁴² María Alicia Mendoza, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

⁴³ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

hourly, he would record all the big pieces and gradually release them as time went by. At the very end, he would record the musical effects, which “he would know in his mind.” The composer would just say: “now I need to have a shimmering sound, I need to have a percussive sound...” After he was done recording, he would stay in the studio for the editing part. Jaime Mendoza states that his father’s organization and discipline, and his capacity to remember and understand what needed to happen, allowed him to “get so much done so quickly with really very little support.”⁴⁴

Besides recording at his studio, Mendoza-Nava frequently traveled to Germany where he worked with the Graunke Symphony Orchestra, today the Munich Symphony Orchestra.⁴⁵ Among his recordings with this orchestra, his scores for the nature films *High, Wild, and Free* of 1968 and *Savage Wild* of 1969 stand out. These films were collaborations with producer Gordon Eastman who is today considered a pioneer of outdoor films.⁴⁶

Mendoza-Nava often composed at home. Jaime Mendoza recounts that his father always had his piano with a desk to the right. On his desk, his score sheets would all be laid out, together with mechanical pencils, erasers, and a long brush.⁴⁷ Vicky Mendoza recalls: “when I grew up to be probably nine or something onward, my bedroom was

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ “Symphonie-Orchester Graunke,” Discogs (website), accessed March 26, 2021, <https://www.discogs.com/artist/696267-Symphonie-Orchester-Graunke>.

⁴⁶ “Gordon Eastman, Introduced to the Hall of Fame in 2011,” Wyoming Game and Fish Department (website), accessed March 26, 2021, <https://wgfd.wyo.gov/Get-Involved/Outdoor-Hall-of-Fame/Gordon-Eastman>.

⁴⁷ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

directly next to the living room where his baby grand was [...]. My dad's music was in my dreams, literally. He would be playing when I woke up, he would be playing when I went to bed, and if he had an inspiration he'd be playing in the middle of the night. He was not afraid of waking somebody up."⁴⁸

María Alicia Mendoza recounts that, while visiting the composer, she always stayed up at night watching television, which for her was a novelty. She would see her uncle come home at two or three in the morning after all his family had gone to bed. They would watch television together and talk about their days, and then Mendoza-Nava would play his compositions, sometimes telling her: "You are about to hear a premiere." Then, the composer would turn to write, saying: "wait, wait, we are going to modify this," and he would keep composing even after a full day of work. She explains that while she lived at her uncle's home, for around six months, she got to know him better and see how sensitive and loving he was.⁴⁹

María Alicia Mendoza also remembers her uncle's recounting of one of his workdays, during which he had to rearrange a vocal part for an actor who was not a very skilled singer. The composer had written an easy but still effective part, trying to help the actor advance with his career.⁵⁰ This skill of rearranging was second nature for the composer. Jaime Mendoza explains that, because of the nature of his father's work in

⁴⁸ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁴⁹ María Alicia Mendoza in conversation with the author.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

which he always had time constraints, he continuously adjusted parts on the spot for the musicians who struggled.⁵¹

Jaime Mendoza recounts the story of a performance that his father gave in La Paz as a young man. During a very important formal event attended by governmental authorities, the composer had played an arranged version of a piece by Chopin, but no one had noticed the changes except for his teacher. For Mendoza-Nava, being able to trick the audience and surprise his teacher was very pleasing. Jaime Mendoza explains that this anecdote is an example of the mischievous side of his father's personality.⁵²

María Alicia Mendoza states that her uncle's playfulness was a trait that characterized him since childhood, offering another anecdote she learned from her grandmother. Frequently hearing complaints about his child's behavior, the composer's father, who was a very formal person, would have to go look after his child only to find him hiding under his bed. Lifting the covers and bending over, he would call, "Come here!" But his child would just answer, "Wait!" After a stricter second call, "Listen! I have told you to come here!" the child would respond, "I have told you to wait!" and so on and so forth, until eventually any anger dissipated and everyone in the family laughed. Once the composer would come out from under his bed, the only punishment he received was a slight slap with a napkin on his back. María Alicia Mendoza explains that despite his hyperactive and mischievous nature—which stood out in particular next to his older

⁵¹ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁵² Ibid.

brothers, who were obedient and calm—the composer always received special treatment because of his talent and precocity.⁵³

Among the different types of projects in which Mendoza-Nava became involved were educational films. Jaime Mendoza recounts that, while in the seventh grade, he came across music that his father had written for a film about haiku. He narrates how he heard “the subtle tone of Japanese music as an image of a maple tree’s fall foliage appeared,” and how surprised he was after seeing the words “Music by Jaime Mendoza-Nava” fading in and out immediately after the main title, “HAIKU.”⁵⁴ A different example was the music the composer wrote for training films that were produced during the late 60s and 70s “by the Naval Air Station Point Mugu, a former United States Navy air station that operated from 1942 to 2000 in California.” Jaime Mendoza states that when his father would visit this military base, he had to always be accompanied by an escort because he was not an American citizen.⁵⁵

Mendoza-Nava never wanted to give up his Bolivian citizenship because he took great pride in it. The composer demonstrated his love for his native land in a different type of engagement, when he composed the theme music for the 1969 live broadcast of the Apollo 11 mission by CBS News. For this important occasion, he wrote his *Western Overture*, using the traditional Bolivian rhythm of the *carnavalito* to express his excitement. The composer continued to compose the theme music for all subsequent CBS

⁵³ María Alicia Mendoza in conversation with the author.

⁵⁴ Jaime Mendoza, “Mendoza-Navasan Meets Haiku,” *Jaime Mendoza Nava* (blog), accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/single-post/2017/04/30/mendoza-navasan-meets-haiku>.

⁵⁵ Jaime Mendoza Nava Archive, “One of Jaime’s clients was the US Navy,” Facebook, August 15, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/jaime.ignacio.733450/posts/142474266194828>.

broadcasts of the Apollo missions, also introducing sounds from Moog synthesizers for the first time on U.S. national television.⁵⁶

In 1973, the Mendoza-Nava family undertook their only trip to Bolivia. Christopher Mendoza recalls that they were met at the airport by photographers and the press and that their picture was printed in the newspapers.⁵⁷ During the trip, the family attended a production by the Bolivian Symphony of the opera *Aida* to watch the composer's brother Vicente sing the role of the High Priest. Their trip coincided with Bolivia's Independence Day, during which the composer impressed all his family and friends by improvising at the piano. According to the composer's nephew José Andrés Mendoza, his uncle played the national anthem without sheet music and went on playing other songs at request.⁵⁸

Vicente Mendoza recalls that, for his uncle, the most surprising change in La Paz was the sound of the city and not "that there were taller buildings and the streets had been paved." He recounts that the composer hired one of the best videographers in town, with whom he spent entire days recording the different sounds of his native city.⁵⁹ Mendoza-Nava's extraordinary aural sensitivity was often noticed by others and particularly his family. Vicky Mendoza states that sound held a special meaning for her father and that "he prided himself on understanding the important contribution sound made in telling a

⁵⁶ Jaime Mendoza, "To the Moon Courtesy of our TV Set," *Jaime Mendoza Nava* (blog), June 3, 2017, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/single-post/2017/06/03/to-the-moon-courtesy-of-our-tv-set>.

⁵⁷ Christopher Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁵⁸ José Andrés Mendoza, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

⁵⁹ Vicente Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

story, adding to a dramatic moment or helping to maintain a credible portrayal of a scene and, in doing so, maintaining the audience's suspended sense of reality and their immersion into the film."⁶⁰ Mendoza-Nava's understanding of the interrelation between sound and storytelling is reflected in an online review of the 1978 film *The Norseman*, produced by Samuel Z. Arkoff, which states that the best part of this film "is the original music from Jaime Mendoza-Nava, who makes it sound so much more epic than it has any right to be."⁶¹ Further evidencing the composer's heightened aural perception, Christopher Mendoza explains that his father once tried to illustrate the harmonic series for him, while asserting that he was aware of the overtones produced by the sonorities he created in his own compositions.⁶²

A different trait of the composer's persona that astounded the people around him was his "very active and voracious mind."⁶³ Daniel Mendoza, besides admiring his uncle's knowledge, clear ideas, and substance, remembers that, during the Bolivia trip, the composer "always carried a notebook and annotated every anecdote and every number he liked."⁶⁴ Mendoza-Nava constantly compiled material that interested him. Jaime Mendoza explains that his father kept folders documenting the activities of each member of his family and often collected information for them: "He'd say, 'Oh, I think

⁶⁰ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁶¹ "The Norseman (1978) Needed a Six Million Dollar Budget," by rchamberlain21, Monster Movie Kid, July 4, 2013, <https://monstermoviekid.wordpress.com/2013/07/04/the-norseman-1978-needed-a-six-million-dollar-budget/>.

⁶² Christopher Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁶³ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁶⁴ Daniel Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

you'll like these articles, Jaime,' and he'd send me a whole set of articles underlined with notes on the sides." A proponent for Latin-American music, the composer also recorded all the radio programs of classical Latin-American music that were broadcast every weekend on the Los Angeles station KUSC and learned about each of the featured composers and musicians. He also began writing a lexicon for which he assembled a binder of information about Bolivian musicians.⁶⁵

According to Vicente Mendoza, during his trip to Bolivia, Mendoza-Nava tried to create a foundation to help young movie producers. While his efforts did not come to fruition, they showed the composer's natural inclination toward helping others, which constituted another of his personality traits that never passed unnoticed.⁶⁶ Jaime Mendoza explains that his father always tried to engage with the people he met and learn about who they were, and that "that whole aspect of his personality influenced his choices in life, in terms of how he worked and with whom he worked." The composer often made sacrifices to help people he respected. For instance, if someone came into his studio, "he wouldn't necessarily want to charge that person a lot of money or take points on the film, he would want to try to help that person." Jaime Mendoza was able to better understand this side of his father's persona during the trip to Bolivia by seeing the great respect he demonstrated toward indigenous people. In addition, Jaime Mendoza states that his "father was very much an advocate for social justice" and that, even later in his life, he

⁶⁵ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁶⁶ Vicente Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

worked for a senator's campaign in California because he felt so strongly that the opponent's plan and rhetoric were wrong.⁶⁷

Author, producer, and director Arthur Gould, with whom Mendoza-Nava collaborated on the art film *Plato's Cave* in 1974, conveyed a similar impression while writing about his experience producing the film:⁶⁸

“PLATO’S CAVE” is far from a simple film. To me, it had more creative challenge than the most complex theatrical feature film. We completed the production for under fifteen thousand dollars. It would have cost ten times that under normal production procedures. I’m grateful to a great many people who helped me “put the pieces together.” One of those I’m most grateful to is Jaime Mendoza-Nava. His magnificent, complex, original musical score, so essential to a non-verbal film, required twenty-one recording channels... one for each year I wanted to make “PLATO’S CAVE.”⁶⁹

Among other very interesting projects that Mendoza-Nava embarked upon are two movies intended to raise awareness of the 1915 Armenian genocide. *The Promise of Love*—released in 1974—and *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*—released in 1982 and based on a 1933 novel by Franz Werfel—originated from the composer's collaboration with filmmaker, song writer, and actor Sarky Mouradian that started in 1962 and lasted for over twenty-five years.⁷⁰ Despite the lack of attention that these movies received in the U.S., they became huge successes in Lebanon and other parts of the world, where they

⁶⁷ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁶⁸ *Plato's Cave*, written and directed by Arthur Gould (Santa Monica, CA: Pyramid Film & Video, 1974), videocassette.

⁶⁹ Arthur Gould, “The Long Wait for ‘Plato’s Cave.’” *American Cinematographer* 56, no. 3 (1975): 322-323,333,353-359.

⁷⁰ Jaime Mendoza, “‘The Promise’ Stands on the Shoulders of Sarky Mouradian, Filmmaker, and his ‘Forty D,’” *Jaime Mendoza Nava* (blog), accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/single-post/2017/04/19/the-promise-stands-on-the-shoulders-of-sarky-mouradian-filmmaker-and-his-forty-days-of-mu>.

played in theaters for months, in part because they were directed toward Armenian audiences. Mouradian was also doing what is known as “four-walling,” which meant that he not only produced the film but also hired the theater and paid for the advertisement. According to Jaime Mendoza, Mouradian recounted during an interview that, after the premiere of one of the films in Armenia, people approached him asking about the music: “Who is the composer? How did he know this music so well?” The musical score by Mendoza-Nava had captivated the audience because it sounded just like Armenian music but translated into a symphonic style. As Mouradian described it, one of the aspects of the composer’s genius was that “he could study and understand the music, and he could create it, the same sound.”⁷¹

A similar observation was put forward by motion-picture director, producer, writer, and actor L.Q. Johns, who worked with Mendoza-Nava on several occasions. During a conversation with Jaime Mendoza, Johns stated that the composer could write any type of music: “If it was a western, you’d tell him, it was a western, there would be a western. If it was horror, a scary movie, he could do a scary movie.”⁷² Notable examples of the collaboration between Mendoza-Nava and Johns are the 1971 film *Brotherhood of Satan* and the 1975 production of *A Boy and His Dog*, the latter of which inspired George Miller’s 1979 classic, *Mad Max*.⁷³

⁷¹ Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ben Donahue, “A Boy and his Dog: We Don’t Need Another Hero,” *Cinematheque* (blog), February 5, 2020, <https://cinema.wisc.edu/blog/2020/02/05/boy-and-his-dog-we-dont-need-another-hero>.

Mendoza-Nava was also a “key collaborator” of Charles B. Pierce, who is now considered a trailblazer and icon for low-budget films. Their most successful movie, *Legend of Boggy Creek*, was produced in 1972 on a \$160,000 budget and became the “tenth highest grossing film” of the same year with a profit of \$25 million. By 2017, it reached a gross profit of \$145 million in inflation-adjusted dollars. The movie was made in a “mockumentary” style, in which real “interviews were paced with staged dramatic sequences.” Mendoza-Nava’s music, which included “suitably quaint folk tunes,” gave weight to the interspersed horror scenes. The film sparked several other “‘creature features,’ which dominated grindhouses and drive-ins throughout the seventies.” It also inspired “Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sanchez in the creation of their indie blockbuster ‘The Blair Witch Project’” of 1999. Other remarkable projects by Pierce and Mendoza-Nava included *Bootleggers* of 1974 and *The Town That Dreaded Sundown* of 1976.⁷⁴

The Concert Works

In addition to his business endeavors, Mendoza-Nava always dedicated himself to composing music for the concert stage. Vicky Mendoza observes: “I felt like there were the early years when he was super diligent and working hard on his work [...], and then the more middle years when he was extremely, *extremely* busy with work. It was very intense. It was kind of like a very hard time of his postproduction life. I think he was

⁷⁴ Daniel Kremerin, “The Art of the Possible: Charles B. Pierce’s Arkansas Cinema,” *Filmmaker Magazine*, April 17, 2017, <https://filmmakermagazine.com/102185-the-art-of-the-possible-charles-b-pierces-arkansas-cinema/#.YFfX8K9KjIW>.

working twenty-four hours and [...] a lot of things he did at the piano were for that, and then, as he retired, more of his own work.”⁷⁵

Atiliano Auza positions Mendoza-Nava in what he calls a period of conciliation in the musical history of Bolivia, meaning that composers contemporary with Mendoza-Nava coalesced the early nationalistic expressions of the first half of the twentieth century into a more consummate style.⁷⁶ The work of Mendoza-Nava in particular includes major orchestral genres, such as his *Piano Concerto* or the tone poems *Antahuara* and *Pachamama*, that were not explored by his precursors.⁷⁷ Other examples listed by Auza include a *Symphonic Prelude*, an *Andean suite* for trio of wind instruments, a *Sonata for French Horn and Piano*, and a *Fugue* for piano titled *Las cuatro quenás* (The Four *Quenas*).⁷⁸

It was only natural for Mendoza-Nava to cultivate a compositional style that included nationalistic traits, having grown up amid the process that consolidated the Bolivian national identity. It is not difficult to picture the young composer attending *retretas* and carnival parades, as well as listening to the radio during the Chaco War. Just as he was aware, from a very young age, of the limitations faced by Bolivian musicians, it is very likely that he understood the ideological connotations that were interwoven with Bolivian nationalistic art. The composer’s advocacy for social justice might have originated in his exposure to early Bolivian nationalism.

⁷⁵ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁷⁶ Auza, *Música boliviana*, 133-135.

⁷⁷ See Appendix A, List of Mendoza-Nava’s Concert Works, page 127.

⁷⁸ Auza, *Música boliviana*, 159-160.

An assessment of Mendoza-Nava's overall compositional style, however, is problematic due to the current unavailability of most of his output. The composer only published three works throughout his lifetime, while studying in New York City. *Estampas y estampillas* for two cellos or cello choir (which received very positive reviews) and *Three Bolivian Dances for Piano* were published by Rongwen Music in 1956; and *Gitana for Piano* was published by Broude Bros in 1957.⁷⁹ The first two of these works reflect the composer's nationalistic influence in his use of Bolivian traditional rhythms, which are grouped as in a baroque suite, a characteristic that can also be observed in other works by the composer.⁸⁰

A nationalistic vein can also be observed in the composer's choice of texts, in the case of songs, and in the references to Bolivian culture of several of his titles. A defining characteristic of the composer's style, however, appears to be a sound world full of exotic and colorful harmonies that contrast with the Andean sonorities commonly found in Bolivian early nationalism. In the case of his 1987 song cycle *Tres poemas de Alfaro* (Three Poems by Alfaro), for instance, the only Bolivian influence is the poetry by Oscar Alfaro.⁸¹ A similar example is the 1988 song "La niña y el arpa" (The Girl and the Harp), with text by Antonio Ávila Jiménez, which belongs to a set of orchestral songs titled *Recuerdos de Bolivia* (Remembrances of Bolivia). Dedicated to soprano María Eugenia Muñoz de Soux—who sang the premiere in La Paz in 1989 accompanied by the Bolivian

⁷⁹ Jaime Mendoza, "A Little Known Master Piece," *Jaime Mendoza Nava* (blog), accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www.jaimemendozanava.net/single-post/2017/03/30/a-little-known-masterpiece>.

⁸⁰ See Appendix A, List of Jaime Mendoza-Nava's Concert Works, page 127.

⁸¹ Jaime Mendoza-Nava, "Tres poemas de Alfaro," score, 1987, Mendoza Family Private Collection.

National Symphony and conductor Ramiro Soriano—these orchestral set was probably the only work that the composer premiered in Bolivia after moving to the U.S.⁸²

Other concert works by Mendoza-Nava can be said to either be cosmopolitan or belong to his own compositional style. Vicky Mendoza likewise described her father as a cosmopolitan person who was also interested in modern music.⁸³ Mendoza-Nava's orchestral song *La gran desnudez*, which was based on a poem by Spanish writer Eugenio d'Ors and composed during Mendoza-Nava's stay in Madrid, constitutes a clear example of this type of works.⁸⁴ Other examples include his piano pieces *Canción de las calles* (Song of the Streets), three movements inspired by street workers and composed in 1987,⁸⁵ and *El picaflor* (The Hummingbird), a brilliant character piece dedicated to Bolivian pianist Walter Ponce and composed in 2002.⁸⁶ Another prominent characteristic of the composer's style appears to be the graphic nature of his music, which can easily spark images in the listener's mind.

At the end of his life, Mendoza-Nava wished he would have been able to invest more time in writing concert music. Vicky Mendoza explains: “when he was dying, he said, ‘I love your mom and I love you guys [...], but I should never have got married.’ And I was okay with that because [...] I understood. It's not about whether you love your

⁸² Ramiro Soriano, in conversation with the author, March 2017.

⁸³ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁸⁴ Música Selecta LLC, “Jaime Mendoza Nava.”

⁸⁵ Jaime Mendoza-Nava, “Canción de las calles,” score, 1987, Mendoza Family Private Collection.

⁸⁶ Jaime Mendoza-Nava, “El picaflor,” score, 2002, Mendoza Family Private Collection.

kid [...]. It's about understanding who you are and what you are on the planet to do. And unfortunately, my dad was probably on the planet to make music and he probably made a third of what he could have made because he had a family.”⁸⁷

Mendoza-Nava died of complications of diabetes on May 31, 2005, in Los Angeles.⁸⁸ His family remembers him in particular for his great sensibility. María Alicia Mendoza recounts that, during his final days, he telephoned all his family and many friends in Bolivia and that he felt an intense longing for his native land.⁸⁹ His sensibility toward people was also evident from the instrumental role he played helping many people succeed in the film industry. Exuding passion and love for classical music, he was able to notice the incredible things in life and be easily marveled by them. His children explain that the composer’s extraordinary qualities were combined with a great deal of impracticality, giving credit to their mother, Billie Mendoza, for holding their house together.

⁸⁷ Vicky Mendoza, in conversation with the author.

⁸⁸ Oliver, “Jaime Mendoza-Nava, 79.”

⁸⁹ María Alicia Mendoza in conversation with the author.

CHAPTER 3

PAÍS DE SOMBRA

The Poet

Bolivian poet Ricardo Jaimes Freyre is best known as one of the pioneers of the modernist literary movement in Latin America. Throughout his life, however, he worked not only as a writer of verse and prose, but also as an educator, journalist, historian, and diplomat. His contributions in all these areas are significant and, to this day, generate discussion among scholars.

Ricardo Jaimes Freyre was born on May 12, 1868, in the Bolivian consulate in Tacna, Peru. Therefore, he was born with Bolivian citizenship according to the constitution of Bolivia. His father, Julio Lucas Jaimes, at the time consul of Bolivia in Tacna, was a very well-known writer in America and Spain under the pen name of *Brocha Gorda* (Broad Brush). His mother, Carolina Freyre, was also a writer with prestige in Peru and Bolivia.¹ Jaimes Freyre attended school in the Peruvian capital Lima, where he also started university studies. In 1883, however, he interrupted his studies and returned to Tacna with his family. After staying in Tacna for a short period, the family returned to Bolivia, where Jaimes Freyre began teaching philosophy at the Junín school in the Bolivian capital Sucre. While in Bolivia, he married Felicidad Soruco on May 8,

¹ Emilio Carilla, *Ricardo Jaimes Freyre* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1962), 10.

1886.² Jaimes Freyre never completed university studies. According to scholar Mireya Jaimes Freyre,³ books were his university, because he was, from a young age, a very passionate reader who left, after his death, a library of five thousand volumes.⁴ In 1922, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of La Paz.

In 1889, his father was appointed minister plenipotentiary of Bolivia in the court of Emperor Pedro II of Brazil, and Jaimes Freyre was appointed as his secretary. However, the Brazilian revolution forced the emperor to return to Europe and the Jaimes family, already on its way to Brazil, had to stay in Buenos Aires. In the Argentinian capital, Julio Lucas Jaimes was invited to work as the editor of one of the leading Argentinian newspapers, *La Nación* (The Nation), which at the time printed 58,000 copies daily.⁵ Soon after, Jaimes Freyre was also invited to be the editor of another important Buenos-Aires newspaper, *El País* (The Country).

This cosmopolitan city was a very welcoming environment for artists. The most important cultural institution was *El Ateneo*, founded on June 23, 1892. It was an

² Eduardo Joubin Colombres, "Estudio preliminar sobre la personalidad y la obra del autor," in *Ricardo Jaimes Freyre: poesías completas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1944), 13. According to Carilla, *Jaimes Freyre*, 11, the year of the wedding was 1888.

³ Biographical information about Mireya Jaimes Freyre is scarce. She published several articles compiled in the book *Modernismo y '98 a través de Ricardo Jaimes Freyre* (Modernism and '98 through Ricardo Jaimes Freyre) published in Madrid in 1969. Although this book has been criticized as raising a false contraposition between the Latin-American modernism and the Spanish Generation of '98, the analysis and observations provided by the author are useful for the present study. The kinship between Mireya and Ricardo Jaimes Freyre is unknown. See Mauricio Souza Crespo, *Lugares comunes del modernismo: aproximaciones a Ricardo Jaimes Freyre* (La Paz, Bolivia: Plural Editores, 2003), and Klaus Meyer-Minnemann, review of *Modernismo y '98 a través de Ricardo Jaimes Freyre*, by Mireya Jaimes Freyre, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica (NRFH)* 21 (1972): 437.

⁴ Mireya Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo y '98 a través de Ricardo Jaimes Freyre* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1969), 99.

⁵ Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *Los raros: una lectura integral* (Managua: Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura, 1996), 13.

organization that held competitions of painting, sculpture, and music and sponsored artist meetings and other events. The rooms of *El Ateneo* were crowded with artists from diverse artistic currents, as well as critics and journalists. Jaimes Freyre met Rubén Darío and Leopoldo Lugones in the rooms of *El Ateneo*, where they exchanged their ideas.

In 1894, Jaimes Freyre, along with Rubén Darío, founded the *Revista de América* (Magazine of America).⁶ This publication was central for the development of the Latin-American modernist literary movement. Its first issue stated the modernists' ideals written by Darío. Through the publication of other magazines and his own works, Jaimes Freyre moved forward the modernist movement. His most famous work, *Castalia bárbara*, published in 1899, is a collection of thirteen poems that is considered a prime example and triumph of Latin-American modernism.⁷

In 1900, Jaimes Freyre moved back to Tucumán for an unknown reason.⁸ In Tucumán, he was a teacher at Colegio Nacional de Tucumán (National School of Tucumán) from 1901 to 1923. In 1905, he founded the magazine *Revista de Letras y Ciencias Sociales* (Magazine of Letters and Social Sciences) together with Juan B. Teran and Julio Lopez Mañan. He was also appointed as professor in the Escuela Normal and the University of Tucumán. In 1911, he published *Historia de la república de Tucumán* (History of the Republic of Tucuman), and in 1912 *Leyes de la versificación castellana*

⁶ Gwen Kirkpatrick, *The Dissonant Legacy of Modernism: Lugones, Herrera and Reissig, and the Voices of Modern Spanish American Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁷ Carilla, *Jaimes Freyre*, 31.

⁸ Joubin Colombres, "Estudio preliminar," 26-27.

(Laws of the Versification of the Spanish Language).⁹ This latter work is an example of Jaimes Freyre's interest in the renovation of poetic form brought about by the modernist movement in opposition to the rigid rules of Spanish classic poetry. Jaimes Freyre was one of the first modernists to introduce verses of different meters in the same composition. This metric freedom was already adopted by romantic poets, but it was further advanced by Jaimes Freyre.¹⁰ From 1921 to 1927, he occupied several diplomatic positions for the Bolivian government in Santiago, Washington DC, and Rio de Janeiro. In 1925, he avoided running for the presidency of Bolivia,¹¹ despite his nomination as presidential candidate by the Bolivian Republican Party. He died on April 24, 1933, in Buenos Aires.¹²

The Poetry

País de sombra (Land of Shadow) is a collection of ten poems written by Ricardo Jaimes Freyre and published in 1918.¹³ The title hints at the dark, gloomy character of the poems, in which sorrow, anguish, and horror are recurring themes. These feelings are conveyed with language that is full of ominous images and metaphors of winter,

⁹ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰ Mireya Jaimes Freyre, "Universalismo y romanticismo en un poeta 'modernista': Ricardo Jaimes Freyre," *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 31 (1965), 236-246.

¹¹ Augusto Guzmán, "Ricardo Jaimes Freyre," in *Ricardo Jaimes Freyre y el modernismo* (La Paz, Bolivia: Biblioteca Popular Boliviana de 'Ultima Hora,' 1980), 34.

¹² Joubin Colombres, "Estudio preliminar," 65.

¹³ Luis Monguió, "Recordatorio de Ricardo Jaimes Freyre," *Revista Iberoamericana* 8 (1944): 121-133.

nighttime, and other harsh elements of nature. The poetry is an example of Jaimes Freyre's free-verse style. In this style, cultivated within the modernist movement, the number of syllables in each line and the succession of lines are determined only by the musical ear of the poet.¹⁴ Scholars have traced its origin to French symbolism.

Mireya Jaimes Freyre sees the influence of French symbolism not only in Jaimes Freyre's free-verse style, but also in his utilization of systems of *correspondances*. Systems of *correspondances* were an essential component of symbolist poetry, through which symbols, pertaining to an "inexpressible realm of the eternal," could be associated with elements in the physical world.¹⁵ These associations (or *correspondances*) amplified the emotional impact of the poetry, for example, by aligning subjective states with physical landscapes. Also, "one of the central tenets of symbolism" was to create synesthetic *correspondances*, in which the stimuli of two different senses were associated. In the sonnet *Les Voyelles* (The Vowels, 1871) by Athur Rimbaud, for instance, different vowels are each associated with a color.¹⁶

In addition to the symbolist traits, other literary labels have been applied to Jaimes Freyre's work. Mireya Jaimes Freyre characterizes his poetry also as neo-romantic and even expressionistic. She describes the poetry as a "landscape of anguish" and compares

¹⁴ M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo* y 98, 61.

¹⁵ *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "Symbolism," by Michael Wachtel (Princeton University Press, 2012).

¹⁶ *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "Synaesthesia," by T.V.F. Brogan, Alfred Engstrom and Jordan Finkin (Princeton University Press, 2012). See also: John Fraim, "Symbolism of Place," *Symbolism*, accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.symbolism.org/writing/books/sp/8/page2.html>.

it to the dark colors and distorted, stressed facial expressions of the paintings of El Greco.¹⁷

Jaimes Freyre might not have alluded to Bolivia with the title of *País de sombra*. According to one of his biographers, Eduardo Joubin Colombres, Jaimes Freyre “never gave importance to the political concept of homeland. He always considered himself as a citizen of the Americas and a citizen of the world... although he always loved Bolivia as intensely as he loved the world, life, and humankind.”¹⁸ Furthermore, the first poem in the collection includes references to Roman culture. Similar references to other cultures are also found in another collection, titled *País de sueños* (Land of Dreams), published together with *País de sombra*.

Even though Jaimes Freyre might have used the title in a general way to designate a place of darkness, scholars Raúl Botelho Gosálvez and Mireya Jaimes Freyre have agreed with Carlos Medinaceli’s observation that the landscape in many of the poet’s works is an Andean landscape.¹⁹ Referring to *Castalia bárbara*, Medinaceli writes:

[Jaimes Freyre] traveled extensively, since he was a child, in those long and slow journeys on the back of mules that people made through the lands of Peru and Bolivia in the old days. He traveled staying overnight in the *tambos* (Indian inns), in those primitive *chujllas* (Indian huts), battered by the wind, the snow, and the fog. All that landscape went deep into his soul... When the time of poetry arrived, the subconscious came to the surface. And, expressing the most hidden things in his soul, his feeling of the landscape, his feeling of remoteness, his cosmogonic vision, his metaphysical longing, influenced by the literary fashion of his time, the

¹⁷ M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo* y 98, 59-70, 73, 238-243.

¹⁸ Joubin Colombres, “Estudio preliminar,” 41-42.

¹⁹ Raúl Botelho Gosálvez, *Ricardo Jaimes Freyre y el modernismo* (La Paz, Bolivia: Biblioteca Popular Boliviana de ‘Ultima Hora,’ 1980), 18; M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo* y 98, 7.

poet turned to the Nordic symbolism; nonetheless, in European form, he poured forth his Latin-American spirit, his Andean sentiment of life.²⁰

Medinaceli's observation can also be applied to the poems selected by Mendoza-Nava for his song cycle, particularly the poem "Crepúsculo" (Twilight).

The Song Cycle

País de sombra was composed in 1988 for baritone voice²¹ and only a few copies of the manuscript score exist. Its performance history is unknown, but it is very likely that it has never been performed or recorded before. The highly-praised musicality of Jaimes Freyre's verses was perhaps what enticed Mendoza-Nava to select three poems for his song cycle. In addition, it was only natural for him to select an important Bolivian work, because he loved Bolivia deeply and identified himself proudly as Bolivian.²² Conversely to Jaimes Freire, it is very likely that, by keeping the title *País de sombra*, Mendoza-Nava was making a reference to his home country.

²⁰ "Viajó mucho, desde niño, en esas largas y lentas caminatas a lomo de mula que antes se hacían por tierras del Perú y Bolivia y, al viajar así, al pernoctar en los tambos, en esas primitivas chujllas, azotadas por el viento, la nieve y la neblina, todo ese paisaje fue adentrándose en su alma... Cuando llego la hora de la poesía, el subconsciente afloró al exterior y el poeta, al expresar lo más soterrado de su alma, su sentimiento del paisaje, su sentimiento de la lejanía, su visión cosmogónica y su anhelo metafísico recurrió sugestionado por la moda literaria de su tiempo a la simbología nórdica; pero en forma europea, virtió [sic] su espíritu americano, su sentimiento andino de la vida." Quoted in Guzmán, "Jaimes Freyre," 38. Translation by current author.

²¹ Jaime Mendoza-Nava, "País de sombra," score, 1988, Mendoza Family Private Collection [Digital copy available at <http://jaimemendozanava.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/PAIS-DE-SOMBRA-PARA-VOZ-Y-PIANO.pdf>]

²² Jaime Mendoza, in conversation with the author, February 2017.

Crepúsculo

“Crepúsculo,” the first song in Mendoza-Nava’s song cycle, is a setting of the third poem in Jaimes Freyre’s work. The affinity between the landscape described in “Crepúsculo” and the landscape of the Bolivian Andes was perhaps what inspired Mendoza-Nava to use this poem to open his song cycle.

The text and translation follow:

Crepúsculo

Twilight²³

Por estrecha hondonada pasa el sendero,
Through a narrow hollow, the path wends,

Entre [los] rotos peñascos y ardua maleza,
Between broken cliffs and arduous brush,

Y tiembla, en las rojizas cimas abruptas,
And, the fainting light of the stars

La luz desfalleciente de las estrellas.
Trembles on the abrupt reddish summits.

Con su lúgubre risa rueda el arroyo,
With its lugubrious laugh, the stream rolls,

Arrastrando sus aguas, hondas y negras,
Dragging its deep and black waters,

Y erguidas en los flancos de las montañas,
And rising from the sides of the mountains,

Hacen signos burlones las ramas secas.
The dried branches create mocking signs.

²³ Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, *Poesías completas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1944), 110.
Translation by current author.

Mireya Jaimes Freyre has observed that Jaimes Freyre's poems are consistently constructed in two parts, "one that narrates the anecdote and the other one that expresses the idea."²⁴ In this view, the part that closes the poem captures its universal and transcendental meaning. In "Crepúsculo," the first stanza serves to describe a natural scene at dawn, which one might expect to be peaceful and calm. However, it subtly produces a sense of unease through the adjectives applied to the natural elements (narrow, broken, arduous, and fainting). The second stanza then evokes powerful emotions through images and associations that build on the intensity of the first stanza.

It is possible that Mendoza-Nava identified these images and associations of the second stanza as having a deeper connection with Bolivia, thus finding the poem even more compelling for his song cycle. In the collective Bolivian imagination, the verb *arrastrar* (to drag) is associated with the slaves who worked in the silver mines of the Cerro Rico (Rich Hill) in the city of Potosí during colonial times. Several narratives and legends mention slaves dragging their chains. The traditional dance *morenada*, for example, highly popular during carnival and other feasts, represents these slave-miners. It features an idiophone instrument called *matraca*, which mimics the sound of the chains being dragged. According to Gregorio Iriarte, eight and a half million *indios* died in the Potosí mines as a result of their unjust exploitation during Spain's colonial reign.²⁵ In this sense, the second stanza could be interpreted as a metaphor of this historical tragedy.

²⁴ M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo* y 98, 24.

²⁵ Gregorio Iriarte, *Galerías de muerte: vida de los mineros bolivianos* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1972), 30.

Besides the connotation of the word *arrastrar* (to drag) added to the description of the stream, the words *lúgubre* (lugubrious) and *negras* (black) clearly convey the idea of death, and the word *hondas* (deep) suggests the proportions of the tragedy. The sense of tragedy is also conveyed by the oxymoronic “lugubrious laugh” (*risa lúgubre*) and the irony of “the dried branches [that] create mocking signs” (*hacen signos burlones las ramas secas*). The positional relationship of the natural elements of the poem—the light of the stars above the summit of the mountain above the arroyo—also adds hierarchical associations. The “sides of the mountains” (*flancos de las montañas*), for example, suggest a more advantageous position than the low level of the “stream” (arroyo). The word *erguidas* (rising), also carrying the meaning of good posture, reinforces this opposition of place that adds to the meaning of the contradictory images. If one makes these associations and interpretations, it is possible to conclude that Jaimes Freyre intentionally depicted the Andean landscape and evoked a central part of Bolivia’s history in this particular poem.

These observations are also connected to other characteristics of Jaimes Freyre’s work. Mireya Jaimes Freyre has noted a pictorial element present in many of his poems. In words that could also be applied to “Crepúsculo,” she explains about the poem “El hospitalario” (The Hospitable Man):²⁶

Ricardo Jaimes Freyre insists on composing well the picture, the painting, because this is a depiction and not a description. What he wants is to make the reader *feel* what he *sees, feel* and not *comprehend*. There is nothing to comprehend. To comprehend terror is to conquer it. On the contrary, the reader must feel what the poet feels. The entire painting is mysterious, and, not knowing

²⁶ From the collection of poems *Medioevales*, a subsection of the work *País de sueño*.

what happens next, the reader is already excited, sensing that something horrible is about to happen...²⁷

Mireya Jaimes Freyre states that, for Jaimes Freyre, the landscape is only an excuse to express his anguish and melancholy and, using “Crepúsculo” as an example, compares his poem’s landscapes to the paintings by Gustave Doré.²⁸ “Crepúsculo,” is undoubtedly like Doré’s expressive landscapes, which are seemingly calm but conveying a sense of ominousness achieved through his use of bleak colors, “dramatic exploitation of chiaroscuro,” and “somewhat fantastical vision of the world of peaks and valleys.”²⁹

The pictorial nature of Jaimes Freyre’s work has been observed and analyzed also by Robert Scott.³⁰ Scott has described the poet’s short story “En las montañas” (In the Mountains) as a “visual action story,” in which the narrative point of view is strictly spatial. Similarly, in “Crepúsculo,” the description is full of motion (the path wends, the light trembles, the stream rolls), and it presents a sense of verticality by depicting natural elements that are on different levels. The two stanzas have a similar progression of topics. Both begin low (path wending through a hollow, rolling stream), then move upward (to the “summits” in the first stanza and to the mountainsides in the second stanza).

²⁷ “Ricardo Jaimes Freyre insiste en componer bien el cuadro, la pintura, pues éste es un cuadro y no una descripción. Lo que quiere es hacer que el lector “sienta” no “comprenda.” No hay nada que comprender. Comprender el terror es conquistarlo. Por el contrario, hay que sentir lo que siente el poeta. Toda la pintura es una pintura misteriosa, y sin comprender lo que va a suceder, el lector ya está emocionado, presintiendo que algo horrible va a suceder...” M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo y 98*, 242-243. Translation by current author.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

²⁹ Grove Art Online, s.v. “Doré, Gustave(-Paul),” by Gilles Chazal, accessed 15 Mar. 2018, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000023374>.

³⁰ Robert Scott, “The Visual Artistry of Ricardo Jaimes Freyre’s ‘En las Montañas,’” *Studies in Short Fiction* 28.2 (1991): 195-201.

Mendoza-Nava's song shares with the poem many of these characteristics. The song is divided into two sections, with a piano introduction and an interlude connecting them. The verticality of the poem's landscape is represented throughout the song, primarily in the syllabic and angular vocal line. The poem's natural objects are represented in the shape of the musical phrases and their different harmonic regions or sets of pitches, appearing either with or without tonal centers. The combination of all these aspects produces a continuously varied melodic line, unified by recurring musical motives that are relegated to the piano part. Present at the beginning of the introduction and at the end of each section, these motives delineate the form of the song by acting, in a way, as a diptych's frame.

Although the composer did not provide a tempo marking, the tempo should correspond with the time of day represented in the poem. The poem's reference to "the fainting light of the stars" (*la luz desfalleciente de las estrellas*) suggests dawn, a calm time that would call for a slow tempo. Two images in the poem that evoke a sense of effort also would suggest a slow tempo: the "arduous brush" (*ardua maleza*) and the stream, "dragging its deep and black waters" (*arrastrando sus aguas hondas y negras*). Considering that the text is often compressed into eighth notes, the shortest rhythmic value in the song, a tempo *Lento*, no faster than 60 quarter notes per minute, is justifiable in order to achieve the slow pace and placid rhythms that the text's subject matter requires.

Similar to Jaimes Freyre's verses, the meter in the musical setting of "Crepúsculo" changes freely. The piano supports the vocal line with a chordal

accompaniment that serves as a coloristic harmonic cushion, sometimes leaving the vocal line exposed over held sonorities, or complementing it with countermelodies and tone-painting effects. A similarity with Doré’s paintings can be recognized in the consistently high level of dissonance, which resembles the painter’s bleak colors and creates the atmosphere of a rather hostile landscape.

The introduction creates a luminous effect, like the first colors of dawn gradually emerging from darkness. This effect is created with four slow-moving chords, which become higher and wider until the last one spans more than five octaves (Example 1). Interwoven with these four chords, short melodies—two pairs of countermelodies and a single one—descend from the high register of the piano to the middle register, adding to the image.

Example 1: Opening chords and whole-tone and chromatic motives, “Crepúsculo,” mm. 1-4. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava. Reproduced by permission of the Mendoza family.

After the introduction, a *pianissimo*, dissonant chord in the lower register of the piano gives way to the vocal line (m. 5).³¹ This D-minor chord with an added C sharp in

³¹ The full score of the *País de sombra* is provided in Appendix B, page 129.

the bass foreshadows the disturbing scene that is about to be described. The sudden change of register feels like a shift of the observer's focus from the overall scene to the first natural objects described in the poem, the "hollow" (*hondonada*) and the "path" (*sendero*), an effect comparable to Doré's chiaroscuros. The shape and speech rhythm of the first vocal phrase mimic the movement of the wending path (mm. 5-8). The voice rises and crescendos with winding eighth notes, and then falls at a slower pace, while being supported by the piano with even slower chords that gradually become more open, as the phrase ascends, and return to a close position, as the phrase descends. This vocal phrase begins in the lowest register, representing the ground level, and it is prevalingly pentatonic, producing an Andean flavor.

The next phrase moves to the upper-middle register of the voice, depicting the change of elevation of the new natural objects introduced in the description (mm. 9-13). The reference to "broken cliffs" (*rotos peñascos*) employs an E-flat-major pitch collection (mm. 9-11), and the "arduous brush" (*ardua maleza*) combines the piano's G major with the voice's A major (mm. 12-13). The abrupt juxtaposition of these tonal implications happens right at the climax of the phrase in m. 12, creating a sense of effort to illustrate the word "arduous" (*ardua*). This sense of effort comes from the voice having to reach a higher E5, which feels like a correction of the previous E-flat5 reached in the first part of the phrase. The effect is also intensified with the dynamic's rise to *mezzo forte*, and a more intricate piano texture. The diatonicism of the vocal line that results from the use of diatonic pitch collections, paired with the strongly 2/4 rhythm spiced up with the syncopation in m. 11, creates a folk character that, together with the

Andean flavor of the previous phrase, depicts the apparent tranquility of the poem's first lines.

With the phrase that follows, “trembles on the abrupt reddish summits” (*y tiembla, en las rojizas cimas abruptas*), the first section of the song reaches its climax (mm. 14-16). This climax is supported by the dynamics, which reach *forte*, emphasizing the word “trembles.” With the elaborate grace notes that tone-paint this word in mm. 14-15, Mendoza-Nava was probably mimicking a characteristic type of strumming technique of the *charango*.³² This strumming technique, called *repique* and described by Mariano Llanos Herrera as “fast movements of the hand that replace some beats in the rhythm,”³³ produces an effect of trembling characteristic of Bolivian folk music. Also, the pentatonic scale of the grace notes and their supporting chord could be intended to mimic the tuning of the *charango*, which, containing only four pitches, has been described as a “defective pentatonic scale.”³⁴ The climax is also supported by the angular vocal line that, portraying the “abrupt summits” (*cimas abruptas*), reaches its highest note. As the tension of the climax is released at the end of the phrase, the word “abrupt” (*abruptas*) is tone-painted in m. 16 with the voice's augmented-fourth fall from D-sharp5 to A4, a pitch that suddenly moves out of the pentatonic scale. A rolled chord in the piano makes

³² The Andean instrument *charango* is discussed in Chapter 1, The Acoustical Aesthetics of Andean Native Instruments, page 28.

³³ Mariano Llanos Herrera, “Charango, Repique y Trémolo,” YouTube Video, 3:18, June 23, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oVqAC8ka5U>.

³⁴ Celestino Campos Iglesias, *Música, danza e instrumentos folklóricos de Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Producciones Cima, 2005), 101.

one last reference to the *charango*, and the dynamics taper down to prepare the final phrase of the section.

The following phrase brings back the *piano* and *pianissimo* dynamics of the beginning of the song, mm. 17-20 (Example 2). The opening chord of the song also returns an octave lower and is extended throughout the phrase that introduces the last line of the first stanza: “the fainting light of the stars” (*la luz desfalleciente de las estrellas*). Together with the sustained opening chord, an undulating line of eighth notes, resembling the twinkling of the stars, is also present throughout the phrase in the piano. These eighth notes are foreshadowed by the highest melodic fragment in m. 1 (the whole-tone motive, Example 1 above), whose pitches E-flat – G – F – D-flat launch the undulating line in m. 17. This whole-tone motive appears to be a representation of the light of the stars, suggesting the sky’s elevated place with its high register in m. 1, and later on, creating a close-up effect with its lower register and increased length, while the text is directly addressing the image (mm. 17-20). Accordingly, the voice represents the extinguishing light by complementing the whole-tone scale of the motive in mm. 17-19, but abandoning this scale at the end of the line, in m. 19, with a melodic turn that contains two semitones.

Example 2: Recurring motives: opening chord, and whole-tone and chromatic motives, “Crepúsculo,” mm. 16-26. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava. Reproduced by permission of the Mendoza family.

The musical score for Example 2 consists of two systems. The first system (measures 16-20) shows a vocal line in treble clef and piano accompaniment in grand staff. The vocal line begins with a melody in 3/4 time, marked *mf*. The piano accompaniment features a chromatic figure in the right hand, marked *pp*, and a whole-tone undulating line in the left hand, marked *p*. The second system (measures 21-26) shows the vocal line continuing in treble clef and the piano accompaniment in grand staff. The piano accompaniment begins with a *cresc.* and reaches *f* by measure 23. The piano part features a chromatic figure in the right hand and a whole-tone undulating line in the left hand. The score ends with a double bar line and an 8va marking.

A bar later, in m. 21, the piano begins the interlude by turning the whole-tone undulating line into an angular, disjointed succession of pairs of semitones (Example 2, above). These semitones are a variation of the chromatic figure introduced as a countermelody to the whole-tone motive in m. 1 (Example 1, above). This version of the chromatic motive permeates the first part of the piano interlude (mm. 21-26, shown in Example 2, above), also as descending chromatic lines that anticipate and prepare the tragic scene presented in the next section. This preparation occurs along with a buildup, in which the piano becomes fuller in texture and wider in range, with a *crescendo* that reaches *forte* with a chord that spans almost six octaves, including the lowest A0 of the piano. The highest line of this buildup recalls the voice’s melodic turn that represented the extinguishing light. It begins with the three eighth notes at the end of m. 23 (Example

2, above). These eighths move upward by step, then leap an augmented fifth to the A-sharp⁵ on the downbeat of m. 24, which is the highest pitch of the interlude. This A-sharp slides chromatically down a minor third, to G⁵, replicating, in this way, the intervallic relations of the last five pitches of the previous vocal line.

The interlude continues with a sudden move to a closed, *piano* chord in the middle register that creates a dramatic contrast, another effect comparable to Doré's *chiaroscuros* (mm. 26-27). Interwoven with repetitions of this closed chord and adding to its somber color, descending tritones reiterated in the bass depict the noise of the stream's waters, in anticipation of the next image presented in the text (mm. 27-30). Adding to this depiction, constant shifts between duple and triple meters suggest the difficult movement of the dragged waters.

At the beginning of the second section of the song, the voice joins the piano's depiction of the stream, introducing the text: "with its lugubrious laugh, the stream rolls" (*con su lúgubre risa rueda el arroyo*) (mm. 31-35). This vocal phrase joins the changing meters with a repeated G-sharp⁴ that, together with the somber color of the harmony, tone-paints the word *lúgubre* (lugubrious). The voice continues with another chromatic descent, this one more rapid, that simulates the rolling movement of the stream. A melisma placed on the first syllable of the word *risa* (laugh) creates an onomatopoeic representation of this word.

The next phrase stays at a *piano* dynamic throughout, carrying on with all the devices that depict the image of the stream in the piano (mm. 36-41). The piano pauses briefly, in mm. 36-37, before the next line, "dragging its waters" (*arrastrando sus aguas*),

as if the stream's movement becomes even more effortful and leaving exposed another melodic turn that combines whole-tone and chromatic figures (mm. 36-38). In m. 38, the piano resumes its movement and, in m. 39, returns to the chord that began the new "stream" idea in the interlude (m. 27) and the re-entry of the voice (mm. 31-32). This chord is repeated with the tritone ostinato in the bass while the voice chants the words "deep and black" (*hondas y negras*) on one of its lowest pitches, D4 (mm. 39-41), which blends with the somber accompaniment and represents the depth of the stream's waters.

Another change of register and dynamic follows in the next line, "and rising from the sides of the mountains" (*y erguidas en los flancos de las montañas*). Both parts, voice and piano, move to a higher register as the poetic imagery shifts to the mountainsides (mm. 42-44). The meter also changes, leaving behind the sensation of effortful motion and staying predominantly in 3/4 until the end of the song. While the piano reinforces the triple meter, always moving from beat three to beat one with descending clashing harmonies, the vocal phrase delineates the shape of a mountain with an ascending and descending line that reaches an F-sharp⁴ at its peak, the highest pitch of the vocal line. This shape is reinforced with the dynamics that rise from *mezzo forte* and fall to *mezzo piano* at the end of the melodic arch.

In the next three bars (mm. 45-47), the piano continues with its descending harmonies and introduces short melodic fragments that not only suggest the shape of the mountains, but also recall the closing figure of the previous vocal phrase, a dotted rhythm that connects two repeated pitches with a lower neighbor tone (voice, m. 44; piano, m.45). The second fragment, in turn, imitates the first one by replicating its shape and

rhythm, but omitting the closing figure. These imitations suggest the “mocking signs” (*signos burlones*) of the text. By imperfectly imitating and diminishing the voice’s rise-and-fall, these figures seem to ridicule this vocal phrase. In this sense, the articulation of the last melodic fragment, in mm. 46-47, in which every note is marked *staccato* and *tenuto*, is probably meant to accentuate this effect.

In the final phrase of the song, the dynamics recede to *piano* and continue to diminish until the end, which is marked *ppp* with a *diminuendo* in the last bar, m. 54. The overall *decrecendo* in the piano, from m. 48 to the end (shown in Example 3) is not duplicated in the voice, which should nonetheless follow the overall effect of the ending. The fading away of the piano suggests that the images of natural objects described in the poem are disappearing with the morning light. The vocal phrase introduces the words “the dried branches create mocking signs” (*hacen signos burlones las ramas secas*), and the voice repeatedly leaves F4 and returns to it. At the same time, in mm. 47-49, the piano has its version of this idea, the treble striking F4/A4 with the voice’s Fs, and the bass returning to C2/G2. Thus, the piano directly “mocks” the voice while the singer sings of the “mocking signs” (*signos burlones*). The piano here has a pattern of thirds in the right hand. This pattern alternates a minor third and two major thirds that move disjointedly up and down, also adding to the depiction by suggesting straight lines and a mocking gesture.

Example 3: Recurring motives: opening chord, and whole-tone and chromatic motives, “Crepúsculo,” mm. 50-54. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava. Reproduced by permission of the Mendoza family.

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows the vocal line starting at measure 50 with the lyrics "las ra - mas se - cas." The piano accompaniment begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system continues from measure 51 to 54, featuring a piano (*pp*) dynamic in measure 51 and a pianissimo (*ppp*) dynamic in measure 53. A "8va" marking is placed above the piano part in measure 53. The score concludes with a final augmented chord in measure 54.

The pitches of this pattern prepare the return of the opening chord in m. 50, which is elongated for four bars before vanishing into a final augmented D-flat chord that gives the listener a feeling of open-endedness (Example 3, above). More than just the opening chord returns here. Shortened versions of the whole-tone and chromatic motives also return, a bar later, recalling the very beginning of the song, but suggesting that the light of the stars is finally subsiding. In m. 53, the pitches from these two motives have been compressed together in a high repeated sonority. In these last five bars, the vocal line slows down considerably. It finally abandons its repeated F4 with a perfect-fifth jump to C5, the final note of the voice, with the word *secas* (dried). The C5 lingers over the closing augmented chord of the piano, adding to the effect of tapering off rather than closing.

Mendoza-Nava shows with the ending of “Crepúsculo” that there is more to come, and he also conveys that the scene described in the poem is ephemeral. The variations of the musical material throughout the song, especially the always-changing

vocal line, also convey this sense of ephemerality and transition. The pictorial characteristics of the poem are accentuated in the musical setting not only by the correlation of place with pitch height, but also by the assignment of a different harmonic region to each natural object of the poem. This harmonic treatment generates sharp contrasts, resembling a painter's distribution of color in different parts of a canvas. It also appears that Mendoza-Nava took the symbolic nature of Jaimes Freyre's poetry further, not only complementing it with musical symbols such as the descending chromatic scale, but also using the recurrent motives of the song to represent one of the most compelling contradictions of the poem. That is, the whole-tone motive is associated with the light of the stars, always presented in contraposition to the chromatic motive representing the darkness in the other elements of the poem. Mendoza-Nava's use of Andean sonorities supports the hypothesis that he interpreted the poem as a representation of his home country.

Brumas

The central song in Mendoza-Nava's cycle is "Brumas," the fifth poem in Jaimes-Freyre's collection. The text and translation follow:

Brumas

Mist³⁵

¡Ah!³⁶ ***Los ojos irónicos brillan***

Ah! The ironic eyes shine

³⁵ R. Jaimes Freyre, *Poesías*, 113. Translation by current author.

³⁶ "¡Ay!" in Mendoza-Nava's setting.

sobre mí, como agudos puñales!
On me, like sharp daggers!

¡Ah! Los pálidos labios que ríen,
Ah! The pallid lips that laugh,

¡cómo ríen que hielan mi sangre!
How they laugh and freeze my blood!

¡Cómo ríen los labios helados
How the frozen lips laugh

y los ojos sarcásticos brillan,
And the sarcastic eyes shine,

cuando cruzo la senda brumosa
When I cross the misty path,

donde espíritu y cuerpo vacilan!
Where spirit and body vacillate!

¡Ah, el horror de la noche suprema
Ah, the horror of the supreme night

si la última estrella se apaga!
If the last star stops shining!

Crujirán del espanto mis huesos
My bones will crack from the terror

y la voz se helará en mi garganta...
And the voice will freeze in my throat...

Abriré mi pasión dolorosa
I will open my painful passion

a la lluvia monótona y fría.
To the cold and monotonous rain.

Bajo el peso del manto de nieve
Under the weight of the snow mantle

se doblegan las ramas erguidas...

The upright branches bend...

Like “Crepúsculo,” “Brumas” (Mist) consists of another collection of natural images that show close affinity with the Andean landscape. In this case, the mist represents a metaphor for the threshold between life and death. Mireya Jaimes Freyre writes: “in this poem, the clear symbolism carries all the internal struggles; and the animism of the landscape and the open symbolic comparison between life and landscape emerge.”³⁷ This symbolic connection is made also in “Crepúsculo”; however, in “Brumas,” the narrator assumes the main role and the natural metaphors are understood as representations of his own internal experience. According to Mireya Jaimes Freyre, the poem clearly exemplifies Jaimes Freyre’s “neo-romantic” style, which, however, does not require melodramatic gestures or exaggerated displays of emotion, but rather relies on symbolism. In addition, she explains that the use of nebulous images is a distinctively romantic characteristic.³⁸

The structure of the poem reveals its modernist nature. Jaimes Freyre intensifies the poem’s drama by disrupting the flow of the poetic meter, which otherwise would consist of regular ten-syllable lines. The modification of the meter happens in the first, third, and ninth lines with the interjections “Ah!,” which change the syllabic stress and force the reader to briefly pause. The modernist approach is evident also in the re-use of images and words from the first stanza in the first two lines of the second stanza, showing

³⁷ “En este poema el claro simbolismo resume todas las luchas internas, y aparece el animismo del paisaje y la abierta comparación simbólica entre la vida y el paisaje.” M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo* y 98, 79. Translation by current author.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 76.

Jaimes Freyre's emphasis on form. The use of assonances in the second and third lines of each stanza is also a modernist characteristic that contributes to the overall musicality of the poem.

Different from "Crepúsculo," the peak of the dramatic tension is delivered at the very beginning of the poem. A sense of physical pain is conveyed with horrific images, and irony is used once again to create tension, for instance, in "the pallid lips that laugh" (*los pálidos labios que rien*). The second stanza serves as the core of the poem, where the purport of the first stanza and the poem's title is conveyed, more specifically in the last two lines, which describe "the misty path, where spirit and body vacillate" (*la senda brumosa, donde espíritu y cuerpo vacilan*). The poem continues with images and metaphors of death, although its tension diminishes until the end. The passing of time is suggested with the natural elements that change from mist to rain and finally to snow.

Once again, perhaps what resonated with Mendoza-Nava were the natural elements of the poem, which reminded him of his home country. This association is evident also in the composer's alteration of the first word of the poem from "Ah!" to "Ay!," an interjection that pervades the Bolivian traditional jargon. In addition, the natural images of the poem easily lend themselves to a slow setting, which is in line with the song's placement as the second of three.

The song is structured in four parts corresponding to the four stanzas of the poem. The vocal line, as in "Crepúsculo," is syllabic, angular, and continuously varied. The piano once again assumes a structural function, not only unifying the song with motives, but also introducing bridges that smoothly connect the different sections and vocal

phrases. In this song, the piano part becomes more prominent with the interpolation of brief solos that act as musical representations of the text. An important characteristic is the harmonic language that combines atonal and tonal passages while maintaining a high level of dissonance throughout.

The song is marked *Adagio*, with a predominantly eighth-note pace that remains steady, except in the third section, which is marked *poco più animato*. The eighth-note rhythm, moreover, is sometimes modified with sudden changes that either accelerate or considerably slow down the pace for dramatic purposes. Free meter changes continue to be part of the style; however, they are also utilized to differentiate sections and depict certain images contained in the text.

The piano begins the song by representing the mist with two wave-like lines of single eighth notes that move in contrary motion (mm. 1-4, shown in Example 4). Over an E3 pedal tone, both lines begin more than three octaves apart, then narrow down to a major seventh before going back to their original distance. In its original form, this figure, the “mist motive” (m. 1), spans a full 4/4 bar and is constructed from a scale that includes nine of the twelve available chromatic pitches. After a second statement in m. 2, this motive is varied to fit in a 9/8 bar, and then in a 7/8 bar, creating an irregularity that mimics the nebulosity of mist (mm. 3-4). The effect is also created with sustained pedaling and *legato* articulation. Although there is no dynamic marking at the beginning of the song, to achieve this desired effect, the pianist must not play louder than *mezzo-piano*.

Example 4: Mist motive and beginning of section 1, “Brumas,” mm. 1-12. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.
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1 **Adagio**

4
 Ay! Los

8
 o-jos i-ró-ni-cos bri llan so - bre mí, co mo a - gu - dos pu - ña - les!

After the initial four bars, the meter shifts to 3/4, and the eighth-note lines abandon their wave-like shape, introducing figures that oscillate between two notes, which mimic the movement of the mist (Example 4, above). Three slower voices are also present, establishing a texture that remains throughout most of the first section and preparing the first entrance of the voice in m. 7. One of these voices is brought out with

tenuto markings and grace notes in a way that suggests rays of light cutting through the mist (mm. 5-6, shown in Example 4, above).

The voice enters in m. 7, presenting the first image of the poem: “Ah! The ironic eyes shine on me, like sharp daggers” (*Ay! Los ojos irónicos brillan sobre mí, como agudos puñales*, Example 4, above). The initial interjection *Ay!* is syncopated right after the downbeat and emphasized with a louder dynamic, *mezzo-forte*, and an accent, conveying a sense of anguish from the very beginning. Immediately after, the line descends to *mezzo-piano*, dropping a perfect fifth from its initial pitch, B4, and chanting on E4 for two beats. Then the voice starts a series of unexpected leaps, which get bigger and bigger, but always fall back to the E4. These leaps build up the anguished character and bring out key words in the text: a perfect fourth emphasizes the word *brillan* (shine, m. 8), a perfect fifth the word *mí* (me, m. 10), and a minor seventh the word *puñales* (daggers, m. 12), this last one is also reinforced with a *crescendo* and *decrescendo*. The piano tone-paints the shine of the eyes with a *pianissimo*, ascending, sixty-fourth-note arpeggio under the word *mí* (me, m. 10), which, interrupting the oscillating figures and echoing the pitches E, A, and B emphasized by the first two leaps of the voice, simulates a beam shining on the narrator. The piano also conveys the sense of physical pain with highly dissonant and chromatic harmonies.

The following phrase, “Ah! The pallid lips that laugh” (*Ay! los pálidos labios que ríen*, mm. 13-15), is similar to the one at the beginning. The second interjection is again syncopated and brought out with a *mezzo-forte* marking. Then the line drops to *mezzo-piano*, and a repeated, immobile E4 suggests the pallor of the lips. The word *ríen*

("laugh," m. 15) is then emphasized with a perfect-fourth leap before the piano interrupts with a five-bar interlude that represents the horrific laugh (mm. 16-20).

This piano interlude suddenly accelerates the pace with a new meter, 3/8, and repeated sixteenth-note chords in the right hand, while unexpectedly raising the dynamic to *forte* and shifting to a lower register. The dissonant harshness of the repeated chords, which mimic the horrific laugh, is reinforced with *sforzandos*, accents, and a *martellato* marking. Violent changes of register between these repeated chords and much higher, fast figures complete the representation. At the end of the interlude, two slower, high chords cease the activity and decrease in dynamic, connecting to a single, *piano* F-sharp⁴ in the treble register, which gives way to the next vocal phrase.

"How they laugh and freeze my blood!" (*¡cómo ríen que hielan mi sangre!*, mm. 21-25) is then chanted by the voice in an almost monotonal eighth-note row of F-sharps⁴, which swells in dynamic and leaps a minor third on the word *sangre* (blood, m. 24). This static line befits the image of frozen blood. The piano adds to this image by remaining still on every downbeat, adding adjacent pitches one by one below the single F-sharp⁴ until turning into a cluster.

A new section is then introduced with a small, *legato* bridge (mm. 26-28, Example 5), which brings back the eighth-note pace with an ostinato bass of three descending eighth notes, C-sharp³, F-sharp², and C-natural². This ostinato bass stays for the first half of the new section. Its reiterated C-sharp and F-sharp reinforce an F-sharp tonal center while the melodies in the piano and the voice express F-sharp natural minor, or Aeolian mode (Example 5, mm. 29-33). The use of this modal scale and the triple

meter, 3/8, give this new section an air of *yaraví*, an Andean type of song related to the Inca genre *harawi*. As described by Juan Carpio, *yaravíes* are slow songs in 3/4 or 3/8 meter and in minor mode that express fatalism and immanent sadness.³⁹ The *espressivo* marking, placed at the entrance of the voice in m. 29 (Example 5), would also support this reference to the *yaraví*.

Example 5: Connecting bridge and beginning of section 2, “Brumas” mm. 24-38.
 From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.
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The musical score for Example 5 consists of two systems of music. The first system covers measures 24 to 31. The vocal line begins at measure 24 with the lyrics "san - gre!". The piano accompaniment starts at measure 25. The second system covers measures 32 to 38. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "la-(ja-ja-ja-ja) - dos" and "y los o-jos sar-cás-ti-cos bri -". The piano accompaniment features a triplet in measure 33 and a piano dynamic marking in measure 34.

The first phrase of this *yaraví* section begins a dramatic buildup. Introducing the text “How the frozen lips laugh” (*Cómo ríen los labios helados*, mm 29-34, shown in Example 5, above), the voice’s overall shape rises and falls. The dynamics follow a

³⁹ Juan Guillermo Carpio Muñoz, *El yaraví arequipeño: un estudio histórico-social y un cancionero* (Arequipa, Perú: La Colmena, 1976), 30.

comparable trajectory, growing from *piano* to *forte*, then falling back to *mezzo-forte* in the last two bars of the phrase (mm. 33-34). At the peak of this dynamic swell (m. 32), the voice introduces a descending, chromatic melisma on the second syllable of the word *helados* (frozen), with an indication for the singer to mimic laughter, which emphasizes the ironic character. The piano's right hand accompanies the vocal line with a slower melody (mm. 29-33) that conveys F-sharp Aeolian with a basic outline of F-sharp, A, C-sharp. In the last bar of the phrase (m. 34), the piano interpolates a rapid descending figure, which recalls its previous representation of laughter.

This rapid figure connects to the following line: "And the sarcastic eyes shine" (*y los ojos sarcásticos brillan*, mm. 35-39, shown in Example 5, above). Still above the ostinato bass, this phrase continues to build up the intensity, ascending to a C-sharp⁴, an octave higher than the previous phrase's ending note, emphasizing again the fifth scale degree of F-sharp Aeolian while the piano is also entirely diatonic in this mode. This ascending shape is reinforced with a sudden *crescendo* to *forte* in its last bar. Also rising one octave, the right hand's chords help to increase the tension, preparing the section's climax that follows immediately (mm. 35-39). This preparation is also backed by the piano's dynamics, which parallel the voice's sudden *crescendo* to *forte* but begin with the cautionary marking *piano*, necessary because of the shared register between the right hand and the voice.

The section's climax arrives with the core lines that give meaning to the poem's title. The first, "When I cross the misty path" (*Cuando cruzo la senda brumosa*, mm. 40-44), starts *forte* with the voice's highest note, E₄, then cascades in shape and dynamic

while abandoning the F-sharp Aeolian pitch collection. It begins using a whole-tone scale, but descends chromatically in its last three pitches, F4, E4, and E-flat4, on which the voice chants the word *brumosa* (misty) at *mezzo forte*. Similarly, the piano shifts into chromatic harmonies, discontinuing the ostinato and blurring the meter with a hemiola (mm. 41-42), which results from the regrouping of the bass line into three eighth-note pairs.

The second core line, “where spirit and body vacillate!” (*donde espíritu y cuerpo vacilan!*, mm. 45-51), returns to a *piano* dynamic and to one of the lowest pitches of the voice, B-flat3, on which this entire line is chanted. The piano’s right hand also ceases its activity, resting on a long chord while the left hand begins a version of the ostinato bass that is modified to move in both directions. This version of the bass line, together with the *sostenuto* pedal that is held throughout the phrase, prepares the return of the mist motive two bars later, in m. 47. This time, only the upper voice of the motive appears, in the very high treble and at *pianissimo*, complementing the meaning of the core lines and signaling the midpoint of the song. As the vocal line and the mist motive conclude, the bass returns to its original descending shape (mm. 49-51, shown in Example 6), briefly recalling the *varaví* air and closing the section with a *ritardando*.

Example 6: Section 3 with ending of section 2, “Brumas,” mm. 48-76. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.

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Poco più animato
a tempo mp

48 *rit.* **Poco più animato**
a tempo mp

ci - lan! Ah, el ho - rror de la

55 *rit.* *p a tempo*

no - che su - pre - ma si la úl - ti ma es - tre - lla se a

62 *mf*

pa - ga! Cru - ji - rán de es - pan - to

69 *pp* *mf cresc. molto*

mis hue - sos y la voz se he - la - rá en mi gar

8^{va}

A new tempo, *poco più animato*, marks the beginning of the next section, which stays mostly in 2/4 (mm. 52-80, shown in Example 6, above). The piano begins with new eighth-note oscillating figures in the bass, bringing back the sense of agitation. One bar later, the voice joins with the text “Ah, the horror of the supreme night” (*Ah, El horror de la noche suprema*, mm. 53-56). After dropping a major sixth from the exclamation’s initial pitch, A4, the voice ascends gradually an augmented fifth, to G-sharp4, and then jumps to C-sharp5 on the last word, *suprema* (supreme). This dramatic shape, which conveys the horror of the image, sounds somewhat Andean, containing a rhythm that resembles that of native melodies.

Atiliano Auza has described the characteristic rhythm of Incan melodies as continuously free and varied, either in binary or ternary meter, and he offers a few abstracted examples, from which two are selected here:⁴⁰



José Díaz Gainza also mentions this rhythmic variety, explaining that it comes from the free combination of the figures provided by Auza in each quarter-note pulse, adding also the sixteenth/dotted-eighth-note figure.⁴¹ Although not comprehensive, these observations suggest a parallel between Andean tunes and Mendoza-Nava’s melody,⁴²

⁴⁰ Atiliano Auza, *Historia de la música boliviana* (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, 1985), 33-34.

⁴¹ José Díaz Gainza, *Historia musical de Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Puerta del Sol, 1977), 113-114.

⁴² For a more elaborate analysis, see, for instance: Policarpo Caballero Farfán, *Música inkaika: sus leyes y su evolución histórica* (Cusco, Perú: Comité de Servicios Integrados Turístico Culturales Cusco,

the latter similarly combining rhythmic figures, whose notation, in relation to the ones cited by both authors, is augmented to twice their length. Another comparison can be made with a *wayñu* song transcribed by Henry Stobart (Example 7), whose first phrase displays the same rhythm as the melodic line of mm. 54-56 (shown in Example 6, above).

Example 7: *Wayñu* song with *kitarra* accompaniment, *Macha Cholita*.⁴³

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows the voice line with lyrics: "Kay chu chay Ma cha pla zi ta," and "Kay chu chay Ma cha cho li ta,". Below the lyrics are four guitar chord diagrams. The kitarra part is in 2/4 time, featuring a steady eighth-note bass line and chords that correspond to the lyrics. The second system shows the voice line with lyrics: "I ma na lla pi taq su wa sqay ki". Below the lyrics are four guitar chord diagrams. The kitarra part continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

The Andean rhythm of the voice in mm. 53-56 is matched by similar combinations of quarters and eighths in the piano, which carries on an oscillating bass of steady eighths as a rhythmic framework. The piano contributes to the depiction of horror as the two hands gradually pull away from each other, building up intensity. This intensity, however, is contained by the dynamics, which stay at *mezzo-piano* for the voice

1988), 195-205; Henry Stobart, *Music and the Poetics of Production in the Bolivian Andes* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 86-92.

⁴³ Stobart, *Poetics of Production*, 126.

and *piano* for the piano, a difference that balances both parts (mm. 52-56, shown in Example 6, above).

As this first phrase of the *poco-più-animato* section finishes, the top voice of the piano becomes more active in another brief interlude that creates a dialogue with the voice (mm. 56-58, shown in Example 6, above). This top voice keeps the rhythmic interest with new combinations of quarters and eighths, including a pair of eighths on the downbeat for the first time (m. 58). This interlude starts relaxing the built-up tension by reversing the direction of its outer voices and transforming the agitation into a melancholic character.

The tension continues to ease in the next phrase, “if the last star stops shining” (*si la última estrella se apaga*, mm. 59-63, shown in Example 6, above), conveying the sense of surrender implied in the text. To this effect, while the piano strikes half-note chords, the vocal line descends a perfect fifth, transitioning from rigid, Andean-like quarter and eighth notes into a more flexible quarter-note triplet that leads into two final half notes. In addition, the voice melody takes on the melancholic character through its diatonicism in the E-Aeolian mode. Its span from B4 (m. 59) down to E4 (m. 62) suggests an E tonal center, which is reinforced by the piano’s E-minor, *pianissimo* chord in m. 62.

This striking arrival to E-minor paints the idea of death by conveying sadness and closure. It is also the point at which the piano starts another interlude that will transition back to the agitated character (mm. 62-67, shown in Example 6, above). Overlapping the last repetition of E4 in the voice, the right hand begins this interlude with a short diatonic

melody doubled in thirds in E Aeolian (mm.62-63), while resuming the eighth- and quarter-note figures. An expressive double appoggiatura that adds to the melancholic character is placed on the downbeat of m. 63 at the peak of this short melody and its dynamic swell. The interlude continues by immediately transposing the short melody down a third, while carrying on with the sad character and tonal clarity. This interlude then resumes, in m. 66, the oscillating bass and chromatic chord progression that bring in the next phrase.

Disrupting the *pianissimo* dynamic of the interlude, the voice enters at *mezzo-forte*, rapidly increasing to *forte* with the line “My bones will crack from the terror” (*crujirán de espanto mis huesos*, mm. 68-71, shown in Example 6, above). The piano conforms with the voice’s dynamics with a *crescendo molto*, dramatically increasing the agitation. From the last two half-note chords of the interlude’s right hand (mm. 66-67), an acceleration develops, first into three quarter-note chords placed in a 3/4 bar and then into three eighth-note chords placed in a 6/8 bar as the bass figure accelerates into sixteenths. Heavily accented, measure 69 and the long, accented chord that follows set up the words *mis huesos* (my bones), violently depicting their cracking.

Staying at *forte* until the end of the section, the next line, *y la voz se helará en mi garganta* (“And the voice will freeze in my throat,” mm. 73-80), continues to develop the drama. A melodic arch, started in the previous phrase with a tritone jump low B3 to F4 on the verb *crujirán* (“will crack,” m. 67-68), reaches its apex with another tritone jump from D-sharp4 to a sustained A4 that word-paints the verb *helará* (“will freeze,” m. 74). From this A4, the voice moves more slowly, stepwise down the C-sharp-minor scale, 6-5-

4-3-2-1, with its 2-1 at the bottom harmonized as V⁷ to i. The sense of closure provided by this C-sharp-minor resolution suggests the death metaphor of the text, achieving a dramatic culmination that abruptly releases the built-up tension while depicting the frozen state with the cadential repose. In the last three bars of the section, immediately after the C-sharp-minor cadence, the right hand starts a winding, ascending eighth-note line that transitions into the song's final section, preparing a new register, tempo, dynamic, and the return of the mist motive.

The last section, marked *Tempo primo* (mm. 81-104), restates the opening two measures of the song at *pianissimo* and transposed an octave higher. The higher register and softer dynamic transform the original effect of the mist motive into that of rain. After these two 4/4 bars, the meter switches to 6/8, and the two voices of the motive are modified into figures of three eighth notes that recall the ostinato bass and melancholic character of the *yaraví* passage. The lines keep their contrary motion, the left hand ascending and the right hand descending, and gradually work downward over an E pedal that prepares the modal melody of the voice's next entrance.

The voice introduces two lines, *abriré mi pasión dolorosa a la lluvia monótona y fría* ("I will open my painful passion to the cold and monotonous rain," mm. 87-92). These lines, marked *piano, tristemente* (sadly), reintroduce the *yaraví* character, this time with an E-Dorian melody in the voice, which is tonally anchored by its framework of B3-E4-B3 and its closing scale B-A-G-F-sharp-E, all over an incessantly repeating E3 in the bass. The Dorian scale, according to Policarpo Caballero Farfán, can be found in Andean

folk music, especially in “archaic indigenous melodies of marked autochthonous flavor.”⁴⁴

After this second *yaraví* reference, the piano continues in 4/4 with variations of the mist motive (mm. 93-95), which bring back not only some of the motive’s characteristic chromaticism, but also sustained pedal tones that structure a prevailingly diatonic closing section with the following bass line:



The lower register and new *mezzo-forte* dynamic of the mist-motive variations are employed to represent the heavy snow described in the poem’s final lines. Three bars later, over the F-sharp² bass note of mm. 95-98, the line *Bajo el peso del manto de nieve* (“Under the weight of the snow mantle,” mm. 96-97, shown in Example 8) descends stepwise one octave to C⁴ and then jumps up a tritone to F-sharp⁴, bringing back the melancholic color of the E-Aeolian mode, but with emphasis on the tritone between C and F-sharp. Next, the voice pauses, letting the piano continue the mist-motive variations as the bass descends to E (mm. 98-99, shown in Example 8).

⁴⁴ Caballero Farfán, *Música inkaika*, 138. Translation by current author.

Example 8: Section 4 closing phrases, “Brumas,” mm. 95-104. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.

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95 *mf*
Ba - jo el pe - so del man - to de nie - ve

99 *mp*
se do - ble - gan las ra - mas er -

102
gui - das...

rit. *pp*

The voice re-enters with the final line, *se doblegan las ramas erguidas...* (“The upright branches bend...,” mm. 99-103, shown in Example 8, above), at *mezzo-piano*, with a winding shape that represents the bent branches, bringing the melody to a close with slowing rhythm. Resting on a long, sustained E4 in the final bars, the vocal line

confirms the E tonal center of the song suggested from the very beginning by the mist motive's pedal tone (shown in Example 4, above), the E-minor cadence in m. 63 (shown in Example 7, above), and the pedal tone and diatonic melodies of the final section. After the voice comes to a rest on its final E, one more reiteration of the mist motive in the piano leads to an open, *pianissimo* E-minor chord colored with an added fourth and prepared with a *ritardando* and *diminuendo*. The diatonicism that surfaces throughout the final section and the softer dynamics reflect the dramatic development of the poem, in which the images of death appear toward the end, contrasting with the initial images of transition.

With the musical setting of "Brumas," Mendoza-Nava once again represents his home country with references to Andean native cultures, notably through his evocation of the *yaraví* and the use of modal scales. These references delineate the form of the song, creating moments of tonal clarity that represent death, whereas highly chromatic and more-dissonant passages represent the horrific poetic images of transition between life and death. The vocal line also plays a role in the demarcation of the dramatic development, with the employment of both extremes of its range to single out the poem's core lines. Moreover, the song's rhythm, which at times resembles that of native tunes, contributes to the Andean air of the song.

Mendoza-Nava also continues to add to the symbolic nature of Jaimes Freyre's poetry by correlating the poem's symbols with musical motives, at the same time translating the poetry's graphic nature into music. The formal structuring of the song is again relegated to the piano, which provides a frame for the melodic line, also adding to

the narrative with its interpolated representations of the text. Finally, the idea of transition explored in the poem is reflected in the song's gradual passage from atonal to tonal.

Siempre

The closing song, "Siempre," sets the first three stanzas of the tenth and final poem in

Jaimes Freyre's collection, leaving out the final fourth stanza. The translation follows:

Siempre

Always⁴⁵

Tú no sabes cuánto sufro! Tú, que has puesto más tinieblas

You don't know how much I suffer! You, who have brought more shadows

en mi noche, y amargura más profunda en mi dolor!

In my night, and the deepest bitterness in my pain!

Tú has dejado, como el hierro que se deja en una herida,

You have left, like iron that is left in a wound,

en mi oído la caricia de tu voz.

In my ear, the caress of your voice.

Palpitante como un beso; voluptuosa como un beso;

Pulsating like a kiss; voluptuous like a kiss;

voz que halaga y que se queja; voz de ensueño y de dolor...

voice that compliments and complains; voice of slumber and pain...

Como sigue el ritmo oculto del océano,⁴⁶

How it follows the hidden rhythm of the ocean,

mi ser todo sigue el ritmo misterioso de tu voz.

my entire being follows the mysterious rhythm of your voice.

⁴⁵ R. Jaimes Freyre, *Poesías*, 117. Translation by current author.

⁴⁶ In Jaimes Freyre's original: "Como sigue el ritmo oculto de los astros el océano."

¡Oh, me llamas y me hieres! Voy a ti como un sonámbulo,
Oh, you call me and hurt me! I follow you like a sleepwalker,

con los brazos extendidos en la sombra y el dolor...
with my arms extended in the shadow and pain...

Tú no sabes cuánto sufro; cómo aumenta mi martirio
You don't know how much I suffer; how my agony grows

tembloroso y desolado,⁴⁷ la caricia de tu voz.
with the trembling and desolate caress of your voice.

[¡Oh, el olvido! El fondo oscuro de la noche del olvido,
Oh, oblivion! The dark backdrop of the night of oblivion,

donde guardan los cipreses el sepulcro del Dolor!
where the cypresses guard the grave of Pain!

Yo he buscado el fondo oscuro de la noche del olvido,
I have searched the dark backdrop of the night of oblivion,

y la noche se poblaba con los ecos de tu voz...
and the night was filled with the echoes of your voice...]

The poem portrays its narrator on the brink of death, describing his anguish while he addresses a personified death directly. The first and third stanzas center on the narrator's agony, delivering images that convey physical pain, such as the "iron left in a wound," as well as the intensity of his suffering, for instance, describing it as a "night" plagued by "shadows." These dark images are juxtaposed with the sensual image of the voice's caress, which appears at the end of each of these stanzas, representing the call of death, the cause of the narrator's suffering.

⁴⁷ In Jaimes Freyre's original: "temblorosa y desolada..."

The second and final stanzas center on this luring voice of death, which is conveyed through imagery of seduction and expressed in metaphors and symbols, such as “the ocean” or “the cypresses.” While the second stanza carries forward with oxymoronic juxtapositions, such as the “voice that compliments and complains,” the fourth stanza, which Mendoza-Nava omits, offers a cogent representation of death as oblivion, moving away from the personal to the universal.

In her discussion of *País de sombra*, Mireya Jaimes Freyre insists upon cataloging the poetry as neo-romantic because of its intense expressivity, which, she explains, comes from the poet’s description of his own internal struggles and his ability to “express, with ingenious lucidity, invisible realities, of which what is visible has only a superficial appearance.”⁴⁸ “Siempre” constitutes a clear example of this observation, powerfully communicating the poet’s internal visions while relying on the “superficial appearance” of symbols and metaphors.

The author goes on to explain that the modernist devices of the poetry are only a medium to communicate the poet’s ideas, never becoming an end in themselves (as in the case of other modernist poets). She analyses how the use of “repetitions, parallelisms, and symmetries” intensifies the eloquence of the poetic allusions.⁴⁹ In “Siempre,” for instance, the reiteration of words such as *de tu voz* (of your voice), at the end of each stanza, or *beso* (kiss) and *voz* (voice), in the second stanza, gives a sense of the narrator’s mind taken over by thoughts of death. The narrator’s pain is also powerfully expressed by

⁴⁸ “...palabras, que saben expresar con ingeniosa lucidez estas invisibles realidades de las cuales lo visible es solamente una apariencia superficial.” M. Jaimes Freyre, *Modernismo* y 98, 80-81. Translation by current author.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 143-145.

bringing back the opening phrase, *Tú no sabes cuánto sufro!* (“You don’t know how much I suffer!”) in the third stanza, and by repeating the word *tú* (you) in the first line.

These formal devices work in relation to the free-verse-style poetic rhythm. “Siempre” has a unique poetic structure based on trochaic fragments of varying length. The most common are octosyllabic, appearing in every line, sometimes divided into two fragments of four syllables, functioning much like a musical motive. In a similar way, heptasyllabic fragments are placed at the end of every other line, defining the poem’s cadence while at the same time emphasizing these lines’ ending words *dolor* (pain) and *voz* (voice).

“Siempre” provided Mendoza-Nava with a continuation in the narrative of his song cycle. The metaphor of transition presented in “Brumas” continues with an even closer encounter with death in “Siempre.” The course of the narrative is reflected in the harmonic plan of the entire cycle, which changes overall from atonality into tonality.

The song “Siempre” is a ternary form in E minor, with two tonal sections contrasted against a middle atonal section. Both harmonic languages correspond with the contrasting images depicted in each of the poem’s stanzas. The outer tonal sections set the first and third stanzas that focus on the narrator; while the atonal middle section sets the second stanza that focuses on the luring voice of death. The combination of harmonic languages throughout the cycle and within this song alone suggests that atonality is used to represent death from an abstract point of view, as an unknown and horrifying realm, while tonality, and more specifically E minor, represents the human perspective.

The harmonic plan and the symbolism connected to it most likely explain Mendoza-Nava's omission of the final stanza, an avoidance of the depiction of the more transcendental ideas and symbols around death associated in the music with atonality. Instead, the composer brings his audience to a more familiar plane, ending the cycle in a gentler way with a conventional form and a less angular, more melismatic vocal line.

Although the composer did not write a general tempo marking, the word *palpitante* (pulsating, in mm. 18-19, shown in Example 10, below), appearing in the middle section, offers a reference for the performers. Set in the voice's fastest rhythm of dotted-sixteenth and thirty-second notes, this word could not be comfortably articulated at a tempo faster than quarter note equals 65 beats per minute. According to this tempo, the main pulse of the outer sections, the dotted-quarter note in compound meter, would be even slower, considering that the eighth note must remain constant throughout the song, as indicated by the changes of meter in mm. 15 and 41. This slower tempo, *ca.* 44 beats per minute for the dotted quarter, together with the compound meters and the diatonicism of the outer sections, suggests that the composer intended to refer once again to the *yaraví* as a genre that has historically expressed sorrow, adding another layer of symbolism to the setting.

In a two-bar introduction (shown in Example 9, below), the piano resumes the E-natural-minor pitch collection from the end of the previous song, also carrying over the open position and register from the preceding final chord. While the left hand realizes an ostinato accompaniment that characterizes the outer sections, the right hand mimics

distant Andean flutes with planed chords that create an expressive phrase.⁵⁰ Resembling a guitar being strummed, the ostinato adds to the folk character of the song by repeating an E-minor triad in a syncopated and downward figuration. It generates a sense of dragging and affliction that is, however, subdued by the *piano* and *pianissimo* dynamics. The top voice of the right-hand chords is a simple, modal tune circling around B: B C D C A B B. The simplicity of the tune with the E-minor ostinato acquires a dissonant edge because of the doubling at the fourth, fifth, and ninth below (mm. 1-2, shown in Example 9).

Example 9: Section A, First Phrase and Beginning of Second Phrase, “Siempre,” mm. 1-10. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava. Reproduced by permission of the Mendoza family.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 1-3) features a vocal line starting at measure 1 with the lyrics "Tú no sa - bes cuán - to" and a piano accompaniment with a syncopated ostinato. The piano part includes dynamic markings *p* and *pp*. The second system (measures 4-10) continues the vocal line with lyrics "su - fro! Tú, que has pues - to más ti -" and includes dynamic markings *cresc.*, *poco*, and *p*. The piano accompaniment continues with the ostinato and includes a *cresc.* marking. The score concludes with a double bar line and a 12/8 time signature.

⁵⁰ The playing of Andean flutes in “troops” is discussed in Chapter 1, The Acoustical Aesthetics of Andean Native Instruments, page 28.

6

nie - blas en mi no che, y a - mar-gu - ra más pro-fun-da en

8

mi do - lor! Tú has de - ja - do, co - mo el hie - rro

Section A consists of two phrases, a, mm. 3-8, and a', mm. 9-15 (Example 9, above). In phrase a, the first two lines of the poem are redistributed into three subphrases of similar length. The first subphrase sets only the first half of the poem's first line, "You don't know how much I suffer!" (*Tú no sabes cuánto sufro!*, mm. 3-4, shown in Example 9); marked *piano*, it follows a winding trajectory that begins on the voice's lowest pitch, B3, and ends higher, on E4. The last three pitches of this first subphrase, D F-sharp E, invert the C A B of the melody of m. 2, creating the "closing motive." To this vocal subphrase and the ongoing ostinato, the right hand adds a countermelody, together with other voices that act as harmonic fill, creating a polyphonic texture that characterizes both A sections. The piano's countermelody has a rising contour against the circular vocal melody. It unsettles the closing E in the voice by peaking on C5 with a minor-ninth

dissonance. This final C5 anticipates the voice's next entrance on C4 (mm. 3-4, shown in Example 9, above).

The second subphrase, "You, who have brought more shadows in my night" (*Tú, que has puesto más tinieblas en mi noche*, mm. 5-6, shown in Example 9, above), gets higher and louder with a shape that resembles two growing waves. Its first four pitches expand the B – C – G – F-sharp of the first subphrase's opening into C – E – B – A, establishing the "launching motive" that forms the first peak (m. 3, original version, m. 5, expanded 1st variation, Example 9, above). The second peak of the subphrase constitutes the climax of the phrase, reaching its highest pitch, D5 (m. 6, shown in Example 9, above), along with a *crescendo* from *piano* to *mezzo-forte*. This climax emphasizes the words *mi noche* (my night), which are also brought out by a new and unexpected rhythm, a combination of eighths and quarters in 12/8 meter that adds to the overall Andean flavor. In this second subphrase, the piano's countermelody is also widened to help build the climax. It reaches its peak on A5 and then abruptly descends to the starting register of the third subphrase and its *piano* dynamic with a startling, sixteenth-note arpeggio that adds motion while the voice sustains on *mi noche* (my night).

The third subphrase, "and the deepest bitterness in my pain!" (*y amargura más profunda en mi dolor!*, mm. 7-8, shown in Example 9, above), relaxes the accumulated tension, appearing like a remnant of the previous climax. It begins with a narrower launching motive (E – F-sharp – A – G, m. 7) and then peaks on C5 with a small *crescendo*, emphasizing the word *más* that turns the following adjective, *profunda* (deep), into a superlative. The end of this subphrase is marked by a return to E4 and a sixteenth-

note version of the closing motive that tapers down to *pianissimo*. In the piano, the countermelody supports the subphrase's shape, developing into a denser, full chordal texture, nonetheless staying within the soft dynamics. The piano closes the subphrase with a cadence in m. 8 (Example 9, above) enhanced by the ostinato, which leaves its E-minor triad and moves through a descending bass line that re-approaches E twice.

Section A's second phrase, a' (mm. 9-10, shown in Example 9, above, and mm. 11-15, shown in Example 10, below), is a compressed version of phrase a. Although its structure resembles that of phrase a, a' is divided into only two subphrases that respect the division of lines in the poem. The first subphrase prepares the peak of the phrase. It generates a sensation of acceleration by bringing back figures from the opening, shortening them, and placing them closer together. Moreover, its register gets higher and higher, adding to the feeling of unrest, despite the *piano* dynamic that stays throughout the phrase. This first subphrase sets the third line of the poem, "You have left, like iron that is left in a wound" (*Tú has dejado, como el hierro que se deja en una herida*, mm. 9-12), in two segments with similar contours. The first segment brings back the opening subphrase of mm. 3-4 (mm. 9-10, Example 9). The second segment connects the widened version of the launching motive from m. 5 to a new variation of the closing motive (mm. 11-12, Example 10). The piano's countermelody is adjusted to the modified vocal line, while the left hand continues with the E-minor ostinato.

Example 10: Section A, Continuation of Second Phrase and Beginning of Section B, “Siempre,” mm. 11-19. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.

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The musical score consists of two systems. The first system (measures 11-15) features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "que se de - ja en u - na he - ri - da, en mi o - í - do la ca - ri - cia de tu -" and ends with a fermata. The piano accompaniment includes a bass line with a pedal point on B1. The second system (measures 15-19) continues the vocal line with the lyrics "voz. _____ Pal - pi - tan - te co - mo un be - so;" and the piano accompaniment, which includes dynamic markings *mf* and *f*, and two *Ped.* markings.

The second subphrase of a', setting the poem's fourth line, "in my ear, the caress of your voice" (*en mi oído la caricia de tu voz*, mm. 13-15, shown in Example 10, above), begins at the climax of the phrase and after only an eighth-rest break. Still patching together fragments from the first phrase of the song, it replicates the rise from A4 to D5 of m. 6, this time with the words *en mi oído* (in my ear). Its continuation, in mm. 13-15, brings back the opening subphrase of mm. 3-4, but with the ending slightly ornamented. Throughout this subphrase, the ostinato in the piano breaks again from the E-minor pedal, moving through a new bass line that lingers on B1, reinforcing even more the final cadence of Section A in m. 15 (Example 10, above).

Section B superimposes a completely different atmosphere with a livelier pulse that results from the shift into simple meters while keeping the eighth-note pace unchanged (mm. 15-16). The section begins almost like a recitative with motives and chords in the piano prompting the voice (mm. 16-18, shown in Example 10, above). The piano's initial lead-up marks the character of the section with louder dynamics that reach *forte* and heightened dissonance, also introducing an arpeggio that produces a brassy sonority and the "pulsating motive." These new elements help to create B's otherworldly atmosphere. In m.17, the pulsating motive detaches from the top voice of the arpeggio, introducing accented, double-dotted figures that anticipate the image about to be introduced by the voice.

The line "Voluptuous like a kiss; pulsating like a kiss" (*Palpitante como un beso*, mm. 18-19, shown in Example 10, above, *voluptuosa como un beso* mm. 20-22, shown in Example 11, below) is divided into two segments, each of them depicting one of the two contrasting ideas in the text. The idea of pulsating is onomatopoeically depicted with rapid dotted rhythms in a line that is almost entirely chanted on F4, only jumping up a minor third on *beso* (kiss, m. 19, Example 10, above). The second segment is a slow chromatic descent from A4 to E4 that conveys the idea of voluptuousness, also implying the idea of death. Both segments begin with similar syncopated and elongated rhythms and finish with two quarter notes on the same word, *beso*. During the chromatic descent, the bass line elaborates with cells of the pulsating motive, tapering slightly at the end of the phrase, but swelling back to *forte* while the voice sustains on the final pitch.

Example 11: Continuation of Section B and Retransition, “Siempre,” mm. 20-42.
 From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.
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20 *mf*
 vo - lup-tuo-sa co-mo un be - so; voz que ha-la-ga y que se

25 *f* *mf* *mp*
 que ja; voz de en - sue-ño y de do- lor... co-mo si-gue el

31 *p*
 rit-mo o-cul to del o - cé - a - no,

p come arpa poco rubato
Red. *Red.* *Red. (sost.)*

34 *p* mi ser to-do... si-gue el rit mo mis-te - rio-so de tu voz...

a tempo
pp

8^{vb} Red.

39 Red.

This arrival at *forte* brings in another brassy and sustained harmony and a variation of the pulsating motive (mm. 23-24, shown in Example 11, above), which signal the beginning of the second phrase of Section B. As in B's first phrase, the pulsating motive arrives on the same pitch of the voice's entrance, this time, a slightly higher F-sharp4. This phrase is also formed by two contrasting segments. The setting of "Voice that compliments and complains" (*Voz que halaga y que se queja*, mm. 24-25, shown in Example 11, above) reflects the distressed state of the narrator with its faster pace, higher register, and a rapid crescendo from *mezzo-forte* to *forte* that culminates in the word *queja* (complain). On the other hand, "Voice of enchantment and pain..." (*Voz de ensueño y de dolor...* mm. 26-29, shown in Example 11, above) stays at *mf*, and its flowing and slower trajectory reflects the idea of charm. This phrase ends higher, on a

sustained C-sharp⁴ approached from an augmented fourth below, befitting the word *dolor* (pain, mm. 26-29, Example 11). Once the voice is sustaining on its final tone, the piano continues to depict the pain, introducing jarring harmonies that make up the climax of Section B (mm. 28-29, shown in Example 11). Three repeated eighth-note chords, increasing in dynamic to *forte*, lead in m. 29 to a rich sonority that spans almost five octaves.

The voice re-enters during this sonority at *mezzo-piano*, bringing in the text “How it follows the hidden rhythm of the ocean” (*Como si que el ritmo oculto del océano*, mm. 30-33, shown in Example 11, above). This line gently undulates, alluding to the image of the ocean. It generates a distancing effect by decreasing to *piano* while continuing to get higher, reaching the voice’s highest pitch in the song, E-sharp⁵, with the word *océano* (ocean). The piano follows the voice’s dynamics, subtly recalling the previous climax at the same time the voice reaches its highest pitch (mm. 31-32, Example 11, above). Overlapping the voice’s final sustained note, the piano then continues the distancing effect by shifting to a higher register. With the markings *come arpa* and *poco rubato*, a brief and rapid melody in the song’s highest tones gives the impression of an ocean breeze (mm. 32-34, Example 11, above). Arpeggiated and exotic chords accompany this melody, finishing on a lavish arpeggio that creates a sustained sonority that spans almost five octaves, including its lowest tone, E₂, which is struck after the arpeggio. This bass tone, marked *pianissimo*, anticipates the return of Section A before the voice sings the final phrase of Section B.

B's final phrase, "My entire being follows the mysterious rhythm of your voice" (*Mi ser todo sigue el ritmo misterioso de tu voz*, mm. 34-39, shown in Example 11, above), sung over the piano's sustained sonority, presents another wave-like trajectory that begins low and finishes high. The overall ascending shape that stays at *piano* continues to reflect the image of the narrator's getting farther and farther away (m. 38-39, Example 11, above). The piano closes the section with one final arpeggio.

A retransition follows (mm. 40-42, shown in Example 11, above), which gradually moves back to a lower register with a melody that incorporates cells of the pulsating motive. It arrives at E4 in its last bar, as the left hand resumes the ostinato figure.

Section A' is almost a literal return of Section A with small modifications that accommodate the new text. The only substantial change happens in its final subphrase (mm. 52-56, shown in Example 12, below), in which the climax of the phrase is prepared with a gradual ascent from B3, the lowest pitch of the voice, instead of abruptly being introduced as in Section A. This longer subphrase adds excitement to the ending and produces a more effective closure, which is reinforced by a bass line that lingers mostly on B. The piano closes the song with a chord that creates a sour color with the addition of an F-sharp and an A-natural to the final E-minor harmony.

Example 12: Final Subphrase, “Siempre,” mm. 51-56. From *País de sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava.

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The image shows a musical score for the final subphrase of the song "Siempre" from the opera "País de sombra" by Jaime Mendoza-Nava. The score is in 3/8 time and consists of two systems of music. The first system (measures 51-53) features a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a melodic phrase in G major, moving up and down. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic ostinato in the right hand and a more active bass line. The second system (measures 53-56) continues the vocal line, which ends with a long note on "voz". The piano accompaniment concludes with a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic marking and a fermata over the final chord.

51
c ó - mo au - men - ta mi mar - ti - rio tem - blo - ro - sa y

53
de - so - la - da, la ca - ri - cia de tu voz

The musical setting of “Siempre” complements the poetry at various levels. It adds to the expressiveness and meaning of the text with its overall dissonant edge, a vocal line that continuously moves up and down, and the depiction of the poetic images in the piano. Moreover, the use of the ostinato in the outer sections and exotic elements in the middle section reflects the changing content in each of the poem’s stanzas. Besides the poignancy generated by the setting, the formal devices of the poetry are brought out through the formal construction of the phrases and the use of motives. The setting also adds layers to the symbolic nature of the poetry, most notably with the combination of tonal and atonal languages and the use of the *yaraví*. The evocation of this traditional

genre confirms that Mendoza-Nava's intention was to honor the history of the Andean indigenous peoples throughout the cycle.

CONCLUSIONS

Bolivian composers have been greatly affected by their social environment throughout the twentieth century. On one hand, Bolivia's cultural heritage was a rich source of inspiration. On the other hand, the social issues that affected the country posed several limitations that they had to face and overcome. In the case of Jaime Mendoza-Nava, the influence of the Bolivian environment is evident in his work, career path, and persona. Realizing his passion for music from a very early age and despite the limitations of his environment, he set out to pursue an extraordinary career with an exemplary impetus that moved classical music forward in Bolivia. Although only a percentage of the composer's legacy has come to light, what is known to this day already speaks about the composer's significance.

Many questions remain unresolved about the life and work of Mendoza-Nava. Besides the pending task of cataloging and editing the composer's works, further fieldwork is needed in all the different cities in Latin America, Europe, and the U.S. where the composer's career unfolded. Little is known, for instance, about the composer's stay in Buenos Aires. The vibrant cultural activity of this Latin-American metropolis and its progressive society must have certainly left a mark on the composer, most likely influencing his cosmopolitan and open-minded attitude. In addition, of particular interest is Mendoza-Nava's American period, which constitutes a substantial research subject on its own. More fieldwork on this subject could shed light on the history of independent film in America, which has remained, for the most part, in the periphery of scholarly work.

Confirmation of the stature of the composer is found in his song cycle *País de sombra*, a masterfully-crafted and original work that compellingly speaks about the history of indigenous peoples in Bolivia by combining Andean sonorities with atonal passages. In addition to complementing and enhancing Jaimes Freyre's poetry, Mendoza-Nava brings out the poetry's connection to the Andes by creating the narrative that unifies the cycle. This narrative that speaks up about the oppression of the Bolivian indigenous peoples, which is also created through the composer's evocation of the *yaraví*, confirms the influence of the Bolivian nationalistic movement. The musical representations of the Andean landscape constitute another nationalistic characteristic of the cycle.

Also among the prominent characteristics of the song cycle are the sonorities and colors that Mendoza-Nava created through his heightened aural perception. This characteristic must be taken into consideration for the performance of the piece, especially by pianists who must carefully follow the pedaling marked by the composer. The piece's exuberant, edgy, and dense harmonies appear to mimic the dissonance and fullness of Andean native music, suggesting that similar sonorities that characterize other works by the composer could have developed from his exposure to Andean native ensembles during his formative years. Nevertheless, the extent to which Andean sounds and motives form part of Mendoza-Nava's broad compositional style, as they commonly did for other Bolivian composers from the early nationalistic period, is yet to be determined.

País de sombra is relevant not only for Bolivian audiences but also globally as a work that speaks about issues of social justice. Even more so in this day and age, its performance on concert stages around the world would help stimulate the sensibility toward these social issues that continue to cause great concern internationally.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF JAIME MENDOZA-NAVA'S CONCERT WORKS

The following list of works by Jaime Mendoza-Nava was found in the Mendoza family private collection. It was likely compiled by the composer himself and its date is unknown.

WORKS OF JAIME MENDOZA-NAVA

PIANO

CANCION DE LAS CALLES

1. El Trapero
2. El Afilador
3. El Barrendero

THREE BOLIVIAN DANCES (Pub. Broude, N.Y.)

4. Camba (Taquirai)
5. Kolla (Sikuri)
6. Trenzas (Cueca)

GITANA (pub. Broude, N.Y.)

PRELUDIOS

1. De La Hora De Nieve
2. Placeres Del Hasito
3. Rue Durantin (Paris)
4. Brujeria
5. Despues De La Lluvia
6. Ansiedad Quieta

VALS CAPRICHIO (En Memoria de Chopin)

CANSON DU SOIR (Homenaje a Debussy)

EL PICAFLOR (The Humming Bird)

RITMOS LATINOS

1. El Pibe Porteño (Arg.)
2. El Nigrito Bailarin (Bra.)
3. Flor De Peten (Gua.)
4. Cana De Azucar (Cub.)
5. Don Pituco Avestruz (Arg.)
6. La Cajita De Música (Bol.)
7. Saltatio En El Prado (Bol.)
8. Pajarillo Jugetoton (Bra.)

JAQUE MATE! SUITE

1. Preámbulo (Preamble)
2. Baile De Los Alfiles (Dance of the Bishops)
3. Marcha De Peones (March of the Pawns)
4. La Reina Enamorada (The Queen in Love)
5. Los Roques Románticos (The Romatic Rooks)
6. Jaque Mate! (Check Mate!)

POLYCHROME SUITE

1. L'Inconnu (The Unknown)
2. Danse Des Idées (Ideas)
3. Danse De La Poésie (Poetry)
4. Peinture (Painting)

COLECCION PARA PIANO

1. El Pirimer Beso
2. El Payaso (Circus Polka)
3. Rondo Simple
4. Tocattina
5. Dos Invencciones
6. Milonguita
7. Nocturno (para la mano izquierda)

CANCIONES

Las Bestias Sabias *Contraalto*

LA GRAN DESNUDEZ (Eugenio d'Ors)

RECUERDOS DE BOLIVIA

1. Vocalise (no words)
2. Mano Amiga (B. Schulze Arana)
3. La Niña Y El Arpa (A. Avila Jimenez)
4. El Sapo (Oscar Alfaro)
5. Antes Que Fine El Año (O. Campero Echazú)
6. Las Campanas De Mi Tierra (F. Avila Del Carpio)

POEMAS DE ALFARO (Oscar Alfaro) *bar*

7. Brasero De Estrellas
8. El Iris
9. El Niño Verde

PAIS DE SOMBRA. (Ricardo Jaimes Freyre) *bar*

1. Crepúsculo
2. Brumas
3. Siempre

La Vibora Invisible (Franz Tamayo) *bar*

La Voz Del Agua (sp. trad.)

PEARLS *bar Eng*

1. That Women Are But Men's Shadows (Ben Johnson)
2. The Constant Lover (John Suckling)

Romance De La Imilla (A. Aguirne Siles) *bar*

Hacia La Bruma (G. Vasquez Mendez) *bar*

Young Trees Cry (Hazel George) *bar Eng*

Nightingales (Eckstadt) *2 sop Eng*

Reflections in Streams (Pearl Skinner) *bar*

Beloved (First Epistle—St. John) *Eng*

VIOLIN, VIOLA, CELLO AND PIANO (* orch avail.)

MELODIA PARA VIOLIN

CONTRASTES (VLN Y PIANO)

PROMENADE (VLN Y PIANO)

SERENATA A UNA ORQUÍDEA (CELLO Y PIANO)

GUITAR

PRELUDIO

MORUNA (Disney)

ALEGRÍAS (Disney)

FUEGO VERDE (+ VOICE)

CASTELLANA 2 GUITARS (Disney)

FLUTE (or VLN) AND PIANO

CONCERTANTE (fl or vln) and piano

3. Dialogo Sin Palabras
4. Anoranza
5. Saludos de Bolivia

CHAMBER MUSIC

STRING QUARTETS Nº 1 & Nº 2

STREET DANCERS OF BOLIVIA

CELLO ENS. - 5 movements

SUMMER CHILDREN - 5 movements

KORI CHUIMA VLN, Pan Pipes, Perc. *Eng or Sp*

ESTAMPAS Y ESTAMPILLAS

1. El Maestro Blanco
2. Don Andulu
3. Carnaval Alegre
4. Siesta
5. Los Dos Diablos

CHORAL WORKS

SATB and Piano (*Orch Avail.)

EL MURO SUEÑA Sp. *

SALVE REGINA *

AMANCAYA Sp. *

LA NIEVE NEGRA *cantata profana**

FUGA VOCAL (sin palabras)

LA HEMANDAD DE SATAN

PRINCIPE DE LA OSCURIDAD

(Unison Gregorian)

ADONEI (Mixed Choir)

SYMPHONIC MUSIC

Bolivianas

ANTAWARA

PACHAMAMA (MADRE TIERRA)

DANZA DE LAS KANTUTAS

TRIPTICO ANDINO

APOLLO 11 (CARNAVALITO)

Generales

DON ALVARO (OVERTURIA

DRAMATICA)

CONCERTO PARA PIANO Y

ORQUESTRA

SERANADE A UNA ORQUÍDEA

(CELLO Y ORCH.)

MÚSICA SELECTA

P.O. BOX 7149 VAN NUYS, CA 91406-9998 U.S.A.

APPENDIX B
MUSIC SCORE

Jaime Mendoza-Nava

País de Sombra

Para Voz y Piano

I. Crepúsculo

II. Brumas

III. Siempre

Poemas de
Ricardo Jaimes Freyre

I. Crepúsculo

Ricardo Jaimes Freyre

Jaime Mendoza-Nava

Por estrecha hondonada pasa el sendero,
entre rotos peñascos y ardua maleza,
y tiembla, en las rojizas cimas abruptas,
la luz desfalleciente de las estrellas.

Con su lúgubre risa rueda el arroyo,
arrastrando sus aguas, hondas y negras,
y erguidas en los flancos de las montañas,
hacen signos burlones las ramas secas.

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9

en-tre los ro - tos pe - ñas-cos y ar-dua ma - le-za, y tiem-bla,

mf *f*

p *mp* *f*

15

en las ro-ji-zas ci-mas a - brup-tas, la luz des-fa-lle-cien - te

mf *pp*

mf *mp* *p* *m.d.*

19

de las es - tre - llas.

p *cresc.* *mf*

4

24

f *p*

8^{va}]

31

mf *p*

Con su lú-gu-bre ri - sa rue-da el a - rro-yo, a-ras - tran-do sus

mf *p*

[3]

38

mf

a-guas, hon-das y ne - gras, y er-gui-das en los

mf

43 *mp*

flan - cos de las mon - ta - ñas, _____

mp

Red.

47 *mp*

ha - cen sig - nos bur - lo - nes las ra - mas. _____

p

p

51

se - cas. _____

pp

ppp

Red.

II.- Brumas

Ricardo Jaimes Freyre

Jaime Mendoza-Nava

Ah! Los ojos irónicos brillan
sobre mí, como agudos puñales!
¡Ah! Los pálidos labios que ríen,
¡cómo ríen que hielan mi sangre!

¡Cómo ríen los labios helados
y los ojos sarcásticos brillan,
cuando cruzo la senda brumosa
donde espíritu y cuerpo vacilan!

¡Ah, el horror de la noche suprema
si la última estrella se apaga!
Crujirán del espanto mis huesos
y la voz se helará en mi garganta...

Abriré mi pasión dolorosa
ala lluvia monótona y fría.
Bajo el peso del manto de nieve
se doblégan las ramas erquidas...

1 **Adagio**

8^{va}

Ped.

4

mf *mp*

Ay! Los

m.d. *p* *m.i.*

8

o-jos i-ró-ni cos bri llan so - bre mí, co-mo a-gu-dos pu - ña - les!

pp *p* *8va* *Ped.*

13

Ay! Los pá-li-dos la-bios que rí - en,

mf *mp* *p* *f sfz martellato* *8va*

17

có-mo rí-en que hie-lan mi

p cresc. *8va* *sfz* *mf* *mp* *p cresc.*

24

p *expressivo*

san - gre! _____

Có - mo ri - en los la - bios he -

p *legato con ped.*

32

f *mf* *mf*

la - (ja - ja - ja - ja - ja) - dos. _____

y los o - jos sar - cás - ti - cos bri -

f *p*

39

f *mf*

llan, cuan - do cru - zo la sen - da bru - mo - sa don de es - pí - ri - tu y cuer - po va

f *p* *pp*

8va

Ped. (sost.)

48 *rit.* **Poco più animato**
a tempo mp

ci - lan! Ah, el ho - rror de la

(8)

rit. *p a tempo*

55

no-che su - pre - ma si la úl - ti ma es - tre-lla se a

p

62 *mf*

pa - ga! Cru-ji - rán de es-pan - to

pp *mf cresc. molto*

10

69

mis huesos y la voz se he-la - rá en mi gar-

8^{va}

77

Tempo primo

gan - ta...

rit.

8^{va} legato

pp a tempo

legato

8) Ped. Ped. (sost.)

82

8) Ped.

86 *p tristemente*

A - bri - ré mi pa - sión do - lo - ro - sa a la llu - via mo

91

nó - to - na y frí - a.

cresc. *mf* *sempre legato*

95 *mf*

Ba - jo el pe - so del man - to de nie - ve

12

99 *mp*

se do - ble - gan las ra - mas er -

102

gui - das...

rit. *pp*

III.- Siempre

Ricardo Jaimes Freyre

Jaime Mendoza-Nava

Tú no sabes cuánto sufro! Tú, que has puesto más tinieblas
 en mi noche, y amargura más profunda en mi dolor!
 Tú has dejado, como el hierro que se deja en una herida,
 en mi oído la caricia *de tu voz.

Palpitante como un beso; voluptuosa como un beso;
 voz que halaga y que se queja; voz de ensueño y de dolor...
 Como sigue el ritmo oculto *del océano,
 mi ser todo sigue el ritmo misterioso de tu voz.

Oh, me llamas y me hieres! Voy a ti como un sonámbulo,
 con los brazos extendidos en la sombra y el dolor...
 Tú no sabes cuánto sufro; cómo aumenta mi martirio
 temblorosa y desolada, la caricia de tu voz.

1 *p* *expressivo*

Tú no sa - bes cuán - to

4 *cresc.*

su - fro! Tú, que has pues - to más ti -

cresc. *poco* *p*

14

6

nie - blas en mi no che, — ya - mar - gu - ra más pro - fun - da en

8

mi do - lor! — Tú has de - ja - do, co - mo el hie - rro

11

que se de - ja en u - na he - ri - da, en mi o - í - do la ca - ri - cia de tu —

15

voz. _____ *mf* Pal - pi - tan-te co-mo un be - so;

mf *f*

Red. *Red.*

20

vo - lup-tuo-sa co-mo un be - so; *mf* voz que ha-la-ga y que se

f

25

que ja; _____ *f* *mf* voz de en - sue-ño y de do - lor... _____ *mp* co-mo si-gue el

f

Red.

31

p

rit-mo o-culto del o - cé - a - no,

p *come arpa* *poco rubato*

Ped. *Ped.* *Ped. (sost.)*

34

p

mi ser to-do_ si-gue el rit mo mis-te - rio-so de tu voz.

a tempo
pp

Ped.

39

p

pp

Ped.

43 *p* *mp*

Oh, me lla - mas y me hie - res! Voy a tí co-mo un so-

46

nám-bu-lo, con los bra- zos ex - ten di - dos en la som-bra

48

y el do - lor... Tú no sa - bes cuán - to su - fro;

18

51

có - mo au - men - ta mi mar - ti - rio tem - blo - ro - sa y

53

de - so - la - da, la ca - ri - cia de tu voz

pp

APPENDIX C
RECORDING

País de sombra (high key) by Jaime Mendoza-Nava (1925-2005)

Andrea Ramos, Soprano

Masaru Sakuma, Piano

I. Crepúsculo

II. Brumas

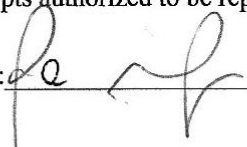
III. Siempre

Recording found at <https://hdl.handle.net/2286/R.2.N.149055>

APPENDIX D
COPYRIGHT PERMISSIONS

PERMISSION TO QUOTE/REPRODUCE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

I, Jaime I. Mendoza, owner of the copyright to *Pais de Sombra* by Jaime Mendoza-Nava hereby authorize Masaru Sakuma to use the above-mentioned work as part of his research paper to be made available through Arizona State University Digital Repository and the online database for thesis and dissertations ProQuest.
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Signature:  Date: July 8, 2021

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Masaru Sakuma is a Bolivian pianist. As a member of BOMUSA, Bolivian Musicians in the United States, he has been dedicated to promoting Bolivian classical music by organizing and performing online concerts as well as beginning to build an online database of Bolivian classical composers. In the past year, he has joined soprano Allison Stanford in an exploration of Bolivian art song with performances that were streamed on the online series Open Classical. His doctoral research has focused on Bolivian composer Jaime Mendoza-Nava (1925-2005) and Bolivian musical nationalism. Mr. Sakuma is currently embarked upon the recording and publication of piano and vocal works by Jaime Mendoza-Nava, to be released by M2 Film Music LLC. Prior to moving to the U.S., together with the “Ensemble of Bolivian Music from the XIX and XX Centuries,” he participated in conferences and concerts in La Paz, Bolivia and Arequipa, Peru that promoted piano and vocal works by Peruvian composer Pedro Ximénez Abril Tirado. Mr. Sakuma also serves on the board of founder members of the Centro de Estudios Musicales Bolivia. Mr. Sakuma has performed in music festivals in Bolivia, Peru, and the United States and has also been invited as a guest artist to the Saarbürg International Music Festival in Germany, and the Institute for the International Education of Students (IES) in Vienna, Austria. Committed to community outreach, he has organized concerts that seek to bring closer together classical music and audiences from all backgrounds. His most recent programs include the recitals “Dances from Around the World” and “Goodbye to 2020” presented at the Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Phoenix, Arizona. Mr. Sakuma is top winner of several piano competitions in Bolivia and has also won the First Honorable Mention in the Claudio Arrau Piano Competition in 2003 in Chile and the First Prize in the University of Central Arkansas Piano Competition in 2010. Mr. Sakuma obtained his diploma in piano from the Bolivian National Conservatory in La Paz, where he studied under Russian pianist Irina Efanova. Upon graduating from the conservatory in La Paz, he received a scholarship to the University of Central Arkansas, completing his masters degree and graduate certificate in Piano Performance as a student of Dr. Neil Rutman. He pursued his doctoral degree in Collaborative Piano at Arizona State University, where he studied under Professor Russell Ryan.