El Buen Salvaje Canta: A Depiction of the Charrúa Tribe in three later Nineteenth Century Works of Uruguayan Literature

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Statement of Originality

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge, it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Flinders University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at Flinders University or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the research project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

Abstract

The poem *Tabaré* by Juan Zorrilla de San Martín has been considered the national epic poem of Uruguay since its creation in 1886. *Tabaré* recounts he struggle of the indigenous Charrúa tribe of the *Banda Oriental* (modern Uruguay) against the Spanish invaders of the sixteenth century and their ultimate defeat. Its popularity served to eclipse a preceding series of literary works which also depicted the Charrúas. Zorrilla's overall negative portrayal of a vanished race prevailed for much of the following century.

This thesis investigates three earlier literary works, a drama, a novelette, and a grand opera, and compares their treatment of the same characters and historical events. This study reveals the existence of some commonalities among all three works, including a more positive interpretation of the Charrúas and their place in Uruguayan history. The comparative study includes the analysis of literary themes and use of language. The examination of excerpts from the opera will reveal how the music of the opera relates to the mentioned themes and to the text of Desteffanis. For the purpose of this thesis, an original and sole recording of these excerpts has been prepared. To the author's knowledge, this thesis represents the first study of the opera from that perspective.

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Chapter 1. Introduction to Thesis and Literature Review

1A – Prologue

¡Héroes sin redención y sin historia
Sin tumbas y sin lágrimas!
¡Estirpe lentamente sumergida
En la infinita soledad arcana![1]
...
Yo os saludo al pasar.
¿Fuisteis acaso
Mártires de una patria…?
Pero algo sois. El trovador cristiano
Arroja, húmedo en lágrimas,
Un ramo de laurel en vuestro abismo...
¡Por si mártires fuisteis de una patria! [2]

("Heroes without redemption, without graves
No history records nor tear laments!
Race that sank slowly, without trace behind
In the eternal, secret loneliness.[3]
…
As I pass I salute you; ah! Were you
Perhaps the martyrs of a fatherland …
Yet something still you are. The Christian bard
Drops, as he passes, moistened with his tears,
A branch of laurel on your nameless graves...
Martyrs, perhaps, of this our fatherland.") [4]

[1] J. Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* (1888), Edición original, Montevideo, A. Berreiro y Ramos, 1889, Editor digital, Emiferro, 2014, pp. 49-50.
[2] Zorrilla de San Martín, pp. 50-51.
[3] J. Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* trans. W. Owen, Washington, Pan American Union, 1956, p.79.
[4] Zorrilla de San Martín, trans. Owen, pp. 80-81.

This extract forms part of the epic poem *Tabaré,* composed by the Uruguayan poet Juan Zorrilla de San Martín in 1886, from now on referred to as Zorrilla. Considered by many academics and scholars to be the national epic poem of Uruguay, it was included on the curriculum of Uruguayan school for decades. Based upon the legend of the love between a Spanish girl and a young Charrúa indigenous warrior, *Tabaré* recounts the struggle of the indigenous Charrúa tribe of the *Banda Oriental* (modern Uruguay) against the Spanish invaders in the sixteenth century, and their ultimate defeat. A note of grudging admiration for the Charrúas can be detected in the above extracts, but this author has found that in the main Zorrilla's portrayal of this vanished race is negative, as demonstrated in this example:

¡La desgraciada estirpe, que agoniza,
sin hogar en la tierra ni en el cielo! [5]
...
Esos salvajes hombres no son ...
No tienen alma;
no son hijos de Adán, no son, Gonzalo;
esta estirpe feroz no es raza humana.[6]
...
¡Hierro y fuego les diera, hierro y fuego!
¡Hierro, bien dicho, exterminar la plaga! [7]

("Disastered race that in its throes of death
Has on the earth no home, nor in the skies! [8] (Spoken by the narrator)
…
"These savages are less than human…
They have no souls*;*
They are not sons of Adam, no, Gonzalo,
No human breed is this barbarian tribe".[9] (Spoken by Doña Luiz)
…
"It's fire and steel I'd give them, fire and steel!

[5] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré*, p. 56
[6] Zorrilla de San Martín, p. 63.
[7] Zorrilla de San Martín, p. 97.
[8] Zorrilla de San Martín*, Tabaré,* trans. Owen, p. 91.
[9] Zorrilla de San Martín, trans. Owen, p. 103.

Steel for the lot; exterminate the pest!")[10] (Spoken by a Spanish soldier)

Significantly, however, *Tabaré* introduces the reader to historical Charrúa characters who feature in the other works which preceded the publication of *Tabaré,* these works being the subject of this thesis.

¿Qué fue de Tabobá? También ha muerto.
Buscaba en el combate la venganza
de Abayubá, cuando del sueño frío
sintió en los huesos la corriente helada.[11]
...
Ya no reirá la dulce Liropeya,
la virgen más hermosa de la playa,
hija del tiempo de los soles largos,
que brillan en las ramas,
cuando el botón del ceibo se revienta
como urna de sangre.[12]

("And Taboda? Alas, dead also he,
Who in the battle sought to avenge the death
Of Abayubá, when the icy sleep
Of death congealed the currents of his life. [13]
...
Never again will Liropeya laugh,
Most beautiful of virgins of the shore,
Daughter was she of times of lengthening suns,
That filter through the forest leaves, the time,
When bursts the ceiba's bud, like to an urn
That overflows with blood".) [14]

[10] Zorrilla de San Martín, trans. Owen, p. 169.
[11] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* p. 47.
[12] Zorrilla de San Martín, p. 48.
[13] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* trans. Owen, p. 75
[14] Zorrilla de San Martín, trans. Owen, p. 77.

Abayubá, the Charrúa warrior-hero, and Liropeya, his promised bride, and daughter of the Charrúa chieftain, Zapican, were historical figures, as were other Charrúas mentioned in *Tabaré.* Yet it is unlikely that these same historical personages have become part of the Uruguayan lore of the Charrúa versus Spanish conflict, as the legendary characters of *Tabaré* have become. Those included Tabaré, Don Gonzalo de Orgaz, Blanca his sister, Doña Luz his wife, Padre Esteban, and Yamandu. Consequently, this author has identified and will examine three other works, not including *Tabaré,* which are based upon historical chronicles with historical characters, and which depict the Charrúa Indians more favourably.

1B – Aim of Thesis

The subject of this thesis is the depiction of the Charrúa Indians as *El buen salvaje* (the good savage) in three distinct but related works of literature by Uruguayan writers / composer during the late nineteenth century, all of which preceded *Tabaré.* These works are Pedro P. Bermúdez's drama *El Charrúa* (1853), [15] Florencio Escardó's *Abayubá* (1873), [16]and Luis Desteffanis' (librettist) and León Ribeiro's (composer) grand opera *Liropeya* (1881). [17] These three works possess an inherent unity because (a) They are based upon an historical event which occurred in the Banda Oriental in the 1570s, and (b) Their texts are based upon a common parent work, the lengthy poem *Argentina y Conquista del Río de la Plata* (1602) by Martín del Barco Centenera,[18] to be further elaborated on in the literature review.

This thesis investigates how each of these three writers portrayed the then exterminated race of the Charrúas. Their portraits may well emerge with some variations both between and indeed within each literary / musical work. The centrepiece of this thesis, and its most

[15] P. P. Bermúdez, *El Charrúa, Drama histórico en cinco actos y en verso (The Charrúa, Historical Drama in Five Acts and in Verse),* Montevideo, Imprenta Uruguayana, 1853. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89088276472&view=1up&seq=1 ,(accessed 15November 2018).

[16] F. Escardó, *Abayubá, Novela histórica (Abayubá, Historical Novel),* Montevideo, Imprenta a vapor, La Tribuna, 1873. http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000127261&page=1 ,(accessed 15 June 2018).

[17] L. Manzino, *'Edición, Prólogo e Introducción', León Ribeiro: Recitativos, Arias, Dúos y Trío, 'Liropeya', Ópera en tres actos; 'Colón', Alegoría Melodramática ('Edition, Prologue and Introduction', León Ribeiro, Recitatives, Arias, Duets, and Trio, 'Liropeya', Opera in three acts; 'Colon', Melodramatic Alegory),* Montevideo, Universidad de la República, 2018.

[18] M. Del Barco Centenera, *Argentina y conquista del Río de la Plata (Argentina and Conquest of the River Plate),*Project Gutenberg, 2008, Gutenberg.org/files 25317-25317-h-htm (accessed 1 November 2019).

significant contribution to scholarship, is its special examination of the opera *Liropeya*, especially in the context of its connection to the other two works.

1C – The Themes of Each Work

	Bermúdez **El charrúa (drama)** **1853**	**Escardó** **Abayubá (novelette)** **1873**	**Desteffanis/Ribeiro** **Liropeya (opera)** **1881**
1	Love towards the beloved one	Love towards the beloved one	Love towards the beloved one
2	Love of the fatherland	Love of the fatherland	Love of the fatherland
3	indomitability, defiance and liberty	the Charrúa way of life	The attitude of the Spaniards towards the Charrúas - Christianisation.
4	Charrúa chivalry, loyalty, hospitality	the attitude of the Spaniards towards the Charrúas	Deities, the mystical, and the after- life.

Each work will be examined from the perspective of four themes, two of which are common to all three works. These are:

1. The theme of love of and faithfulness to the beloved one.
2. The theme of love of the fatherland.

These two themes are dominant in the three works and serve as their underlying foundation. Bermúdez, Escardó, and Desteffanis/Ribeiro were, however, each inspired by other aspects of Charrúa life and history, and each individual work reflects this.

Consequently, the third theme of *El Charrúa* is the theme of Charrúa indomitability, defiance and liberty, while the fourth is the theme of Charrúa chivalry, loyalty, and hospitality. The third theme of *Abayubá* takes the form of the depiction of the Charrúa way of life, the fourth focusing upon the attitude of the Spaniards towards the Charrúas. The third theme of *Liropeya* also focuses on this same attitude, with some extension towards their broader mission of colonisation and Christianisation of the Charrúas. The fourth theme is centred upon the Charrúa depiction of the deities, the mystical, and the afterlife. The choice of two common

themes, together with themes particular to each work, provide a broad tapestry which enables the examination of these themes in their totality. Thus, a broad and positive depiction of the noble Charrúa warrior is presented, in contrast to the largely negative portrayal in *Tabaré.*

Because of the aforementioned exploration of the possible aesthetical similitudes between the three works, and the role which music may have played in adding to the positive depiction of the Charrúas, this thesis includes an original recording, produced specifically for the purposes of this investigation, which is to date the only existing recording of some excerpts from *Liropeya.*

1D – The Literature Review

Other works of literature preceding or contemporary to the three works under examination need to be mentioned. Gambetta considers del Barco Centenera's *Argentina y conquista del Río de la Plata* (1602) as forming a type of genesis of the three works to be examined. Adolfo Berro's poem, *Yandubayu y Liropeya*' (1840), is also credited as originating from the imagination of Centenera. [19] Daniel Hammerly Dupuy and Victor Hammerly Peverini's collection of poetry titled *Artigas en la poesía de América, Tomo II* contains poems by a myriad of poets, including Zorrilla and Bermúdez. About twenty- five poets in this collection mention the Charrúas briefly. Jeronimo Chiacchio Bruno, however, a Uruguayan poet, is the only one who devotes one full verse to the Indians in his poem, *Al Uruguay*. [20] Antonio Díaz (Hijo), an Argentine poet, writes of *conquistadores que buscan plata, oro, y amores de Liropeya* ('conquerors who seek silver, gold, and the loves of Liropeya') in his poem, *El Monumento en la Meseta de Artigas* ('The Monument in the Plateau of Artigas'). [21] Among other contemporary works is Florencio Escardó's *Historia de Argentina y la Banda Oriental* (1878). [22] Escardó focuses more on the history of Argentina rather than the Banda

[19] E. O. Gambetta, 'La leyenda aborigen en la lírica de Juan M. Gutierrez y Adolfo Berro'('The aboriginal legend in the lyric of Juan M. Gutierrez and Adolfo Berro'), *Verba Hispanica xxiv, 2017,* p. 209. https://www.researchgate.net./publication/312567155. La-leyenda-aboriginen-en-la-lirica-de-Juan-M-Gutierrez-y-Adolfo-Berro,(accessed 1 April 2020).

[20] D. H. Dupuy and V. H. Perverini (eds.), *Artigas en la Poesia de America, Tomo II (Artigas in the Poetry of America, Volume 2),* Argentina, Editorial Noel, n.d., p. 617.

[21] Dupuy and Perverini, *Artigas en la Poesia de America,* p. 558.

[22] F. Escardó, *Reseña histórica, estadística y descriptiva con tradiciones orales de la Repúblicas Argentina y Oriental del Uruguay desde el descubrimiento del Río de la Plata hasta el año de 1876 (Historical, statistical, and descriptive review with oral traditions of the Republic of Argentina and the Eastern of Uruguay from the discovery of the River Plate until the year of 1876),* Montevideo, *La Tribuna,* 1878. Available from google books, (accessed 3 March 2020).

Oriental. He cites del Barco Centenera for some of his narrative about Abayubá. His description of the Charrúa way of life is often identical to what he had composed in *Abayubá*, and, surprisingly, he does not mention the massacre at Salsispuedes. Escardó's *Historia* appears to be rarely cited by or included in bibliographies by other authors writing about the history of Uruguay. Therefore, one might question how highly he was regarded by scholars as an historian.

Searches by this author, both in Australia and in Uruguay, and by Dr. Leonardo Manzino, have yielded few books, authoritative articles, or conference papers on the three works under examination. *La Leyenda aborigen en la lírica de Juan M. Gutiérrez y Adolfo Berro* by Eugenia Ortiz Gambetta places *El Charrúa, Abayubá,* and *Liropeya* in their literary and historical context. Gambetta designs a literary lineage which originates with del Barco Centenera's *Argentina y conquista del Río de la Plata*, is developed further by Berro in *Yandubayu y Liropeya*, and culminates in those three works. Gambetta does, however, mistakenly date the composition of *Liropeya* as 1912,[23] but the article includes a wide bibliography. Significantly, one work mentioned therein, C. Meléndez's *La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica* does not contain any mention of Escardó's *Abayubá.* [24] Although this thesis is not examining *Tabaré*, Gustavo San Román's scholarly article *The Repressed Desire of the Native in 'Tabaré'* provides relevant examples of the examination of a theme, the theme being the traces of a repressed eroticism. Furthermore, San Roman cites two recent critics, Doris Summer and Javier García Méndez, who perceive *Tabaré* as a mechanism to settle the accounts romantically with the official extermination of the Charrúas. [25] Their opinions might support the three literary works under examination here as representing the counterweight to *Tabaré.*

Ramón de Santiago's article *El Charrúa, drama nacional de Sr. Bermúdez* would appear to lack a scholarly base. De Santiago was himself a nineteenth century author, probably his most famous work being the re-elaboration of the Charrúa legend *Cabari*, (1848). He credits Bermúdez as being the first Uruguayan champion of a new national school of literature with *El Charrúa*. De Santiago states that Bermúdez's sweet melodious verses were copied from

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[23] Gambetta, 'La leyenda lírica', pp.208-209.
[24] C. Meléndez, *La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica, 1832-1889 (The Hispanic Novel in Spanish America, 1821-1889),* Rio Pedras, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1961, cited in Gambietta, p. 212.
[25] D. Sommer, *Foundational Fictions. The National Romance of Latin America,* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1991, p. 245, and J. G. Mendez, *'Tabaré' o la leyenda blanca ('Tabaré' or the white legend)* cited in *G*. San Roman, 'Negotiating Nationhood: The Repressed Desire of the Native in *Tabaré', Forum for Modern Language Studies 1993,* vol. xxix, no.4, p. 303. https://academic.oup.com/fmls/article-abstract/xxix/4/300/661393 ,(accessed 28 June 2018).

American nature, although he does not offer any examples of such claims. [26]

Probably the most authoritative study of *El Charrúa* is Annie Houot's *Guaraníes y charrúas en la literatura uruguaya del siglo XIX: realidad y ficción.*[27] Houot's focus is to examine the literature against the history. It is not mentioned that she examines Escardó's *Abayubá,* but she does examine *El Charrúa* and *Tabaré.* [28]

Three doctoral theses are remotely related to *El Buen Salvaje Canta*. Silvia Tieffemberg's doctoral thesis *Martín del Barco Centenera, Argentina y Conquista del Río de la Plata, Tomo I* offers a worthy analysis of sections of that long poem. The section *El amor cortés: Yanduballo y Liropeya (The Courteous Love: Yanduballo and Liropeya)* is somewhat relevant. Tieffemberg points out that, while del Barco Centenera presents Caravallo as one of Garay's bravest knights, his behaviour is very distant from the minimum laws of chivalry. This behaviour is unjustified, bloodthirsty and devious, typified by his murder of Yandaballo from behind. Tieffemberg thus demonstrates that a mismatch exists in del Barco Centernera's poem, for it is Yanduballo who personifies the real knight. Tieffemberg does not make any reference to *El Charrúa, Abayubá,* or *Liropeya*. Her linking of the episode cited to the poetry of the European medieval troubadours suggests a fascinating theory which extends, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.[29]

One of the central arguments of Ashley Elizabeth Kerr's doctoral thesis, '*Somos una raza privilegiada': Anthropology, Race and Nation in the literature of the River Plate, 1870-2010,* is that science, especially anthropology and ethnography, was a fundamental factor in the elaboration of racial identities in the River Plate regions. [30]. *Tabaré* is the Uruguayan literary work which Kerr examines in some detail. She tempers Zorrilla's largely negative portrayal of the Charrúas with her statement that his poetry depicts them as having degenerated

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[26] R. de Santiago, 'El Charrúa, Drama Nacional de Sr. Bermúdez' [Sobre la literatura nacional]' ('El Charrúa, National Drama of Sr. Bermúdez: About the national literature'), n.d., pp. 2-3. https://www.fhuce.edu.au.uy/images/SADIL/ramn%20de%20santiago%sobre%20charra%20de%20%pedro%20pablo%20bermudez%201853.pdf ,(accessed 14 March 2020).

[27] A. Houot, *Guaraníes y charrúas en la literatura uruguaya del siglo XIX: realidad y ficción (Guaranis and Charrúas in the Uruguayan Literature of the nineteenth century: reality and fiction),* Montevideo, Editorial Linardi y Risso, 2007.

[28] Entre Libros, Review of Houot, *Guaraníes y Charrúas.* http://www.entrelibros.com.uy/Linardi-y-Risso/Autores/A-C/Annie-Houot/Guaranies, (accessed 18 June 2019).

[29] S. Tieffemberg, 'Martín del Barco Centenera, Argentina y conquista del Río de la Plata' ('Martín del Barco Centenera, Argentina and conquest of the River Plate'), PhD Thesis, University of Buenos Aires, 1991, pp. 161-164. repositorio.filo.uba.ffyl-t-1991-871905-v1%20(1).pdf (accessed 12 March 2020).

[30] A.E. Kerr, "Somos una raza privilegiada": ("We are a privileged race"). Anthropology, Race, and Nation in the Literature of the River Plate, 1870-2010'. PhD Thesis, University of Virginia, 2013, p. 1. Available from Proquest (accessed 15 March 2020).

from a higher rank of humanity, the sixteenth century Charrúas being but a remnant of their former glory. [31] Kerr makes no reference to the three works under examination here, stating, however, "There were texts and authors I was forced to exclude by limitations of space and time". [32] Thanya B. Santacruz's thesis has as its title *¿Hispánicos nacidos en América o razas aborígenes? 'Tabaré' y una apología de un poema nacional* is closer to *El Buen Salvaje Canta.* Its author links *Tabaré* to works by other American authors, including Cooper, Longfellow, Berro, and Bermúdez. Santacruz's interpretation of Bermúdez's drama differs considerably from the argument of this thesis. She postulates that Bermúdez does not really defend the Charrúas, describing *El Charrúa* as an allegory of the struggle between the Creole colonists and the Spaniards. [33]

Indeed, Santacruz regards Bermúdez as sharing a similar perspective to Zorrilla, partly basing her argument on a phrase *ansia al exterminio* ('he yearned to the extermination'). [34] Santacruz does not really develop her argument further through the primary source of Bermúdez's drama. *Abayubá* and *Liropeya* are not mentioned in Santacruz's thesis.

Finally, an apparent lack of scholarship on Ribeiro's opera *Liropeya* needs to be noted. Lauro Ayestarán's authoritative article *La música indígena en el Uruguay* cites del Barco Centenera, archaeological evidence, and records of the Catholic missions regarding Charrúa instruments, chants, and dances. No mention is made of *Liropeya.* [35] Dr. Manzino, in a communication to this author, states, "Apart from these sources, I have not come across any published materials on Ribeiro's opera titled *Liropeya*". [36] By 'these sources' he is referring to the primary sources he has used, and to an article titled *Desteffanis* by José Fernandez Soldana. Soldana focuses on Desteffanis's fall from favour, and does not mention him as the librettist of *Liropeya*. [37] Manzino's unpublished paper, presented at a conference at Clare College, University of Cambridge, in June 2019, *The Rise of Nineteenth Century Uruguayan Opera: Syncretism of Italian Musical 'gusto' and the Uruguayan Search for Identity in a Cosmopolitan Era*' is extremely

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[31] Kerr, p. 97.
[32] Kerr, p. 237.
[33] T. B. Santacruz, " ¿Hispánicos nacidos en América o razas aborígenes"? *Tabaré* y la apología de un poema nacional (" Hispanics born in America or aboriginal race"? *Tabaré* and the apologia of a national poem'), PhD Thesis, University of California, 2002, p. 187. Available from Proquest, (accessed 13 March 2020).
[34] Santacruz, p. 189
[35] L. Ayestarán, ' La Musica Indigena en el Uruguay' (' The Indigenous Music in Uruguay'), *Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias,* año III, no. 4, XII, 1949. http: //www.cdm.gub.uy/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/CDM-Ayestar%C3%A1n-M%C3%BAsicaInd%C3%ADgena-1949.pdf, (accessed 10 March 2020).
[36] Communication from Leonardo Manzino to John Clancy, 21 March 2020.
[37] J. F. Soldana, 'El Professor Luis D. Desteffanis' ('The Professor Luis D. Desteffanis'), *El Dia,* 31 enero, 1937. Article sent to John Clancy by Leonardo Manzino on 21 March 2020.

well researched and elegant in style. He focuses more on Giribaldi's operas rather than Ribeiro's. While he refers to Bermúdez, he does not mention *Abayubá.*[38] Indeed, it appears that the latter work has generally been the subject of little scholarship.

The above literary review does highlight a certain lack of previous study on the three works under examination here, and it lends support for the argument that a thesis needed to be written on three other literary works inspired by Charrúa history, each of which preceded *Tabaré.* It is hoped that this study will enrich the scholarly debate.

1E – The Central Thesis Questions

In view of the largely negative portrayal of the Charrúa Indians in *Tabaré,* the central thesis questions of this thesis are: 1. Do the three works under examination here present a positive attitude towards, and a sympathetic description of, the Charrúas as *buenos salvajes?* 2. Does the musical treatment by Ribeiro in *Liropeya* reaffirm and enhance this same positive depiction, as expressed in the libretto (text) by Desteffanis, and in the broader texts by Bermúdez and Escardó of their respective works? Based upon this evidence, this author will reach an objective conclusion.

[38] Paper sent by L. Manzino to J. Clancy on 5 November 2019

Chapter 2. Methodology, Methods, Sources, and Summary of the Chapters

This chapter focuses on the various tools employed in order to conduct an examination of the questions under consideration. Of prime importance is the methodology, which provides the underlying foundation for the methods utilised here, the use of sources, and the fieldwork undertaken in relation to the examination of *Liropeya.*

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, *El Buen Salvaje Canta* constitutes primarily a literary and musical study of the virtually unknown Uruguayan opera, *Liropeya*. It has been undertaken in order to obtain evidence of the depiction, both textual and musical, of the Charrúa Indians. If the evidence presents a positive depiction, *Liropeya* is consequently in tune with similar portrayals in *El Charrúa* and *Abayubá*, although contrary to depictions in other works such as *Tabaré.*

This thesis embraces three main disciplines, namely history, literature, and music. In any discipline each study's specific approach, sources, and questions should shape its research method. [39] Consequently, this thesis employs at least three research methods, none of which carries the sole weight of its author's analysis. Therefore, the reader should expect a multifaceted methodology. The chapters on history, namely chapters four and seven, employ mainly an empirical method, which means that the truth is arrived at in the arrangement of the facts from the sources. [40] However, it must be emphasised that this is not a history thesis. While these two chapters provide a valuable historical foundation for the three literary and musical works, they do not constitute the thesis' main focus. Rather do they contribute to framing the central thesis questions. Nonetheless, the approach and sources employed in chapters four and seven favour an empirical method of research.

The method of literary analysis is prevalent in chapters five and six, *El Charrúa* and *Abayubá* respectively. Similarities and parallels of literary concepts and treatment are also identified between both works, as well as the influence of the canons of European drama upon *El Charrúa*. Chapter eight employs a research method of mainly musical analysis. This method

[39] Lecturer, History Department, Latrobe University Melbourne, citing Dr. Valerie Garver, Assistant Professor of History, Northern Illinois University, March 2017.
[40] Lecturer, History Department, Latrobe University, citing historiographer Hayden White, March 2017.

is linked to textual analysis, primarily to Desteffanis' libretto (text) of *Liropeya*, but, where relevant, to the texts by Bermúdez and Escardó. The danger, however, of musical analysis is that it may become subjective. In order to counter this, this author aims to compare the consistency (or lack thereof) of the music of Ribeiro with the textual depictions by Desteffanis. The analysis therefore embraces three components - academic discussion, description of musical treatment by Ribeiro, and contributions by the singers who perform on the recordings. The academic discussion will be guided by the canons of Italian Romantic opera and by nineteenth century thinking on the aesthetics of music. By focusing on these three components, one should arrive at an objective and intellectual decision. In this manner, the specific approaches, sources, and questions will have shaped the methodology employed for the examination of the opera *Liropeya*.

2A – Methodology

This master's thesis relies principally upon primary sources. The texts of *El Charrúa* and *Abayubá,* together with the vocal score of extracts from *Liropeya,* constitute the three principal primary sources. This author examines the three works from the perspective of how they support or counter his argument. He also analyses the quality of language, be it literary or musical, and how it heightens or lowers the depiction of the Charrúa. Similar moments which occur between the three works are highlighted, particularly between *El Charrúa* and *Liropeya,* because the latter was partly based upon the former. [41] Many academics agree that the study of a musical work by a composer is best undertaken by the researcher initially studying the musical score of that work, in advance of consulting other scholarship relating to it. (David Wulstan, Professor of Music, University College, Cork, Ireland, October 1979). Furthermore, quotations from primary sources by scholars of opera during the years prior to the composition of *Liropeya,* demonstrate how León Ribeiro worked within certain frameworks of operatic conventions. These scholars include such eminent names as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Gioacchino Rossini, as well as Christian Schubert for his work on the aesthetics of different keys. It is not known whether the young Ribeiro was familiar with the writings of all those scholars. However, his emulation of the Italian style of

[41] Daniel Muñoz, *Liropeya,* Montevideo, *La Razón,*, Jan., 1884, cited in L. Manzino, *León Ribeiro, Sesquicentenario del Compositor Romántico Uruguayo, (León Ribeiro, Sesquicentenary of the Uruguayan Romantic Composer),* Montevideo, Manzino, 2004, pp 59-60.

opera could indicate that even subconsciously he followed at least some of their precepts. Further insightful perspectives of an opera may be obtained from singers who have sung excerpts from it. This maxim has led to this author conducting field work related to *Liropeya*.

2B – Methods

Methods: Preliminary Investigations

Methods flow from the broader methodology, and a thesis requires that the necessary steps and procedures flow in a scholarly and seamless order. Having initially read the epic poem *Tabaré,* this author located Uruguayan literature with a more sympathetic attitude to the Charrúas. This led him to the drama *El Charrúa,* and a logical progression to *Liropeya* followed. While the text of both *El Charrúa* and *Abayubá* were available on-line, no published musical score, nor even excerpts of the opera, were available in Australia. Consequently, this author travelled to Uruguay to access the soloists' excerpts as published by Dr. Leonardo Manzino.[42] He was also mindful that he needed to view, and, if possible, transcribe, at least some texts of the choruses of the opera from the original hand- written vocal score.[43] These texts provide insight into the Charrúas on masse, again most valuable for the argument of this thesis. During his meeting with Dr. Manzino, the latter provided valuable information on *Liropeya,* as well as granting permission in writing to record in sound various excerpts. [44] Dr. Manzino further confirmed that to his knowledge no recordings had ever been undertaken.[45] The methods employed for this part of the research had proceeded in a satisfactory and seamless manner.

Methods: Fieldwork

The opportunity to hear a musical work performed is of paramount importance. The examiners and readers of this thesis need to hear examples of the excerpts from *Liropeya* in order to assess the validity of the arguments. This consequently led to the approved recording in sound being realized. This recording was made in order that: A to provide indisputable evidence of the claims being made in chapter eight: B to illustrate the progression of the

[42] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos, Arias, Dúos y Trio.*
[43] León Ribeiro, Vocal Score of *Liropeya* at *El Museo Romántico,* Montevideo, (Accessed 15, 17 July, 2019).
[44] Communication from Dr. Leonardo Manzino to John Clancy, 18 August 2019.
[45] Dr. Leonardo Manzino, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Montevideo.

excerpts from those within the hand-written vocal score, to printed excerpts, to performance, and to recordings in sound. These recordings represent the realisation of the text and music by the singers; C to present deeper insights into the music for author and readers alike. The excerpts consist of both full musical numbers (one aria, and one trio), shorter excerpts, and very short 'clips'. The last named especially were recorded to support the argument of this thesis.

Of some importance also were the interviews with each singer. The singers gave their opinions as to whether the musical treatment confirmed Desteffanis' and Ribeiro's honest portrayal of the Charrúas and the Spaniards. Objective observation was the aim of these interviews, but this varied according to each singer's level of prior experience. Furthermore, for the argument of the thesis, a translation of the text from Italian into English was essential. [46] The consensus of author and singers was that the recording of the excerpts provided a further dimension of credible evidence for the argument of the thesis.

Methods: Identification and Translation of Sources

The action of the three works, all composed during the nineteenth century, takes place during the sixteenth century. Therefore, it was essential that available primary sources and authoritative secondary sources from these two eras formed the foundations of this thesis. Consequently, this author presents some history of the Charrúas for those two centuries, using mainly primary sources. As all these were written in Spanish, he has translated them, on occasions seeking professional assistance. He had sought advice from academic authorities, archivists, and from the book sellers, all of these in Montevideo, regarding the credentials of authors of books he purchased while there. While he leans heavily on the work of Dr. Manzino regarding late nineteenth century opera in Uruguay, he has ascertained that Manzino is internationally recognised by academics as being an authority on this subject. In summation the reader can be confident that the argument of this thesis is supported by reliable evidence, and by its author's own abilities as an interpreter of opera.

[46] Manzino: *Recitativos, Arias, Dúos y Trio,* trans. Ada Snell, unpublished, 2019.

2C – The Principal Primary Sources

The three works under consideration constitute *per se* the most vital primary sources. The texts of *El Charrúa* and *Abayubá* have been accessed through facsimiles of their original editions. The excerpts from *Liropeya* are the first ever to have been transcribed, in this case by Dr. Leonardo Manzino, from the original hand-written vocal score of Ribeiro. In addition, a small section of the libretto of that same opera was transcribed by the author of this thesis from the original score at the Museo Romántico, Montevideo. Apart from the published excerpts by Manzino, and these transcriptions of text, this author did not work from the original manuscript vocal score. He is further supported by other essential primary sources, written by a multiplicity of travellers, historians, priests, and opera scholars.

Charles Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1832)[47] presents the first indication that the Charrúa Indians no longer existed as a race within Uruguay in 1832. Alexander Von Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent* (1843)[48] introduced a different interpretation of the popular concept of 'savage'. Bartolomé de las Casas' *Brevíssima relación de la destruyción de las Indias* [49] elevated to an intellectual level the legal, moral, and theological argument against the conquest of the Indians, and supported their right to wage a just and defensive war. Eduardo F. Acosta Y Lara's *La Guerra de Los Charrúas en la Banda Oriental* (1969) [50] is most valuable for its provision of primary documentary evidence, although one might have reservations regarding its author´s bias against the Charrúas. Internationally acclaimed author Daniel Vidart's *Cuando el Uruguay Era Sólo un Río* (2013) [51] provides invaluable documentary testimony of travellers to the *Banda Oriental* from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. It should be noted that Vidart is mentioned by eminent Uruguayan historian Eduardo Galeano, as is Juan A. Oddone. [52] Ulrich Weisstein's

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[47] C. Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle,* Herefordshire, Wordsworth Edition, Ltd., 1997.
[48] A. von Humboldt, trans. J. Wilson, *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent,* London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1995.
[49] B. de las Casas, *Brevissima Relación de la Destruyción de las Indias (Very Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies),* Madrid, Biblioteca Edaf 287, 2004.
[50] E.F. Acosta Y Lara, *La Guerra de los Charrúas en la Banda Oriental – Periodo Patrio (The War of the Charrúas in the Banda Oriental – Patriot Period),* Montevideo, Monteverde Y Cla.S.A, 1969.
[51] D. Vidart, *Cuando el Uruguay era solo un río (When the Uruguay was only a River),* Montevideo, B. Ediciones, 2013.
[52] E. Galeano, 'Acknowledgements' to *Open Veins of Latin America:Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent,* Carlton North (Victoria), Scribe Publications Pty. Ltd., 1997., and J. A. Oddone, 'Italians in Uruguay: Political Participation and Country Consolidation during Mass Migration'. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.2050-411X.1994.tb00761.x

(Editor) *The Essence of Opera* (1964) contains a wealth of comments on this art form by authorities from 1600 to 1953. [53] Susana Salgado's monumental work *The Teatro Solis: 150 Years of Opera, Concert and Ballet in Montevideo* (2003) lists all operas performed there during that period. [54] In summation, this author utilises a broad and diverse collection of primary sources to help him reach a scholarly conclusion to the argument of his thesis, based mainly on primary evidence.

2D – The Secondary Sources.

A master's thesis can also utilise relevant secondary sources. Ter Ellingson´s 'The Myth of the Noble Savage'[55] provides a fresh and scholarly perspective on a concept which has been somewhat misunderstood over the centuries. José Cárdenas Bunsen´s 'Consent, Voluntary Jurisdiction and Native Political Agency in Bartolomé de las Casas' Final Writings' [56] explores de las Casas' contention that consent by the conquered was the only basis which could grant legitimacy to the Spanish conquest of Latin America. For an objective perspective, chapter four of this thesis relies to some extent on Fernando Klein's *El Destino de los Indigenes del Uruguay* [57]and Rodrigo Vescovi's *200 Años de Dominio en la Banda Oriental del Uruguay.* [58] The highly respected authority Gustavo Verdesio provides a sharp insight into the early contacts between Charrúas and Spaniards[59]. For chapters seven and eight Dr. Leonardo Manzino is the most reliable authority,[60] supported as he is on occasions by Benjamin Nahum

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[53] U. Weisstein, (Ed.), *The Essence of Opera,* W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., New York, 1969

[54] S. Salgado, *The Teatro Solis: 150 years of Opera, Concert, and Ballet in Montevideo,* Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 2003.

[55] T. Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* Berkeley University of California Press, 2001, available from: E-Book Library, (accessed 4 April 2019).

[56] J.A. Cardenas Bunsen, 'Consent, Voluntary Jurisdiction and native Political Agency in Bartolomé de las Casas' Final Writings, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies,* Vol. XCI, no. 6, 2014, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14753820.2014.888887?needAccess=true, (accessed 15 May, 2019).

[57] F. Klein, 'El Destino de los Indigenes del Uruguay' ('The Destiny of the Indigenous of Uruguay'), *Nomadas. Revista Critica del Sciencias Sociales y Juridicas 15,* 2007, redalyc.org/pdf/181/18153298026.pdf , (accessed 3 March 2019).

[58] R. Vescovi, '200 Años de Dominio en la Banda Oriental del Uruguay: Investigaciones y Analysis ('200 Years of Control in the Banda Oriental of Uruguay: Investigations and Analysis'), 2011. issuu.com/ateaysublevada/docs/232vescovi, (accessed 6 April 2019)

[59] G. Verdesio, 'An Amnesic Nation: The Erasure of Indigenous Pasts by Uruguayan Expert Knowledge' in S. Castro-Klaren and J.C. Chasteen (Eds), *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,* Baltimore and London, the John Hopkins University Press, 2003. ALSO G. Verdesio, *Forgotten Conquests: Re-reading World History from the Margins,* Temple University Press, 2011.

[60] L. Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos* and *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario.* ALSO Manzino, *La ópera Uruguaya del Siglo XIX: Estrenos de Tomás Giribaldi en el Teatro Solís (The Uruguayan Opera of the Nineteenth Century: Premieres of Tomas Giribaldi in the Solis Theatre),* Montevideo, Manzino, 2010.

in his *Manuel de Historia del Uruguay.*[61] Manzino also utilises articles from nineteenth century Uruguayan periodicals and newspapers. This author views the above secondary sources as providing a reliable adjunct to his primary sources, their authors on occasions quoting the same primary sources as he himself.

2E – A Brief Summary of the Chapters

Chapter 3. The Quest for *El Buen Salvaje* This chapter opens with the historical perception of the Charrúa Indians up to and beyond the massacre at Salsipuedes in 1831. It considers theories of race during the mid- nineteenth century, which in turn lead on to the concept of the Noble Savage. De las Casas' work helps to position the Charrúas' defence of their homeland into sixteenth century historical perspective. The chapter concludes with the introduction of the concept of *el buen salvaje.* This chapter should be regarded as providing a broad, historical, philosophical and ethical background to the three works under examination.

Chapter 4. Charrúas as Enemies and Allies. The Charrúas of the sixteenth century are introduced with reference to other authors who quote primary sources describing their way of life. A brief description of the conflict against the Spaniards in 1573 follows. The author then progresses to the campaigns of Artigas in the early nineteenth century and the Charrúas' participation, concluding by quoting divergent views of Artigas and the Charrúas. A generally empirical method of investigation, based on sources and evidence, has been employed in this chapter in order to arrive at an intellectual conclusion.

Chapter 5. *El Charrúa.* The focus is exclusively on an examination of *el buen salvaje* in Bermúdez's drama *El Charrúa.* The text is examined under the four themes already introduced, and the question whether it supports the depiction of *el buen salvaje* is answered at the end. The methods of literary analysis, with occasional references to racial philosophy, and to classical and Shakespearean canons of drama, are utilised to advance the argument of the thesis.

Chapter 6. *Abayubá.* A description, similar to that of Bermúdez, of the war between the Charrúas and the invaders is evident in Escardó´s novelette. Consequently, this author uses a similar method of examination, at times comparing both authors' depictions of the Charrúas.

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[61] B. Nahum, *Manual de Historia del Uruguay, tomo 1: 1830-1903 (Handbook of History of Uruguay, volume 1: 1830-1903),* Montevideo, Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2017.

His conclusions at the end of the examination may support, partly support, or counter his findings for *El Charrúa.* Because *Abayubá* is a virtually unknown work, the narrative method is more prominent here. However, the literary analysis is linked to *El Charrúa* and occasionally to the work of del Barco Centenera.

Chapter 7. The Growth of National Identity in Uruguay, and the Composing of *Liropeya.* Before his examination of *Liropeya,* a survey of the growth of national identity in Uruguay and the social, nationalistic, immigration, and cultural developments which led to the composition of this opera is necessary. The author gives reasons for Ribeiro's choice of subject, and why he chose an Italian form of treatment. The historical nature of this chapter, which demands the use of primary sources and reliable secondary sources, results in an empirical method of investigation in order to arrive at an intellectual conclusion.

Chapter 8. *Liropeya.* Is the language of dramatic poetry in *El Charrúa* and of prose in *Abayubá* raised to a more elevated level through the language of music? The question whether the music enhances the text is answered through the method of musical analysis. *El buen salvaje* may consequently achieve a higher level of heroism and nobility.

Chapter 9. Conclusion. This thesis represents the ploughing of a new furrow in studies related to the Charrúas of the *Banda Oriental.* Based upon the evidence presented in these three related works, this author will arrive at a conclusion. The depiction of the Charrúas will be presented as positive, negative, or neutral. The appropriate answer to the central thesis questions will arise from this conclusion.

Chapter 3. The Quest for *El Buen Salvaje*

3A – Prologue

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, two eminent English personages travelled through the region now known as Uruguay. It was known then as the *Banda Oriental*, meaning literally the eastern band of the River Plate, which from now on shall be referred to as the *Banda*. The first personage, the renowned Anglo-Irish diplomat Lord John Ponsonby, eulogised this region in 1826, describing it as being almost the same size as England, with Montevideo being the best harbour of the River Plate. He rhapsodised in almost poetic language the magnificent soil, abundant water ways, and perfect climate of this idyllic region, an almost perfect land for English settlers of good stock. [62] Typical of some nineteenth century politicians, Ponsonby never mentioned the indigenous population. In fact, throughout his extensive correspondence, not one reference can be found to the *Banda´s* original inhabitants, who still roamed and lived on its vast plains during the late 1820s.[63] Six years later, in 1832, the eminent English naturalist Charles Darwin would describe this same region. He too would praise its soil perfect for agriculture, and he would also speculate about how good English settlers could develop its vast and fertile plains.[64] Neither did Darwin mention the indigenous people of the Banda, although he did at times describe the indigenous of other regions of South America. Ponsonby's omission originated in the then perceived insignificance of indigenous peoples. Darwin's omission was due to cold historical fact: the indigenous Charrúa people of the Banda Oriental no longer existed. In 1831 the remnants of that once proud and undefeated Charrúa race had been exterminated by the newly independent State of Uruguay.

3B – The Massacre

The birth and independence of Uruguay was followed shortly afterwards by its baptism. Lord Ponsonby had midwifed its independence in 1828, on behalf of Great Britain. Shortly afterwards Fructuosa Rivera, first President of Uruguay, officiated over its baptism, a baptism of blood. The sacrificial victims were the remnants of the once indomitable race of the Charrúa

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[62] Ponsonby to Canning, 20 October, 1826 in C.K. Webster, *Britain and the Independence of Latin America, Volume 1* (London, Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 157-9.
[63] Luis Alberto de Herrera, *La Misión Ponsonby, Volumen 2 (The Ponsonby Mission, Volume 2),* (Montevideo, n.p., 1930).
[64] C. Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* (Hertfordshire, Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1997), pp. 134, 142.

tribes, their blood shed in the infamous massacre of Salsipuedes on 11th April 1831. In a communication a few days afterwards, Rivera had described the massacre as sounding more like a military confrontation. He appears to have justified it by describing the Charrúas as an indomitable tribe which needed to be regulated and punished, as all attempts at reconciliation had failed. Rivera damned them further as 'these savage and degraded hordes'.[65] The more immediate justification for the massacre was to protect the property, stock, and crops of the Creole ranchers.[66]

Rivera's scheme involved pre-planned treachery. Most of the Charrúa chiefs, persuaded by friendly Creole officials, convinced their tribes to travel as warriors and helpers to southern Brazil on a cattle round- up expedition. Towards evening the government officials persuaded the tribes to enter a large enclosure without their weapons, the latter motivated by copious amounts of food and alcohol. With the onset of night, and with their prospective victims in an advanced state of inebriation, Rivera's military charged from its hidden position behind a hill, and with sabre and bayonet 'slaughtered men, women, and children without consideration nor pity'. [67] In this manner was extinguished most of the male remnants of that proud, fiercely independent, and warlike people, the race which Zorrilla in *Tabaré* would commemorate with the poetic words:

Y todos han caído,
un tras otro, en la desierta pampa;
y nadie abrió sus párpados; la noche
bajo de ellos quedó, la noche larga.[68]

("All, all the valiant chiefs of old are gone,
One by one fallen on the pampas wild;
Under their fast shut eyelids there is nought
But the long darkness of unending night".) [69]

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[65] F. Rivera, Documento e) [48, Iv-18-1831], cited in E. F. Acosta y Lara, *La Guerra de Los Charrúas en la Banda Oriental, Periodo Patrio II (The War of the Charrúas in the Banda Oriental, Patriot Period II)*, Montevideo, A. Monteverde Y Cla. S.A, pp.49-50.
[66] R. Pi Hugarte, *Los Indios de Uruguay (The Indians of Uruguay),* Madrid, Editorial Mapfre, 1993, p. 197.
[67] C. E. Bladh, *El Uruguay de 1831 a través del viajero sueco* (*Uruguay from 1831 through the Swedish traveller),* cited in Renzo P. Hugarte p. 168.
[68] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* p. 49.
[69] Zorrilla De San Martín, *Tabaré,* trans. Owen, p. 79.

Some historians, including Galeano, state that remnants of the women and children were not massacred, but were marched to Montevideo where they became virtual slaves of the military or of the Montevideo elite of society. [70]

As with indigenous peoples in many colonies and former colonies, their continued existence was perceived as a barrier to progress. With the Charrúas, the baptism of blood represented a crucifixion with no hope of resurrection. However, one has to examine massacres in the context of nineteenth century theories of race.

3C – Nineteenth Century Theories of Race

The supremacy of a higher race genetically and militarily over a perceived lower race appears to have enshrined a racial philosophy prevalent during the mid- nineteenth century. For example, Robert Knox predicted the demise of the Celtic races as a result of English military might.[71] Knox quoted George Canning, former British foreign secretary and principal architect of Uruguayan independence, as boasting in Parliament that he had created certain South American republics, including Argentina.[72] Somewhat relevant to this thesis is Knox's prediction that the inevitable consequence of this would be 'the return of the aboriginal Indian population' (to its former territories) … ' a race whose vital energies are wound up; expiring: hastening onwards also to ultimate extinction.' [73] Here the words of the racial theorist, Knox, appear to foreshadow those of the poet, Zorrilla, already cited.[74] Knox did not openly advocate massacres of indigenous peoples, although his arguments may have had some significance within the British Empire. Nonetheless the history of massacres in the United States, Australia, and Latin America demonstrates that the rhetoric ran at least parallel to the reality, if not actually influencing it. Theories of race, such as those of Knox, and poetry such as Zorrilla's, partly provide a bridge to the concept and image of 'The Noble Savage'.

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[70] E. Galeano, *Mirrors: Stories of Almost Everyone,* trans. M. Fried, New York, Nation Books, 2009, p. 248

[71] R. Knox, *The Races of Men: A philosophical enquiry into the influence of race over the destinies of nation,* London, H. Renshaw, 1862, p. 27. https://books.google.com.au/books/about/The_Races_of_Men.html?id=MeoqAAAAYAAJ, (accessed 15 March 2019).

[72] Knox, p. 108

[73] Knox, p. 67

[74] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré.* Trans. Owen, p. 79

3D – The Noble Savage

Although popularly linked with the name of the French philosopher and educationist Jean Jacques Rousseau, he did not coin the term 'Noble Savage' and certainly did not use it.[75] It seems that the term was first used by Marc Lescarbot in 1609 when describing the Indians who hunted in the French and English colonies of North America. For Lescarbot, however, it was the hunting and not the savages who represented nobility.[76] Rousseau expounded the actual concept of the noble savage, but maintained that he could be neither good nor bad, possessing neither vices nor virtues. Rousseau even questioned whether the savage could actually be noble, although happier and more fortunate than so called civilised men.[77] He elaborated on this theory by declaring that man in a state of nature was 'placed by nature at an equal distance from the stupidity of brutes and the fatal enlightenment of civilised man'. [78]

Important for this thesis is Rousseau's distinction between the so- called Savages of America and 'true Savages'. The crucial difference was that the former group could sing and speak. [79] In Bermúdez's *El Charrúa* and Desteffanis' / Ribeiro's *Liropeya,* poetic drama and Italian grand opera respectively would be employed to heighten their authors' perception of the Charrúa. However, attitudes to the 'savages' less complimentary than Rousseau's are also to be found in both works, expressed in the words of the Spanish *conquistadores* (conquerors). The theories of Lescarbot and some of his adherents were in some respects grim foreshadows of Knox's arguments and Zorrilla's predictions. Lescarbot viewed the races of colonised lands as part of the past, doomed to physical and cultural disappearance. [80] For Rousseau, however, the way for such races was forward, for he was not convinced of the inevitable triumph of European civilisation.[81] This author will later mention some links between Rousseau's philosophy and the Charrúas. Social Anthropology may well be inspired by philosophers such as Rousseau. However, the explorer, scientist, or social anthropologist in the actual field assumes an importance of equal proportion.

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[75] T. Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001, p. 1. Available from E-Book Library, (accessed 4 April 2019).
[76] O. P. Dickason, Reviewed Work of Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001) in *The Journal of American History,* vol.88, no.4, Mar. 2002, p. 1499. DOI 10 2307/2700622 https://www.jstor.org/stable/2700622, (accessed 24 May 2019).
[77] Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 82.
[78] J-J. Rousseau 1755b: *A Discourse in Inequality,* trans. M. Cranston, London, Penguin, 1984, p, 115, cited in Ellingson p. 82.
[79] Rousseau cited in Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 84,
[80] Ellingson, p. 90.
[81] Ellingson, pp. 90-91.

Such a practical intellectual would emerge towards the end of the eighteenth century in the personage of Alexander von Humboldt (1769 to 1859), child of the Enlightenment and a strong admirer of Rousseau. [82] Rousseau's maxim that to travel, especially to South America, was the most efficient method of learning 'and shake off the yoke of natural prejudices', struck a strong chord in von Humboldt.[83] The latter does not appear to use the term 'Noble Savage', and indeed is selective in his use of the word 'savage'. He postulated that the Indians lived close to a natural, wild state, but were not barbarians, suggesting that it was the barbarous treatment which they received from their conquerors which made them wilder. [84] His words foreshadow the words of the Spaniard Chacon in *El Charrúa,* when he denounces the Spaniards for using religion to spread blood, especially against the Charrúas who reject Christianisation. [85] Chacon's denunciations of the *conquistadores* echo those of von Humboldt, where the latter used the term 'savage' with strong reservations. Von Humboldt argued that the term 'savage' suggests that the tamed 'Christian' Indians living in missions are civilised, and the free 'pagan' ones in the wild are barbarous.[86] In this manner Von Humboldt's perception of the free 'savage', if not a noble savage, suggests a good savage. An examination of the three works of literature may reveal further expressions of Von Humboldt's views.

The popularisation of the perceived savage in literary works became a phenomenon between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Novelists, poets, and playwrights romanticised and elevated him, although virtually none of them referred to him as noble. [87] Henry MacKenzie's novel, *Man of the World* (1787)[88] partly foreshadows Bermúdez's *El Charrúa,*[89] when a male character in each work describes the hospitality, honesty, and civilised behaviour which they experienced among their respective Indian prisoner takers/hosts. Nonetheless, MacKenzie does not disregard the Indians' violence and cruelty. [90] It was the English playwright John Dryden, using the term 'noble Savage' in his heroic drama, *The Conquest of Granada* (1672), who endowed the term with a certain literary association.[91]

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[82] J. Wilson, Introduction to *Alexander von Humboldt: Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent,* London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1995, p. xlix.
[83] Rousseau, cited by J. Wilson, p. xlix,
[84] A. Von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent,* trans. J. Wilson, London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1995, p. 77.
[85] P. P. Bermúdez, *El Charrúa, drama histórico en cinco actos y en verso (The Charrúa, Historical Drama in Five Acts and in Verse),* 1853, Act I, Scene 6, pp.29-30.
[86] Von Humboldt, *Personal Narratives,* pp. 117-118.
[87] Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, p. 4.
[88] Ellingson, p. 5.
[89] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 6, pp. 29-30.
[90] Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 5.
[91] Ellingson, p. 8.

"I am as free as nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began
When wild in wood the noble savage ran". [92]

Ellingson suggests that the term *el buen salvaje* (the good savage) is more appropriate for literary references in Spanish .[93]

3E – The Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas

The plots of the three works under consideration take place around the years 1570. Therefore, this necessitates a brief review of the basis of the conquest of Latin America. As the conquest progressed, the issue of consent assumed a special significance. The intellectual Bartolomé de las Casas would make this concept the central point of his argument in support of the Indians, presenting the most thorough argument in favour of the term 'consent'. [94] His defence of the Indians represented a synthesis of the legal, moral and theological arguments. While lauding the aims of Christ and the Pope to evangelise them, he declared that the Pope had bequeathed to Ferdinand and Isabella a missionary task only.[95] The corollary of this argument was that the temptation by the Spaniards to rob and murder the Indians or to lay waste to their lands should be suppressed, 'for this would cause the Indians to abominate our faith'. De las Casas credits the Indians with qualities bordering on nobility: 'They neither possess nor desire to possess worldly wealth. Surely these people would be the most blessed in the world if only they worshipped the true god.' [96] He summarised his opinion of the Indians by stating that there existed no people in the world, no matter how barbarous, fierce, and even brutal, which through industry and art and the use of love, meekness, and gentleness, could not be brought to good order. [97] Even the fiercest savage was, in his view, capable of being transformed into at least *el buen salvaje.*

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[92] C. H. Holman, *A Handbook to Literature,* Indianopolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1980, p. 297.
[93] Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, p. 7.
[94] J. A. Cárdenas Bunsen, 'Consent, Voluntary Jurisdiction and Native Political Agency in Bartolomé de las Casas' Final Writings', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies,* vol. XCI, no. 6, 2014, p. 793.
[95] L. Hanke, *Bartolomé de las Casas, An Interpretation of his Life and Writings,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1951, p. 37.
[96] B. de Las Casas, *Colección de tratados (Collectión of treaties), 1552-53,* 561& 617, pp. 7-8, (Buenos Aires, Instituto de investigaciones historicas - Institute of Historical investigations), 1924, cited in Hanke, pp. 9,11
[97] de las Casas, *Apologética Historia Sumaria (Apologetics, Brief History) XLVIII,* cited by M. L. Portilla (author of introduction) in, Bartolomé de las Casas, *Introducíon, Brevíssima relación de las Destruycíon de las Indias (Introduction, Very Brief Narration of the Destruction of the Indies),* Spain, Biblioteca Edaf, 2004, p. 32.

It was in his later writings that de las Casas' thinking on consent and voluntary jurisdiction became crystallised. By 1563 his perception of the need for voluntary jurisdiction was replacing his original thoughts on the Papal Bull of 1493.[98] He would subsequently extend his argument to openly challenge the *Ius Belli* (a just war) as advocated by his great adversary, Juan Gines de Sepúlveda, and its consequence, slavery of the Indians.[99] De las Casas' argument was that every man is free and has the right to choose his own path to civilisation and even religion. Sepúlveda argued that the superiority of one culture bestowed on it the right to conquer and christianise a perceived lower race. De las Casas countered that the pre-Columbian races of Latin America were at least as civilised as those of Europe. [100] In the three works under examination, the reader will encounter scenes where the Charrúas defend their lands and their religion against the onslaught of the Spaniards. The personas of de Sepulvéda and de las Casas thus assume a racial identity.

In 1550 de Sepúlveda had sought to justify Spanish rule through the theory of the just war. In 1552 de las Casas launched his counter argument: Natural law supported the Indians' rights to self-defence. [101] His examination of native systems of rule in the Indies (Latin America) had led him to declare that they were founded on natural law. Such law empowered the Indians with the right to wage a defensive war. The natural conclusion of these twin arguments against church and state was that no European authority could unilaterally claim jurisdiction over Indian domains.[102] De las Casas had replaced the concept of domination justified by the just war with one based solely on voluntary justification and consent. Cardenas Bunsen regards this as his major contribution to these polemics,[103] and that these two concepts need to be considered when examining texts from the early colonial period.[104] The debates about Spain's right to rule Latin America, and about her treatment of the Indians, would persist until the end of its empire there.[105] The theme of the Charrúas´ love of their fatherland is prevalent in all three works under examination. It is more likely that this love was intrinsic to

[98] Cárdenas Bunsen, 'Consent, Voluntary Jurisdiction', p. 796
[99] Cárdenas Bunsen, pp. 794-5.
[100] A. Lozada *Introdución* a *Apología de fray Bartolomé de Las Casas (Introduction and Apology of Brother Bartolomé de las Casas), Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1988,* cited by M.L. Portilla *Bartolome de las Casas, Introducción, Brevíssima relación,* p. 29.
[101] Cárdenas Bunsen, *Consent, Voluntary Jurisdiction,* p. 812.
[102] Cárdenas Bunsen, p. 802.
[103] Cárdenas Bunsen, p. 813.
[104] Cárdenas Bunsen, p. 817.
[105] Hanke, *Bartolomé de las Casas,* p.39.

them, rather than inspired by the writings of de las Casas. However, his arguments were relevant to the Charrúas as *los buenos salvajes* defending their natural inheritance.

3F – Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the broad tapestry of the background of Spanish colonisation in South America. It has demonstrated that the Spanish crown, church, and military were not in theory automatically presented with a legal right to subdue, mass convert, massacre and dispossess the indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Ellingsons's recommendations regarding *el buen salvaje,* von Humboldt's perceptions of the South American Indians, and de las Casas' eulogy of their qualities, combined to cause this author to replace the word 'noble' with 'good'. For the remainder of this thesis, the Charrúa indians will be considered from the scholar's perception of *el buen salvaje,* with occasional references to 'nobility'.

Chapter 4. Charrúas as Enemies and Allies

4A – Prologue

In this chapter the reader is introduced to the demeanour and physical attributes of the Charrúa race, important from the perspective of an artist's portrait. The reader also encounters the attitude of José Gervasio Artigas (1764-1850) towards their character, and especially his estimation of their military prowess and value as allies. Artigas waged campaigns against the British invaders, the Spanish, the Portuguese invaders from Brazil, and the forces of Buenos Aires between 1806 and 1820. Montalvo states that Artigas was familiar with and influenced by the philosophy of Rousseau.[106]

The Charrúas during three hundred years of Spanish domination became renowned for their courage, their defence of their lands and way of life, and their passion for independence. Their fury was essentially focused upon the Creole population of the Banda, expressing itself in underlying tensions and regular violence. With gradual colonisation of the Banda by Spain, the Charrúas moved from the coast towards the depopulated north. As a race which survived on the pampas, they displayed the physical characteristics of vigour, indomitability, and hardiness. [107]

4B – Historical Sources about the Charrúa

Contemporary descriptions of the Charrúa *salvajes* are mainly complimentary. Some of the most noteworthy emanated from the pen of Féliz de Azara, soldier, sailor, and Spanish geographer (1742-1821). His descriptions, written during the closing stages of the eighteenth century, portray them as being slightly taller than the Spanish, well proportioned, not fat, and of a haughty demeanour, with clear features. [108] P. Damaso Antonio LLarañaga (1771-1848) confirmed this positive image, adding that he had not observed any hideousness nor deformities

[106] C. A. Monzalvo, *Rousseau Y El ContratoSocial Oriental (Rousseau and the Oriental Social Contract),* Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramos S.A., 1989.
[107] F. Klein, 'El Destino de los Indigenas del Urugay' ('The Destiny of the Indigenous of Uruguay'), Nomadas. Revista Critica del Sciencias Sociales y Juridicas 15, 2007. 1, sections 1.1, 1.1.1., http//redalyc.org/pdf/181/18153298026.pdf, (accessed 3 March 2019).
[108] F. Azara, *Viajes por la America del Sur desde 1780 hasta 1801 (Travels through South America from 1780 until 1801),* Montevideo, Colección del comercio del Plata, 1850, cited in F. Klein, 'El destino', section 1.1.1.

among the Charrúas, who were 'the true owners of the campaign'.[109] When the Charrúas mastered the art of riding the horse, they became more daring and successful in battle. Their accomplishments included surrounding Montevideo, attacking missionary villages, and subjugating other tribes.[110] These physical attributes and skills of horsemanship paint the Charrúa as *el salvaje* with some semblances of nobility, although their aggressive attitude somewhat diminishes that image.

This portrait is endowed with greater realism when one compares the Charrúas with other indigenous tribes, both beyond and within the Banda. The Charrúas did not disappear due to enslavement or being subjected to forced labour by the Spaniards. Unlike the Incas, they had not developed an agricultural system. Nor did the Charrúas live in cities. Their nomadic way of life made them to some extent immune to European diseases imported by the Spaniards. [111]

By contrast, other Banda tribes such as the Guaranis, Guenoas, and Chanaes were more agriculturally inclined and sedentary. This paved the way for them to be brought into *reducciones* (missions), with the inbuilt protection of Spanish religious orders and officials, becoming, according to Von Humboldt, 'tamed savages'. [112] The downside of the *reducciones* was that there the indigenous cultures suffered a dilution, anathema to the Charrúas.[113] However, it could also be argued that, by rejecting *reducciones* and Christianity, the Charrúas helped to seal their own eventual doom.

Charrúa society was apparently organised on a non-hierarchical basis, with an elected chief, but no other positions of rank. The corollary was that no person was allowed to impose personal tyranny over another. Azara had also noted that, as well as lacking laws, there were no compulsory customs or punishments. Disputes seems to have been settled by the form of a duel, but not to the death.[114] A limited form of polygamy was permitted, with a woman free to leave her polygamous spouse in order to marry a man of her choice. Divorce was permitted,

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[109] P.D.A. Llaranaga , *Viajes de Montevideo a Paysandu (Journey from Montevideo to Paysandu)*, Montevideo, Tipografica Tailores Don Bosco, 1930, p.43, cited in F. Klein, section 1.1.1.

[110] R. Vescovi, '200 Años de Dominio en la Banda Oriental del Uruguay*:* Investigación Y Análysis' ('200 Years of Dominion in the Banda Oriental of Uruguay: Investigation and Analysis'), 2011, p. 115, issue.com/ateaysublevada/docs/232vescovi, (accessed 6 April 2019).

[111] G. Verdesio, 'An Amnesic Nation: The Erasure of Indigenous Pasts by Uruguayan Expert Knowledge' in S. Castro-Klaren and J. C. Chasteen (eds), *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,* Baltimore and London, the John Hopkins University Press, 2003, p. 201.

[112] Von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative,* p. 117

[113] Vescovi, '200 Años de Dominio', p. 115.

[114] Azara, p. 178, cited in F. Klein,'El Destino', section 1.1.2.

but was unusual when children were involved. [115] Montalvo cites Fernández Cabrelli, who in turn cites an anonymous writer's depiction of the Charrúa as being free of all legal authority. They were accustomed to move from lodging to lodging each day, almost naked, lords of a vast horizontal terrain, the natural recipients of a life without fear of punishment. Montalvo then links this to Rousseau's statement that the savage man is not a great disgrace for primitive men, the nudity, the lack of habitation, nor the deprivation of all those trivialities which 'the civilised' believe necessary. [116] The philosopher's words are thus linked to the subject of this thesis.

4C – The First European Contact

The Charrúas emerged into colonial history with the death of Juan Diaz de Solis in 1516. Despite the popular claim that they killed and ate him, there is no real evidence of cannibalism. The chronicler Juan Manuel de la Sota had perpetuated this myth, but even he admitted that it would have been an exceptional act by them in de Solis' case.[117] Gustavo Verdesio examines this question in detail, citing many primary and secondary sources, including de la Casas, who neither claimed it nor rejected it. Verdesio presents the various sources as being contradictory regarding the location of Solis´ confrontation, which tribe he confronted, and what exactly ensued. [118] He concludes that the aboriginals did something in defence of their lands: they attacked the intruders.[119] Vidart also questions the allegation of Charrúa cannibalism, citing Azara who rejected the allegation against both the Charrúas and the Guaranis. Azara also added that no later members of expeditions to the River Plate described such a practice. [120] It should be noted that in the three works under examination, as well as in *Tabaré,* no Spanish soldier nor commander makes any reference to Charrúa cannibalism.

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[115] Azara, cited in F. Klein, section 1.1.2.

[116] F. A. Cabrelli, *Presencia Masónica en la Cisplatina (Masonic Presence in the Cisplatine),* Montevideo, America Unida, 1986, cited in C. A. Montalvo, *Rousseau y El Contrato,* p.119

[117] Verdesio, *Beyond Imagined Communities*, pp. 205-6.

[118] G. Verdesio, *Forgotten Conquests: Rereading New World History from the Margins*, Temple University Press, 2015, online book. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/lib/flinders/reader.action?docID=669510 , pp. 15-25, (accessed 29 October 2019).

[119] Verdesio, *Forgotten Conquests,* p. 25.

[120] F. de Azara, *Descripción e Historia del Paraguay, (1847) (Description and History of Paraguay),* Editorial Bajel, Buenos Aires, 1943, cited in D. Vidart, *Cuando el Uruguay era sólo un Río (When the Uruguay was only a River) ,*Montevideo, B Ediciones, 2016), pp. 33-34.

The arrival of the first *adelentado* (military chief) in 1535 marks the first definite Charrúa-Spanish encounter. [121] The navigator Pedro Lopez de Sousa wrote of how at Maldonado the Charrúa Indians approached the Spaniards, initially fearful, but later confident, receiving them 'with great choruses and very sad songs'.[122] Such vocal abilities might well enshrine Rousseau's concept of *el salvaje Americano.* [123] 1573 marked the first military confrontation between Charrúas and Spaniards, caused by the former's granting of shelter and sanctuary to a Spanish deserter from the contingent of adelantado Ortiz de Zarate. This friction culminated in a battle at San Gabriel on December 29th. With reinforcements from Juan de Garay, the Spaniards proved victorious. [124] The Spaniards subsequently consolidated their victory by constructing forts in the Banda, further alienating the Charrúas Confrontations would continue during succeeding years, with the Spaniards killing the Indians in their efforts to remove them.[125] This battle of 1573 is of paramount importance to this thesis, because the three works under examination are based upon events leading up to it.

4D – The Role of the Charrúas in Artigas' Campaigns

José Gervasio Artigas, (1764-1850), 'a *caudillo* (leader) in a frayed poncho', [126] confirmed the positive image of the Charrúas. He waged war against the British in 1807, the re-invading Spanish in 1810, the combined Spanish and Portuguese forces in 1811, with occasional campaigns against the forces of Buenos Aires, and a war against the Portuguese (from Brazil) from 1816 to 1820. Artigas's own childhood had been immersed in Charrúa traditions and culture. Vescovi and other authoritative sources agree that Artigas was quite unique in advocating for the indigenous people and other subaltern groups the same rights as other Banda inhabitants, especially the rights to property, freedom from enslavement, and duties to the public.[127] Galeano adds that Artigas had decreed the first agrarian reform in Latin

[121] Klein, 'El Destino', section.2.
[122] A. Barrios Pintos, *Los Aborigines del Uruguay (The Aboriginals of Uruguay),* Montevideo, Librería Linardi y Risso, 1991, p.9. cited in F. Klein, 'El Destino', section 2.
[123] Rousseau, cited in T. Ellingson,*The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 85.
[124] D. Clare, *Retablo Charrúa (Charrúa Tableau),* Montevideo, Medina, 1959, p. 68, cited in F. Klein, 'El Destino', section 2.
[125] Clare, cited in F. Klein, section 2.
[126] E. Galeano, *Days and Nights of Love and War,* New York, Monthly Review Press, 2000, p. 109.
[127] Vescovi, '200 Años de Dominio', pp. 119-121.

America, a fact not taught in Uruguayan schools during the dictatorship of the mid 1970s to mid 1980. [128]

Artigas recognised in the Charrúa inherent qualities of goodness, generosity and even nobility, as demonstrated by his words and thinking:

> '*Acordémonos de su pasada infelicidad, y si ésta lo agobió tanto, de han degenerado de su carácter noble y generoso,* [129] *... Los indios, aunque salvajes, no desconocen el bien y aunque con trabajo al fin benediciran la mano que los conduce al seno de la felicidad, mudando de religión y costumbres'.* [130]
>
> ('We are aware of his past unhappiness, and that this has weighed him down so much that he has degenerated from his noble and generous character…The Indians , although savages, are not unaware of goodness, and with the blessings of work will be led to the breast of happiness, changing his religions and customs').

By 'degeneration' Artigas was referring to wars and exploitation which the Indians had suffered from the Spaniards and Portuguese following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.[131] Montalvo develops Artigas' argument by stating, supported by Rousseau, that in the missions the soul of the Indian was raised through the benefits of civilisation. With the closure of the missions, he returned to the wild and to a lower state of degradation than his original state had witnessed.[132] In the three works under consideration the Charrúa was living in his natural state, virtually untouched by missions or 'civilisation'. However, from the above quotation Artigas apparently felt that Christianisation was the ideal for them.

Different perceptions of the Charrúa emerged during the military campaigns of Artigas. It is difficult to pinpoint a date as to when they allied themselves with him, but the reinvasion of the Banda by the Spanish would appear to have been the catalyst. On November 1, 1811, Artigas wrote about himself ordering his *Casiquillo*

> '*… de partir p.a los indios bravos á* [*sic*]*fin de q.é* [*sic*]*estos nos auxilien con sus brazos en una causa q.e* [*sic*]*tamb.n* [*sic*] *lo es suya'.*[133]

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[128] Galeano, *Days and Nights,* p. 109.
[129] Artigas to Don José Silva, 3 May 1815, cited in C. A. Monzalvo, *Rousseau y el Contrato,* p. 134
[130] Artigas to the town council of Corrientes, 9 January 1816, cited in C. A. Monzalvo, p. 135.
[131] C. A. Monzalvo, *Rousseau y el Contrato Social,* p. 135.
[132] Rousseau, cited in Monzalvo, p. 135..
[133] Artigas to Sr. D. Amb. Carranza, 2 November 1811, cited in E. F. Acosta Y Lara, *La Guerra de los Charrúas en la Banda Oriental – Periodo Patrio (The War of the Charrúas in the Banda Oriental- Patriot Period),* Montevideo, Monteverde Y Cia, S.A., 1969), p. 26.

(… 'to join with the brave Indians so that they will help us with their arms in a cause, which is also their cause').

This suggests they were united in a common cause. A communication of 3rd February 1812 to Artigas appears to describe an action in which a battalion of 400 troops including 250 Charrúas defeated a Portuguese battalion, capturing their arms, saddles and horses[134]. Victories were not, however, one sided. A Portuguese commander recounted some of his victories over Banda forces which contained Indians. At one point he seems to state that the Portuguese commander Manuel Pinto Carneyro de Fontoura had shots fired to slaughter the Indians … *cuya raza queria extinguir,* [135] ('whose race he wished to extinguish'). This sentiment advocating extermination would be echoed in a Spanish soldier's comments in *Tabaré, Hierro, bien dicho, exterminar la plaga.*[136] ('Steel for the lot. Exterminate the pest')[137]

By contrast Artigas praised his Charrúa allies:

> *'Cuatrocientos Indios Charrúas armados con flechas y bolas, y estoy persuadido que áun en los Pueblos de Indios ha dispuesto formar sus compañías… la tropa es buena, bien disciplinado'.* [138]
>
> *(*'Four hundred Charrúa Indians armed with arrows and balls, and I am persuaded that still in the Indian towns he has disposed to form such companies… The troop is good and well disciplined'.)

In summation. Artigas had valued the Charrúas as fine warriors with an inherent sense of goodness. He felt that their acceptance of Christianity would make them ideal citizens.

Contrasting opinions about the effectiveness of the Charrúas surfaced. Acosta Y Lara maintained that during the wars of independence they maintained their conditions of savage hordes and independent spirit. He added that, even when they joined Artigas in 1812 (a date disputed by Artigas' communication of November 1), they did not form an alliance with him, and continued with their independence, their customs, and their fierce habits. Acosta Y Lara

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[134] Writer unnamed to Artigas, 3 February 1812, Montevideo, cited in E. F. Acosta Y Lara, p. 32.
[135] Antonio Bueno de Fonseca to Vigodet, January 1812, Montevideo, cited in E. F. Acosta y Lara, pp. 29-30
[136] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* p. 97.
[137] Zorrilla de San Martín, *Tabaré,* trans. Owen, p. 169.
[138] 'Noticias del ejército oriental proporcionadas a la junta de Paraguay por el Comisionado Francisco Bartolomé Languardiam , 3 de marzo 1812' ('News of the oriental army provided to the junta of Paraguay by the commissioned Francisco Bartolomé Languardiam , 3rd March 1812') cited by D. Fessler, *El Derrotero de Las Fuerzas Comandadas por el Jefe de los Orientales (The Defeat of the Forces Commanded by the Chief of the Orientals)* en 'La Redota: Derrotero por la libertad y la unión de los pueblos', (MEC, Ministerio de Eduación y Cultura, Dia de Patrimonio 2011). https://www.patrimoniouruguay.gub.uy/innovaportal/file/33763/1/dia_del_patrimonio-revista_2011-_la_redota.pdf, (accessed 3 May 2019).

even condemns the Charrúas for using their traditional weapons, not pistols or guns like the Guaranis did.[139] He did recognise their bravery, their dexterity with their weapons, and their skills as light cavalry, although disparaging them for their recounting of their cult of glory and traditions. [140] On the other hand, the oral recording of their history and traditions by any race, for example the Celts, is surely the mark of a certain level of civilisation. It bestows on that race a certain semblance of nobility.

4E – Conclusion

The physical profile of the Charrúas suggests a dignified and proud people, whose social norms present a certain level of civilised behaviour. The views of Artigas regarding their innate goodness and high military skills would dispute the perception by some scholars of the Charrúas as uncultured and fierce pagan savages. Their love of their homeland caused them to unite under a leader (Artigas) who promised them freedom from foreign overlordship and from slavery. It is unlikely that Artigas perceived the Charrúas to be completely noble, but he certainly recognised their innate goodness and loyalty. In this chapter this author has followed an empirical method of investigation, based on evidence supported by generally reliable sources, to arrive at an intellectual decision about the Charrúas. His examination of the three works of literature will indicate whether Artigas' perception of the Charrúas, inspired partly, by Rousseau's writings, was reflected in the words of their authors during the late nineteenth century.

[139] Acosta Y Lara, *La Guerra de los Charrúas,* p. 3.
[140] Acosta Y Lara, pp. 5-6.

Chapter 5. An Examination of the Historical Drama *El Charrúa* by Pedro P. Bermúdez

5A – Prologue

In this chapter the persona of the Charrúa as *el buen salvaje* in the drama *El Charrúa* moves centre stage. [141] Both his positive and negative attributes are analysed, in order to judge the character's complete portrait. The drama is examined using its four themes introduced in the introduction to this thesis.

In 1853 Pedro Pablo Bermúdez published his drama in verse *El Charrúa,* later performed at The Solis Theatre, Montevideo in 1858. Bermudéz had pursued a military career, reaching the rank of sergeant major in 1837. [142] He was not an intellectual. The historian Juan Antonio Oddone stated that this drama should be viewed more as a work representative of the 'poets of patriotic sentiment' who promoted a veneration of the past'.[143] The object of Bermúdéz´s veneration was the Charrúa Indians, whom he lauded as the greatest race that stood up to Spain in numerous battles. Bermúdez ('the poetic voice') bemoaned that this race is unrecognised in its own land, but it showed its greatness in glorious acts. His words that this race had to be destroyed in order to defeat it[144] represented a condemnation of the treachery of Rivera and his associates. The poetic voice thus introduces *el buen salvaje,* lauding his pride, anger, and bravery.

Bermúdez favoured the style of poetic drama adopted by William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe.[145] Thus, the action is carried by dialogue, and the elevated thoughts and

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[141] P.P. Bermúdez, *El Charrúa. Drama Historico en Cinco Actos.*

[142] A. Aspiroz, 'De salvajes a heroicos: la construcción de la voz y la imagen del "indio Charrúa" desde 1830 a los inicios del siglo XX' ('From savages to heroes: the construction of the "Charrúa Indian" utterance from 1830 to the early twentieth century'), p. 17. Almanack Online Version ISSN2236-4633 higher, *Almanack no. 16 Guarulhos* May/Aug. 2017, https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2236-463320171601, (accessed 2 June 2019).

[143] J. A. Oddone, 'La historiografía uruguaya en el siglo XIX' ('The Uruguayan historiogaphy in the nineteenth century'), *Revista Historica de la Universidad,* Montevideo, segunda época, no.1, 1959, pp. 6, 17, cited in A. Aspiroz, 'De Salvajes', p. 17.

[144] P. P. Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Prólogo, (Prologue), pp. vii – x, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89088276472&view=1up&seq=1

[145] Poetic drama is a term restricted to poetic plays written to be acted.

reflections of the characters are expressed in elevated poetic language, sometimes employing rhyming couplets. [146] The European style of poetic drama dominates *El Charrúa.*

5B – Theme 1. The Theme of Love

It is surprising that a drama of this nature does not contain more scenes of love. In her first speech Liropeya expresses her love for Abayubá, using seemingly ordinary phrases. [147] By contrast, Abayubá elaborates on his feeling of love with vibrant images, highlighted by means of the rhyming couplet scheme abababab. At the end of this scene, Abayubá encapsulates his sentiments of love with the poetic words,

> *Junto a tí* [*sic*] *es el latir del pecho mio,*
> *Junto a mí el anidar de tus amores,*
> *Juntos bajemos al sepulcro frio.*[148]
> ("Joined to thee is the beating of my heart,
> Joined to me is the nest of your loves
> Together we go down to the cold tomb".)

These words assume the nature of a *leit motif* (leading motif),[149] because Liropeya quotes them in her soliloquy in the scene which follows. [150] Nonetheless one has to wait until almost the end of the third act to encounter Abayubá, the true romantic hero. Here Bermúdez adorns Abayubá's speech with the form of a poem of six verses, each containing eight lines, in a rhyming scheme of abbcdeef. The poetic voice succeeds in representing the chivalrous warrior, whose love for his beloved is intertwined with his love for his fatherland and its pampas. The third verse especially captures the exquisiteness of elevated language:

> *Si cuando ese Sol radioso* ***a***
> *Se esconda allá al fin del cielo,* ***b***
> *Y la noche por el suelo* ***b***
> *Derrame su frio vapor,* ***c***

[146] The rhyme-scheme is the pattern in which the rhyme sounds occur in a poem. Rhyme-schemes are usually presented by assigning the same letter of the alphabet to lines which rhyme with each other. For example, two rhyming couplets would be denoted by aa.
[147] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 1, p. 15
[148] Bermúdez, Act 1, Scene 2, p. 20.
[149] *Leitmotif.* In literature this is an intentional recurring repeat of a phrase or an idea to bestow unity of theme.
[150] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 3, p. 21.

Lejos del Bosque dichoso ***d***
Que da nido a mis amores, ***e***
Vagando entre sinsabores ***e***
Te enviaré mi tierno, adios![151] ***f***
("If when that radiant Sun hides itself there at the end of heaven,
Or the night through the ground spills its cold steam,
Far from the blessed Forest which gives nest to my loves,
Wandering among troubles I will send you my tenderness, farewell"!)

The final scene of *El Charrúa* evokes final death scenes reminiscent of Greek or Shakespearean tragedies. The reappearance of the *leit motif* …J*unto a tí* [*sic*] *es el latir del pecho mio* bestows a unity on the theme of love between Abayubá and Liropeya.[152] Pedro Bermúdez has employed, albeit somewhat sparingly in this drama, elevated poetic language to express mutual love. However, he has done so in a skilful manner to demonstrate that *los buenos salvajes* are capable of a sublime love and faithfulness in the tradition of, for example, *Antony and Cleopatra* (Shakespeare).

5C – Theme 2. The Theme of Love of the Fatherland

It is equally surprising that Pedro Bermúdez does not use the opportunity to capture in a few more memorable speeches the beauty of the *banda oriental,* the Charrúa fatherland. Even though Uruguay does not contain spectacular mountain ranges and marvellous natural wonders, it possesses an inherent beauty, one which William Henry Hudson immortalised in his novel *The Purple Land.* It might be expected that one would encounter this theme as a speech during the scene of the Grand Council, but none exists. It is Abayubá and Liropeya who evoke the beauty of the *banda*, as they approach their own inevitable demise. Abayubá declaims

Sino los verdes y quebrados campos
Donde mi padre, y mis abuelos vagan
Tras del Venado y Avestruz lijeros,
Gozando de la paz y de la caza. [153]

[151] Bermúdez, Act 3, Scene 9, p. 70.
[152] Bermúdez, Act 5, Scene 11, p. 107. The *leitmotif* is sometimes employed by dramatists as a means of foreshadowing later events, as is the case in this drama.
[153] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 5, Scene 11, p. 106.

("But the Green and broken plains
Where my father and grandparents wander,
Across the deer and feathery ostriches
Enjoying the peace and of the hunt".)

If Bermúdez had added more lines to this depiction of the warrior hero's soul passing over the pampas to the eternal hunting grounds, he would have presented a fuller representation of *el buen salvaje* in this context. It is left to Liropeya to resurrect the unique natural beauty of the purple land. She eulogies the hills, the woods, the river and its streams, the radiant sun, the night with stars, the forest, the prairies and the birds. All these portray a tapestry of nature which the barbarous Spaniards have come to destroy. [154] Here Bermúdez's poetry has depicted Liropeya as an educated person with the love of the indigenous towards her homeland. *La buena salvaje* evokes the state of nature, which she and the Charrúas had enjoyed prior to the invasion by the standard bearers of so-called enlightenment. Her eulogy is characterised by grandeur, nobility, and exalted language. [155] The poetic voice (Bermúdez) is expressing in elevated poetic language the theories of the philosopher (Rousseau) regarding the unique world of man in the state of nature. [156]

5D – Theme 3. The Theme of an Indomitable Race which loves Liberty

As expected from the prologue, this theme dominates *El Charrúa.* It encompasses memories of past leaders, their victories, desire for revenge, and liberty. From the beginning Abayubá rejects the schemes of the Spaniards to enslave his people, intertwining his hopes of victory with dreams of future peace and his marriage to Liropeya. He recalls how the Charrúas have defeated the invader in the past, and will repeat their victories. [157] Abayubá proceeds to swear vengeance upon the Spaniards for their acts of destruction, with the prophetic words that his race will choose death over enslavement;

Y si triunfan empero los tiranos

[154] Bermúdez, Act 5, Scene 9, pp. 102-4.
[155] In 50 AD Longinus had identified these to be some of the qualities of great art in his thesis *On the Sublime*, when he identified the sublime as a thing of the spirit. Source: C.Hugh Holman, *A Handbook of Literature,* (Indianopolis, Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1980), p. 433.
[156] T. Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 82
[157] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 1, pp. 17-20.

Libres como él, no esclavos, moriremos.[158]
("And if, however, the tyrants triumph,
Free as him, not slaves, we will die".)

Such sentiments are not, however, confined to Abayubá, for Magaluna, a Charrúa woman, echoes them in her speech of defiance. [159]

Abayubá's unyielding defiance betrays some negative signs of youthful impetuosity. When confronted by Carvallo as a prisoner, he praises his own indomitable race and predicts war.[160] Carvallo's offer to liberate him is answered by Abayubá's threat to pursue Carvallo to the death.[161] The young Charrúa's impetuosity becomes even more evident during the scene of the Great Council. Spurred by his desire for vengeance, he rejects Urambia's counsel that the Charrúas wait until their allies arrive.[162] Abayubá seeks to transmit his valour to his tribe, imploring them to maintain their honour as valiant warriors and not to run as defeated cowards into the woods.

¿Dónde entonces Charrúas vuestra gloria?
Sin haberos batido, ya humillados…!
O muerte insigne ó [*sic*] *sin igual victoria.*[163]
("Where then, Charrúas, is your glory?
Beaten, and humiliated …….
Or distinguished death or equal victory".)

One could interpret these words as a form of emotional blackmail, but they are not atypical of military leaders. Alternatively, Bermúdez is possibly portraying el *buen salvaje* leader as defying the Spanish invader, demonstrating the same zeal as Boadicea the Briton and Vercingetorix the Gaul utilised to defy their Roman invaders.

Although it is uncertain whether Abayubá has inspired his warriors, he has probably inspired himself. This is demonstrated by his ordering Magaluna to return to Lirompeya with his ever- confident words that… "*el triunfo es cierto.".* [164] (... "the triumph is certain".) Aware

[158] Bermúdez, Act 1, Scene 2, p. 20.
[159] Bermúdez, Act 1, Scene 5, pp. 26-27.
[160] Bermúdez, Act 2, Scene 4, pp. 38-9.
[161] Bermúdez, Act 2, Scene 6, pp. 42-43.
[162] Bermúdez, Act 3. Scene 1, p. 56.
[163] Bermúdez, Act 3, Scene 1, p. 59.
[164] Bermúdez,„Act 4, Scene 8, p. 86.

of his impetuosity, Magaluna wisely advises him not to let his desire for revenge possess him. Uninfluenced, Abayubá confidently declares himself to be the worthy successor of the grand Charrúa chief, Zapican, father of Lirompeya. [165] Outside the Spanish fort, he gives further vent to his feelings of defiance, indomitability, and hatred of the enemy.[166] One must now ask the question whether Abayubá's impetuosity constitutes his *hamartia* or tragic flaw. This is defined as an error, weakness, or mistaken decision through which the fate of the hero is reversed. Aristotle had declared that the protagonist of a tragedy is a person who is not necessarily good or just, yet whose misfortune is brought about by some error or frailty. [167] Abayubá possibly fits into this mould. Indeed, his human frailty adds to his possible depiction as the good savage.

One can perceive Abayubá the warrior most valiant when he is confronted with the prospect of a horrendous death at the stake. Discarding fear, in his soliloquy he anticipates crossing over …to *al país de los justos ... donde mi padre, y mis abuelos vagan.* [168] (..."to the land of the just … where my father, and my grandparents wander".) Abayubá may be the victim of his *hamartia*, as are Oedipus, Othello, and Macbeth However, his love for Lirompeya, his valour, his courage, his leadership skills, and his faith in the afterlife place him in the rank of warrior-lover-hero, proven further by the fact that Lirompeya joins her warrior hero in death. Bermúdez has successfully achieved a synthesis of tragic hero and noble savage to present Abayubá the Charrúa as *el buen salvaje.*

5E – Theme 4. The Theme of Chivalry, Loyalty, and Hospitality

In the three works under consideration, Bermúdez is the only author who treats this theme in any detail, important for the central questions of this thesis. The sub- themes of chivalry, loyalty and hospitality are intertwined within Charrúa thinking.

Magaluna relates to Lirompeya and Gaucziola that the Spaniards falsely welcomed Llaupá and Gualconda

Con embusteros halagos,
Con mentidas cortesías,

[165] Bermúdez, Act 4, Scene 8, p. 87.
[166] Bermúdez, Act 4, Scene 9, p. 88.
[167] C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook of Literature,* p. 208. Source not cited.
[168] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 5, Scene 11, p. 106.

Y palabras cariñosas [169]
("With flattering liars,
With lying courtesies
And affectionate words".)

Having persuaded Laupá to hand over his weapons, they proceed to murder him. This cowardly action ran completely against the old code of chivalry, and understandably it evokes in Lirompeya and Gualconda the responses of "monsters". [170] It is possible, however, to perceive in this story a metaphor or mirror of the eventual fate and massacre of the Charrúas, to which Bermúdez alludes in the prologue.

Dramatists such as Beaumarchais and George Bernard Shaw have been known to place a social or political message in the mouths of their leading characters.[171] Bermúdez employs this tactic with Chacon, a Spaniard who years prior was given sanctuary by the Charrúas. In his long eulogy he disputes the image of his hosts as being fierce and cruel. Their virtues include generosity, valour, innocence, lack of personal ambition, love of and faithfulness to both friends and fatherland, neither of which they betray. Because the Charrúas will not accept their religion and their laws, the Spanish denounce them as being savage. But, Chacon asks, who are the real savages? The Spaniards use their religion to spread blood. [172] His speech echoes the words of Rousseau, namely that the savage was happier and more fortunate than the so-called civilised man.[173] Rousseau had questioned 'the fatal illumination of the civilised man' when compared to man in the state of nature[174]. Chacon could be viewed as the mouthpiece of Rousseau and Bermúdez, in depicting *el buen salvaje* as essentially quite civilised. Chacon becomes the advocate of Primitivism. [175]

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[169] Bermúdez, Act 1, Scene 5, p. 23
[170] Bermúdez, Act 1, Scene 5, p. 24.
[171] Pierre Beaumarchais's play *The Marriage of Figaro* represented an examination of the master-servant relationship during the *Ancien Regime* in pre-revolutionary France. George Bernard Shaw used some of his plays as platforms to disseminate some of his social, political, and religious ideas.
[172] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 6, p. 30.
[173] Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 82.
[174] Rousseau 1755b, cited in Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage,* p. 115.
[175] Closely linked to 'the Noble Savage' Primitivism maintained that primitive people, untainted by 'civilisation', were more noble than their civilised counterparts. It achieved popularity with the 'sentimentalists' of the Romantic era. Source: C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook of Literature,* (Indianopolis, Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1980), pp. 349-50.

5F – Conclusion

While extolling the Charrúa qualities of mutual love, love of the fatherland, and chivalry, Bermúdez does not allow himself to over-sentimentalise these attributes. His respect for the indomitability of the Charrúas is evident in the different perspectives he presents. He skilfully intertwines this quality of the race with the *hamartia* of its young leader. However, Bermúdez's objectivity and honesty succeed in depicting the Charrúa as in the main *el buen salvaje.* The opinions of earlier philosophers, literary figures, and military leaders are thus reflected in the words of this Uruguayan poet, as demonstrated in the literary analysis by the author of this thesis.

Chapter 6. An Examination of the Novelette *Abayubá* by Florencio Escardó

6A – Prologue

The second work of literature under examination is the novelette *Abayubá* by the Uruguayan author Florencio Escardó.[176] Published in 1873, it follows on in chronological order from *El Charrúa.* Significantly, Escardó credits Bermúdez as being the only other Uruguayan writer who has done justice to the bravery and patriotism of the Charrúas. [177] During this discussion the author will connect incidents and representations between both works to support the argument of his thesis.

Abayubá moves between Escardó's historical accounts of events during the conquest of both Latin America and Uruguay, and his narrative of Abayubá and his lover Tupaayquá. The historical characters of Abayubá and Zapican are portrayed in this novelette in a manner similar to *El Charrúa*, and during the same historical time period. The four themes under examination have been introduced in the introduction to the thesis.

6B – Theme 1. The Charrúa Way of Life

Escardó's description of the Charrúa way of life supports much of the information provided in chapter four. His comparisons of Charrúa marriages based on love and the Charrúa mother's devoted care for her children are contrasted by him with some of the conventions of the so called civilised Western society. Escardó illustrates his contentions, condemning the mother of the great civilised world who leaves the child in the care of a nanny, who may not care for the child properly. He implies that the indigenous mother is more civilised, and states that she deserves respect and consideration. Escardó develops his argument by condemning the archaic practice of a dowry, which enshrines the practice of a woman virtually purchasing her husband, and, unlike the Charrúa marriage, the marriage being built on money rather than

[176] A novelette is defined as being longer than a short story and shorter than a novel. It sometimes contains greater development of character, theme and action. Source: C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook of Literature,* pp. 303-4.

[177] Florencio Escardó, *Abayubá,* Montevideo, La Tribuna, 1973, p. 27, http://bdh-rd.bne.es./viewer.vm?id=0000127261&page=1,

on love. He then presents the counterpoint of this, the tradition of the *Manu,* possibly found in parts of Europe, where a woman was forced to marry a man against her will. [178]

The reader of *Abayubá* becomes aware, however, of a contradiction when Escardó states that in early indigenous society the woman was purchased with livestock by her prospective husband, but he does not state that that was a feature of Charrúa society. This practice would have been unlikely, as the Charrúas were a nomadic people. Escardó portrays the indigenous girl as working in a servile position, following the example of her mother, and preparing food and drink for the male hunter/warrior. Nonetheless, even the hunting enshrined a community system, because property was communally owned among the indigenous tribes of the River Plate. Escardó presents a rather communistic community, with the produce from the woods, agriculture, fishing and hunting being distributed equally among all people. [179] The crux of Escardó's argument is that Charrúa marriages were based primarily on love. This, together with community ownerships, adds further strength to the positive depiction of *el buen salvaje.*

In relation to their respect for their dead, Escardó draws a distinction between the Charrúa practice of painting their skin by self-injection and the broader indigenous practice of self- mutilation.[180] The Charrúas' belief in the great god of good, Tupá, and the god of evil, Añang, confirmed by the largely anti-Charrúa Jesuit Father Lozano,[181] might have been seen by some missionaries as having parallels with the Christian belief in God and Satan. A further parallel is observed in the Charrúa belief in the immortality of the soul, and their interpretation of death as only a journey to the afterlife. [182] The reader is now referred back to *El Charrúa* where Abayubá looks forward to his journey to the afterlife.[183]

Escardó corroborates the accounts of Pedro Bermúdez as regards Charrúan hospitality. He claims that they did not kill their prisoners, but he offers as proof only one example, that of Francisco Puerto, a prisoner for eleven years prior to his being rescued by Gaboto. Escardó further cites chroniclers Ruy Diaz Guzman and Martín del Barco Centenera, writing in 1612 and 1602 respectively, as supporting his claim. He quotes the former as stating that the Charrúas, although cruel in conflict, treated their captives in a considerate and humane manner. [184] Escardó and Bermúdez would appear to concur on this positive attribute of the Charrúas,

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[178] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 7.
[179] Escardó, p *7.*
[180] Escardó, p. 9.
[181] Escardó, p. 12.
[182] Escardó, p. 12.
[183] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 5, Scene 11, p. 106.
[184] Escardó. *Abayubá,* p. 13

because in *El Charrúa* Chacon, an aged Spaniard, relates to his listeners how fifty-eight years prior he and Francisco Puerto had their lives saved by Abayubá's father.[185] Both authors here concur on this important Charrúan tradition of hospitality even to their enemies.

Abayubá in many respects symbolises his race. Escardó's description of Abayubá´at the commencement of the novel depicts this hero, not as a wild and almost naked savage, but as a well- girded, proud and confident inhabitant of his surroundings, a romantic hero about to meet his lover. This is another example of Primitivism, as employed by Escardó. He uses vivid adjectives to enhance Abayubá's status

> *… un ancho tonelete de finísimas pieles, a guise de pollerin romano ... cuyas flechas en su estremidad muestran variados colores* [186]
>
> (..."a wide harness of very fine skins, a sort of Roman skirt … whose arrows on his limb display varied colours").

Escardó has convincingly painted in words the portrait of Abayubá, the heroic warrior.

Escardó's depiction of Charrúa chivalry is not confined to physical descriptions, nor to Abayubá alone. Later during this scene Tupaayquá, Abayubá's lover, recounts how in earlier times Yanduballo, the husband of Lirompeya, mindful of her pleadings, spared the life of the Spanish soldier Caraballo, returning his spear to the Spaniard. The latter rewarded Yanduballo's chivalrous action by killing him with the same spear[187]. It should be noted that this episode, already recounted in the literary review of this thesis, is taken from del Barco Centenera's poem. Escardó's text also reminds the reader of Magaluna's description of the murder of Laupá as described by Bermúdez. [188] Escardó encapsulates his description of the Charrúas in one sentence, lauding them for the purity of their primitive being, their homes, their families, beliefs, morals, charity, work, respect for authority, freedom of suffrage, equality, fraternity, as history has stated. [189] This represents a positive depiction of *el buen salvaje.*

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[185] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 6, p. 29.
[186] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 4.
[187] Escardó, p. 6.
[188] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 5, p. 24.
[189] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 14.

6C – Theme 2. Love And Faithfulness To The Beloved

The theme of love in *Abayubá* follows a somewhat similar pattern to that encountered in *El Charrúa*. However, Escardó has added to it the sub theme of faithfulness in the face of doubt. He matches his vivid description of the hero Abayubá with his portrayal of the startling beauty of Tupaayquá, an Indian maiden whose beauty challenges that of Venus. Abayubá lyricises to her about his profound love for her, providing a rhapsody of poetic words: he is jealous of the air that has touched her, and that her love is more vital to him than the sun is to the fruit tree.[190] Tupaayquá responds with a vow before Tupá, declaring that, if she fails, Añang can fill her life with misery. Tupaayquá then quotes the example of Lirompeya, an Indian woman beautiful, pure, and loyal, enamoured by her husband Yanduballo. She recounts how, with Yanduballo's murder, his grieving widow killed herself with Caraballo's sword, begging the Spaniard to dig a grave for her beside her husband. Tupaayquá vows to Abayubá that she will be faithful to him, as Lirompeya was to her husband. [191] In this manner Escardó weaves together the two stories of Charrúa heroes and their loyal and faithful spouses. There are similarities between this version and that of the version of the death of Lirompeya and Abayubá in Bermúdez's drama and Ribeiro / Desteffanis' opera *Liropeya.* Escardó portrays the Indian maiden with displaying the same loyalty to her husband / lover as, for example, Shakespeare's Cleopatra. The parting of Abayubá and Tupaayquá witnesses them speaking of a love noble and sublime, which, through the family it begets, encompasses succeeding generations, ennobling and fortifying the lovers.[192] Longinus in his treatise *On the Sublime,* declares that the sublime is characterised by nobility and grandeur. [193] This scene represents a vivid portrayal of *los buenos salvajes.*

Unlike in Bermúdez's drama, Tupaayquá's love for Abayubá is challenged by the lies fabricated to her by Ibitupuá, when he alleges that Abayubá is cheating on her with Chana's widow Gualconda. Although Tupaayquá denounces him to his face as a liar sullying the name of a noble warrior who loves only her, on Ibitupuá's departure she expresses some doubts. Her feelings of jealousy at a possible betrayal are troubling, especially as Gualconda is beautiful and was her friend. [194] In this manner Escardó portrays the Indian maiden as experiencing normal human emotions, similar to those of some heroines of novels, dramas, and grand operas.

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[190] Escardó, p. 4.
[191] Escardó, pp. 5-6.
[192] Escardó, p. 6.
[193] C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook of Literature,* pp. 433-434.
[194] Escardó, *Abayubá,* pp. 22-23.

However, on their meeting again, following Abayubá's capture by the Spaniards and subsequent rescue by Zapican, she begs his forgiveness for doubting his faithfulness. Furthermore, Tupaayquá confesses that her intense love for Abayubá blinded her reason, to the extent that she even travelled with Ibitupuá to the Chana territory. However, she resisted the latter's attempts to seduce her, despite his pleas and subsequent threats of violence. Exhausted and on the point of surrendering, she was rescued by Abayubá's father who killed the traitor. [195]

It is significant that both Bermúdez and Ribeiro depict the Indian maiden as defending her honour against the Spanish commander, while Escardó portrays a similar threat as emanating from one of her own tribe. Escardó states that Ibitupuá was the son of Francisco Puerto, the beneficiary of Charrúa hospitality, and a Charrúa woman. This attempted seduction could be regarded as yet another breach of a code of chivalry, in this case by a part-Spaniard. This episode clearly demonstrates aspects of the Charrúa code of conduct – the maiden's faithfulness to her noble warrior, admitting at the same time her failings, the perfidy of the part-Spanish/ part-Charrúa traitor, and the chivalrous act of the Charrúa (Abayubá's father) in rescuing the threatened maiden. Tapaayquá's devotion to Abayubá is further demonstrated by her desire to join him on the battlefield, which he forbids. Nonetheless the words that they will conquer or die together are prophetic, [196] and hearken back to Bermúdez's use of the *leit motif* phrase *junto a tí.* [197]

Escardó proves himself a sculptor with words. With the skilful strokes of a few lines, he carves the sculpture of the Charrúa maiden (Tupaayquá) lying dead over the corpse of her lover, he slain in battle, she killed by her own hand with a dagger on finding his body. [198] Escardó has skilfully and convincingly portrayed the faithfulness of the Charrúa maiden to her noble warrior, even to death. The drama of Lirompeya and her husband, faithful unto death, is re- played again in this tragic conclusion. This scene in some respects provides the epilogue to the final scene of Bermúdez's drama *El Charrúa,* as *los buenos salvajes* become one in death.

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[195] Escardó, p. 25.
[196] Escardó, pp. 26-27.
[197] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 2, p. 20.
[198] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 27.

6D – Theme 3. The Love Of The Fatherland Surpassing The Love Of Another Human Being

Escardó differs somewhat from Bermúdez in how he presents the Charrúa love of fatherland. Escardó portrays it as holding pre-eminence over the love of another human being. At the time of his writing this novelette, nationalist movements were on the rise in Europe, Russia, and the Middle East. As a corollary, nationalist sentiments were being expressed through the media of music, drama, art and literature. By harkening back to the Charrúa love and defence of their homeland in the sixteenth century, Escardó may been inspired by certain European nationalist literary figures, who used similar depictions in their works.

Almost from the beginning of *Abayubá* this theme manifests itself. Abayubá's entreaty to Tupaayquá, that she elopes with him to the land of their brother tribe the Querandies, is immediately rejected by her. She evokes her loyalty to Zapican in his dual role of both her father and the chief of the tribe. More significantly she declares that Abayubá's prowess as a noble and valiant warrior is derived from the spirit, Tupá, and that subsequently he must demonstrate the respect due to Zapican in his dual role. Furthermore, Tupaayquá adds that her filial loyalty will take the form of the same loyalty which he, Abayubá, as her husband has every right to expect of her. In this manner Tupaayquá links the love of another human being to the loyalty to chief and tribe, and both of these to Tupá, the ultimate chieftain and judge. [199].

The reader is starkly confronted with the Charrúas' love of fatherland taking pre-eminence over all other considerations. Zapican mildly rebukes Abayubá and his wish to marry Tupaayquá, as an imprudent youth who may be ignoring recent history. The former refers to Solis' failed expedition of 1516, warning that a new invader with the title of *Señor* is now threatening invasion.[200] He adds that the fatherland expects great service of Abayubá, while simultaneously implying that the gaining of his beloved will be his reward. With this incentive the warrior will overcome all obstacles and dangers with more faith and willingness. Zapican admits that Abayubá may lose his life when defending his homeland, which is why he currently will not consent to Abayubá's marriage. In his opinion the marriage would constitute an obstacle to him fulfilling his patriotic duty. Zapican, however, softens his hard line by assuring

[199] Escardó, pp. 4-5.
[200] Escardó, p. 15.

Abayubá that, on his return as victor, the gratitude of his country and the love of a woman and a father (Zapican) will be his reward.[201]

Bermúdez had treated Abayubá's impetuosity towards his enemies as his *hamartia*. By contrast Escardó treats his youthful imprudence, albeit regarding his beloved, as an incentive towards victory in battle. Abayubá also appears to view it from this perspective, for he declares that on the altar of patriotism he will sacrifice his love for Tupaayquá. [202] His vow is followed by action because, on Zapican's insistence, Abayubá departs on his dangerous ambassadorial mission to the other tribes without bidding farewell to his beloved. [203] Escardó in this scene may well be depicting the Charrúa noble warrior as being imbued with his patriotic duty similarly to that of the Christian crusader knights. In both scenarios the hand of the beloved was the ultimate prize. *El buen salvaje* has assumed the countenance of the knight errant, the latter being the subject of much Medieval troubadour poetry.

6E – Theme 4. The Attitude Of The Spanish Towards The Charrúas

The charges of being savages can be levelled against a race or tribe due to their pagan religion and /or their perceived primitiveness. Yet the methods by which their conquerors aim to subdue or convert them can surpass those of the 'savages', demonstrated by the former's inhumanity, cruelty, and lack of chivalry. This recalls the words of von Humboldt who supports this same sentiment. [204] Escardó declares that the reason, usually overlooked by European invaders, why the indigenous peoples of South America fought so fiercely was because they were defending their lands, homes, and families, valorous actions which unjustly earned them the reputation of savages. Furthermore, their customs, order, moral values, and heroic love of their motherland were all conveniently overlooked by the invader.[205] But does Escardó portray the Spaniards as ruthless invaders?

The chivalrous attitude of the Charrúas is contrasted with the vengeful and cowardly action of the Christian Spaniard in the story of Yandaballo and Lirompeya, already recounted. However, Escardó presents Caraballo in a more humane light than Bermúdez or Ribeiro. He depicts the Spanish commander, still haunted by the deaths of Lirompeya and Yandaballo, as

[201] Escardó, pp. 16-17
[202] Escardó, p. 16
[203] Escardó, p. 18.
[204] Von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative,* p. 77.
[205] Escardó, *Abayubá,* pp. 6-7.

being somewhat sympathetic to the captured Abayubá. However, Caraballo admits that his real motivation is, as Christian and civilised men, 'to bring civilisation to these savages'[206] by humane example. His words echo those of de las Casas, namely that ill-treatment of the Indians 'would cause the Indian to abominate our faith'. [207] Caraballo appears to have recognised the chivalrous action of the Charrúas in sparing the life of a former prisoner, presumably Francisco Puerto, although his apparent humaneness is not supported by members of his army. [208] Escardó thus demonstrates how the hospitality of the pagan 'savage' Charrúas has possibly inflamed a spark of humaneness in the 'civilised' Spaniard, albeit fuelled by an ulterior motive.

Nevertheless, Escardó does not describe any specific Spanish atrocities against the Charrúas. He simply states that the Indian, free and valiant who extends hospitality to the enemy, is assaulted, massacred, their women and children stolen, and their houses burned to the ground. Yet, he continues, the Indian is described as barbarous and savage because for three centuries they fought for their motherland and defended their homes and families. [209] Similarities exist between Escardó's words and Chacon's dramatic speech in *El Charrúa.* In the latter Chacon demonstrates how the Spaniards constantly resisted 'the vile Saracen'.[210] Escardó develops his argument by condemning the case of how in all the world, except in the case of indigenous peoples, the defence of homeland is lauded by bards.[211] The poetic voice and the novelist again become the voice of the oppressed or exterminated indigenous.

Escardó's description of the final battle presents a scenario typical of indigenous people against invader. Unlike Bermúdez and Ribeiro, Escardó actually describes the battle between Charrúas and Spaniards. The fight is unfair, with the naked Indians in combat with their primitive weapons against Spanish horses, muskets, and cannons. Escardó vividly depicts the Charrúas charging their enemies, breaking cuirasses, shrieking war cries, and dislodging some horses. The valiant Zapican, fighting like a hero, is sadly slain by an axe. Despite Abayubá's rallying calls, the Charrúas, now demoralised at Zapican's death, flee the field, leaving the ever valiant and noble Abayubá to face the enemy. He succeeds in wounding the Spanish commander Geroy, but refusing the Spaniards' calls to surrender and save his life, Abayubá

[206] Escardó, p. 23.
[207] de las Casas, *Colleción de tratados 616 and 617,* pp 7-8 cited in L. Hanke, *Bartolomé de las Casas,* p. 9.
[208] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 23.
[209] Escardó, p. 24.
[210] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 6, p. 30.
[211] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 14.

falls to his inevitable fate, slain on the battlefield. [212] This represents the pinnacle of *el buen salvaje.* He has chosen death with honour over captivity, execution, or enslavement.

However, Escardó does not accuse the Spaniards of pursuing the retreating Charrúas and massacring them. Nor does he state that they slaughtered the Charrúa women and children as a further act of vengeance. Accordingly. it is unlikely that it occurred on this occasion.

6F – Conclusion

Florencio Escardó in *Abayubá* portrays the Charrúas in a favourable light. His descriptions of their customs, moral attitudes, way of life and chivalry are generally supported by earlier chroniclers, and by oral narrators, although possibly not all of them fully reliable. His portrayals of love, while romantic, do not avoid the possible pitfalls of relationships. He raises the Charrúa love of the fatherland to an extreme level, but in line with the arguments of de las Casas. While not including any vivid scenes of Spanish atrocities against the Charrúas, Escardó provides ample references to the conquerors attitude to the indigenous. Therefore, this author regards *Abayubá* as providing a sympathetic and positive but overall objective perspective of the Charrúa Indian as *el buen salvaje.* Partly because this novelette has been the subject of so little scholarship, he has seen it fit to utilise mainly a narrative method, followed by analysis. In summation, the reader of Escardó's novelette witnesses a characterisation of the Charrúas as good and civilised which is quite at odds with Zorrilla's negative views.

[212] Escardó, pp. 26-27

Chapter 7. The Growth of National Identity in Uruguay, and the Composing of *Liropeya.*

7A – Prologue

In this chapter the author presents the broad historical background to the composition of the third work under examination, the opera *Liropeya.* Initially, he examines the impact of the large Italian migration on Uruguayan culture and music. This is then linked to the growing sentiment of Uruguayan national identity which emerged during the later nineteenth century. This sentiment was expressed through an affirmation of national consciousness, especially in the arts, and through the development of patriotism.

The decade of the 1850s witnessed the first real stirrings of national sentiment in Uruguayan political and cultural life. Three significant historical events occurred during this decade. These were: **1**. The end of *La Guerra Grande* which had plagued the country from 1839 to 1852. **2**. The first ever State census held also in 1852, presenting vital evidence on the demographics of the country. **3**. The opening of the Solis Theatre in Montevideo in 1856.

7B – *La Guerra Grande* (The Big War)

La Guerra Grande ("Big War") between the *Blancos* (Whites) and the *Colorados* (Reds) reveals a complicated picture of internal strife within the newly independent State. Even a brief description of the seemingly interminable war is outside the main argument and focus of this thesis. The Montevideo based *Colorados* were more liberal and secular in their thinking, influenced as they were by immigrants from Europe. [213] Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the future liberators of Italy, fought for the *Colorados*, raising an Italian Legion of soldiers. Garibaldi's leadership of the siege of Montevideo, commencing in 1843, manifested a spirit of rebellion by Montevideo's Italian residents, similar to their ancestral struggle against oppression in Italy. [214] Significantly, Bouret credits Garibaldi's Italian soldiers with sowing the seeds of popularity

[213] B. Nahum, *Manuel de Historia del Uruguay, Tomo 1: 1830-1903 (Manual of History of Uruguay, Volume 1),* Montevideo, Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2017, p. 100.

[214] J.A. Odone, 'Italians in Uruguay: Political Participation and Country Consolidation during Mass Immigration' (Article Online, 1994), p. 217. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.2050-411X.1994.tb00761.x, (accessed 2 November 2019).

of Italian arias in the soil of the musical life of Montevideo. [215] With the ending of this civil war in 1852, both parties, *Blancos* and *Colorados*, continued to exist to this day.

The census of 1852 revealed some of the consequences and future dangers from this protracted civil war. The total population of Uruguay was then 132,000 inhabitants, with 34,000 residents in Montevideo. Such a small population rekindled fears of a Brazilian re-invasion. In 1853, of the 2,200 Uruguayan residents involved in commerce and industry, 1,700 or 77% were foreigners. [216] This domination by foreigners of the nation's lifeblood would continue for much of the rest of the nineteenth century, and would have a significant impact on the development art and culture in Uruguay.

7C – Italian Influence on Uruguay

The most significant migration to Uruguay post 1870 was that of the Italians. However, Oddone demonstrates that Italian immigration had commenced during the 1830s. Lured by the new State's demand for labour at good salaries, a safe country with fertile land, albeit expensive, the Italian's love for freedom from political oppression at home found a haven. [217] Furthermore, Italian participation in the political and military life of Uruguay would last from 1843 to almost 1900. [218] Recent studies indicate that this level of Italian immigration in turn produced an "Italianization" of Uruguayan society, given the relative similarity of both cultures (and of religion) which facilitated this cultural amalgamation. This influence was particularly apparent in the emerging architecture of Montevideo. [219] The census of 1884 showed that out of a population in Montevideo of 164,028 inhabitants, 32,829 were Italians. By 1889 this percentage of Italian residents had increased to 46.65%, while that of Spanish residents was 32.40%.[220] These statistics were of profound importance in the development of grand opera in Uruguay.

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[215] D. Bouret, *Teatro Solís: historias y documentos* (Solis Theatre: history and documents), Montevideo, Tradinco, 2004, p. 26.
[216] B. Nahum, *Manuel de Historia del Uruguay*, pp. 106-7.
[217] J. A. Oddone, 'Italians in Uruguay', p. 212.
[218] Oddone, p. 215.
[219] D. Bouret, in introduction to L. Manzino, *La Ópera Uruguaya del Siglo xix: Estrenos de Tomás Giribaldi en el Teatro Solís (The Uruguayan Opera in of the 19th Century: Premieres of Tomas Giribaldi in the Solis Theatre),* Montevideo, Manzino, 2010, pp xv-xvi).
[220] Bouret in introduction to L. Manzino, *La Opera Uruguaya del Siglo xix,* p. xix.

7D – *El Teatro Solís* (The Solis Theatre) and National Consciousness

The official opening of the Solis Theatre on 25th August 1856 not only represented the establishment of a Uruguayan cultural icon. Equally important was the fact that it symbolised some of the initial signs of the affirmation of national consciousness. From almost the first moment when the construction of such an icon was first planned, it was joined to the sentiment of patriotism. This was demonstrated in a letter by the renowned Italian artisan Carlo Zucchi (1789-1849) to the Treasury Department of Uruguay, dated 24th July, 1837, in which he linked the construction of such an edifice to instilling in the people of Montevideo a love of *la Patria* ('the Fatherland'). [221] Italian patriotism may have influenced him. Zucchi did not, however, live to witness the construction of the Theatre to his original plans. These were rejected primarily on the grounds of excessive cost, which resulted in his moving to Rio de Janeiro, and eventually to his native Italy. The prolonged siege of Montevideo halted the construction of the Solis Theatre until 1852. [222]

The official opening ceremony on 25th August symbolised the emerging united Uruguay. This was demonstrated by: **1.** The choosing of the non- partisan figure of Juan Díaz de Solis as the name of the theatre. [223] **2**. The anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, 25th August, and the presence of President Pereira, an original signatory of that Declaration, were significant.[224] **3**. The new national anthem was also sung.[225] On the other hand, the work chosen as the *Teatro Solis's* premiere performance was Verdi's early opera, *Ernani.*[226] This demonstrated the great popularity of Italian opera in Uruguay at that time, and the possible growing influence of the Italian immigrant community.

From these embryonic beginnings a special national identity continued to consolidate itself. The works of poets, painters, and historians during the 1870s and '80s fostered and reaffirmed the concept of the originality of the Uruguayan people and their independent nationality. The patriotic paintings of Juan Manuel Blanes, the poetry of Juan Zorrilla de San Martín, and the national historical works of Francisco Bauzá and Carlos María Ramirez became

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[221] E. Baroffico 'Memoria elevada por la Comisión Topográfica al Supremo Gobierno de la República Oriental del Uruguay' ('Elevated memory by the Topographic commission to the Supreme Governor of the Republic of Uruguay'), 'El Teatro Solís', *Revista Historica*, t. XXVIII, Año LII 2da época, No 82, 84, Montevideo, julio 1958, pp. 238, 312, cited in D. Bouret, *Teatro Solís,* p. 22.
[222] Bouret, *Teatro Solis,* p. 33.
[223] Bouret, p. 36
[224] Bouret, pp. 37, 40.
[225] Bouret, pp. 36, 40.
[226] S. Salgado, *The Teatro Solís: 150 Years of Opera, Concerts, and Ballet in Montevideo,* Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, 2003, p. 208.

prominent. The erection of the monument to Artigas in the Plaza Independencia in 1884 further fuelled these nationalistic sentiments.[227] Significantly, this symbolised the rehabilitation of Artigas, the champion of the Charrúas, as the national hero of Uruguay.

Manzino identifies initiatives by officialdom as providing the impetus for the above artistic expressions of nationalism, and he states that León Ribeiro's opera *Liropeya* represented a further artistic expression of this same nationalism. [228] He supports his former statement with a citation from *La Nación in 1878,* which declared that the sciences and the arts constituted the unique manifestations in the construction of the history of a people. [229] Chapter eight of this thesis will examine whether the centring of Ribeiro's opera around the Charrúa hero, Abayubá, and his promised bride, Liropeya, raised these *buenos salvajes* to a status similar to that of heroes and heroines of a number of nineteenth century European Romantic grand operas.

7E – The Composition of *Liropeya*

The composers León Ribeiro (1854-1931), Tomás Giribaldi (1847-1930), and Luis Sambucetti (1860- 1926) form the triumvirate of Uruguayan Romantic music. Their lives coincide with what Barrán identified as 'the period of discipline of sensitivity in Uruguay', in contrast to what he terms as the "barbarous" sensitivity prior to 1860.[230] While Giribaldi was the most prolific and successful in the domain of grand opera in Uruguay, the focus here will be upon Ribeiro.

The large Italian population in Montevideo fostered the love of Italian opera. The young Ribeiro, exposed to the popular operas of Rossini, Donizetti, and early Verdi, stated that he remodelled *Liropeya* on the old (musical) canons of those composers. [231] His statement is corroborated from the records of operas performed at the Solis Theatre.[232] The influence of

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[227] Nahum, *Manuel de Historia del Uruguay,* p. 211.
[228] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario del compositor romántico uruguayo (León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenary of the Uruguayan Romantic Composer),* Montevideo, 2004, Manzino, p. 34.
[229] S, 'Crónica Teatral' ('Theatrical chronicle'), *La Nación,* Montevideo, 17 September 1878, cited in L. Manzino, *La Ópera Uruguaya*, p. 60.
[230] J. P. Barrán, *Historia de la Sensibilidad en el Uruguay, tomo 2, El Disciplinamiento, (1860-1920) (History of the Sensitivity in Uruguay, Volume 2, The Discipline, 1860-1920),* Montevideo, Groupo Editor, 2004, cited in L. Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario del Compositor Romántico Uruguayo,* p. 43.
[231] 'Hablando con nuestros autores / El maestro León Ribeiro y su realización musical' ('Speaking with our authors/ The maestro León Ribeiro and his musical fulfilment), *El Bien Público,* Montevideo, 23 February 1918, 3, cited in Manzino *León Ribeiro:Recitativos,* p. xvii.
[232] Salgado, *The Teatro Solís,* pp. 224-253.

Italian grand opera pervades *Liropeya* for other reasons. Manzino identifies these as: **1.** European principal singers, mainly Italian, were imported for the seasons of opera at the *Teatro Solís.* The majority of these singers did not wish to learn new operas, and especially have to learn works written in Spanish. They favoured the Italian style. **2**. Around 1880, seven out of eight professional instrumental musicians in Montevideo were European, some of them having remained there after 1856. Consequently, members of the orchestra too would probably have favoured European style operas. **3**. Both Ribeiro and his librettist, the Italian born Luis Destéffanis, favoured the Italian style. They wanted their grand operas to be quite distinct from the popular zarazuela style of light opera. This could account for them favouring Italian as the language for *Liropeya*. [233] **4**. This author also postulates that being an Italian, Destéffanis would surely have favoured writing the text in his own language, and that **5**. the Italian born members of the audience would have been able to follow the plot of this opera.

The question arises as to why the young Ribeiro and Luis Destéffanis chose the Charrúas as the subject of this opera, and whether their reasons were akin to those of Bermúdez and Escardó. Ribeiro may well have been influenced in his choice of subject by the huge success of the opera *Il Guarani* (The Guarani) by Brazilian composer Antonio Carlos Gomez. Premiered at La Scala, Milan, on 19th March 1870, it met with success in other European capitals. In July and August 1876 it was performed at the Solis Theatre *,*[234] possibly attended by the young Ribeiro. The text of *Il Guarani* was written in Italian by an Italian librettist. Ribeiro's choice of librettist for *Liropeya* possibly arose from the fact that Desteffanis was an exalted member of the political and cultural elite of Montevideo which supported republican-Mazzinian ideas. A college professor, critic, and journalist, he was a true intellectual leader both in the Italian community and the broader Uruguayan community.[235] His name as librettist would have endowed prestige on the new opera.

However, more definite reasons for Ribeiro´s choice of subject need to be examined. These appear to have altered over the passage of years. In 1884 Daniel Muñoz wrote that Ribeiro focused his attention on the lyric drama *El Charrúa* by Coronel Don Pedro Pablo Bermúdez, with its plot containing scenes of intense love and savage heroism, very suitable for translation to the sublime language of music. [236] If these were Ribeiro's exact words, one can

[233] Leonardo Manzino, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019. Montevideo.
[234] Salgado, *150 Years of Opera,* p. 242.
[235] Oddone, 'Italians in Uruguay', pp. 220-21.
[236] D. Muñoz, (bajo el seudónimo Sanson Carrasco) (under the pseudonym Sanson Carrasco), 'Liropeya', *La Razón,* Montevideo, 24 January 1884, p. 1., cited in L. Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario ,* pp. 59-60´.

perceive his aim to portray Abayubá as the heroic savage. Manzino further quotes Muñoz as stating that music was the most effective art form to represent the sentiment of patriotism of the Charrúas, the native nation of Uruguay which resisted foreign conquest. [237]' Uruguayan 'sensitiveness' had mutated to another form of expression. *Liropeya* received its one and only one premiere performance at the Solis Theatre on 28th August 1912. [238] Ribeiro felt that of his operas, *Liropeya*, with its indigenous theme, was the most appropriate one to be staged almost on the anniversary of independence. [239] In his own words he declared that 'he had admired the drive, the heroism of the Charrúa race, its resistance before the armies of Castile, the rites full of poetry and mystery'. [240] To our knowledge, Ribeiro does not mention the negative portrayal of the Charrúas as Bermúdez and Escardó did. However, his admiration of *el buen salvaje* is evident

The question remains as to why it took so long, from 1881 to 1912, for *Liropeya* to receive its premiere performance. This was not due to its controversial subject matter, namely the glorification of the now exterminated tribe of the Charrúas. Three reasons are more likely: **1**. The public of Montevideo appears to have preferred to hear works by mainly European composers in preference to ones by its own composers. Manzino cites two letters condemning this neglect of the latter group, the first letter dated 1899 by Batuta (pseudonym) the second dated 1905 by Samuel Blixen.[241] **2**. The staging of any opera, either established and popular or completely new, involves a very high financial expense and risk. Even an opera by an established native composer has to withstand the impact and competition of the ever popular, albeit foreign, repertoire. This may well have applied to *Liropeya*. **3**. The most important reason was: In 1884, as editor in chief of the newspaper *L'Italia,* Destéffanis had published an article which condemned the glorification of Artigas. This infuriated the military dictator President Maximo Santos, and in turn led to Destéffanis being sacked from his position from the chair of Universal History at the University of the Republic. Manzino regards the disgrace of Deseffanis as having a prolonged effect on the fortunes of *Liropeya*, as the opera was in

[237] Manzino, *León Ribeiro, Sesquicentenario,* p. 91.
[238] Manzino, p. 97.
[239] Manzino, p. 95.
[240] 'Una Ópera Nacional a estenarse en Solís / 'Liropeya' del maestro León Ribeiro' ('A national Opera to premiere in Solis/ *Liropeya* of maestro León Ribeiro'), *La Razón,* Montevideo, 14 August 1912, p. 1, cited in *León Ribeiro: Recitativos, Arias, Duos y Trio (León Ribeiro: Recitatives, Arias, Duets, and Trio),* p. xvii.
[241] Batuta (seudónimo), 'La Lira de Maestro León Ribeiro/ Carta de Batuta/ Protección al Elemento nacional' ('The Lyre of Maestro León Ribeiro/ Letter from Batuta/ Protection to National Element'), *Montevideo Musical XV/116,* 10 October 1899, pp. 2-3, and Samuel Blixen (bajo el seudóniño Suplante) (under the pseudonym Suplante), 'Nada entre Dos Platos' ('Nothing between Two Plates'), *El Día*, Montevideo, 3 October 1905, p. 1. Cited in L. Manzino. *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario*, pp. 35-38.

effect censured. [242] However, the military dictatorship ended in 1886. With Destéffanis's death in 1899, a premiere performance possibly became more likely, especially as Ribeiro had shortened the opera from its original six acts to three, [243] probably enabling its staging. Manzino is of the opinion, however, that the original version may have been closer to Bermúdez'a drama. [244] On the 28thAugust, 1912, the curtain of the Solis Theatre opened to the one night only premiere of León Ribeiro's opera *Liropeya*, with Italian singers in the principal roles. Press reviews were generally favourable.[245] Leonardo Manzino is virtually certain that the opera has never been performed since in Uruguay or worldwide.[246]

7F – Conclusion

In this chapter the author has traced the embryonic beginnings of a Uruguayan opera, whose subject was the heroics of its indigenous people in the sixteenth century, through the course of a divisive civil war involving Italian participation. He has demonstrated how Italian participation in that war led eventually to a large wave of Italian emigration, which in turn influenced profoundly the language, the style, and the fortunes of this same opera. He has further explained the ironical situation of how the growth of Uruguayan national consciousness to some extent delayed the premiere of that same nationalistic opera, through the actions of its librettist. The method of investigation in this chapter has been an empirical method, based on reliable sources in the form of an interview with Dr. Manzino, that scholar's use of primary sources, and the records of the Solis Theatre. Secondary sources which provide further authoritative evidence and reliable statistics have also been utilised. In this manner the author of this thesis has reached an intellectual conclusion. He will now examine whether indeed the 'sublime language of music' depicted *el buen salvaje* at a more enhanced level.

[242] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. xiv.
[243] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. xvii.
[244] L. Manzino interview, 2019.
[245] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario,* pp. 89-102.
[246] L. Manzino interview, 2019.

Chapter 8. The Depiction of *El Buen Salvaje* in the opera *Liropeya*

8A – Prologue

In this chapter the author examines how Desteffanis and Ribeiro depicted the hero Abayubá, the heroine Liropeya, and their counterfoil the Spanish captain Carballo in this Uruguayan nationalist opera. As with *El Charrúa and Abayubá,* he examines the work from four dramatic themes. These are: **1**. The theme of love of and faithfulness to another person. **2**. The theme of love of the fatherland and the indomitability of the Charrúas. **3**. The Charrúa belief in the deities, the mystical, and the afterlife. **4**. The attitude of the Spaniards to their mission in the Banda Oriental and to the Charrúas.

The excerpts under examination were chosen because they are the only ones published to date, and indeed the only ones to be ever recorded. The recordings assisted this author to reflect on the performance process, in order to examine the added value of music to Bermúdez's *El Charrúa* in particular.

The melody, the text, and the accompanying harmony (played on piano) are inextricably interwoven to depict the drama, the character, and the actual situation. Accordingly, this author examines each of the four themes, where relevant, within each chosen musical number of the opera, in order to assist the reader of the thesis in following the argument. The former also makes references to practices of composition favoured by European operatic composers, in order to add substance to his previous statements about the Italian operatic influence on *Liropeya.*. By quoting primary sources from scholars of opera, he aims to show how Ribeiro to various extents worked within the framework of operatic conventions.

Ribeiro and Desteffanis took a subject, already treated in literary form by Centenela, Bermúdez, and Escardó, and elevated it to a new aesthetic level through, Ribeiro declared, the sublime art of music.[247] It is almost as if they were putting into practice the theory of the eminent Austrian dramatist, Franz Grillparzer:

> 'A musical sound expresses what words cannot render: speechless longing, mute desire, love's hidden wishes, sadness looking for an object and afraid of finding it in itself; belief that soars upwards; prayer that mumbles and

[247] Muñoz, cited in L. Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario,* p. 60.

> stammers. Whatever exceeds the power of words in depth or height belongs to music' [248] .

Some of these sentiments will be encountered in the foregoing critical examination of the selected excerpts from *Liropeya.*. The main focus of this chapter is on how Ribeiro's musical treatment enhances Desteffanis' text.

The reader will on occasions note how certain keys used by Ribeiro are linked to the emotions being expressed by the character. Prior to about 1900 certain keys were associated with specific emotional or qualitative characteristics, and composers on occasions appear to have abided by these aesthetic indications. These characteristics were of course subjective, and it could be argued that this linkage of certain keys to specific emotions is more relevant to instrumental than to vocal music. This system of linking the keys in this manner was largely influenced by the work of Christian Schubert.[249] However, it is possible that Ribeiro, through his musical training and the influence of the early Romantic Italian opera composers, was familiar with this theory.

8B – Excerpt 1. *Grazie rendeste al cielo* (Carballo)

['Thanks Be to the Heavens'. Captain Carballo. Recitative and Aria. Act I, Scene I]

The fourth theme, that of the attitude of the Spaniards, dominates the opening scene of the opera. The scene begins with the chorus of soldiers and their women folk singing the Catholic hymn *Salve Regina* ('Hail! Holy Queen') as they land on a beach in the *Banda.* This immediately suggests the partial sacred nature of their expedition, as does the opening line of Captain Carballo's recitative and aria, *Grazie rendeste al cielo.* By initiating the recitative in a major key, Ribeiro portrays the confident Captain Carballo stepping on to the shore of the *Banda.* Carballo's confidence is extended when he moves to a more arioso style in the key of C major in bar 15. [250] The ferocious power of the elements encountered on the voyage is

[248] F. Grillparzer, *Der Freischutz,* Opera by Carl Maria von Weber, (1821) cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* New York, The Norton Library, 1969, pp. 165-66.
[249] C. Schubert, *Ideen zu einer Aesthetick dr Tonkunst* (1806), https://wmich.edu/mus-theo/courses/keys.html (accessed 4 November 2019).
[250] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 26.

suggested by the tremolo semiquaver figure in the accompaniment.[251] This in turn gives way to the more static chords in bar 23, as Carballo exults in his victory over the elements thanks to the saving power of … 'the generous Holy One'. Carballo, typical of many would be *conquistadors*, believes that God is on his side. Significantly in bars 32 and 33 Carballo declares that his new and only enemy from now on will be …'man alone', meaning the Charrúas, a declaration echoed by the trumpets and drums in the accompaniment as he moves to his aria in bar 36. [252].

From the outset of his aria *Della Spagna le sponde redenti* ('The delightful shores of Spain') the conflicting emotions of Captain Carballo become evident. Ribeiro has chosen the key of C minor, [253] the key which expresses certain longing, nostalgia, and sighing (https://youtu.be/8OE5-EfmbMs). [254] Carballo looks back with some sadness on Spain and the beautiful maidens left behind. His inner conflicting sentiments are portrayed by the shifting harmonies which move between major, minor, and seventh chords, with the occasional discord.[255] Ribeiro then repeats the text and melody of this verse, modulating for a couple of bars to the tonic major key,[256] possibly to suggest the 'bold hopes' which Carballo entertains.[257] It is almost as if Ribeiro were following the precepts of Rossini, namely that music becomes

> 'the moral atmosphere which fills the space in which the characters of the drama portray the action', when they express … 'the fate that pursues them, the hope which animates them.'[258]

When describing in two phrases Carballo's farewell to his beloved mother and sister, Ribeiro's use of a sequence a tone higher, rather than simply repeating the melody, helps to build up the dramatic momentum (https://youtu.be/_D6zeychtsk). [259] The rushing semiquavers for five bars (67-71) culminating in the tonic major key could signify future glorious conquests partly overcoming domestic considerations, [260] *'D'una madre diletta sprezzai, d'una suora adorata le preci.* ("My beloved mother I ignored, and the prayers of my adored sister"). It is as if the rushing semiquavers represent the elimination in Carvallo's mindset of those same sentiments.

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[251] See Appendix. Excerpt Number 1, Note 1.
[252] Ribeiro, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 27-28.
[253] See Appendix. Excerpt Number 1. Note 2.
[254] Schubert, *Ideen zu einer.*
[255] See Appendix. Excerpt 1, Note 3.
[256] See Appendix, Excerpt 1, Note 4.
[257] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 28-9.
[258] G. Rossini, 'Conversations', n.d., cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* pp. 189-90.
[259] See Appendix, Excerpt 1, Note 5.
[260] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 30.

Ribeiro has used compositional techniques effectively to depict Carballo's dreams, hopes, and partial resolution of inner conflict.

The next section of Carballo's aria presents some significant changes. Ribeiro modulates to a remote key, C minor to A major, symbolising the vigorous and hostile ocean. Such modulations were sometimes employed by composers of the Romantic era to suggest the subject moving from a familiar and safe environment to a hostile world. [261] Ribeiro's use of syncopated chords in the bass line strongly suggests the turbulence of the Atlantic Ocean, but also his yet unresolved inner turbulence between future glory and past happiness (https://youtu.be/tApXcHRTGMM). [262] However, Ribeiro could be criticised for using the same downward melody four times in succession, albeit two in a sequential pattern, to suggest two conflicting sentiments. He may have been adhering to the advice of eminent opera theorist and composer Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-87) who advised that in such a dramatic situation, the composer should stick to one melody. [263] In bar 90 Ribeiro breaks from this repeated melody when Carballo declares that for him glory is his preeminent aim. [264]

For the final section of this aria, Carballo's resolution of his inner conflict is skilfully portrayed by Ribeiro. The section is introduced on piano by the major chord of the key of E flat, followed by an unusual discord, and then by the tonic chord of C major, the strong key chosen to describe Carballo's dreams of becoming a new *conquistador* (https://youtu.be/0G5OgtBrViQ).[265] Such a dramatic harmonic transition was sometimes employed by Italian Romantic composers in similar situations. In this final section, the major key with its mainly major chords dominates. The moving quaver chords in the accompaniment suggest the onward momentum felt by Carballo and expressed in his words… ' a furious and mighty pull'. [266] The final phrase presents the *conquistador* in all his glory, [267] incorporating Grillparzer's view of music enshrining … 'a belief that soars upwards'. [268] Carballo will be transformed into the conqueror of the savage and pagan Charrúas. While not specifically referring to *los salvajes,* Carvallo is presenting his own race as possessing the God given right

[261] David Gallivar, Master Class, 'Vocal Colour in *Lieder',* Elder Conservatorium, Adelaide, 1993.
[262] See Appendix, Excerpt 1, Note 6.
[263] C. W. Gluck, 'Letter to M. de la Harpe', n.d., cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 111.
[264] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 31-32.
[265] See Appendix, Excerpt 1, Note 7.
[266] See Appendix, Excerpt 1, Note 8.
[267] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 32-33.
[268] Grillparzer, cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* pp. 165-166.

to rule the New World. Ribeiro has used devices of musical composition to enhance Carballo's status, as represented by Bermúdez, and as demonstrated convincingly in Desteffanis' libretto.

How well does Ribeiro portray Carballo and his attitude to the Charrúas in this aria? The singer feels that he does so convincingly. While expressing some reservations about Ribeiro's ability to set Desteffanis' text sympathetically for the human voice, he felt that he (the singer) became Carballo in this aria.[269] There is no similar scene to this in *El Charrúa,* although the reading of an official proclamation by Carballo expresses the greatness, power, and majesty of Spain in the *Banda.*[270]

8C – Excerpt 2. *Invan gaia mi mostro e fingo* (Liropeya)

['In vain I show myself happy, I pretend'. Recitative and Aria. Liropeya. Act 2, Scene 2]

The second theme under discussion, love of the fatherland and the indomitability of the Charrúas, dominates this recitative and aria. Desteffanis' and Ribeiro's depiction of the Indian heroine as *una buena salvaje* extends further than that presented by Bermúdez. Her defiant recitative directed towards the Spanish invaders leads into the aria where she tenderly expresses her undying love for Abayubá. The first nine bars of her recitative (bars 10 to 19) feature much semi- tonal movement, with semiquaver rhythm suggesting the palpitations of her heart,[271] *Trepido il sento palpitare.* ("I feel it throb anxously"). Ribeiro facilitates her diatrade against the Spanish invaders by giving her a more arioso style of singing, accompanied mainly by sustained discords in bars 21 to 27. The return of her fears and doubts about the possible deaths of her father and her lover is again depicted by her reverting to recitative style in bars 28 to 32. Liropeya's faith in a Charrúa victory (bars 33 to 38) is highlighted by the accompaniment doubling her vocal line,[272] and a return to arioso style. [273] Up to this point Ribeiro has skilfully represented the changing moods of *la Buena salvaje* with different vocal styles. Similar representations of the heroine can be encountered in many Italian Romantic operas, and Donizetti and Verdi especially use the same device of doubling the vocal line in heroic passages. Rossini's description of music becoming … 'the moral atmosphere', already

[269] Bryan Milne, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Bendigo.
[270] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 2, Scene 9, p. 49.
[271] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 34-35. See Appendix, Excerpt Number 2, Note 1.
[272] See Appendix 1, Excerpt Number 2, Note 2.
[273] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 35-37.

referred to in Carballo's aria, is relevant here, because the hope that animates Liropeya is threatened by the abyss into which the Charrúas may fall. [274]

For the aria Ribeiro selects the benign key of A flat major. His choice of 9/8 tempo endows this first section of the aria with an almost dance feel.[275] However, the use of the staccato chords on the second and third beats could suggest the march of battle.[276] The change to a sustained chord in bar 48 possibly suggests her undying devotion to Abayubá (https://youtu.be/KMYta_oLeZU). Significantly, the switch to the relative minor key in bar 52 could symbolise Liropeya's undying hatred of the Spanish Christians, (https://youtu.be/EyD8qcfFk_s) [277] *Ah! Giammai Liropeya fedele d'un Cristiano la schiava sara.* ("Ah! Never will faithful Liropeya be the slave of a Christian"). These words prove to be prophetical. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe declared that in the singing of arias … 'all the shades from the most gentle to the most violent feelings should be rendered'. [278] Within this sixteen bar segment of the aria (bars 43 to 59) Ribeiro has presented Liropeya expressing at least three different sentiments.[279] He selects a discord (a diminished seventh chord) rather than a concord for the word *bennella* ("beloved") on her high A flat note (bar 56), a feature favoured by some Italian composers of arias, and a chromatic melody to follow that note.[280] These choices could indicate that Liropeya accepts the fact that her hero could die in battle. The resolution of the melody and harmony to the tonic major key at the end of this section denotes her inner reconciliation to die with him, as expressed in her words. [281] Ribeiro and Desteffanis have transformed Bermúdez's words … *Juntos bajemos al sepulcro frio*[282] using devices of composition, achieving a similar goal with some of Liropeya's other sentiments expressed in that same scene.

The next section of the aria witnesses a marked change in text and resultant music. The Charrúas' love of nature is echoed in Liropeya's words … *Son io l'edera al l'albero avvinta* ("I am the ivy bound around the tree") and ensuing text. Ribeiro maintains the same key (A flat major) as the previous section, although on the repeat of this text the vocal line does

[274] Rossini, 'Conversations', n,d,, cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* pp. 1890-1891.
[275] See Appendix 1, Excerpt 2, Note 3.
[276] See Appendix 1, Excerpt 2, Note 4.
[277] See Appendix 1, Excerpt 2, Note 5.
[278] J. W. von Goethe, 'Letter to Phillip Christoph Kayser', December 29, 1779, cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 124.
[279] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos*, pp. 37-39.
[280] See Appendix, Excerpt 2, Notes 6 and 7.
[281] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p.39.
[282] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 1, Scene 3, p. 21.

undergo a key change to the key of F major (Bars 68 to 72). Liropeya's confidence in an eventual Charrúa victory is depicted by a challenging vocal line, (bars 78 to 86) in true *Bel Canto* style. [283] However, some short chromatic phrases may suggest an underlying element of doubt in her hopes. Nonetheless the climax of the aria (bars 87 to 102), in which she prophesises the triumphant return of her lover and the glory of her father Zapican, witnesses this aria culminating in true *Bel Canto* tradition. [284] Liropeya 's words represent an echo of Zapican's similar promises to Abayubá in *Abayubá*, when he promises the young warrior that victory over the Spaniards will be crowned by his being granted the hand of his beloved. [285] In summation, this recitative and aria by Liropeya, *la Buena salvaje,* enshrine Rousseau's beliefs that in lyrical drama music should arouse all emotions, infuse the poetry with new strengths, and triumph over it by crowning it.[286] The philosopher's theories are reflected in the creations of the composer.

The singer of this aria commented that the Italian language and the Italian style of singing made it relatively easy to perform, although Ribeiro at times demonstrated a lack of sympathy towards the voice. Nonetheless she felt that the influence of Donizetti was obvious.[287] Ribeiro could therefore be regarded in this instance as elevating the character of the Charrúa maiden, and depicting her inherent nobility, through the medium of Italian *bel canto* opera. He has enhanced Desteffanis' text with skill and competence.

8D – Excerpt 3. *Cual Pianto, O Liropeya* (Abayubá)

['That Cry, O Liropeya'. Aria. Abayubá. Act 2, Scene 1]

NB. The excerpts recorded by the singer of this aria have been removed from copy presented to Flinders University Library.

This aria enshrines the conflict between the love of another person and the love of the fatherland, and the twin aims of the noble heroic lover-warrior to soothe his beloved and to undertake his patriotic duty. The overall form or design of this aria follows the ABA form, favoured by many Italian composers of Romantic opera. [288]

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[283] See Appendix 1, Excerpt 2, Note 8.
[284] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 39-40
[285] Escardó, *Abayubá,* pp. 16-17.
[286] J.-J. Rousseau, 'Dictionary of Music' (1764), cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 83.
[287] Carolyn Vaughan, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Bendigo.
[288] See Appendix, Excerpt 3, Note 1,

From the outset Ribeiro imbues this aria with the spirit of Italian Romantic opera. He chooses the key of A flat major and ¾ tempo, often favoured by composers for their romantic heroes.[289] The semiquaver triplet figure in the accompaniment which pervades the aria, coupled with the upper piano part sometimes doubling the vocal line, suggests the influence of Donizetti.[290] (video recording removed due to copyright restriction) Ribeiro's transition to a fairly remote key on the phrase … *'E che alla Patria solo* ("think only of the Fatherland") could be regarded as placing the fatherland on a pedestal. (Bars 16 and 17 video recording removed due to copyright restriction).[291] The conflicting sentiment of aiming to soothe Liropeya, *Ti lascio ah le tua lagrime rasciuga en quest' istante* ("I leave you to your tears. They will dry in this instant") is depicted by a transition to the tonic minor key,[292] a device used by some Romantic opera composers during sadder passages (Bars 21 to 24). The vocal line is doubled in the accompaniment for added effect (video recording removed due to copyright restriction).

The return of the A section, now extended to take the form of A2, contains some features particular to the heroic romantic tenor as portrayed by some Italian opera composers. [293]These include a crowning high B flat on Abayubá's second *addio* to Liropeya and the dotted quaver followed by semiquaver figures (video recording removed due to copyright restriction). [294] It is almost as if Ribeiro is adhering to the advice of Hoffman that the youthful hero going to war should assert his courage and his belief in a just cause, telling his beloved that without her life is a slow death.[295]

The singer of this aria states that its technical demands make for quite a robust performance, and they depict Abayubá as brave, strong, masculine, and yet sensitive. The singer develops his portrayal of Abayubá as, yes, a lover of Liropeya, but their homeland, their *patria,* must take precedence. Abayubá is its leader and protector. He loves on the personal scale, Liropeya, but he loves even more on the collective scale, his people, their land, and their customs. Ultimately Abayubá puts his people above himself.[296] Abauybá's pledge to Zapican, namely that he will give his love for his *patria* pre-eminence, has been elevated from the prose of Escardó, to the elevated language of Italian style grand opera.[297] In summation, the singer,

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[289] See Appendix, Excerpt 3, Note 2.
[290] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 51. Also, see Appendix, Excerpt 3, Note 3.
[291] Manzino, p. 53.
[292] See Appendix, Excerpt 3, Note 4.
[293] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 54-55.
[294] See Appendix, Excerpt 3, Note 5.
[295] E. T. A. Hoffman, 'The Poet and the Composer', (1816), cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 178.
[296] Michael Smith, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Canberra.
[297] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 16.

having undertaken a study of Abayuba from other sources, concludes that this aria through its text and music depicts Abayubá as a great, brave, and selfless leader. [298] Therefore, his opinions could be regarded as objective.

This aria serves as an excellent example of how Ribeiro has transformed Abayubá's farewell to Liropeya from the poetry of Bermúdez to a Romantic Italian opera style aria. In the former, already discussed, Abayubá makes his farewell in a poem with the rhyming scheme of abbcabbc, set in lyrical and heightened language, each verse ending with the word *adios.* Abayubá invokes the beauty of nature to express his profound love for Liropeya, at times referring to the bloody battle which lies ahead. [299] Ribeiro and Desteffanis take this heightened language one stage further, their music and text depicting Abayubá *el buen salvaje* in all his zeal and his desire for victory. Abayubá takes his place beside Manrico in *Il Trovatore* (Verdi) and Radames in *Aida* (Verdi). Wieland had declared that a hero such as Alexander or Porus must sing in a manner to portray his character,[300] which Abayubá undoubtedly does. In the words of the singer, Abayubá is a hero with a heart. [301]

8E – Excerpt 4. *Ben faceste e premio avrete* (Capitan Carballo, Abayubá, and Liropeya)

['You Have Done Well and you will Have a Reward'. Trio. Captain Carballo, Abayubá, and Liropeya. Act 2, Scene 2]

This trio displays the dichotomy between the worlds of the Spanish *conquistadores* and the Charrúa '*salvajes'.* French dramatist Pierre Augustin Canon von Beaumarchais (1732-99) had written about how the abuse of power by a despot makes everyone tremble before him, such scenes stimulating the poet's imagination. [302] Ribeiro in this trio would appear to have risen to the challenge set by Desteffannis' libretto. The theme of love, of love of fatherland, and the attitude of the Spaniards are woven together in a skilful counterpoint.

[298] Smith Interview, 2019.
[299] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 3, Scene 9, p. 70.
[300] C. M Wieland, 'Essay Concerning German Opera and a few Related Subjects' (1775), cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 119.
[301] Smith interview, 2019.
[302] P. A. Canon von Beaumarchais, 'Preface to *Tarare '*(1790) in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 147.

This trio opens with a recitative (bars 1 to 14). [303] Carballo's threatening question to Liropeya features chromatic movement in his melody, which the accompanist to the singers identified as depicting his harsh attitude.[304] Her tremulous response is portrayed by an almost monotonal melody,[305] while Abayubá's more conciliatory explanation is rendered diatonically. [306] Liropeya and Abayubá proceed to express two related sentiments, hers being her overpowering love for him, while he voices his undiminished love for the fatherland. Ribeiro has selected the key of E flat major for the trio proper (bar 14 onwards), [307] the key of love and devotion.[308] The inextricable link between these two lovers is suggested by Ribeiro's placing their melodies in parallel harmony of the interval of a third (https://youtu.be/6L1JfqdW_1c). [309] His use of a higher sequence in Liropeya's repeated vocal line (bars 22 to 29), *Seco, straniero, tu mi dei lasciare* ("With him, stranger, you must let me go"), suggests her more intense pleading before the despot Carballo. The mainly quaver rhythms of the two lovers throughout this section is contrasted with the mixture of long notes and some quavers sung by Carballo. This denotes the dichotomy between their two worlds, as expressed by his merciless threats.[310]

Ribeiro's use of a form of counterpoint between Liropeya and Abayubá (bars 30 to 37) highlights the different pleas made by each, faced with Carvallo's menacing behaviour. (https://youtu.be/OIPJ2bLqe9o). [311] Liropeya pleads for Abayubá and herself to be freed, while he pleads for her freedom, stating that he is prepared to die. [312] In the final bars (38 to 47) the two lovers return to their close parallel harmony a third apart, denoting again their mutual love, with Carvallo's largely unchanged melody suggesting an unaltered attitude. [313] The accompanist to the singers has identified the individual quality and consistency of Carvallo's part as depicting his inflexible attitude towards the Charrúas, and to Liropeya and Abayubá in particular.[314]

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[303] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 57-58.
[304] David Steed interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Bendigo.
[305] See Appendix, Excerpt 4, Note 1.
[306] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 57-58. See Appendix 1, Excerpt 4, Note 2.
[307] Manzino, p. 58.
[308] Schubert, *Ideen zu einer.*
[309] See Appendix, Excerpt 4, Note 3.
[310] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 58-60
[311] See Appendix, Excerpt 4, Note 4.
[312] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 60
[313] Manzino, p. 61.
[314] D. Steed interview, 2019, Bendigo.

Although Bermúdez does not create a similar scene in his drama, Escardó in *Abayubá* depicts Tupaayquá recounting to Abayubá a similar story of Yandabayo and Lirompeya confronting Carballo.[315] This was inspired by the episode from del Barco Centenera, already referred to in this thesis. The chivalrous words and actions of those two personages and the treachery of Carballo are somewhat replicated in this trio through recitative, close harmonies, counterpoint, and an individual vocal line. The soprano singing this trio felt that Ribeiro has conveyed effectively the different emotions felt by Liropeya, while the tenor could identify the style of composition as being typical late Romantic Italian.[316] The baritone in the trio, felt that this short ensemble number effectively combines the theme of love, the theme of love of the fatherland, and the attitude of the Spaniard towards the Charrúas.[317] Moreover, the two *Buenos salvajes* have maintained their pride and dignity in the face of the ruthless would be *conquistador.* The dichotomy of the Spanish and Charrúa worlds, as expressed by Desteffanis, has been skilfully depicted by Ribeiro through musical treatment.

8F – Excerpt 5. *Farti tu del cristiano* (Abayubá)

['You Must Become a Christian'. Recitative and Aria. Abayubá. Act 3, Scene 1]

The four themes under discussion merge together in this recitative and aria. However, in this author's opinion, the musical treatment does not match the drama. For the recitative Ribeiro has correctly selected the key of B major, the key which expresses such strong emotions as anger, rage, fury, despair. [318] Abayubá cites Carballo's threats in a mainly monotonal recitative over sustained chords (https://youtu.be/Ui5zP8ftipI).[319] However, as he is quoting Carballo directly, it is surprising that Ribeiro did not make this recitative more chromatic. Except for greater chordal movement in Abayubá's cited rejection of Carballo's demand that he become a Christian, and Carballo's ensuing declaration that he will die, there is little to distinguish the dramatic sections of this cited confrontation with Carballo (bars 9 to 20). [320] The singer expresses a similar opinion to this author, but he does opine that Ribeiro may have made the recitative monotonal to depict the unemotional Indian. Nonetheless, the singer felt

[315] Escardó, *Abayubá,* pp. 5-6.
[316] Janet Brown and David Stephensen, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Bendigo.
[317] John Clancy, opinion on the trio.
[318] Schubert *Ideen zu einer*
[319] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 62.
[320] Manzino, pp. 62-63.

that the cited threats of Carballo are not convincing, as a monotonal chant does not reflect the high drama.[321]

The ensuing section could be regarded as representing a failing of Ribeiro to match the drama with appropriate music. Abayubá questions the Charrúa concept of the afterlife, the nature of death, and the immortality of the soul. An arioso rather than a largely monotonal recitative (https://youtu.be/AP8_I-G5yaY) would probably have been more appropriate here [322] (Bars 22 to 40). Was Ribeiro so tied to the Italian style and tradition that he was unable to venture into the realm of indigenous Indian music, in order to ably match the high quality of the text? Although records of ancient Charrúa music were most likely lost by 1881, a more arioso treatment, possibly using the pentatonic scale, a feature of indigenous Andean music, could have been more appropriate. It could be argued here that in this instance Ribeiro does not do justice to the Charrúa belief in the mystical and the afterlife. However, the singer points out that in the 1880s, unlike today, authorities such as archaeologists, writers, and composers, did not really immerse themselves in aboriginal cultures.[323]

Ayestarán, however, presents a different argument. He asserts that, when early European travellers or clergy referred to the Charrúa songs or chants as being sad, they were referring to the melodies and not the words, as they did not understand the language. [324] Ayestarán credits the Charrúas and the Chanaes as chanting Gregorian Masses, as witnessed by a traveller, [325] and of the Charrúas singing Gregorian Masses in the town of Durazno in 1824 [326]. He sums up his argument with the statement that the Uruguayan Indian carried to the tomb (at Salsispuedes) the secret of his songs and dances. The Indian disappeared, as did his music.[327]

In the aria proper some semblance of the familiar noble and heroic Abayubá returns. Again, Ribeiro's choice of the G flat major key and 6/8 time is very appropriate for such heroic arias of the Romantic era, as Abayubá yearns for a hero's death on the battle- field. [328] The A

[321] David Stephensen, interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Bendigo.
[322] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp. 63-64.
[323] D. Stephensen interview, 2019.
[324] L. Ayestarán, 'La música indígena en el Uruguay' ('The Indigenous Music in Uruguay'), *Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias,* año III, no. 4, XII – 1949, p. 242. www.cdm.gub.uy/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/CDM - Ayesteran-Musica/Indigena-1949.pdf (accessed 10 March 2020).
[325] E. Pena, *Don Francisco de Cespedes,* Buenas Aires, 1916, p. 92, cited in L. Ayestarán, 'La Musica',, p. 249. See URL in Bibliography.
[326] Ayestarán, p. 253.
[327] Ayestarán, p. 266.
[328] See Appendix 1, Excerpt 5, Note 1.

section (bars 41 to 59) remains diatonic with a consistent quaver accompaniment figure. [329] A change in the B section (bars 60 to 78) to a more remote key with possibly greater chromatic movement, as Abayubá bemoans his pending dishonourable death by execution, could well have been quite appropriate. By remaining in the same key as the A section, Ribeiro disappoints again, although the B section does modulate towards its end. [330] Nonetheless he does bestow on Abayubá a C section (bars 79 to 94) rather than the more conventional A or A2 section, [331] probably to depict the latter's grief at the prospect of dying far from his comrades in arms and from his beloved. The composer further presents the related loves of *el buen salvaje* for *patria* and Liropeya with two short sequences, followed immediately afterwards by discords, and a modulation to a remote key to depict Abayubá's continuing torment. However, one might question whether Ribeiro's return to the major key for the final four bars of the aria and a top B flat by Abayubá on the ultimate note on the word *amor* ("love") truly represent the noble heroic warrior and lover languishing in inconsolable anguish.[332] It is possible that the conventions of the Italian style were not the most appropriate to be used in this context. On the other hand, there did not exist fixed conventions in Italian Romantic opera for similar heart wrenching scenarios. At the end of *Lucia de Lammermoor* (Donizetti), Eduardo, although devastated by the death of Lucia, sings a beautiful lyrical tenor aria in a major key. This can be contrasted with *I Capuletti ed I Montecchi* (Bellini), when Romeo and Juliet render a heart wrenching duet in a minor key as they face their last moments.

This recitative and aria encapsulate effectively the four themes under discussion. By analysing them from various perspectives, an objective conclusion might well be reached. Bermúdez had bequeathed to Abayubá a text of lyrical beauty to express his thoughts on the journey to the afterlife. [333] However, while Desteffanis' text lends itself to depicting Abayubá as *el buen salvaje* in all his primitive glory, Ribeiro's setting, while displaying some moments of inspiration, does not measure up to it in either recitative or aria. It is questionable whether the tenor singing this aria, who needs to be immersed in the feelings expressed in the text, would be able to, in accordance with the advice of Goethe,' sing from the bottom of his heart' [334].

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[329] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 65.
[330] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 66.
[331] See Appendix 1, Excerpt 5, Note 2.
[332] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 67.
[333] Bermúdez, *El Charrúa,* Act 5, Scene 11, p. 106.
[334] J. W. von Goethe, 'Letter to Phillip Christoph Kayeser'(1779), cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 124.

8G – Excerpt 6. *Qual odo mai rumor! Cielo chi veggio!* (Abayubá and Liropeya)

['What Noise do I Hear! Heavens who do I see!'. Duet. Abayubá and Liropeya. Act 3, Scene 2]

As the opera nears its end and climax, the synthesis of a unity of purpose between Liropeya and Abayubá becomes more apparent. The sentiment of their mutual love is heightened by their singing the same text and melody, doubled in the treble clef of the accompaniment (Bars 9 to 12).[335] Ribeiro has chosen the key of A major, the key of declaration of innocent love, satisfaction, and hope of seeing the beloved again, albeit in the after- life. [336] However, the attitude of the Spaniards towards the Charrúas is highlighted by the ensuing chromatic passages of recitative sung by the lovers. Abayubá's lament for the desecration of the fatherland is followed by Liropeya's denunciation of Carballo's threatened violation of herself (Bars 18 to 23). [337] Liropeya's subsequent comforting thoughts of the kindness of heaven is skilfully represented by Ribeiro with a change to a diatonic melody in arioso style, and a modulation to the remote but benign key of E flat major, the key of love, devotion, and intimate conversation with God (bars 23 to 29) [338]. The modulation to a further remote key, that of F sharp major, gives vent to Liropeya's determination to reject totally slavery and concubinage under the despised invader Carballo. The following words, sung by her, are of profound significance to this thesis: *Con questo ferro, di mei goirni el filo, troncar puittosto che ridotta shiava en servitude ignava Giacer dello straniero* ("With this dagger the thread of my life I will sever, rather than be reduced to a slave, in apathetic servitude to lie with the foreigner"). Her diatrade is depicted through her largely monotonal passage of recitative, consisting of only three different notes, and culminating on a high F sharp on the word *straniero* ('foreigner'), (bars 32 to 37). [339] This passage is sung over a *tremulo* (tremulous) semiquaver accompaniment, such devices being favoured by other composers of Romantic opera in highly dramatic situations. Abayubá in turn complements her with a heroic high A flat on the word *morte* ('death') (Bar 48). [340]

Tieffemberg has identified Liropeya's chastity and beauty as the two fundamental characteristics of the heroine of troubadour chivalric poetry. She dies in order to preserve her

[335] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 69
[336] Schubert *Ideen zu einer*).
[337] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p. 70.
[338] Schubert, *Ideen zu einer* .
[339] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* p.71.
[340] Manzino, p. 72.

chastity and to follow her heroic lover. [341] Tieffemberg demonstrates that del Barco Centenera has inadvertently paid homage to Liropeya for these chivalric attributes. Both Bermúdez and Escardó have deliberately extolled her. As a culmination, Desteffanis and Ribeiro have crowned Liropeya through the exalted medium of Italian grand opera.

The final section of the final duet, from bar 49 onwards, between Abayubá and Liropeya seals their mutual love and devotion. As they accept the inevitability of their joint impending deaths, Ribeiro employs conventional Italian operatic devices to express this. They sing together the same text and melody (https://youtu.be/gBuPdYoIcDM). Ribeiro depicts the mood of peace and tranquillity by means of the G major key, the key expressing idyllic feeling and gentle and peaceful emotions of the heart. [342] Intervals of a step and primarily major and minor chords predominate. [343] A brief element of sadness is introduced in bar 64, with a transition to the relative minor key. Short quaver movement features in bar 60 to highlight the word *sorriso* ('smile'). A few discords are found in bars 62/63 and 76 to denote the underlying sadness of the words *diletto* and *delizia* (both meaning "delight"), the latter discord resolving to the tonic major chord of the key (https://youtu.be/hkuLPTVTgJs). Italian melody is renowned for its beauty and simplicity, and the melody is not beautiful unless it is natural and effortless. [344] The opinion of the tenor singing this extract was that the Italian style was very evident, and that the melody was memorable through its simplicity, although on occasions set rather clumsily to the text. [345]The duet ends as it began in peace, tranquillity, mutual love, devotion, and acceptance of their death by heaven (https://youtu.be/QRP_0JeJNkg). Ribeiro has added a new linguistic expression, namely music, to the pledges of Tupaayquá and Abayubá (Escardó) and Abayubá and Liropeya (Bermúdez) that they will die together in eternal love, thus endowing these scenes with further beauty.

In this duet Abayubá and Loropeya have assumed the status of Romantic opera's hero and heroine facing execution in the tradition of Aida and Radames *(Aida* by Verdi), Norma and Pollione (*Norma* by Bellini), and Andre Chenier and Magdalena (*Andre Chenier* by Giordano). Ribeiro has skilfully incorporated in this duet the four themes of mutual love, Charrúa

[341] S. Tieffemberg, 'Martín del Barco Centenera, Argentina y conquista del Rio de la Plata, Tomo 1'. ('Martín del Barco Centenera, Argentina and conquest of the River Plate, Volume 1'), PhD Thesis, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1991, p. 163. repositorio.filo.uba.ffyl.t.1991-871905-v1%20(1).pdf, (accessed 12 March 2020).
[342] Schubert, *Ideen zu einer.*
[343] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Recitativos,* pp 73-74.
[344] A. E. Gretry, 'Reflections on Music', (1789) cited in U. Weisstein, *The Essence of Opera,* p. 153.
[345] Frederick Kelly interviewed by John Clancy, 2019, Bendigo.

indomitability, a reference to the invading Spaniards' attitude towards the Charrúas, and the Charrúa belief in the afterlife. The drama of the situation has served as the prime mover of the music. Rousseau identified music as infusing the poetry with new strength and triumph over the poetry by crowning it. [346] The art of music in this duet elevates the theories of the philosopher and the words of the poet in relation to *los buenos salvajes.* Once again Ribeiro has enhanced the text of his librettist.

8H – The Text of the Great Council of Notables of the Charrúa Tribe [347]

As the music of this great chorus scene is unpublished, this author is unable to comment upon it. The Charrúas sing a chorus of praise to their god of good, Tupá, a god of gentleness, love, and beauty, beloved by his people. They revere him for his justice, his righteousness, and his virtue. The Charrúas add that his altar is visible from every ocean. Love is exalted to a divine level. The translator of this text from the Italian is of the opinion that the sentiments expressed here are similar to those revering the Christian God.[348] Bermúdez does not include such a chorus in his drama, but Escardó mentions their belief in the great god of good, and the immortality of the soul. [349] Desteffanis may have wished to prove that there was not such a great divide between the God of the Christians and the great spirit of the Charrúas, and that the god of *los buenos salvajes* possessed features of true nobility.

8I – Conclusion to Chapter

Although there is no record of Ribeiro specifically aiming to depict the Charrúa as *el buen salvaje,* the aims with which he composed *Liropeya* enshrine this idea. According to Muñoz, *El Charrúa* with its scenes of intense love and savage heroism suitable for translation to the sublime language of music appealed to Ribeiro. Manzino quotes Muñoz as stating that music was most capable of expressing Charrúa patriotism, while Ribeiro himself declared that the drive, heroism, resistance to foreign oppression, and rites full of poetry and mystery drew him to the Charrúa subject. [350]

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[346] Rousseau, 'Dictionary of Music' (1764) cited in *The Essence of Opera* (Weisstein), p. 83.
[347] Ribeiro, León, Vocal Score of *Liropeya,* at El Museo Romántico, Montevideo, accessed 15, 17, July 2019.
[348] Desteffanis, Luis, *Liropeya,* trans. Ada Snell, Adelaide, unpublished, 2019.
[349] Escardó, *Abayubá,* p. 12.
[350] Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario,* p. *96.*

This author's examination of *Liropeya* has convinced him that León Ribeiro and Desteffanis through 'the heightened language of music'[351] elevated the depiction of the heroic Charrúa to a more exalted plane. This is demonstrated by the young composer's skilful and effective use of the canons of music and grand opera – Romantic harmony, counterpoint, conventions of Italian operatic style, vocal lines generally suitable for the singers, although at times clumsily set to the text. To these can be added skilful use of the accompaniment, and a high quality of text in Italian. Ribeiro and Desteffanis had achieved their noble objectives.

[351] Muñoz cited in Manzino, *León Ribeiro: Sesquicentenario,* pp. 59-60.

Chapter 9. Conclusion to Thesis

Bermúdez, Escardó, and Desteffanis/Ribeiro portrayed the exterminated race of the Charrúas of Uruguay in a favourable light. They achieved this by depicting them as *los buenos salvajes* who had displayed the laudable human virtues of love, honour, loyalty, heroism, a civilised mode of life, and love of their fatherland linked to a belief in the afterlife. This depiction was in sympathy with the writings of de las Casas, Rousseau, von Humboldt, and others. It revealed a shared respect for the ethnicity of the Charrúas.

Bermúdez presented a convincing portrait of the Charrúa warrior and the Charrúa maiden as heroic defenders of their homeland, although not ignoring their human failings. At times he bequeathed them poetic language of grandeur and nobility. Escardó used similar exalted language especially in his love scenes. He raised the love of fatherland to a higher plane, endowing it at times with an almost sacred significance. As the answer to the first central question of this thesis, this author, from his analysis of the evidence which he has presented, has arrived at this objective and intellectual conclusion: that the three chosen works share a common positive attitude towards, and a sympathetic depiction of the Charrúas as *los buenos salvajes.*

Music has the power to transform poetry and prose. The magnificent German poetry of Goethe, Schiller, and Heine was transformed by such composers of *lieder* (art song) as Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms. Similarly, Desteffanis and Ribeiro to a certain extent transformed the sentiments of Bermúdez and Escardó. This author's critical examination of the excerpts from *Liropeya*, supported by the writings of scholars of opera, and to some degree by the opinions of singers who recorded the excerpts, have led him to this objective conclusion: León Ribeiro the composer, through his musical treatment, reaffirmed the positive sentiments towards the Charrúas of Bermúdez the dramatist, Escardó the novelist, and Desteffanis the librettist. Furthermore, except for a few lapses of consistency, Ribeiro enhanced the libretto of Desteffanis, the latter having bestowed on Abayubá and Liropeya grandeur of thought expressed in the majesty of the Italian language, the supreme language of opera. He depicted the Charrúas as heroic defenders of their homelands and religion, in the tradition of Norma in *Norma* (Bellini), and of Raoul de Nangis and Valentine in *The Huguenots* (Meyerbeer). But how did Ribeiro achieve this enhancement of Desteffanis' libretto?

The biographer Robert Phelan identifies three echelons of recognition in relation to creative artistes: the geniuses, the greats, and the master craftsmen. [352] By general consensus among scholars of nineteenth century Italian opera, the quartet of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi occupy the rank of geniuses. These four composers on occasions display sublimity which, in Longinus' words, 'can lift man to the spirit of the Deity'. [353] Ribeiro could not be placed among the geniuses. Inhabiting the rank of the greats are lesser known Italian composers such as Ponchielli, Catalani, Boito, and Mercadante. These composers might be regarded as at times displaying the ability to 'exalt the soul and sway the heart of man, even gaining a complete mastery of our minds'. (Longinus).[354] From the excerpts he has discussed, however, this author would not place Ribeiro in the rank of the greats.

By contrast, nonetheless, he would not hesitate to place Ribeiro in the third echelon, that of the master craftsman. Ribeiro demonstrates a natural sense of the dramatic, the artistry of the late Romantic composer, and the discipline to create a notable and noble work of art. His immersion in his historical subject matter, and his intentions to honour the exterminated Charrúa race are clearly evident throughout.

León Ribeiro's adherence to the underlying philosophy of music drama, as espoused by this author's quoted authorities, and Ribeiro's awareness of musical aesthetics, are also evident. He succeeded in placing the supreme art of Italian grand opera to the noble task of raising a then despised and forgotten race to a level where it assumed the same elevated status as other subjects of grand opera. While perhaps not achieving the sublimity of the geniuses, nor the majesty and elevation of structures of the greats, León Ribeiro, the young Uruguayan composer, the master craftsman, successfully transformed the objectives of Bermúdez and Escardó in their depiction of *el buen salvaje,* and enhanced the libretto of Desteffanis.

The Uruguayan historian and author Eduardo Galeano refers to an emerging Latin American literature that

> 'Does not lull its readers to sleep, but rather awakens them;
> That does not propose to bury our dead, but to immortalise them;
> That refuses to stir the ashes, but rather attempts to light the fire'.[355]

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[352] R. Phelan, *William Vincent Wallace: The Vagabond Composer,* Waterford, Celtic Publications, 1994, p. 95.
[353] Longinus, 'On the Sublime', trans. H.L. Havell, London, Macmillan and Co. 1890, Section xxxvi, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/17957/17957-h/17957-h.htm section xxxvi. , (accessed 20 November 2019).
[354] Longinus, section xxxix.
[355] E. Galeano, *Days and Nights of Love and War,* New York, Monthly Review Press, 2000, p. 178.

El Charrúa, Abayubá, and Liropeya might well be regarded as the genesis of that emerging Uruguayan literature in relation to the Charrúa people.

Epic poetry has been known to inspire and form the genesis of other and varied successive works of literature. An example would be how Virgil's epic poem *The Aeneid* inspired such varied works as the section titled *Inferno* in Dante's *The Divine Comedy* (1472),[356] the drama *Dido, Queen of Carthage* by Marlowe (1594), the opera *Dido and Aeneas* by Purcell (1688), and the opera *The Trojans* by Berlioz (1863). As already explained in the introduction to this thesis, del Barco Centenera's lengthy poem *La Argentina* could be regarded as forming the genesis of *El Charrúa, Abayubá,* and *Liropeya.* Virgil in *The Aeneid* deliberately depicted Aeneas as a heroic warrior and the founder of Alba Longa, which ultimately became Rome. Del Barco Centenera inadvertently portrayed Abayubá as a chivalrous heroic warrior, and Liropeya as his beautiful, chaste, and faithful lover. Bermúdez, Escardó, and Desteffanis / Ribeiro deliberately completed this positive portrayal of Abayubá, Liropeya, and the race of the Charrúa Indians of Uruguay as *los buenos salvajes.*

[356] C. Mackie, 'Guide to the Classics: Virgil's *Aeneid',* Latrobe University, 10/2017, https:www.latrobe.edu.au/news/articles/es/2017/opinion/guide-to-the-classics-virgilaeneid, (accessed 5 May2020).

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Appendix To Chapter 8 - *Liropeya*

In this appendix the author aims to explain the musical terms used in Chapter 6 in the simplest possible manner, sometimes using examples. The terms are introduced in the order in which the reader of the chapter encounters them. However, three terms, namely 'recitative,' 'arioso', and 'aria are initially explained.

RECITATIVE. THIS is defined as a species of musical declamation rather similar to chanting. A recitative does not usually have a memorable melody.

ARIOSO. This could be defined as representing a half way stage between recitative and aria. It can be melodious, but it is usually shorter and less symmetrical than an aria.

ARIA. An aria is literally an air, a song sung by a solo voice. The aria first developed into shape in the early operas of the seventeenth century.

Excerpt Number 1. Captain Carballo's Recitative and Aria.

1. Semiquavers are very short and quick notes. They are sometimes referred to as sixteenth notes, because a semiquaver is mathematically a sixteenth of a semibreve, the longest beat and the parent beat.

2. The minor key or minor scale is built upon the tonic solfa note 'lah'. The notes of this scale are 'lah, tee, doh, ray, me, fah, soh, lah'. It is generally used less commonly by composers than the major scale.

3. Major and Minor Chords. These chords are pleasant to the human ear, and for that reason are known as concords. Major chords, like major keys, are the most commonly used chords. An example of a major chord is 'doh-me-soh'. An example of a minor chord is 'lah-doh-me'. A seventh chord extends the chord (major or minor) by an extra note. This turns it into a discord, which is a dissonant combination of sounds. In strict harmony a discord needs to be resolved to a concord in order to satisfy the human ear.

4. Modulation means a transition to a new key or scale. This transition can be gradual, via a certain succession of chords, or sudden. The tonic major key: Carballo begins his aria in the key of C minor. The tonic is the technical name for the note on which the key or scale is built, in this case the note C. Therefore, the tonic major key is the key of C major.

5. Sequences. A melodic sequence is where a melody is 'repeated' a note or a couple of notes higher or lower. For example, GCDEFGA, ADEFGAB, BEFGABC. This example is taken from the song, 'Doh a deer' from 'The Sound of Music, (Rogers and Hammerstein).

6. Syncopation. This is defined as a temporary displacement of the natural accent in music. A common form of syncopation is making the note attacks fall *between* the pulse of the beats rather than *on* the pulse of the beats. Syncopation is very common in jazz.

7. The tonic chord is the chord built on the tonic (or key note = doh) of the scale. For example, in the scale of C major, the tonic chord is built on the note C. The other two notes of the chord are E and G. Therefore, the notes of the tonic chord are C, E and G (doh-me-soh).

8. Quavers are quick notes. They are sometimes referred to as eighth notes, because a quaver is mathematically one eighth of a semibreve, the longest beat or parent beat.

Excerpt Number 2. Liropeya's Recitative and Aria.

1. Semitone or semitonal. A semitone or half tone is the shortest distance between two adjacent notes on the piano, usually from a white note on the piano to its adjacent black note or vice versa.

2. Doubling. Doubling means that the higher instrument in an orchestra, usually violins or flutes, or the highest line of music in the piano part, plays the same tune as the singer.

3. Nine-Eight Tempo. Nine-eight tempo means that there are nine quavers, or their mathematical equivalent, in each bar of music. An easy way of recognising nine-eight tempo is to say the words 'pineapple-pineapple- pineapple'.

4. Staccato Notes. Staccato notes are notes which are detached or separated from each other.

5. Relative Minor Key. Every major scale has its own relative minor scale and vice versa. The key note (or tonic) of each major scale is two letters of the alphabet above the key note of its relative minor scale. For example, the relative minor scale of C major is A minor, and vice versa. To the less discerning ear, the modulation from the major scale to its relative minor scale or vice versa can be barely noticeable.

6. A Diminished Seventh Chord is a discord which must resolve to a concord in order to satisfy the ear.

7. Chromatic Notes. These are notes which do not belong to the major or minor scale in which the music is composed. Think of chromatic notes as being 'foreign' notes.

8. Bel Canto Style (Beautiful singing). By the mid nineteenth century *bel canto* had assumed the meaning of a traditional Italian vocal model, characterised by a more dramatic style of singing.

Excerpt Number 3. Abayubá's Aria.

1. ABA Form. ABA form means that the first section of the aria is called 'A'. The second section has a different melody and is therefore called 'B'. The third section sees the return of the original (A) melody. Therefore, is it called A, or A2 if there are some slight variations.

2. Three-four tempo. Three-four tempo means there are three crochet (medium length) beats to each bar. It is used for waltzes and minuets.

3. Semiquaver Triplets. One quaver equals mathematically two semiquavers. To create semiquaver triplets, each semiquaver is slightly shortened in order to fit three semiquavers to one quaver.

4. The Tonic Minor Scale. Abayubá began his aria in the scale of A flat major. The tonic is the note on which the scale is built, in this case A flat. Therefore, the tonic minor scale is the scale of A flat minor.

5. Dotted Quaver followed by Semiquaver. A dotted quaver followed by a semiquaver creates an uneven rhythm. It is sometimes found in marches. Example: "We have taken Bristol and we've marched all through the night." (Excerpt from the children's opera, "All The King's Men", by Richard Rodney Bennett). The odd numbered words are lengthened, and the even numbered words are shortened.

Excerpt Number 4. The Trio.

1. Monotonal. This means that the pitch of the note does not change within a line of melody.

2. Diatonic. This means where the composer keeps to the notes of the scale, major or minor, in which he is composing. He does not add any chromatic notes, meaning notes which are 'foreign' to that scale. For example, if writing in the key of C major, he uses the notes C D E F G A B C, and does not include, for example, F sharp or B flat.

3. Intervals. This means the distance between two notes, played or sung either consecutively or together. The most pleasant intervals sounded together for the human ear are those of the third, for example C to E; the sixth, for example C to A; or the octave, C to high or low C.

4. Counterpoint. Where a melody or a similar melody is played or sung by a second instrument or voice, say, a bar after it was played or sung by the first instrument or voice. Counterpoint is in some respects the opposite of parallel harmony.

Excerpt Number 5. Abayubá's Recitative and Second Aria.

1. Six-eight tempo means six quavers or their mathematical equivalent to each bar. It is the tempo used in an Irish jig. Think of saying the words 'pineapple- pineapple' to it.

2. ABC form is similar to ABA form, but the original A Secion is not repeated. It is replaced by a section with a new melody. This is the C Section.

Biographies of the Singers

1. <u>Carolyn Vaughan – Soprano.</u> Carolyn Vaughan studied singing and opera at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, and is a graduate of the Conservatorium Opera School. She is a winner of the Sydney Sun Aria competition, and has represented Australia as a finalist in the Metropolitan Opera Auditions in Honolulu. Subsequently Carolyn went to London to further her studies with Eric Vietheer and Geoffrey Parsons. During this time she toured France on several occasions with the Glyndebourne Opera , as well as performing with Kent Opera and appearing as a soloist in various concerts in London and Switzerland. On returning to Australia Carolyn gained a contract as a principal soprano with the State Opera of South Australia. Roles for which she received particular acclaim included those of the Countess in *The Marriage of Figaro,* Adele in *Die Fledermaus,* and Adina in *The Elixir of Love.* On moving back to Sydney Carolyn continued her singing career as a soloist in various recitals and concerts. She currently lives in Bendigo, Victoria.

2. <u>Janet Brown – Soprano.</u> Janet Brown studied classical singing with John Clancy for some years, achieving Grade Eight with distinction from the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, UK. She has sung in various major event concerts produced by Clancy, including The Amy Sherwin Commemorative Concert and the William Vincent Wallace Bicentenary Concert. She has also sung in the grand opera excerpts from *Treemonisha* (Scott Joplin), as well as a solo role in the premiere of the chamber opera *Gibble Gabble Gobble* (Chester Eagle and Cristopher Wilson).

3. <u>John Clancy – Repetiteur, Accompanist, Baritone.</u> John Clancy received his vocal training from Robert Beare at the Cork School of Music (Ireland) and from Kevin Casey (Melbourne). His experience as chorus member and minor principal in various genres of opera were gained with the following professional or semi-professional companies: Viennese operetta with the select chorus of the Vienna State Opera – Hong Kong, 1977; Spanish Zarazuela with the Lyric Opera of Melbourne – Melbourne 2011; Chamber Opera in the productions of *The Devil Take Her* (Arthur Benjamin) – Gippsland Chamber Opera, Victoria, 1994; and *Gibble Gabble Gobble* (Christopher Wilson) – Bendigo 2018; grand opera with Melbourne City Opera and Milenium Opera – Melbourne 2012 to 2015. John presented many major event concerts in Bendigo from 2005 to 2016, the most notable being The William Vincent Wallace Australian Bicentenary Concerts in Bendigo and Melbourne, to honour that

Irish composer who had lived in Australia during the 1830s. John Clancy also founded the Gippsland Chamber Opera in the early 1990s.

4. Frederick Kelly – Tenor. Frederick Kelly received his early vocal training at the Melba Conservatorium in Melbourne. He subsequently sang some principal roles in Viennese operetta productions in Melbourne. He later studied singing with John Clancy and, among major event concerts in which he sang in Bendigo, are included The Amy Sherwin Commemorative Concert and the William Vincent Wallace Bicentenary Concert.

5. Bryan Milne – Baritone. Bryan Milne received his vocal training from John Clancy and from Dr. Joseph Talia, founder of Milenium Opera, Melbourne. Bryan passed Grade Eight of classical vocal singing with Trinity College London. He has sung in a number of major event concerts organised by Clancy, including the William Vincent Wallace Bicentenary Concert. His operatic studies have covered Mozart, Verdi, and Copland.

6. David Stephensen – Tenor. David Stephensen has been a chorister for forty-three years and a soloist for almost twenty years. He received his vocal training from John Clancy. His chamber opera roles include Carlo in *Gibble Gabble Gobble* (Chester Eagle and Christopher Wilson), the father in *One* (Eagle and Wilson), as well as Maffeo Polo in *Marco* (Judith Clingan). David has performed in opera excerpts from *Hugh the Drover* (Ralph Vaughan Williams), *Treemonisha,* (Scott Joplin), and *Maritana,* (William Vincent Wallace). He has also sung the role of the travelling man in an excerpt from *The Travelling Man* (Lady Augusta Gregory and Fritz Hart).

7. David Steed – Accompanist to the Trio. David is a secondary school teacher based in Bendigo. He is an accompanist with very wide experience, including the Bendigo Youth Choir and the Bendigo Competitions Society. He has accompanied a wide range of musical genres in examinations and concerts. These include classical arias by Mozart, Schubert lieder, and art song by Vaughan Williams, Dowland, and Britten. David has also accompanied excerpts of operas by Puccini, Verdi, Berlioz, and Saint-Saens. In 2018 David Steed accompanied the premiere performance of *Gibble Gabble Gobble* (Eagle and Wilson)

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