

**(RE)SOUNDING CITIES:
URBAN MODERNIZATION, LISTENING,
AND SOUNDING CULTURES IN COLOMBIA, 1886–1930**

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Urban contexts have attracted increasing attention in Ethnomusicology, the History of Science, Cultural and Urban Studies, and sound studies. However, and despite some recent studies focused on the experiences of sound and space in the Global South, the study of urban aural transformation is still restricted to North American and Western European cities. This dissertation contributes to those studies from musicological, sociological, and historical perspectives, studying the processes driving the transformation of the listening and sounding cultures in Colombian cities between 1886 and 1930, a period of early modernization of the country. Through the analysis of documentary sources including the press, maps, musical scores, travelogues, and legislation, this dissertation studies the Colombian postcolonial city as a case that illustrates relevant characteristics and contradictions within postcolonial soundscapes and urban modernization processes, revealing that multiple, contradicting, and changing understandings of sounding and listening were a significant part of the experience of urban modernization that shaped postcolonial cities.

The five chapters of this dissertation explore urban modernization and the transformations of cultures of listening and sounding in seven Colombian cities. By analyzing the semiprivate spaces of salons and ballrooms (chapter 2), the public spaces of squares and parks (chapter 3), the role of musical education and the reconfiguration of musical labor (chapter 4), and the changes introduced by the first forms of mechanical reproduction of music (chapter 5), this dissertation reveals that, while the elites and governmental institutions promoted listening and sounding as a means for establishing social order, the citizens' experiences of urban spaces and technologies

diverged from this instrumental use of sound in ways that transformed sounding and listening into means for contesting the disciplinary logic of the “modern urban space.” Thus, the Colombian case calls into question assumptions about urban modernization as a uniform linear process in which the adoption of technologies tends to create a unique ontology of sound, supported by the logic of technological advance and increased productivity

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Urban musicology and sound studies have focused increasing attention on cities in the twenty-first century, often applying a fieldwork methodology for gathering data in urban environments. Despite some recent efforts to explore the experiences of sound in the Global South (Steingo 2016; Ochoa 2014; Tausig 2016), both fields of study remain predominantly concentrated within the geographies of North America and Western Europe.¹ This interest in “remapping” sound studies has encouraged scholars to extend the field beyond “Western-centered” analysis by studying alternative experiences of sound and listening centered on three main issues: sound’s relationship to technology; sound as a relational experience that connects listeners and “something listened to”; and a nonlinear notion of sonic history, often saturated with contradictions and conflicts.²

This dissertation contributes to a broader understanding of sound studies, urban development, and urban history from such a perspective, by introducing Colombian postcolonial cities as “resounding cities” instead of instances of “the global city” that presents urban experiences of sounding and listening as uniform, lineal, and continuous. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (2010) coined the term “resounding city” to describe the colonial Latin American cities.

¹ As suggested by Gavin Steingo and Jim Sykes, the prominent role played in sound studies by works focused on the historical development of sound reproduction technologies led to an emphasis on histories of technological innovation and progress in the field that privilege such hegemonic narratives (Steingo and Sykes 2016).

² Ibíd.

A resounding city is a space that rises from two superimposed grids: a physical plane and a symbolic plane interpreting the former as a meaningful structure of order. I extend this understanding of the resounding city by introducing Veit Erlmann's notion of resonance as an acoustic and physiological phenomenon that played a central role in both the history of modern aurality and the establishment of the notion of a "modern rationality" (Erlmann 2010).

Thus, I modified the term "resounding city" by placing the "re" in parentheses. By "(re)sounding city" I refer to an urban space where sound and listening connect their physical and imaginary grids in such a way that sound production and listening are transformed into sets of practices echoing the contradictions that exist between the processes of urban modernization as envisioned by elites and institutions and the way in which the urban dwellers experienced the changes of urban spaces in their daily lives. From this standpoint, I argue that in the (re)sounding cities, sound reverberates and resonates with the ideas, values, and tastes of the inhabitants of these built spaces, intertwining the physical and symbolic planes to create and promote experiences of listening that forge—in multiple, and often contradictory, ways—individual and collective identities as well as new notions of the role and nature of urban spaces. This approach also explores the postcolonial city as a changing sonorous space, through a musicological study that presents the transformation of sounding and listening practices as a significant part of urban modernization processes.

Through the analysis of newly discovered documentary evidence from Colombian archives (Appendix A), this dissertation explores the transformation of the cultures of listening and sounding in seven major Colombian cities—Barranquilla, Bogotá, Bucaramanga, Cali, Cartagena, Medellín, and Popayán—between 1886 and 1930, a period of intense urbanization and dramatic political, economic, social, and cultural (re)formation in Colombian history. My analysis presents

sound production, music, and listening neither as exclusively notated texts nor as experienced aural phenomena, but as interwoven social practices, introducing a transdisciplinary perspective that expands the study of soundscapes as “environments of cities and urban residents’ perceptions of those sounds” (Bijsterveld 2013). Hence, this work encompasses musicological, historical, and sociological perspectives to explore sound as a commodity and cultural product embedded in, shaped by, and connected to multiple voices and complex webs of meaning, contributing to a broader understanding of the relationship between the urban experiences of sound and urban modernization, while revealing how politics in postcolonial cities had an actual effect on musicians’ labor and the daily lives of residents.

1.1 THE URBAN SOUNDSCAPE AS CULTURALLY EMBEDDED PRACTICES OF LISTENING

This dissertation turns to the key notion of *soundscape* at a critical moment in scholarly dialogue on humanistic knowledge of urban environments, when this concept offers a theoretical framework that introduces the aural experience while extending intellectual discussions beyond the range of vision-centered construction of knowledge. In his seminal work *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*, R. Murray Schafer (1994 [1977]) describes the soundscape as a listening model that aspires to eliminate the modern separation between humans and nature, connecting sonorous events and environmental thinking. Schafer’s notion of soundscape is charged with ideological and ecological messages about which sounds “matter,”

introducing a long dystopian history that descends from “natural and harmonious keynote sounds” to the “artificial cacophony of modern life.”

Thus, Schafer presents listening as a malleable experience that informs and transforms the way in which humans interact with the things and objects surrounding them. This direct relationship between sound, listening, and the experience of space leads Schaefer to propose a restrictive listening that returns to nature and its key sounds, recreating a soundscape that offers an alternative to the conflictive *schizophonia* that technology introduces when it separates sounds from their natural sources. Despite its ecological bias, Schafer’s work introduced a theoretical framework that presents a dynamic relationship between sound and the social production of meaning, which later became central to academic inquiries in sound studies (Kelman 2010).

Subsequent explorations of urban experiences and forms of technology, from multiple disciplinary perspectives, have contributed to the interpretation of soundscapes as culturally embedded practices of listening. Authors including Steven Feld have extended the study of the relations connecting sound and social production of meaning by introducing the perspective of cultural anthropology. Feld introduced the term *acoustemology*, a word that conjoins “acoustic” and “epistemology,” to describe a field that theorizes sound as a way knowing. From Feld’s perspective, sound is an active agent in the production and circulation of knowledge that involves listening and sounding as means for establishing relations in cumulative processes that create ontologies based on relational experiences (Feld 2001, 2012 [1982]).

Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2014) also considers sound and listening as intertwined epistemological mechanisms that participate in the construction of knowledge. In her work, Ochoa Gautier studies postcolonial Colombia in the nineteenth century, focusing her attention on the

listening practices of the *letrados* (lettered elites)³ and how they influenced the configuration of the public sphere and the legal system during the early postcolonial years in the country. Thus, for Ochoa Gautier, listening had epistemological implications because it is an instrument for establishing a series of binary oppositions, including the indigenous and the non-indigenous person, the literate and the popular, and the traditional or “pure” versus the modern and national. For an era before sound recording, Ochoa Gautier conceptualizes the written word as a “technology of sound inscription” that offers registers of listening while revealing how sound informs the construction of knowledge.

Meanwhile, authors such as Emily Thompson (2002) and Jonathan Sterne (2003) have enriched this discussion by turning their analyses to cities and considering how human activity introduces transformations in space that prompt newer notions of sounding and listening. Sterne’s and Thompson’s work conjoins history of science and sound studies to illustrate how the modernization of European and American cities introduced new technologies and architectural transformations that became key agents in the shifting ways in which humans establish relations between space and sound in urban contexts. Finally, authors like Samuel Llano (2016) have directed their attention to the way in which these relational experiences produce contrasting cognition of urban spaces. In his study of nineteenth century Madrid, Llano points out that music, as one of the main components of the urban soundscape, has the capacity to transform the ways in which the citizens perceive, experience and engage with the city. Therefore, sounding and listening

³ Ángel Rama’s (1984) analysis of postcolonial Latin American cities introduced the notion of literacy as an instrument of power that the Latin American elites, mostly “white criollos” descendants of Iberians, used to extend forms of social organization and exercise control over public administration and institutions. All translations of Spanish are by the author. Key terms, names of periodicals, and titles of works will be written in italics with the translation following them in parentheses when necessary. Longer quotes and citations are translated to English and their original Spanish texts presented as footnotes.

support aural ontologies that can be used to produce forms of collective identification that are encompassing enough to guarantee social order or contribute to social disorders.

Thus, technology becomes a tool in a broader repertory of strategies that, as pointed out by Sophie Arkette (2004), the inhabitants of cities use to develop “techniques of listening” to urban sounds. However, these approaches also posit some intriguing questions: What does technology mean in urban centers located on the periphery of centers of technological production? If listening and sound are means of constructing knowledge, how does sounding participate in such a process? Is technology an issue that just involves prosthetic artifacts of sound recording and reproduction, or could it also refer to forms in which knowledge is transmitted and represented through different accounts of experiences of sound? Are these listening strategies uniform or do they echo the series of binary oppositions presented by Ochoa Gautier? How do sound and listening participate in the contested nature of urban spaces that characterize postcolonial cities in Colombia?

This dissertation addresses these questions by examining the historical record of the urban soundscapes and understanding listening and sounding as shifting historical phenomena, whose transformation produces ontologies of sound that characterize both specific social groups and the multiple interactions between them. Hence, in this dissertation I argue that listening and sounding are expressions of culturally embedded practices that transform the cities into performative sites, where individuals and institutions interact through networks of sonorous activity that shape multiple experiences. In turn, these experiences produce different spaces in which individual and collective identities are created and recreated in multiple and often contradictory ways that echo a

dystrophic and conflicted modernity.⁴ Therefore, sound and listening became instruments that different social groups and institutions simultaneously used to claim control over urban spaces or to resist such control, producing conflicted experiences that were registered through the written word (Ochoa 2014).

I located these contemporary written accounts of sounding and listening by analyzing published articles or notes in pamphlets and periodicals, travelogues, as well as unpublished letters and law enforcement reports held in personal collections and public archives in Colombia. These texts comprise a valuable register of how people in their daily lives experienced the changes introduced into their soundscapes by urban modernization in general, and the new technologies of sound production, recording and reproduction in particular. They reveal interactions, exchanges, and conflicts at both institutional and individual levels that connected establishments, musicians, and listeners to their environments.

These accounts reveal alternative ontologies of sound that created and transformed local practices of listening and sounding. Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* helps to interpret such practices of listening and sounding through urban musicology, ethnomusicology, sound studies, and sociology, seeing them as significant aspects of human behavior (Rice 2015). In Bourdieu's model, *habitus* is the way in which body, mind and emotions are simultaneously trained, establishing representations of social status, moral values, and class position that become embodied every day. A salient element of Bourdieu's notion of the *habitus* is the relationship

⁴ As explained by Néstor García Canclini (1990), Latin American modernity was characterized by a modernization with a limited expansion of the market and a renewal of ideas that had little impact on social processes. This maladjustment between modernity and modernization was beneficial for the elites because it strengthened and perpetuated their hegemonic position and control over structures of power, public administration, and means of production.

between habitus and *practice*. Practice can be understood as the interaction that tends to inculcate and reinforce cultural knowledge and behavior in interdependent ways (Bourdieu 1984 [1977]).

When this interaction is considered as an ongoing process, listening and sounding become means for constructing subjective and collective identities by creating and recreating experiences that transform urban spaces into places and vice versa. As suggested by Yi Fu Tuan (2011 [1977]), in contrast to the openness and freedom of movement that characterize the spaces, places are delimited containers of meaning, the latter of which is constructed through the individuals' senses in such way that they establish relationships among bodies, objects, locations, values, and feelings that construct and recall memories. This interaction between body, mind, and affect ultimately locates place and space as different but complementary components of the “lived world.”

From this perspective, I argue that soundscape accounts for the relationship between the individual experience and subjectivity within physical and socio-cultural contexts by promoting changes in the habitus. That is, the incremental process of constructing places from spaces triggers an interaction among individual and collective senses, bodies, and memories in which affective minds mold experiences into symbols and then mold symbols back into experiences through meaningful acts. Thus, I consider that sounding and listening are practices that shape experiences of urban modernization processes, which simultaneously cast and are shaped by the social, political, and economic significance of cultural objects used by specific social groups in different, and often contradictory, ways. In order to illustrate these dynamic sets of sonorous and aural relations connecting habitus, practice and experience with place and space, this dissertation focuses attention on Colombian postcolonial cities as case studies.

1.2 COLOMBIAN CITIES AS POSCOLONIAL URBAN SOUNDSCAPES

In postcolonial Colombian cities, the dynamics of discipline and negotiation operating between individuals and institutions were crucial to shaping the urban soundscape by forging both the categorization of sounds and the networks of musical creation, circulation, and consumption. The relative autonomy of several Colombian regions under the federal state model implemented by the liberals between 1863 and 1873 reinforced the position of the regional elites,⁵ distributing urban modernization and industrialization among several cities instead of in one central metropolis. However, in 1886 a new Colombian constitution was enacted that marked the triumph of *La Regeneración* (The Regeneration), a political movement led by Rafael Núñez and Manuel Antonio Caro, which joined conservatives and moderated liberals in opposition to the model of the federal republic. This new constitution imposed a model of centralist public administration and economic protectionism, which led to what is known as the *Hegemonía Conservadora* (the Conservative Hegemony), an uninterrupted series of conservative governments that shaped the country and its institutions until 1930, when the liberals took control for the first time in the twentieth century (Posada Carbó 2002).

As indicated by Eduardo Posada Carbó (2015), between 1886 and 1930 Colombia experienced a period of political transition marked by dramatic contrasts. After the enactment of

⁵ In this dissertation, I understand the concept of “elites” as it is presented and developed by Juan Camilo Escobar Villegas (2009). By contrasting the works of Antonio Gramsci, Charles Wright Mills, Thomas Burton, Jacques Julliard, and Bernard Guillemain, Escobar Villegas defines elites as “minorities of a given population that have influence over the whole social group to which they belong.” As explained by Villegas, the elites’ power is not constrained by wealth; it also involves racial, intellectual and political aspects that allow them to exert ideological and cultural influence over a majority that obeys them, whether willingly or unwillingly.

the new constitution, the country experienced noticeable institutional instability that led to *La Guerra de los Mil Días* (the War of a Thousand Days), the largest and bloodiest civil war the country experienced in the nineteenth century. This conflict ended in 1902 with the intervention by the United States and the independence of Panamá. Meanwhile, the Catholic Church recovered a position of noticeable political and cultural influence thanks to the concordat of 1887. After the short dictatorship of Rafael Reyes (1904–1909), the country returned to republican life and experienced increasing institutional stability.

The war also promoted an internal migration that, ironically, contributed to the future economic growth by extending the Colombian agricultural frontier, which led to the spread of the coffee crop in regions like Antioquia and Caldas, as well as of sugar cane plantations in the Cauca Valley. The exportation of coffee, bananas, leather, gold, oil, and other products inserted the country into a globalized economy, creating a flux of international exchange, which, added to international loans and the twenty-five million dollars that the United States government paid as indemnification for Panamá's independence, enabled the Colombian government and the local elites to create new institutions like the Banco de la República, the central bank of Colombia. This wealth also funded new infrastructure and early processes of industrialization in Colombian cities.

Hence, although centralist policies reinforced the position of Bogotá as the capital of Colombia, commercial and inceptive industrial activities positioned new urban centers like Medellín, Cali, and Barranquilla for stronger roles in the national economy and politica life of the country. Meanwhile, colonial centers like Santa Fé de Antioquia, Cartagena, and Popayán lost a part of their power and influence. In addition, the importation of commodities introduced musical instruments and devices for mechanical reproduction of music to these urban centers, and the

processes of industrialization and the system of plantation in some regions promoted processes of internal migration that created a new labor class in the nation.

However, while other Latin American countries' liberal elites led the early process of state modernization, in Colombia a conservative elite drove this process (Martinez 2001). In the absence of a *caudillo* (strong man), such as Porfirio Díaz in Mexico or Antonio Guzmán Blanco and Juan Vicente Gómez in Venezuela, these conservative urban elites found alternative means for establishing their hegemonic position, often relying on the strong influence of institutions, such as the Catholic Church—which recovered its political influence after the privileges that the Colombian government gave it in the concordat in 1887⁶—and on collective bonds among peers established by family, business, and class identity (Appelbaum 2003). As will be explained in chapters 2, 3, and 4, the necessity of such bonds led the urban lettered elites to develop a series of sonic markers of distinction, cosmopolitanism, and whiteness that became crucial to the foundation of a community of peers. In this context, sounding and listening became means for validating and guaranteeing both social class distinction and control over subaltern social classes.

In addition, in comparison with Western European countries and the United States, the forces behind urban modernization—industrialization, immigration, the insertion of the local economy into a global market, and the introduction of new technologies—arrived late to Colombia,

⁶ The Catholic Church had a significant influence in the political and social life beginning in the colonial era. However, between 1863 and 1886 liberal governments introduced aggressive policies that aimed to secularize education and establish a clear separation between the institutions of the state and the Church. The conservatives, historical allies of the Catholic Church, supported a new concordat in 1887. This new treatise between the Colombian government and the Vatican debunked the secularization of the state and offered major benefits to the Catholic Church like the recognition of Catholicism as the official religion of the Colombian state, tax exemption of the properties owned by religious communities, tax benefits and support of local authorities for religious communities that opened Catholic schools, and mandatory public-school classes on Catholic religion and morals, among other benefits (Jaramillo Sierra 2013).

fostering urban growth during the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. Because Colombia's story of urbanization is unique, this study stands to offer greater nuance in the ways to approach sound studies and urban musicology in Latin America and the Global South, analyzing processes of urban modernization inflected with interactions that involved the appropriation, adaptation, and reinterpretation of technologies, sounds, and uses of urban spaces.

Scientific research and technological innovation informed the ontology of sound in cities like London, New York, and Boston (Thompson 2002; Sterne 2003; Picker 2003). In contrast, in Colombia and other Latin American countries, the philosophies of using and experiencing sound were focused on the ordering of the city and the disciplining of citizens, which aspired to establish a model of thought and customary practices to be used as instruments of order (Landaeta and Espinoza 2015). This process was developed in a social context where the institutional inheritance of a Spanish colonial power determined a particular system of governance and social class structure. Beginning in the colonial era, Colombian local authorities and elites envisioned cities as centers from which to spread "civilization," promoting an ordering of space, time, and behavior (often through legislation) that aimed to establish the regularization and control of the residents' behaviors in urban spaces (Waismann 2005).

This top-down model ascribed a civilizing function to urban spaces, leading to an official interpretation of the role of new technology as means for promoting both social order and civilization in the city. By the same token, this model introduced a listening regime that regarded

music as a mechanism for transforming citizens into docile bodies⁷ while at the same time treating certain other sounds as noises and contemptible expressions of “barbarism.” In short, sound and listening became embedded in a broad *civilizing project* that reinforced the hegemonic position of the urban lettered elites. However, the processes of appropriation and adaptation of former forms of subaltern social groups’ habitus to new technologies and sonorities also transformed sound and listening into powerful tools for questioning and resisting such civilizing discourse.

Norbert Elias’ notion of the “civilizing project” encompasses three different dimensions: (1) political, as a process that concentrates the monopoly of legitimate violence and fiscal control in the state and its institutions, entailing the establishment of social configurations that transform some forms of physical violence into symbolic violence; (2) sociological, through the introduction of interdependent social relations; and (3) psychological, through the establishment of new relations between internal and external coercion of the subjects that promote an increasing self-control of behaviors, shaping subjective individualities while differentiating both individuals and collectivities. Ultimately, these three different dimensions converge to produce self-restraint and predictability of behavior, facilitating the long-term planning required to set the conditions for Western modernity (Elias 2000 [1939]).

Codes of etiquette and good taste were central to the civilizing process. As explained by Elias, changes in behavior from the sixteenth century forward formed a courtly class and extended the power of central courts in the European societies. Thus, the symbolism of the etiquette reflected the internal hierarchy of the court by expressing the changes in both the status of the members of

⁷ As theorized by Michel Foucault, docile bodies are the result of disciplinary institutions, which display disciplinary practices that harness the body and make it work together in such way that it can be subjected, used, transformed, and improved (Foucault 1995 [1975]).

the nobility and their proximity to the king, the main figure of power (Elias 2006 [1969]). By the same token, in postcolonial Colombia specific notions of etiquette, urbanity, and acceptable behavior were crucial for the formation of class identity and belonging among the urban lettered elites, transforming good deportment and aesthetic taste into expressions of properness and adequate education that allowed the actively participation of the members of distinguished families to control the structures of power and the public administration.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the social, economic, and political organization of the cities still were attached to colonial relations of power (for instance those based on race) in Colombia. As a result, the “civilizing project,” as Elias would describe it, was transformed into I would call a “disciplining project” that the local elites embraced while aiming to shape a “modern city.” This transformation was possible because, as theorized by Foucault, disciplining is a process that coerces individuals into accepting the standards of behavior that they believe constitute a norm (Foucault 1995 [1975]). This turn from “civilizing” to “disciplining” facilitated the Colombian local elites’ hold on a hegemonic control over institutions, while setting the proper conditions for textualizing and re-textualizing sound and listening as instruments in a *dispositif*⁸ that introduced, channeled, and reinforced hegemonic notions of urban space, citizenship, and personhood.

I argue that in postcolonial Colombian cities, the changes in urban habitus involved interactions with practices that either promoted or controlled specific behaviors, delineating the forms that those interactions could take. This process also promoted transformations in behavior

⁸ Foucault’s notion of *dispositif* (apparatus) describes a multimodal ensemble of means for controlling people that produces singular processes of unification, totalization, verification, objectification, and subjectification (Faubion 1997).

and taste that further reconfigured the habitus of urban dwellers, who aspired to ownership of certain urban spaces while claiming membership to specific social groups. As a result, individuals acted as promoters, antagonists, participants, and receptors of changes in the practices within the cities. From the perspective of this dynamic theoretical framework, the Colombian case also calls into question assumptions about urban modernization as a uniformly linear process within the Global South, in which the adoption of technologies developed in the Global North tends to create a unique ontology of sound that is supported by the logic of technological advances and higher productivity. My dissertation resists such a linear narrative and studies these cultures not as instances of a monolithic “exotic other”; rather it directs its attention to postcolonial soundscapes whose characteristics and contrasts reveal contradictory urban modernization experiences, as reflected in the ways they transformed the cultures of sounding and listening within Colombian cities.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

This dissertation’s four core chapters—each employing different but related perspectives—explore urban modernization and the transformations of cultures of listening and sounding in seven major Colombian cities. Chapter 2, “Salons and Ballrooms: Cosmopolitanism in Private and Semiprivate Spaces,” studies spaces that conjoined private and public spheres, where the local elites established a regulated interaction, usually controlled by the rules of culture and good taste (Sanz 2016). This connective nature transformed salons and ballrooms into semiprivate spaces where local elites articulated their visions of the private and the public spheres, often using music

and dance as means of fostering social interaction among peers, especially between women and men (Millán and Quintana 2012; Skinner 2016), while adopting and promoting series of behaviors that relied on shared understandings of gender, social class, taste, distinction, and race.

These sets of behaviors also transformed the salons and ballrooms into artificial environments where a clear set of rules and conventions, often described as *buen tono* (good taste), controlled social interaction. *Buen tono* was an expression used to describe sophistication and certain forms of cosmopolitanism. It was a goal that individuals could accomplish by adopting a series of proper behaviors while cultivating aesthetic taste and sensibility toward beauty. The main aim of *buen tono* was to reveal in an individual's daily life the *pulimiento* (polish) that education in the school, church, and home provided (Pino Iturrieta 2005).

Thus, ballrooms and salons were spaces that became crucial in spreading and promoting the adoption of behavior patterns among Colombian urban lettered elites, often expressed through a series of practices that provided a deep sense of cohesion and belonging to the members of upper social classes. This role of salons and ballrooms as spaces for molding individual and collective social identities turned music into a key sonic instrument for social differentiation in a period when local urban elites were reformulating their own collective identity and aiming for the establishment of shared tastes and values that would distinguish them from both the rural squirearchy and the urban subaltern social classes (Vicuña Urrutia 1996; Miranda 2000; Sanz 2016).

Thus, music also played a prominent role by operating as a medium for bridging multiple discourses of social class and distinction with new ideas about civilization, modernization, and progress. In turn, this process of articulation promoted specific understandings of gender, race, and cosmopolitanism among the urban elites, delineating the forms in which they experienced and understood the value and meaning of space and place in public and private spheres within the

Colombian cities. In this chapter, I analyze these multiple interactions, illustrating how salons and ballrooms were complex spaces that urban Colombian elites used for constructing what Oscar Hernández Salgar (2015) describes as a *mundo de sentido* (world of meaning). This is a network where diverse discourses, sounds, images, and behaviors convey content that reinforces the same idea, producing a multimodal configuration that presents such content as natural and necessary to those who interpret them.

Ultimately, I argue that by the last decade of the nineteenth century, this world of meaning provided a sonorous bridge that created a symbolic geography of sound by introducing a musical repertoire that located “mestizo and white sounds” (embodied by the pasillo) next to European music performed and listened in the salons. In turn, this geography of sound aspired to establish a relation of cultural and racial proximity between the local elites and what they considered to be sources of culture, distinction, and civilization, in a symbolic gesture reinforcing both their hegemonic position and their notions of nation, citizenship, and nationhood, which later were projected onto the processes leading to the transformation of urban public spaces.

Chapter 3, “From the Plaza to the Parque: Urban Public Spaces, Disciplining, and Cultures of Listening and Sound Production,” analyzes how urban elites and institutions introduced these understandings of the role of sounding and listening into the public spaces through a series of changes resulting from the transformation of the *plaza* (colonial town square). The plaza was the focal center from which the city spread into the surrounding areas, as well as a significant locus of social interaction. However, the residents’ experiences of public spaces changed during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when many plazas were transformed into urban gardens that also were known as *parques* (parks). In North American and European cities, many major parks were envisioned and designed as either a sweeping urban forest or geometrically regulated nature; these

models were adapted to the Colombian cities' spatial reality, in which former plazas were transformed into designed gardens within their limited dimensions while still fulfilling the civic function of the urban forest.

Local elites and government leaders envisioned the park as a natural shelter within the city whose benefits could have a doubly positive impact: keeping the citizens, especially the youngest ones, far from corruption and immorality, while offering the citizens the proper leisure that they required to increase their productivity when they returned to daily labor. In this transformation of public spaces, music and listening played pronounced roles. The modernization of military bands and the transition to civic-military and civilian symphonic bands accompanied the transformation of the plaza into the parque, where these ensembles were fixed in time and space through the construction of bandstands and the regularization of their performance schedules and programs. These changes promoted new listening practices during *retretas* (public outdoor concerts), generating new understandings of public culture and the use of urban public spaces within the modern city. Ultimately, local elites used these new listening practices to transform music and sound into a tool to discipline and civilize the citizens, and to promote proper behavior.

The evidence presented in chapter 3 also indicates that musicians played a significant role as “sonic transculturators.” *Sonic transculturation*, a process that implies the introduction of new musical traditions and the dissemination of specific musical repertoires (Ochoa 2006), was one of the main processes that shaped the urban soundscape in Colombian cities.

In chapter 4, “Musicians and Musicianship: Institutionalization, Professionalization, and Transculturation,” I analyze the processes that led to the creation of symphonic societies, musical academies, and conservatories, contrasting them with the eclectic nature of musical labor in the Colombian cities. Thus, while the institutionalization of musical education introduced and

promoted a hegemonic notion of the musician as “artist” based on the transmission of written knowledge and the promotion of the Western Canon, spaces such as cafes and cinemas created a job market whose very nature called into question the division of musical labor between “artists” and “amateurs” embraced by the urban elites and institutions. This contradiction between the elites’ notion of musicianship and the conditions and practice of musical labor ultimately reveals that in Colombian cities the professionalization of musicianship transformed musicians into sonic transculturators, who mediated between contrasting sets of practices and musical repertoires. This phenomenon simultaneously promoted the vernacularization of some academic repertoires and the academization of certain forms of vernacular music, especially after the arrival of the first mechanical forms of musical reproduction (pianolas, gramophones, and radio).

Ultimately, this process indicates that an analysis of music’s role as transcultural art in urban soundscapes can offer new insights into the concept of *mesomúsica* (mesomusic), a term coined by Carlos Vega as an alternative to the binary academic/popular, describing a class of music intended for mass consumption and “functionally designed for recreation, for social dancing, for ceremonies, public acts, classrooms, etc., adopted or accepted by listeners of the culturally modern nations” (Vega 1966, 3). Vega’s theorization of mesomusic suggests that the proliferation of media in the twentieth century fostered the emergence of a new urban cultural class during the first decades of the twentieth century, which increasingly consumed cultural objects as commodities for entertainment and amusement. From this standpoint, the concept of mesomusic has an evident resemblance to the notion of “middlebrow” as developed by Lawrence W. Levine (2009), whose work on American popular culture presents a fluid circulation of cultural objects that established shifting cultural hierarchies, which in turn, are a product of ideologies.

In his analysis, the establishment of a middlebrow culture was a manifestation of the blossoming of a singular notion of “American culture” in the cities of the United States, which was expressed through the consumption of certain literature and theater. By the same token, in Latin American countries like Colombia the circulation and consumption of mesomusic was an urban phenomenon that introduced new forms of socialization and collective listening that were promoted by and entangled with the raising of new urban middle and laborer classes and the reconfiguration of the notion of “popular” and “national” cultures in urban areas. Thus, the circulation and mass consumption of mesomusic simultaneously led to the vernacularization of genres like the zarzuela through the circulation of recordings and the establishment of local musical repertoires recorded as sonic icons of “national” and “popular” music. In this light, transculturation is a process through which the residents of the Colombian cities delineated and experienced the forms that mesomusic took within the urban contexts. Meanwhile, musicianship as transculturation suggests that an analysis of new musical education models introduced in Colombia between 1886 and 1930 could reveal multiple mediations among the academy, oral and vernacular traditions, and the cultural industry.

The information presented in chapters 2, 3, and 4 indicates that in Colombian cities modernization promoted an understanding of sounding and listening that often described the aural experience in terms of an opposition between music and noise, a process that I analyze in chapter 5, “Music, Noise, and Urban Spaces: Mechanical Reproduction of Music and Listening.” Beneath the classification of noise versus music lay an exercise of power that usually reinforced the hegemonic position of the elites (Attali 2011 [1977]). Thus, in urban contexts, the criticism and control of noise were associated with particular practices that implied the control and promotion

of specific behaviors, representing the institutional interest in creating a new urban habitus among local residents.

In this chapter, I consider the role that the Colombian economy played in this process. The early industrialization and the insertion of the country into a global market introduced new musical instruments and forms of mechanical reproduction of music, which had a significant impact on the local cultures of listening and sounding. In his study on mobility and obduracy in South African electronic music, Gavin Steingo (2015) explains that in the Global South technological failure creates particular conditions, tending to generate alternative logics among the sonic experiences. This produces regimes of sound and repertoire circulation that contradict the logic of civilizing discourses presented in chapter 2. Indeed, documentary evidence presented in chapter 3 indicates that the importation of forms of technology, such as new musical instruments and sound-reproduction devices, triggered a process of use and adaptation to local contexts, introducing new forms of sounding and listening that shaped and were shaped by the tastes of these listeners.

Thus, the use of music as an instrument to discipline citizens represents only one aspect of modernization in the urban soundscape that occurred within the Colombian cities. In many urban spaces, the uses of forms of mechanical reproduction of music reveal that listening and sounding were collective experiences that also shaped multiple urban identities quite differently from what the local elites had envisioned. The varied social practices of sounding and listening established new forms of organization around these practices in Latin American and Colombian cities, shaping collective experiences of sound permeated by shifting notions of race, gender, and social class that also delineated differences among the dwellers in varied urban spaces (Andrews 2016).

Because the advanced acoustic isolation technologies available in North American cities were absent in Colombia, much of this control was exercised through legal means and public health

campaigns designed to establish a particular model of citizenship and nationhood. By foregrounding noise's harmful impact on the wellbeing of the citizens, these campaigns fueled a pursuit of a "clean and hygienic" city that reflected a new hegemonic model of "the modern city" inspired by North American examples. However, Colombian subalterns found, in the new technologies and spaces, alternative means for creating and experiencing their own new sonic identities, negotiating and sometimes contradicting the disciplinary logic imposed by the urban elites. Hence, the historical processes that this chapter examines suggest that, in postcolonial cities, the urban soundscape was shaped in equal parts by the residents' dissimilar experiences of the urban modernization process and the multiple ways in which these experiences diverged or converged with the idealized modern city envisioned by the urban elites.

2.0 SALONS AND BALLROOMS: GENDER ROLES, INTERACTION AMONG PEERS, AND COSMOPOLITISM

Ballrooms and salons⁹ were spaces that conjoined private and public spheres and created a liminal space between the domestic and the public worlds (Preston 2011). The family that hosted a social event opened the doors of its house to friends and select groups of strangers (who had to have an adequate education, proper social class, and wealth), which in turn established a regulated interaction between individuals that was usually controlled by the rules of culture and good taste (Sanz 2016). This connective nature transformed salons and ballrooms into semiprivate spaces where local elites articulated their visions of the private and the public spheres, often using music and dance as means of fostering social interaction among peers, especially between women and men, while adopting and promoting a set of behaviors that relied on shared understandings of gender, social class, taste, distinction, and race.

These sets of behaviors also transformed the salons and ballrooms into artificial environments where a clear set of rules and conventions controlled social interaction. In contrast

⁹ As explained by Marcia J. Citron (1993), the salon functioned as a private institution for music making. Citron traced these institutions to seventeenth-century France, when aristocratic women hosted literary gatherings. This form of sociability later spread through Europe during the nineteenth century, becoming markers of cultural capital and distinction among the members of the urban bourgeoisie. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2018) defines a ballroom as “a large room for formal dancing, or a room in which balls are or may be held.”

to urban public spaces, where legislation and governmental institutions enforced the adoption of “proper behaviors” (an issue explained in further detail in chapter 3), in semiprivate salons and ballrooms, invitees and hosts followed these rules of behavior by agreement. Indeed, the members of upper social classes perceived the knowledge of and obedience to such rules as a sign of *buen tono* (good taste), which in turn was prized as a marker of distinction, proper education, and membership to higher social classes. *Buen tono* was an expression used to describe sophistication and certain forms of cosmopolitanism. It was a goal that individuals could accomplish by adopting a set of proper behaviors while cultivating aesthetic taste and sensibility. The main aim of *buen tono* was to reveal in daily life the *pulimiento* (polish) that education in the school, church, and home provided to the individual (Pino Iturrieta 2005).

Thus, ballrooms and salons were crucial spaces in spreading and promoting the adoption of patterns of behavior among the urban elites, often expressed through a series of practices that provided a deep sense of cohesion and belonging to the members of upper social classes. This role of salons and ballrooms as spaces for molding individual and collective social identities turned music into a key sonic instrument for social differentiation. Thus, music was used by local urban elites in semiprivate spaces for reformulating their own collective identity, aiming for the establishment of shared tastes and values that would distinguish them from both the rural squirearchy and the urban subalterns (Vicuña Urrutia 1996; Miranda 2000; Sanz 2016).

Therefore, music played a prominent role as a tool for social reform, operating as a medium for bridging multiple discourses of social class and distinction with new ideas about civilization, modernization, and progress. This process of articulation promoted specific understandings of gender, race, and cosmopolitanism among the urban elites, delineating the forms in which they experienced and understood the value and meaning of space and place in public and private spheres

within the Colombian cities. Furthermore, the ballroom and the salons were spaces for the secularization of musical practice during the second half of the nineteenth century. In these secular spaces, musicians worked and music was produced and consumed beyond the limits imposed on musical practice by the Catholic Church (Sanz 2016).

In this chapter, I analyze these multiple interactions from five different perspectives, which as a whole show how salons and ballrooms were complex spaces that urban Colombian elites used for constructing what Oscar Hernández Salgar (2015) describes as a *mundo de sentido* (world of meaning), that is, a network where diverse discourses, sounds, images, and behaviors convey content reinforcing the same idea while producing a multimodal configuration that presents such content as natural and necessary to those who interpret them. First, I direct my attention to the role that the ballroom played as a space for articulating gender and musical practice under new forms of sociability, casting masculinity and femininity in terms that shaped shared notions of public and private spaces (Skinner 2016).

Second, I study the binder's volume¹⁰ of Ana and Cristina Echeverría, a bound collection of sheet music collected between 1877 and 1888 in Bogotá by two ladies of the lettered elites who lived in Bogotá, but who had cousins, aunts, and uncles living in the Colombian Caribbean and Venezuela who gave part of the music contained in the volume. As indicated by the work of María Clara Vargas Cullel (2004), María Victoria Casas (2013), and Juan Francisco Sanz (2016), collecting music in binder's volumes was a practice that Latin American urban elites adopted during the second half of the nineteenth century, following European models of good taste and sociability. The presence of several binder's volumes in Colombian libraries and private

¹⁰ Binder's volumes are albums of music—sheet collected and bound by their owners (Bailey 2016).

collections¹¹ indicates that this was a practice spread throughout the country. In addition, most of these musical albums belonged to women from distinguished families or musicians and were bound between 1850 and 1930, which suggests a strong relation between notions of gender and musical practice in private and semiprivate spaces.

The Echeverría sisters were members of a family of Venezuelan immigrants that, as indicated above, also had members in cities of the Colombian Caribbean like Santa Marta. Their father was an active member of the lettered elites in Bogotá who often held balls and social meetings in his home. For this reason, the way in which the music in the Echeverría's binder's volume was collected reveals how the transnational networks of production, circulation, and consumption of printed music shaped the tastes and values of the Colombian urban elites in semiprivate and private urban spaces. Indeed, the heterogeneous nature of the sheet music collected in the Echeverría binder's volume offers a valuable insight to the music listened to and performed within Colombian salons and ballrooms during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, while illustrating the changes in musical taste and the main characteristics of the musical repertoire performed in the Colombian salons during this period. Thus, the Echeverría binder's volume indicates that music became a crucial cultural object for the establishment of forms of social interaction that shaped a shared notion of social class identity in postcolonial urban contexts.

Third, I focus on the processes beneath the production and circulation of the sheet music compiled in binders' volumes, suggesting that they reflect the increased value that these documents

¹¹ For example, in her work María Victoria Casas (2013; 2014) studies such documentary sources in the Valle del Cauca through the binder's volumes of Susana Cifuentes de Salcedo and Carmen Vicaría. I also found several binder's volumes in the Centro de Documentación Musical in Bogotá, the Sala de Patrimonio Documental of the Biblioteca Luis Echavarría Villegas, and the Biblioteca of the Instituto de Bellas Artes in Medellín.

acquired as expressions of cultural and symbolic capital. Fourth, I describe how the salon and the ballroom became semiprivate spaces where a community of peers established both collective and individual identities around shared notions of whiteness, cosmopolitanism, and civilization. Fifth, I analyze the role of a particular musical genre, the pasillo,¹² in providing a symbolic geography of sound that aspired to position the local elites closer to what they considered as sources of culture, distinction, and civilization, in a symbolic gesture reinforcing both their hegemonic position and their notions of citizenship and nationhood. Ultimately, this analysis in five sections illustrates that music became a powerful instrument of social reform that conjoined multiple discourses about race, gender, and social class within salons and ballrooms, contributing to the articulation of regional and transnational networks of peers who shared notions of culture and civilization, differentiating the urban elites from both their subalterns and the rural squirearchy.

2.1 LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: GENDERING PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPACES

Balls and other elite social events opened the doors of familial private spaces, transforming the salon into a semiprivate space that was the locus of controlled interactions between the genders in a way that was difficult to experience in public spaces. As a result, the semiprivate nature of salons and ballrooms was crucial for the establishment of new alliances between distinguished families through convenient and profitable marriages. For this reason, music was inserted into a complex

¹² Harry Davidson (1973) described the Colombian pasillo as being a result of a transformation of the European waltz through processes of appropriation that adapted them to local taste, creating a dance with particular characteristics: simple harmonic structure, triple meter, and a faster tempo than the European waltz.

network of behavior, fashion, and taste in salons and ballrooms through practices that molded the way members of the urban elites adapted, constructed, expressed, and experienced masculinity and femininity.

The rules of good taste and etiquette expected in the ballroom and the salon were compiled in the *manuales de urbanidad* (urbanity manuals). As explained by José Orlando Melo, these manuals fulfilled the need for “mutual coordination, and the establishment of common codes of conduct that anticipate the response of others” in cities that were rapidly growing and changing (Melo 1997, 17).¹³ Two influential urbanity manuals used in Colombian schools during the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century were the *Manual de Urbanidad y Buenas Maneras* (Manual of Urbanity and Good Manners) by the Venezuelan Manuel Antonio Carreño (1812–1874),¹⁴ and the *Protocolo Hispanoamericano de la Urbanidad y el Buen Tono* (Hispanic American Protocol of Urbanity and Good Taste) by Tulio Ospina (1857–1921).¹⁵ (Londoño Vega 1997).

Both manuals presented a series of prescriptive rules, resembling the normative language used in codes, laws, and the books used to teach the moral principles of the Catholic Church. These manuals’ sets of rules aimed to discipline the body by establishing series of behaviors in

¹³ “La coordinación mutual, el establecimiento de códigos communes de conducta y la previsibilidad del otro.”

¹⁴ Manuel Antonio Carreño was a Venezuelan musician, teacher, and diplomat who founded the prestigious *Colegio Roscio*. Carreño also was the father of the Venezuelan pianist Teresa Carreño. This manual was published in 1857 and printed many times throughout Latin America.ca.

¹⁵ Tulio Ospina was a politician and engineer, and a member of one of the most prominent conservative families in Colombia (his father Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and his son Mariano Ospina Pérez were Colombian presidents in 1857 and 1946). As other members of his family, Tulio Ospina was involved in political and intellectual activities. For instance, he served as a congressman, founded the Academy of History of Antioquia, and was chancellor of the School of Mines, the first school of engineering in Medellín, and of the University of Antioquia, the oldest and biggest public university in Medellín. Ospina published his manual in 1921.

concordance with a broader civilizing project that local elites adopted and promoted within the Colombian cities. Ultimately, these rules also established gender roles among the members of the lettered elites through a series of norms that differentiated the behaviors of “gentlemen” and “ladies” while controlling the interaction between them. For example, Ospina’s manual indicated that gentlemen were enjoined to follow a model of chivalrous masculinity:

Men should adhere to the following rules: (1) any gentleman must dance at least one piece with any of his lady friends; (2) it is prohibited to enter or even glimpse the *boudoir* [the room where the ladies left their coats]; (3) a man of the world never jeopardizes [the honor of] a lady, even if she wants it, leading her to the less crowded hallways or dancing with her for more than two pieces; (4) nor is he allowed to show familiarity with a lady, taking her handkerchief or fan and playing with any of them; (5) being introduced to a lady imposes on the gentleman the duty of inviting her to dance for one piece, which does not imply any further relationship, since it is the lady who decides whether to continue any future relationship (Ospina 1919, 113).¹⁶

¹⁶ Los hombres deben tener presentes las siguientes leyes sociales: 1. Todo hombre caballero tiene la obligación de bailar siquiera una pieza con aquellas de sus amigas que estén presentes; 2. Es absolutamente vedado entrar, o siquiera asomarse al *bodouir*—habitación destinada a los abrigos—de las señoras; 3. Un hombre de mundo nunca compromete a una dama aunque ella lo deseé llevándola a conversar a los pasillos menos concorridos, o bailando con ella más de dos piezas; 4. Tampoco es permitido demostrar gran familiaridad con una dama tomándole el pañuelo o el abanico, para jugar con aquél...; 5. El ser presentado a una dama en un baile impone la obligación de proponerle bailar una pieza, sin que una u otra cosa establezcan relaciones permanentes, pues corresponde a la dama seguir o no las relaciones en el futuro....

The equivalent to this model of masculinity was what Catalina Reyes and Marcela González (1996) described as “chaste femininity,” which is a model of feminine behavior that adapted European models to local contexts by stressing the Catholic virtues of purity, restraint, obedience, and chastity:

The ladies will follow these useful recommendations: (1) It is frowned upon for a lady to stay seated and talk to a male friend far from the ballroom, and if she wishes to talk, she must stand or walk arm-in-arm with her partner through crowded places; (2) When a lady sings she must wear her gloves and never should turn her back or her face to the audience, instead keeping an intermediate position, avoiding romantic, careless gestures that characterize the operetta singers [...]. Any lady or single woman who values [her honor] will refuse to dance a second time with anyone who holds her too closely while dancing, or who refuses to follow any rule of decorum established for the ball (Ospina 1919, 114–115).¹⁷

These feminine and masculine models established gender roles in ballrooms and salons through a set of rules that any “gentlemen or lady” had to follow to be accepted in such places.

¹⁷ En cuanto a las damas pueden serles provechosas las siguientes advertencias: 1. Es mal visto que la señora o señorita, en vez de bailar una pieza, pase el tiempo sentada, conversando con un amigo lejos de los lugares donde se baila, si desea conversar debe permanecer en pie o paseándose del brazo de su compañero por lugares concurridos; 2. Cuando una dama cante mantendrá puestos los guantes; y no volverá al auditorio, ni la cara ni la espalda, si no que ha de colocarse en una posición intermedia; guardándose con igual cuidado de gestos románticos que de los aires desenfadados de las cantantes de la opereta.... Toda señora o señorita que se estime se negará bailar una segunda vez con quien la haya estrechado fuertemente en la danza, o que deje de cumplir cualquiera de las reglas que el decoro tiene establecidas para el baile.

The differences between the behaviors expected from women and men also underlined the process of differentiation of gender roles in the private sphere. Paradoxically, despite their delicacy, fragility, and apparent subjugation to men, women still had considerable power over the way in which the interaction with men went.

The salon had been a feminine-centered space in Europe since the last decades of the eighteenth century, when women of the upper-middle classes, who often received a good education, carved a cultural and social niche for themselves as hosts of these gatherings. By the nineteenth century, as the urban middle classes acquired new forms of cultural capital, the salon became a form of socialization increasingly associated with the urban bourgeoisie. However, in Colombia these spaces for socialization never achieved the “democratic” character of the American parlors and retained the elitist associations that they had in nineteenth century France; at the same time, Colombian salons did not promote the rigid division between “high music” and “low popular music” established by the German tradition (Citron 1993). The similarity between European codes of behavior among the European bourgeoisie and the rules presented in the urbanity and etiquette manuals of the Colombian urban elites was central in producing a sense of social distinction and collective identity with cosmopolitan undertones.

However, old notions of gender roles informed by Catholic traditions also were adapted to the new forms of socialization, and the control women had over interaction between genders in the semiprivate sphere of the salon was concomitant with their expected role as mothers and moral models for children, which in turn established a binary that delineated two different spheres of social interaction in Colombian cities: a public sphere that remained patriarchal, and a private sphere that was feminized (Skinner 2016). Balls were central to positioning women of the urban bourgeoisie as “queens of the house,” who could decide over some issues in the private sphere but

were subjugated to the will of their fathers, brothers, and husband in public life. As indicated by the Countess of Tramar¹⁸ in *El Trato Social: Costumbres de la Sociedad Moderna en Todas las Circunstancias de la Vida* (Social Etiquette: Manners of Modern Society in All Life Situations):

The government of the salon: The salon is the woman's kingdom, a reign that she must lead with an energetic and light hand. She must provide to any soirée the luxury, brightness, and charm that it requires; her inventiveness must make perfect even minuscule details. The [room's] decoration will depend on her good taste, and she must please herself finding the harmony of forms to create a bright whole, not leaving anything to random chance (De Lamarque de Lagarride 1906, 154).¹⁹

These rules and codes of behavior shaped individual and collective experiences of space by promoting the containment and restraint of the body while ordering objects in such a way that they became signs of social status, taste, and wealth. These rules transformed salons and ballrooms into gendered spaces where the guests performed a series of sex-differentiated and-differentiating

¹⁸Marie-Fanny de Lamarque de Lagarride, who published under the pseudonym "Countess of Tramar," was a member of the French aristocracy. Lamarque is famous for her manuals of urbanity and fashion for a feminine audience. Books like *Le Bréviaire de la Femme: Pratiques Secrètes de la Beauté* (1903), *La Mode et l'Elégance* (1906), and *Que Veut la Femme?* (1911) were translated to English, Spanish, and Italian. These texts were among the most popular treatises of etiquette and urbanity in the Iberoamerican world, and were published as books as well as selections in newspapers and magazines. As other manuals written by De Lamarque de Lagarride, *El Trato Social: Costumbres de la Sociedad Moderna en Todas las Circunstancias de la Vida* was published in 1905 in French as *L'Étiquette Mondaine: Usages de la Société Moderne dans Toutes les Circonstances de la Vie*.

¹⁹**El Gobierno de un salón:** Un salón es el reino de la mujer, reino que ella debe gobernar con mano energética y ligera. Ella debe dar á esas recepciones de alto lujo, el brillo y el encanto necesarios y que su ingenio hará perfectos hasta en sus más mínimos detalles. La decoración quedará a su buen gusto y ella debe complacerse en buscar la armonía de las líneas y no dejar nada al azar, para que el conjunto resulte brillante. [Emphasis in the original.]

practices. This transformation of semiprivate spaces into gendered spaces was a milestone in the process of consolidating patriarchal control over the public spaces that characterized Colombian elites, because, as explained by Sheta M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga (2003), gendered spaces acquire powerful symbolic value when local elites and institutions use these settings strategically to inform identity, and to produce and reproduce asymmetrical relations of power and authority.

Legislation also guaranteed the economic dependence of women on the will of males, reinforcing and reproducing the difference between male-centered public and female-centered private spheres while presenting as natural the subordination of women to the will of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. For instance, the Civil Code of 1873, ratified in 1887, established in Article 182 that “no woman can enter into a contract without the authorization of her husband, nor break any former contract, remit a debt, accept or deny a donation, inheritance or legacy, acquire titles, alienate, mortgage or pawn [goods]” (Congreso Nacional de Colombia 1887, 39).²⁰

The National Constitution of 1886 reinforced this patriarchal control over the public sphere and women’s concomitant economic dependence on and political subordination to male figures. In Section II, Article 15, the new constitution restricted Colombian citizenship to “males over twenty-one years who exert any licit occupation, art, trade, or any other lawful and known means of subsistence” (Gobierno de la República de Colombia 1886, 7).²¹ However, in some cases the presence of women in the public sphere was expected at religious ceremonies and concerts in

²⁰ “La mujer no puede, sin autorización del marido, celebrar contrato alguno, ni desistir de un contrato anterior, ni remitir una deuda, ni aceptar o repudiar una donación, herencia o legado, ni adquirir a título alguno oneroso o lucrativo, ni enajenar, hipotecar o empeñar.”

²¹ “Son ciudadanos los colombianos mayores de veintiún años que ejerzan profesión, arte u oficio, o tengan ocupación lícita u otro medio legítimo y conocido de subsistencia.”

theaters and parks, and sometimes women were accepted by law as paid workers in some fields if they had the authorization of a male. The Civil Code of 1873 also affirmed in its Article 195 that “the authorization of a husband was required in labors such as that of teacher, school director, actress, obstetrician, lodging hostess, and nurse” (Congreso Nacional de Colombia 1887, 41).²²

This list was expanded when modernization processes created new spaces in Colombian cities. This necessitated labor of different skillsets that, according to some authors, did not contradict the “delicacy and sensibility” or the subordination to male figures that characterized the chaste model of femininity promoted in the private sphere:

Women should exert labor in such jobs as in post offices, telegraphic and telephonic companies, retail trade—mainly of trivial and fashionable articles—also teaching little children and girls elementary subjects, keeping public and private offices [as secretaries], singing music composed for feminine voices, whether sacred or secular, and indoor labors (M.F. 1885, 448).²³

As this text illustrates, music was a significant means for introducing the chaste female body to the public sphere by making it audible. However, the relationship between music and chaste femininity also guaranteed that feminine voices obeyed the rules of art and beauty, “taming” them even before any female voice could reach the public urban spaces. In short, a lady could not

²² “La mujer podrá ejercer con la autorización de su marido trabajos como maestra o directora de escuela, actriz, obstetra, recepcionista y enfermera.”

²³ Para las mujeres deberían ser todos los empleos en las oficinas postales, telegráficas, telefónicas; todo el comercio al por menor y principalmente de frivolidades y artículos de moda; toda enseñanza de las primeras letras a niñas y a niños; las porterías y demanderías [sic] de oficinas públicas y particulares; la música vocal, religiosa y profana, concerniente a la voz femenina; las artes menudas que se ejercen a la sombra.

protest or question the authority of fathers, brothers, and husbands, but she could sing or play piano in public spaces. Therefore, rather than being a key that opened the doors of the public sphere to women, music was an instrument that reinforced and naturalized patriarchal control of public spaces.

This was possible because the local elites first adapted to the private sphere of their houses the romantic image of the Victorian “accomplished woman” through social events hosted in their salons and ballrooms, a model that they later projected into the public sphere (Loesser 1990 [1954]). This process implied that salons and ballrooms, and later theaters and churches, became places where ladies expressed their sensibility of beauty and good taste through the practice of an art, but still were attached to the image of the “delicate and chaste woman”:

Miss [Teresa] Lema de Gómez, whose voice still has the freshness, softness, and delicacy that has conquered the audience’s admiration, sang the romance *I Love You* (lyrics by Juan Rafael Llano and music by the maestro Augusto Azzali); and then, the great cavatina from [Verdi’s] *Ernani* [was sung by] the ladies Ana Gómez, María Mendoza, Tulia Mondragón, Ana Lince, Paulina Restrepo, Baptista Mora, Raquel y Matilde Molina, Helena Zea and Saturnina Mejía, students of the School of Santa Cecilia and worthy disciples of Miss Lema de Gómez with their pure, silvery, and artistic voices (Cano 1897, 385).²⁴

²⁴ La señora Lema de Gómez, cuya voz conserva la frescura, suavidad y delicadeza que siempre le han conquistado la admiración de cuantos le oyen, cantó deliciosamente, primero la romanza *Yo te Amo* (letrada de Juan Rafael Llano y música del maestro Augusto Azzali) y luego la gran cavatina de *Hernani*; que las señoritas Ana Gómez, María Mendoza, Tulia Mondragón, Ana Lince, Paulina Restrepo, Baptista Mora, Raquel y Matilde Molina, Helena Zea y Saturnina Mejía, alumnas de Escuela de Santa Cecilia y dignas

Musicianship, especially singing and piano playing, was suitable to the ladies for several reasons. First, playing piano was a creative activity envisioned as a series of delicate and controlled movements that did not expose the female body as openly as dance, while singing implied voice training and the restraint of bodily movements, as suggested by Ospina's above-mentioned words.²⁵ Second, learning music demanded time as well as capital invested in classes, instruments, sheet music, and practice. This in turn added symbolic value by demonstrating the good economic position of a lady's family and the fitness of her education for her future role as mother and housewife.

Thus, the piano increasingly became a prized symbol of status and distinction. The new status of the piano as symbol of social status and accomplished femininity soon introduced a significant change in the soundscape within the private spaces in Colombian cities. During the years that followed Colombian Independence in 1819, the guitar was still popular among the members of prominent families, as illustrated by documentary evidence such as *Carmen Cayzedo's Music Notebook*, also known as *Caicedo's Musical Album*.²⁶ However, plucked string instruments

discípulas de la Sra. Lema de Gómez, ejecutaron con sus voces puras, verdaderamente argentinas y muy artísticamente concertadas.

²⁵ Indeed, as suggested by Heather Hadlock (2000) in her study of the glass harmonica, the pose that the feminine body assumed while performing a musical instrument was crucial for establishing a direct relationship among a musical instrument, sound, and notions of femininity, because it reconciled two potentially contradictory desires: “to hear women making music” while seeing them “in a relaxed and graceful attitude,” which introduced a listening experience that emphasized the sonorous qualities of the musical instrument.

²⁶ Carmen Cayzedo y Jurado (1818–1874) was daughter of Domingo Cayzedo y Sanz de Santamaría, a prominent statesman who fought during the Independence War and became general of the army, congressman, minister of international affairs, minister of treasury, vice-president and president of Colombia in 1830 and 1831. According to María Cristina Fula Lizcano (2012) and Luis Carlos Rodríguez (2014), this music book contains 24 pieces (twelve waltzes, four contredances, two marches, two pasodobles, one schottische, one allegro, one bambuco, and one “Peruvian dance”) that are a valuable register of the music performed, listened, and danced in the salons of Bogotá between 1815 and 1840.

such as vihuelas, bandolas, and guitars had two characteristics that conflicted with the aims for social distinction and differentiation of both subaltern social classes and elites from the former metropolis, which local elites aspired to promote within the salon after Colombian independence. First, these musical instruments were widely used by members of lower social classes in urban and rural areas (as depicted by the child's burial scene in fig. 1). Second, they were easily associated with Spain and the colonial past.



Figure 1. *Entierro de un niño en el Valle de Tenza* (detail), Ramón Torres Méndez, ca.1860.

Courtesy Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango. Bogotá.

Thus, the dichotomy between a public patriarchal sphere and feminized private and semiprivate spheres was also defined by which musical instruments were considered “suitable” for

men and women. Those usually played by males in public spaces included plucked-string, woodwind, and brass instruments. In contrast, playing piano—though also done by men—increasingly became associated with women within private and semiprivate spaces. A significant reason is that the piano is not a portable instrument, which in turn constrained the performer's body to the place where the instrument is located, and its bulk as a large piece of furniture hides the body from the gaze of the members of the audience.

Consequently, pianos were suitable instruments for women because they restricted female presence to the private spaces of distinguished families' houses. Ladies learned how to play piano in order to perform not in public spaces like theaters but in private and semiprivate spaces of houses. Thus, pianos allowed women to express delicacy and sensibility while confining their bodies to salons and ballrooms, where they played in front of relatives, friends, and potential husbands. As explained by Doreen Massey (1999), this restricted mobility was a crucial means of subordination that created and recreated both spatial and social control over women's identity while presenting female subordination as natural. Therefore, the piano was an instrument recommended for women because it limited women's mobility in terms of both identity and space.

Women's restricted mobility also informed the standards for measuring their skills when playing the piano. By the end of the nineteenth century, these standards privileged women's ability to perform simple pieces on an expensive instrument while reading music from the score, instead of highlighting outstanding exhibitions of virtuosity or highly developed technical skills. Indeed, the Colombian salon inherited the romantic tradition of virtuosity as a gendered issue, in which musical performance recreated power codes, reflecting socially gendered conceptions of power that limited the exhibition of the feminine bodies on stage while restricting women's musical performance mainly to the private and semiprivate spheres (Kawabata 2004).

Thus, the main goal of any lady playing a piano in a Colombian city was to express her sensibility towards beauty while discretely exhibiting her body in front of the instrument in private and semiprivate spaces.²⁷ These criteria contrasted with the expectations for male piano players, often based on a higher technical proficiency that allowed them to perform pieces often considered as virtuosic, technically demanding, and musically complex. The difference in repertoire between male and female competitors during two piano competitions in Medellín in 1905²⁸ illustrates these different approaches to piano performance. Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 2 in A Major was the main piece in a single-category masculine contest. In contrast, the organizers divided feminine competition in two categories: advanced performers played Clementi's Sonatina Op. 36 No. 1 in G Major, and beginners played Kuhlau's Sonatina in C Major Op. 55 No. 1 (Gaviria Isaza 1905, 62). In both cases the members of the jury were men.²⁹

The pieces collected in musical albums also offer valuable information about the technical skills of female piano players. An example is the pasillo *El Gemido* (The Groan) by Santos Quijano (fig. 2). This pasillo, collected from the musical album of Ana and Cristina Echeverría, has many characteristics that Ellie Anne Duque (2001) and María Victoria Casas (2013) identify in other pieces performed in salons and ballrooms: it is short, in binary form (A–B),³⁰ with a range that

²⁷ This was a phenomenon extended throughout Latin America, as indicated by a text by the Mexican Amado Nervo cited by Ricardo Miranda (2001), in which Nervo affirms that many ladies were just “boxeadoras del piano” (piano boxers) an expression that Nervo used to mock performers who played the piano loudly, stopping constantly, with rhythmic inaccuracies, in such a way that they sounded and seemed rude.

²⁸ The organizer of these piano contests was Henrique Gaviria, politician, violinist, and editor of the newspaper *El Cascabel* (The Rattle) who also was involved in the creation of the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia, the first music academy of Medellín.

²⁹ Germán Posada, Gonzalo Vida, and Jesús Arriola were the judges in both competitions.

³⁰ As explained by Ellie Anne Duque (2001), the ternary form (ABA) that characterizes the modern pasillo was introduced in the early twentieth century through the iconic works of Pedro Morales Pino.

barely exceeds four octaves; it also has a simple tonal harmony where the modulation to the dominant is based on predominant chords (fig. 2, measure 13); and it has a homophonic texture, often with the right hand playing the main melody (fig. 2, red square) and the left hand playing harmony and rhythmic patterns (fig. 2, blue square).

EL GEMIDO
Pasillo
Santos Quijano

Section A: D Major

Section B: A Major

Figure 2. *El Gemido*, pasillo by Santos Quijano, ca. 1860.

Echeverría binder's volume, AR786.2D683. Transcribed from a photograph by Juan Velasquez.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

The differences between the repertoires that men and women performed in the piano competitions and the average technical difficulty of pieces like *El Gemido* illustrate a paradox: although musical education and the ability to play piano became markers of social distinction for women, ladies were not expected to become highly competent musicians who developed careers as professionals who performed in public spaces. Therefore, although a woman singing or playing piano in the theater or the church could be accepted, and her performance even celebrated in newspapers and magazines, to listen to a lady playing music beyond the limits of the private and semiprivate spaces was unusual. In sum, the main goal of musical education for women was not to produce brilliant performances but to reproduce notions about social class, distinction, cosmopolitanism, and whiteness. However, the prominent role that music had in private and semiprivate spaces as a means for promoting social interaction and projecting distinction and good taste also fostered an increasing consumption of sheet music and manuscripts, often collected and preserved in binder's volumes that belonged to the same family for more than one or two generations.

2.2 BINDER'S VOLUMES: CIRCULATION OF TASTES AND REPERTORIES

A binder's volume is a compilation of sheet music collected by performers who selected musical repertoires in vogue. The music bound in these personal collections often was compiled by their owners following the conventions imposed by “good taste” and “fashion,” and was played for individual and collective leisure, whether during gatherings in salons and ballrooms or during free

time at home. Like American and European binder's volumes, the contents of Colombian albums mostly fall into two main categories: solo piano music, and selections for voice and piano (Preston 2011). Thus, they usually contain a selection of solo piano works, songs, arias, operatic adaptations, or any other form of printed score, such as sheet music published locally in periodicals and manuscripts of pieces composed by the owners of the binder's volume or their professors, friends, or family members.

However, when compared with their European and American counterparts,³¹ Colombian binder's volumes differ in three ways: (1) The families that collected the music compiled in these volumes belonged almost exclusively to the urban elites;³² (2) the volumes often contained series of dances and musical airs that became valued as instances of “national music,”³³ such as the pasillo; and (3) they often contained music by Colombian composers. Thus, these volumes were active agents in the circulation of musical repertoires (Slobin et al. 2011), but also are registers of the configuration of a “national mestizo identity” among the urban elites through composition, performance, and listening to certain music genres such as the pasillo.

The variety of contents that is characteristic of Colombian binder's volumes makes them valuable documentary sources, providing information about the nature of musical practice within

³¹ Some American examples are the binder's volumes of Eliza Harwell, Mary Stedman, and Kate Berry (Bailey 2016), and the musical album of Emily Esperanza McKissick (Slobin et al. 2011).

³² As indicated in the work of Candace Bailey, these volumes were “a type of common place book” compiled by young women from different social positions in the American antebellum south (Bailey 2016).

³³ As explained by Jaime Cortés Polanía (2004), in Colombia the multiple interpretations of the notion “música nacional” (national music) fostered an intense debate during the first decades of the twentieth century, when the country was experiencing a reconfiguration of the notions of nation and nationhood amidst the changes introduced by the new political, social, and economic contexts. Beneath this debate, and how it portrays the sonic representations of “colombianess,” lay the opposition between two different types of musical practice: one that privileged an academic approach and another one focused on the popular music and, which I will further develop in Chapters 4 and 5, also conveyed different approaches to issues like mass consumption of music, social class, and the role of new technologies in the promotion of “good taste.”

the private and semiprivate spheres. These volumes allow researchers to infer which musical repertoires were consumed and performed by the members of local elites at home, in salons, and ballrooms, as well as which composers and musical genres were the most popular when the music that they contained was collected. In addition, binder's volumes also reveal how the networks involved in the distribution, production, and consumption of these musical repertoires operated and who participated in them.

A case in point is the musical album of Ana and Cristina Echeverría, preserved at the Sala de Patrimonio Documental of the Biblioteca Luis Echavarría Villegas at Eafit University, Medellín. Ana and Cristina Echeverría, the owners of this musical album, were the daughters of León Echeverría (1830–1888), a Venezuelan printer. Echeverría moved to Colombia with his brothers Jacinto and Cecilio in 1848 when Manuel Ancízar hired him as director of the *Imprenta Nacional* (Loaiza Cano 1999). After arriving in the Colombian capital, the brothers worked in the *Neogranadino Press* founded by Ancízar and later founded and directed the *Imprenta Echeverría Hermanos* (Echeverría Brothers Press), the first vapor typographical press of Bogotá (Imprenta Echeverría 1889).³⁴ His labor as printer and his membership in local Freemasonry connected Echeverría with members of prominent local families, members of governmental institutions, and commercial networks of Bogotá.³⁵

León Echeverría soon became a respected and influential member of the Venezuelan immigrant community in Colombia, and the government of Antonio Guzmán Blanco named him

³⁴ As Explained by Loaiza Cano (199), Ancízar contacted Celestino Martínez (lithographer), Jerónimo Martínez (lithographer), Felipe Ovalles (publisher), and the Echeverría brothers in Caracas. Carmelo Fernández and Pedro Lovera, pioneers of printing and painting in Venezuela, were teachers of the members of this group.

³⁵ Echeverría was a Freemason for more than forty years, and served twice as “Great Commendator” of one of the Freemason lodges in Bogotá (Imprenta Echeverría 1889, 10).

Consul of the United States of Venezuela in Bogotá in 1879 (Secretaría de Comercio y Fomento 1880, 266). This explains why the Echeverría album contains many works by Venezuelan composers such as Jesús María Suárez (1845–1922), Heraclio Fernández (1851–1886), and José Ignacio Bustamante (ca. 1850–1921), among others.

The presence of this Venezuelan sheet music in the album also indicates that the Echeverría family stayed in touch with close relatives, old friends, and colleagues who lived in Venezuela and Caribbean Colombian cities like Santa Marta. Dedications, inscriptions, and autographs in sheet music reveal a wide network of relatives, friends, and colleagues who often sent sheet music that the Echeverría sisters added to their album. For this reason, the album contains music printed by Colombian, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Venezuelan presses, such as the sheet music printed in Caracas by the press of Alfred Rothe (fig. 3) and some issues of the magazine *El Zancudo* (The Mosquito).³⁶

This album illustrates that binder's volumes were luxury goods that also had an aesthetic value. Like other Colombian binder's volumes, some sheet music compiled in the Echeverría volume contains lavish illustrations and gravures. As indicated by Ricardo Miranda, these illustrations accomplished two functions. They contributed to the “embellishment” of the volume, transforming it into an object that had an aesthetic value by itself. In turn, they provided a “visual narrative” that interacted with other discursive aspects of the musical score such as the title,

³⁶ As pointed out by María Antonia Palacios (2011), the musicians Heraclio Fernández and Gabriel José Aramburu were founders and directors of *El Zancudo*, a literary and cultural magazine published in Caracas between 1876 and 1889. This periodical contains a series of critical reviews of operas and zarzuelas, sheet music, and editorial cartoons that offer valuable insight into musical practice in the Venezuelan capital during the period known as “El Guzmanato” (1870–1888).

dedications, and lyrics, providing a metanarrative that guided the interpretation by the performer (Miranda 2001).

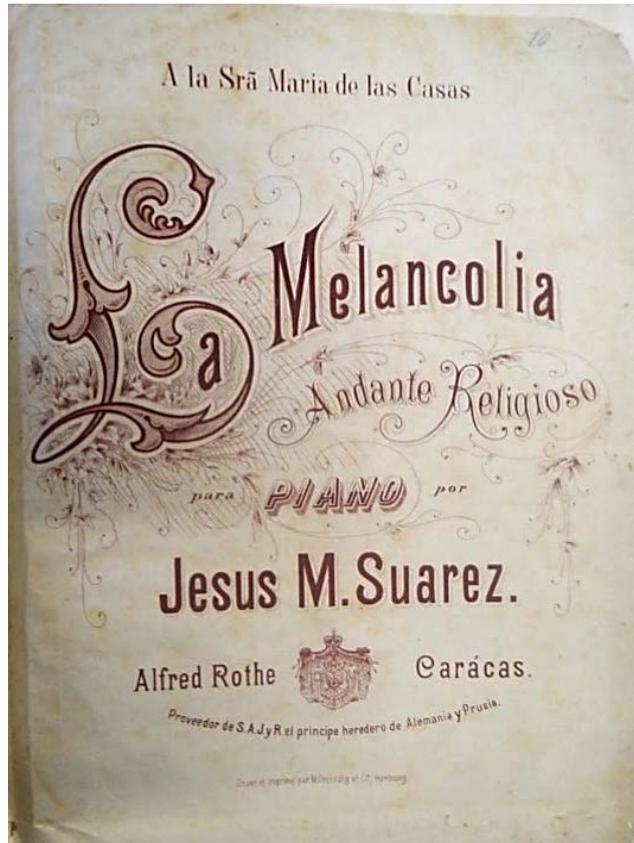


Figure 3. *La Melancolía*, andante religioso by Jesús María Suárez (detail), [n.d.].

Printed by Alfred Rothe (Caracas), Echeverría binder's volume, AR786.2D683.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

This interaction between image and other texts operated as a reference for a “sonorous postcard” that could inform the performance of the player in two different ways. It may recall personal memories of a similar experience or present an idealized image that should be emulated through sound. Two examples are the illustrations on the covers of *Femmes et Fleurs* (Ladies and Flowers) and *Los Niños Desamparados* (The Helpless Children). *Femmes et Fleurs* is a waltz by

Émile Fischer published in Paris by Jules Iochem around 1877; the illustration on its cover (fig. 4, left) depicts five ladies collecting flowers in the countryside, reinforcing the delicacy and pastoral context suggested by the title. *Los Niños Desamparados* is a “sentimental waltz” by Rosa Echeverría published in the lithography of Leon F. Villaces in 1888, whose cover (fig. 4, right) also provides a guide to the character of the piece by depicting two little children and indicating in a note under the name of the composer that the piece is “dedicated to the helpless children,” a term often used to refer to orphans.



Figure 4. Two pieces from the Echeverría binder's volume (details), AR786.2D683.

Femmes et Fleurs (l.), waltz by Émile Fischer, ca. 1877.

Los Niños Desamparados (r.), waltz by Rosa Echeverría, 1882.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

The pieces collected in the Echeverría binder's volume also offer information about the musical repertoire performed in Bogotá's salons during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Data such as publishing dates, handwritten dedications and performance notes, dealer's stamps, and other markings indicate that the pieces of sheet music in this album were collected between 1874 and 1888. The album contains a total of 70 pieces: twenty-two waltzes, fifteen pasillos, six mazurkas, six polkas, five danzas, three operatic paraphrases, two character pieces, an operatic aria, a gallop, a contredanse, a danza-bambuco, a hymn, an impromptu, a march, a minuet, a nocturne, a polka-mazurka, and a song (table 1).

Table 1. *Echeverría binder's volume content.*³⁷

Work	Composer	Genre/ Rhythm	Instrumentation	Type	Publisher/Copyist, City	Year
Fantasie Brillante after La fille du Regiment, Op. 115	Sydney Smith after Gaetano Donizzetti's opera	Operatic paraphrase	Piano	MS copy	Antonio J. Caicedo, [n.p.]	1885
Fanstasie Brillante sur Preciosa	[Ignace] J. Leybach after Carl Maria von Weber's Preciosa	Operatic paraphrase	Piano	Printed	Ricordi, Milan	[n.d.]
Gli Ugonotti: Introduzione ed aria atto II	[Giacomo] Meyerbeer	Opera	Piano and soprano	Printed	Francesco Lucca, Milan	[n.d.]
La Traviata: Divertimento Brillante	[Stefano] Golinelli after Verdi's opera	Operatic paraphrase	Piano	Printed	Ricordi, Milan	[1853]
Pré aux Clrecs: Fantaisie brillante por Piano, Op. 122	[Ignace] J. Leybach	Character Piece	Piano	Printed	Leo Grus, Paris	[1869]
Sans-Souci: Galop de Bravoure Op. 83	[Joseph] Acher	Gallop	Piano	Printed	Florence G. Venturini, Rome	[ca. 1860]
Mandolinata: Fantaisie Quasi Capriccio, Op. 280	[Eugène] Ketterer	Character Piece	Piano	Printed	Schott, Brussels	[ca. 1870]

³⁷ The information presented in this table was collected from the Echeverría binder's volume and complemented with a survey made by the author in Worldcat.

Table 1 (continued)

Simplette: Melodie	Edouard Magner	[—]	Piano	Printed, <i>Die Musikalische Welt</i> , No.7	Henry Litholff, Braunschweig	July, 1874
Le Chevaliers du Guet	Renaud de Vilbac	March	Piano	Printed, <i>Die Musikalische Welt</i> , No.7	Henry Litholff, Braunschweig	July, 1874
Schulmmre Süss!, Op. 260	[Franz Xaver] Chwatal	Nocturne	Piano	Printed, <i>Die Musikalische Welt</i> , No.7	Henry Litholff, Braunschweig	July, 1874
Neckende Geister, Op. 124	Henry Litolff	Impromptu	Piano	Printed, <i>Die Musikalische Welt</i> , No.7	Henry Litholff, Braunschweig	July, 1874
Polka de Salon, Op. 204	Albert Jungman	Polka	Piano	Printed, <i>Die Musikalische Welt</i> , No.7	Henry Litholff, Braunschweig	July, 1874
La Melancolia: Andante Religioso, Op. 2	Jesús M. Suárez	[—]	Piano	Printed	Alfred Rothe, Caracas	[ca. 1870]
La Hoja Volante: Valses [Fliegende Blätter]	[Herman] Fliege	Waltz	Piano	MS copy	[—], [n.p.]	[ca. 1880]
Mazurka	[anon.]	Mazurka	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
[Series of 5 Waltzes]	[anon.]	Waltz	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
La Corona de Hernández	[anon.]	[—]	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Femmes et Fleurs	[Émile] Fischer	Waltz	Piano	Printed	Jules Iochem, Paris	[ca. 1877]

Table 1 (continued)

La Cocinera	[anon.]	Song	Piano and soprano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Ensueños de Amor	Sebastián Diaz Peña	Pasillo	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[s.a]
Qué me duele el corazón	Sebastián Diaz Peña	Pasillo	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Rosita	Sebastián Diaz Peña	Polka	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Mi Retrato	Heraclio Fernández	Waltz	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Así es ella	Heraclio Fernández	Waltz	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Tu Cumpleaños	Heraclio Fernández	Waltz	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Recuerdos del Teatro “Naar”	Heraclio Fernández	Waltz	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Las dos patrias	Rosa Echeverría	Mazurka	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[ca. 1880]
La Gratitud	Rosa Echeverría	Danza	Piano	MS	Rosa Echeverría	[ca. 1880]
La Rosalina	Rosa Echeverría	Mazurka	Piano	MS	Rosa Echeverría	[ca. 1880]
Los Mártires	Rosa Echeverría	Waltz	Piano	MS	Rosa Echeverría	[ca. 1880]
Los Niños Desamparados	Rosa Echeverría	Waltz	Piano	Printed	Litografía de Villaveces, Bogotá	1882
Remember	E[nrique] López O.	Pasillo	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884
Dime que si!	E[nrique L[ópez] O.	Pasillo	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884
El Nuevo Sol de Abril	Julio F. Rojas	Waltz	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884

Table 1 (continued)

Perdón y Olvido	Enrique López O.	Pasillo	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884
Dulces Recuerdos	Enrique López O.	Danza	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884
Me Llega al Alma	[Enrique López O.]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884
El Genio Colombiano	E[nrique] L[ópez] O.	Mazurka	Piano	MS	Enrique López, Barranquilla	1884
Aguedita	Daniel Figueroa	Mazurka	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[—]
Contradanza [in E minor]	J[oaquín] Guarín	Contredanse	Piano	[Printed, Taken from <i>El Mosiaco</i>]	[Litografía de Martínez Hermanos, Bogotá]	ca.1860
Happy Wanderer [Froher Wanderer]	Adolf Jensen	[—]	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Tesoro del Hogar</i>	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Dichas y Penas	Ana E[cheverría]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	Ana Echeverría	ca. 1880
Minue (sic)	Luigi Boccherini, adapted by J. Jimeno.	Minuet	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>La Moda Elegante Ilustrada</i>	Casa editorial de Música de Zozaya, Madrid	June, 1881
A Julia	Pedro D'Achiardi	Pasillo	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
La Morena del Tablón	Daniel Figueroa	Danza-Bambuco	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]

Table 1 (continued)

Mazourka [sic]	S.V.Q	Mazurka	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
El Califa	José Suarez	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Pasillo	[anon.]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Le Reveil des roses, from Novelle suite de valses	Camille Schubert	Waltz	Piano	MS copy	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
El Solsticio	[anon.]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Pasillo	[anon.]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
El Gemido	Santos Q[uijano]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
El Ausente	anon.	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
María al pie de la Cruz	Ygnacio E. Bustamante	[—]	Piano	Printed	Litografía de Félix Rasco, [Caracas]	1882
Mi Triste Suerte	J[osé] M[aría] Ponce de León	Waltz	Piano	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Himno del Niño al Despertar	[anon.]	Hymn	Piano and two voices	Printed	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Adelaida	[anon.]	Polka	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
El Adiós	[anon.]	Pasillo	Piano	MS	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
El Recuerdo	[anon.]	Pasillo	Piano	Manuscript	[—], [n.p.]	[n.d.]
Esmeralda	Miguel Mulet	Polka	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	September 3, 1881
L'Ideal D'un Rêve D'Or	Ignacio E. Bustamante	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	September 29, 1882

Table 1 (continued)

Souvenir	Pedro L. Planas	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	November 12, 1881
Heliotropo	Résulo Pomino	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	November 12, 1881
Dulces Recuerdos	Ignacio E. Bustamante	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	November 29, 1881
Esquina de Colón	R. Delgado P.	Danza	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	November 29, 1881
Los Ecos de tu Voz	J[uan] V[icente] de Aramburu	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	December 10, 1881
Yedra	Résulo Pomino	—	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	December 22, 1881
El Expósito	Carlos Jácome	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	December 29, 1881
El Dedo Blanco	Eduardo Díaz	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	December 29, 1881

Table 1 (continued)

Ondas y Brisas	J[osé] M[aría] Suárez	Polka-Mazurka	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	February 13, 1876
Los Amapuches de Ñico	F. M. Tejera	Danza	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	February 13, 1876
El Veleidoso	Rogerio A. Caraballo	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	February 20, 1876
No me Olvides	Manuel E. Hernández	Polka	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	March 5, 1876
Amor y Lágrimas	Luisa Uslár de Lugo	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	April 3, 1876
La Juventud	Manuel F. Azpurúa	Polka	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	May 14, 1876
Un Recuerdo	Isabel Z. de Velásquez	Waltz	Piano	Printed, excerpt from <i>El Zancudo</i>	[Heraclio Fernández], Caracas	June 4, 1876

As in other binder's volumes compiled during this same period, such as those of Susana Cifuentes de Salcedo and Carmen Vicaría,³⁸ the waltz is the main musical genre (29% of the album's contents), followed by the pasillo (21%), polka (9%), mazurka (8%), danza (6%), and adaptations of operas and operatic fantasies (5%). My count of the different genres, shown in fig. 5, also indicates the prominence of waltzes and pasillos, which confirms that after 1860 both musical genres replaced the contredanse³⁹ as the most popular dance form within the ballrooms of Bogotá and other Colombian cities (Duque 1998; Casas 2010).

In contrast to the contredanse, which requires a group of at least four dancers, the waltz and the pasillo are dances for couples (Sanz 2016). In the waltz there is closer contact between the dancers' bodies than in the contredanse, although the choreography still limits the movements and controls the nature of this physical contact. Thus, the transition from contredances to waltzes and pasillos as more fashionable musical genres in salons and ballrooms also contributed to the establishment of collective identities, mainly by promoting a form of social interaction where restraint and gallantry revealed shared codes of behavior, which aimed to regulate even the sentimental lives of men and women: "At the ball is where sympathetic meetings that lead to marriage are often held, maybe because, as [I] explained before, there are more opportunities [for the participants] to acquire some intimate knowledge [of each other] during them" (Colombina 1907, 2).⁴⁰

³⁸ Maria Victoria Casas made two studies of these binder's volumes, which still belong to Salcedo's and Susana Caicedo's descendants (Casas 2013, 2014).

³⁹ As explained by Juan Francisco Sanz, the presence of the contredances in Latin American ballrooms and salons was registered in travelogues and chronicles as early as 1726 and was quite popular in the cities of the Nueva Granada by the end of the eighteenth century (Sanz 2016, 13).

⁴⁰ "En los bailes es donde con más frecuencia se realizan uniones de simpatía, que acaban con el casamiento; tal vez porque, como decía antes, es donde se encuentra mayor ocasión de conocerse con intimidad."

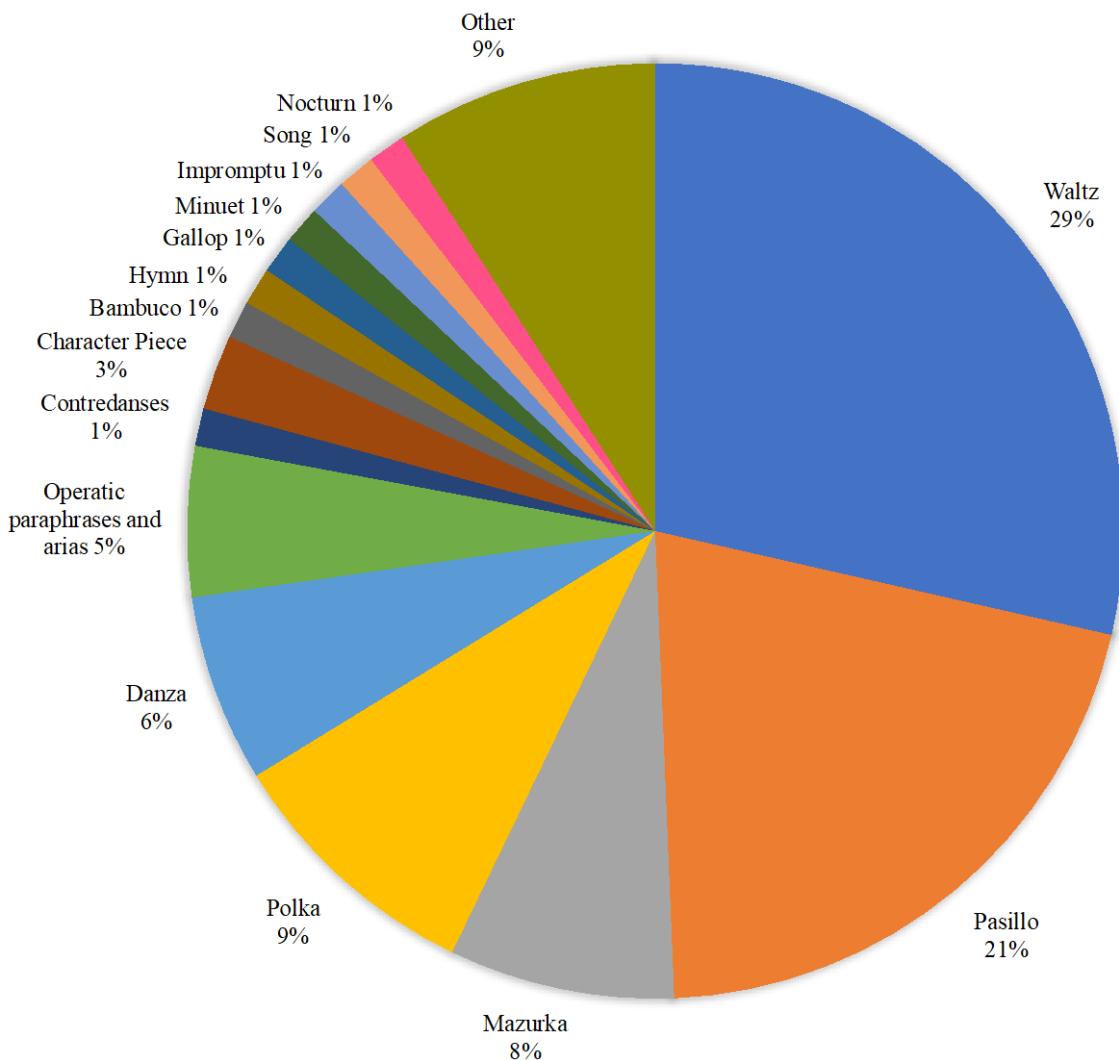


Figure 5. Percentages of the main musical genres in the Echeverría binder's volume.

In turn, this change reveals that dance increasingly became a means of controlling and educating the body. From this standpoint, dance shaped subjective and collective experiences of space in contexts where, as indicated above, mixed gender socialization was central to the creation both of ties that could lead to convenient marriages in the future and of a sense of belonging to the same social class. For this reason, sponsors of balls promoted them as contexts where choreography imposed both predictability and limits to the contact among bodies, regulating and sublimating physical contact between men and women.

Thus, collecting and selecting pieces for binder's volumes are processes that reveal as much about the collectors' taste as they do about the networks around them. The contact between colleagues and members of the "extended family," such as cousins, uncles, and aunts who lived in other cities, nourished the musical repertoire in the album and was crucial for both the creation and consolidation of commercial networks that facilitated the arrival of new goods and the circulation of new ideas and tastes. In addition, the presence of sheet music locally printed in these binder's volumes offers valuable insight into the networks beneath the production, distribution, and consumption of such documents in a country that did not have a musical printing industry.

Indeed, the heterogeneous contents of the Echeverría album also offer valuable information about the circulation of musical repertoires, and how this process reveals transregional and transnational networks that connected different urban elites. Like other musical albums, the Echeverría binder's volume contains a significant number of works by Colombian and Latin American composers that either were printed throughout the region or collected as manuscript

transcriptions.⁴¹ Thus, as suggested by Deane L. Root (2011), the presence of local publishers within the binder's volumes makes them a valuable source for researchers interested in local music sheet publishing.

2.3 INK ON PAPER: MUSIC PUBLISHING AND CONSUMPTION OF SHEET MUSIC

As do other binder's volumes, Echeverría's album illustrates how the consumption of sheet music generated networks of production, trade, and consumption of printed music that became agents in the circulation of musical repertoires. The simultaneous presence within the same volume of sheet music printed in Colombia and Europe, manuscript copies of printed documents, and manuscripts by local composers reveals that the circulation of music and the particular conditions of local production and consumption of sheet music often resulted in local binder's volumes simultaneously containing scores that represent the four types of printed musical documents as described by Roger Chartier (2000): printed sheet music produced at industrial scale, engravings (such as photogravures, chalcographs, and lithographs), movable type presses, and manuscripts.⁴²

⁴¹ Documentary evidence suggests that manuscript transcription from printed works was a common practice in Colombia. For instance, Carmen Vicaría's musical album contains a transcription of the Waltz "Sobre las Olas" by the Mexican composer Juventino Rosas (1864–1898) (Casas 2013).

⁴² Chartier also suggests that it is possible to differentiate at least three different classes of printed documents related to music: sheet music, which just contains notated music; a mixture between sheet music and written word; and written word referring to musical lyrics. As I will explain in chapter 4, these printed documents, especially the last type, are associated with networks of distribution in which oral traditions and the mechanical reproduction of music played a prominent role.

Sheet music compiled in Colombian binder's volumes also indicates the role that local representatives and traders played as mediators in the introduction of musical repertoires. Bookstores and local traders offered sheet music in newspaper and magazine announcements. For example, two advertisements published in the newspaper *Progreso* in 1893 informed readers that the bookstore of Carlos Molina, one of the main bookstores in Medellín between 1880 and 1910, offered a “wide variety of music for piano, violin, flute, and singing,” and instructional material for instruments, such as Carl Czerny’s “Practical Method for Beginners on the Pianoforte Op. 599” (fig. 6).

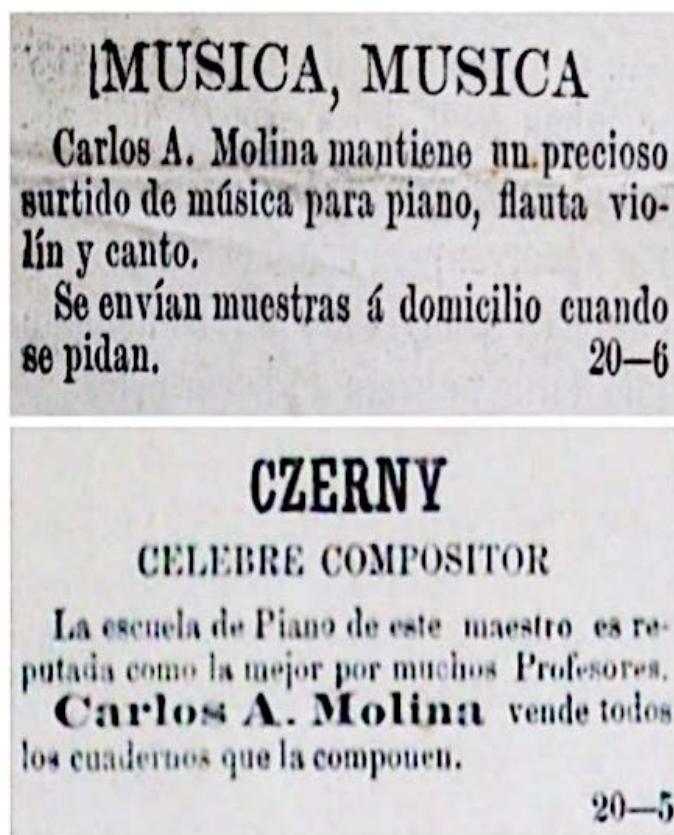


Figure 6. *Newspaper advertisements of Carlos Molina's bookstore, 1893.*

El Progreso, No. 3, pp. 229 and 231, June 3.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

In some cases, seals and stamps on imported sheet music provide valuable information about local traders. For instance, Echeverría's volume contains a musical score of the “Fantasia Brillante pour Piano sur Carl Maria von Weber’s Preciosa, Op. 205” by Ignace J. Leybach. This musical score, published by Ricordi in Milán, has a stamp in the lower right corner of its cover that indicates that the Echeverría family bought it at the shop of Pedro Pablo Calvo U[maña] in Bogotá (fig. 7).

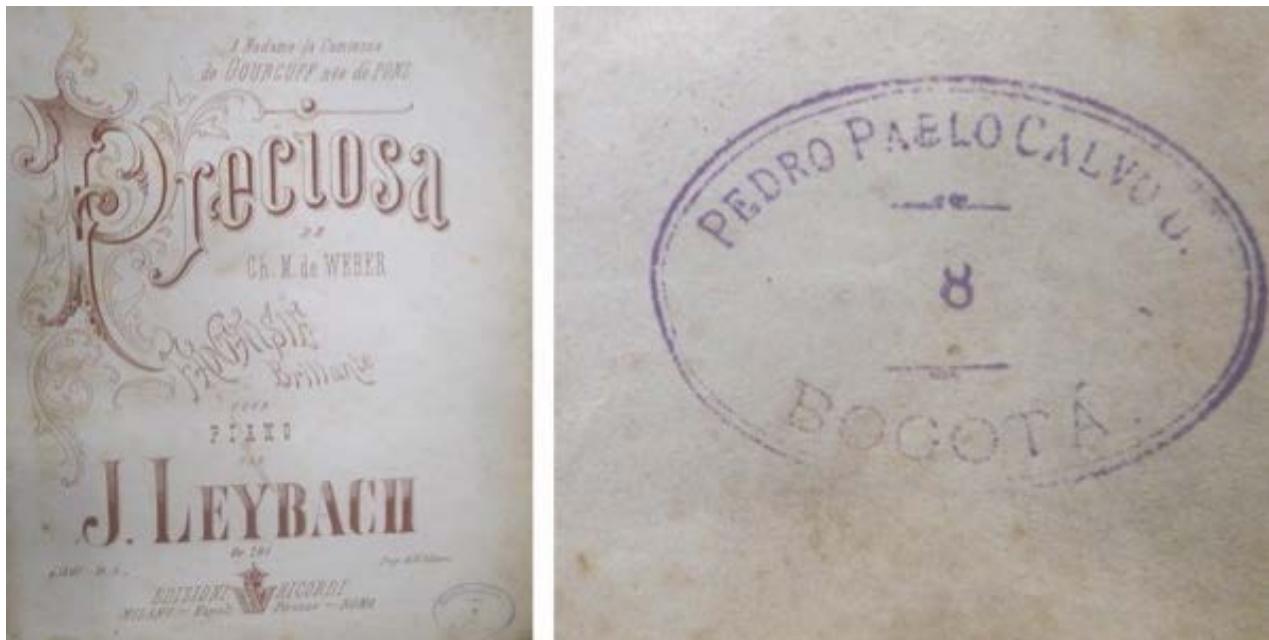


Figure 7. Cover of *Preciosa* and stamp of Pedro Pablo Calvo, [n.d.].

Echeverría binder's volume, AR786.2D683

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

Like Calvo Umaña, other traders imported European editions, establishing a network of distribution throughout the country during the last decade of the nineteenth century. For instance, the Italian brothers Emmanuelle, Egidio, and Emilio Conti established the Casa Musical Conti

Hermanos in Bogotá in 1890.⁴³ This establishment, one of the first musical stores created in Colombia, printed music by local composers (edited by Egidio) and imported musical instruments and scores. The role that Conti played as agent of Ricordi in Colombia was crucial for the introduction of Italian editions of operas by composers like Verdi, Donizetti, and Rossini. Musicians in other Colombian cities also became agents of European publishers, expanding their portfolio of services to the importation of sheet music. For instance, the pianist and composer Gonzalo Vidal—who was professor, musical publisher, and “Maestro de Capilla” in the cathedral of Medellín—was the representative of Emile Leduc and P. Bertrand, importing scores that local clients ordered in advance from a catalog (fig 8).

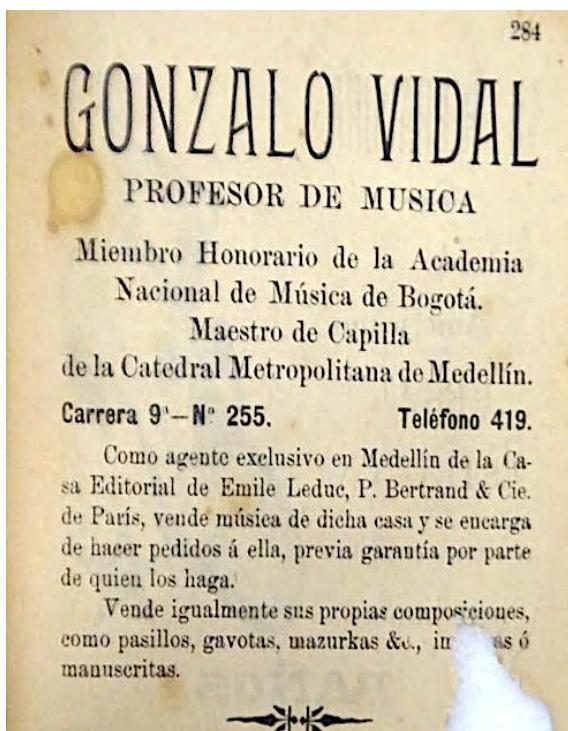


Figure 8. *Gonzalo Vidal's advertisement*, Directorio de Medellín, 1909.

Courtesy Sala Antioquia, Biblioteca Pública Piloto. Medellín

⁴³ Emmanuelle Conti arrived in Colombia in 1878, when the Ministry of War hired him as new “intendente,” the administrative and artistic director of the military bands (Bermúdez and Duque 2000).

Binder's volumes also could contain sheet music published locally. For example, Echeverría's album contains an exemplar of the "Contredanse in E minor" by Joaquín Guarín printed by "Litografía de Martínez Hermanos" in Bogotá.⁴⁴ Indeed, my survey of sheet music contents of several Colombian binder's volumes also reveals that, according to the technique of production, the sheet music printed in Colombia fit into five main categories: manuscript copies of printed scores, movable type, manuscript, lithography, and photoengraving.⁴⁵ Until the first decade of the twentieth century lithographical production of sheet music was concentrated in Bogotá; in contrast, there is a noticeable activity of typographers printing music in movable type in Cartagena and Medellín (table 2).

⁴⁴The Venezuelan brothers Celestino and Jerónimo Martínez established the first lithographical press of Bogotá in 1848. Among other documents, this press printed portraits, maps, personal cards, and sheet music. Much of this sheet music was included in newspapers such as *El Mosaico* and *El Granadino*. Indeed, Guarín's contredanse was published in *El Mosaico* (Duque 1998).

⁴⁵Printing music using movable type is a technique based on Gutenberg's system of taking copies from a single type, which Ottaviano dei Petrucci successfully adapted to print mensural music in 1490. As the Colombian case indicates, this printing system continued despite subsequent changes in musical notation and the introduction of new printing techniques. Engraving is a technique that demands artistic skills; the first engravings were made using wood plates but the introduction of metal plates allowed this technique to flourish in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lithography, a technique developed by Alois Senefelder, uses a polished limestone on which is drawn a design or text so that an impression in ink is taken from it. Although lithography is a printing technique that requires artistic skills, it is cheaper than engraving. For this reason, it was extensively used by European and American music publishers from the first decades of the nineteenth century and became, after some improvements, a well extended technique by the last decade of the nineteenth century (Krummel and Sadie 1990). Photoengraving, or photoengrave, is a process by which an image is photographically transferred to a plate in such a way that either the light or the dark areas become susceptible to attack by an etchant, creating a plate for relief printing. Finally, in chalcography burins are used to engrave on copper, creating plates for printing (Oxford dictionary 2018).

Table 2. *Printers of music in Colombia between 1860 and 1932.*

Press	Printers/Editors	Printing Method	City	Years(s)
Martínez Hermanos	Celestino and Jerónimo Martínez	Lithography	Bogotá	1860
Litografía Villaveces	León F. Villaveces	Lithography	Medellín	1874–1879
Litografía de León F. Villaveces	León F. Villaveces	Lithography	Bogotá	1882
Imprenta La Republicana	Manuel Molina	Movable type	Medellín	1886
Papelería y Tipografía Samper Matiz	E. T. D' Aleman	Movable type	Bogotá	1886–1930
Casa Musical Hermanos Conti	Egidio Conti	Lithography	Bogotá	1890
Tipografía Salesiana	L. M. Aguillón and Gregorio Navia	Lithography	Bogotá	1893–ca. 1900
Fotografía Rodríguez	Melitón Rodríguez	Photoengraving	Medellín	1898
Tipografía del Externado de Señoritas	Manuel Molina and Carmen Llano	Movable type	Medellín	1899
Imprenta Musical	Manuel Molina and Gonzalo Vidal	Movable type	Medellín	1900–1901
Externado Industrial de San Vicente	anon.	Movable type	Medellín	1901
Litografía Arango	Marco Tobón Mejía	Lithography	Medellín	1903
Tipografía Mogollón	anon.	Movable type	Cartagena and Barranquilla	1903–1930
L. M. Aguillón	L. M. Aguillón	Lithography	Bogotá	ca. 1908
Imprenta de la Luz	E. T. D' Aleman	Lithography	Bogotá	1908–1910
Casa Musical de Humberto Conti	Humberto Conti	Lithography	Bogotá	1914–1930
Gregorio Navia	Gregorio Navia	Lithography	Bogotá	ca. 1916
Talleres de Tipografía y Fotograbado de Arboleda y Valencia	anon.	Photogravure	Bogotá	1916–1923
Eduardo Conti	Eduardo Conti	Lithography	Bogotá	ca. 1920
Tipografía Velásquez	anon.	Movable type	Bogotá	ca. 1920
Litografía Dueñas y Gómez	anon.	Lithography	Bogotá	ca. 1920
Ediciones Musicales Aguillón y Vega	anon.	Chalcography and Lithography	Bogotá	ca. 1920–1930
Editorial Manrique	anon.	Lithography	Bogotá	ca. 1920
Escuela de Artes y Oficios	anon.	Movable type	Cúcuta	1932

This phenomenon is a result of the differences between the skills of laborers working in Bogotá's presses and those working in presses in other Colombian cities. Lithographic and chalcographic printing are processes that demand a significant level of specialization and skilled laborers with artistic knowledge of engraving techniques, who could put together plaques, cast the matrix, polish lithographic stones, and select adequate inks. By the end of the nineteenth century this skilled labor only existed in the capital of the country, where pioneers who learned the lithographic technique abroad, such as Celestino and Jerónimo Martínez and Leon F. Villaveces,⁴⁶ established their own presses.

After the creation of the first Colombian modern school of the arts in 1886, the *Academia Nacional de Artes*, young Colombian artists came from cities such as Cartagena, Medellín, Santa Marta, Popayán, and Tunja, and learned engraving with the Spanish immigrant Antonio Rodríguez (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 1885). However, these artists were concentrated in Bogotá until 1903 when some of them traveled to establish their own businesses in other cities after the end of the War of a Thousand Days. At the same time, other Colombian artists who had been trained in Europe, such as Marco Tobón Mejía and Antonio J. Cano, returned to other Colombian cities like Medellín.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ León F. Villaveces Ibáñez (1849–1933) was a Colombian lithographer, who learned engraving and lithography from Demetrio Paredes, pioneer of the photography in Colombia. Later, Paredes traveled to Spain, where he improved his skills in engraving and lithography. In 1874 Villaveces moved to Medellín, when he was hired as professor at the Universidad del Estado (now Universidad de Antioquia) and established a lithographic press that printed cards, maps, and advertisements, among other documents (Londoño Velez 1997). According to Luis Carlos Rodriguez (2017), Villaveces printed *El Rubí*, a pasillo by Daniel Salazar. In 1879 Villaveces returned to Bogotá, where he founded a new lithographic press and published *Los Niños Desamparados*, a waltz by Rosa Echeverría, in 1888.

⁴⁷ Medellín did not have a modern academy of fine arts until 1910, when the Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas (Society for Public Improvements) created the Instituto de Bellas Artes, whose first director was Cano.

Although most of the skilled labor required for the lithographic production of sheet music remained in Bogotá until the first decade of the twentieth century, publishers in other Colombian cities also produced these documents. In cities like Cartagena and Medellín musical printing was based on a different kind of skilled labor that was not trained in engraving techniques but in typographic procedures. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, typographers in cities such as Bogotá, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Cali, Manizales and Medellín were active businesses that published a wide range of printed materials, including advertisements, pamphlets, books, and periodicals, which they distributed through a network of libraries and regional local agents in towns and cities throughout the country.

The presence of typographers in several Colombian cities, the number of laborers they hired, and the commercial networks that supported them indicate that typographers and presses were crucial for the early industrialization process within Colombian cities. In addition, these businesses contributed to the consolidation of a culture market based on the production and consumption of printed documents by employing and training laborers, introducing new machines and printing techniques, and invigorating transregional trade networks. A partial list of the typographers active in the main Colombian cities around 1935 (Silva 2004) indicates that at least 163 typographers worked in the main Colombian cities. In addition, eighty percent of these presses were in the main industrial hubs of the country: Barranquilla (14%), Bogotá (35%), Bucaramanga (7%), Cartagena (6%), Cali (6%), and Medellín (12%). This evidence suggests that the success of typographers was directly related to the early processes of industrialization (fig. 9).

In many cases, these typographers were little businesses attached to a religious institution, political party, newspaper, or magazine. However, some grew considerably during the first decades of the twentieth century. For example, by 1918 the Papelería y Tipografía Samper Matíz

in Bogotá had 36 employees,⁴⁸ the Imprenta Industrial in Medellín had 30 laborers,⁴⁹ and the Tipografía Mogollón had 60 workers in its headquarters in Cartagena, and regional headquarters in Barranquilla and Ciénaga.

⁴⁸ This typographer, established in 1886, was the biggest business of its kind in Bogotá by 1918 (Posada Callejas 1918, 376).

⁴⁹ This typographer, founded by Gabriel Mejía in 1900, was the first to use electric presses in Medellín (Ibíd, 233).

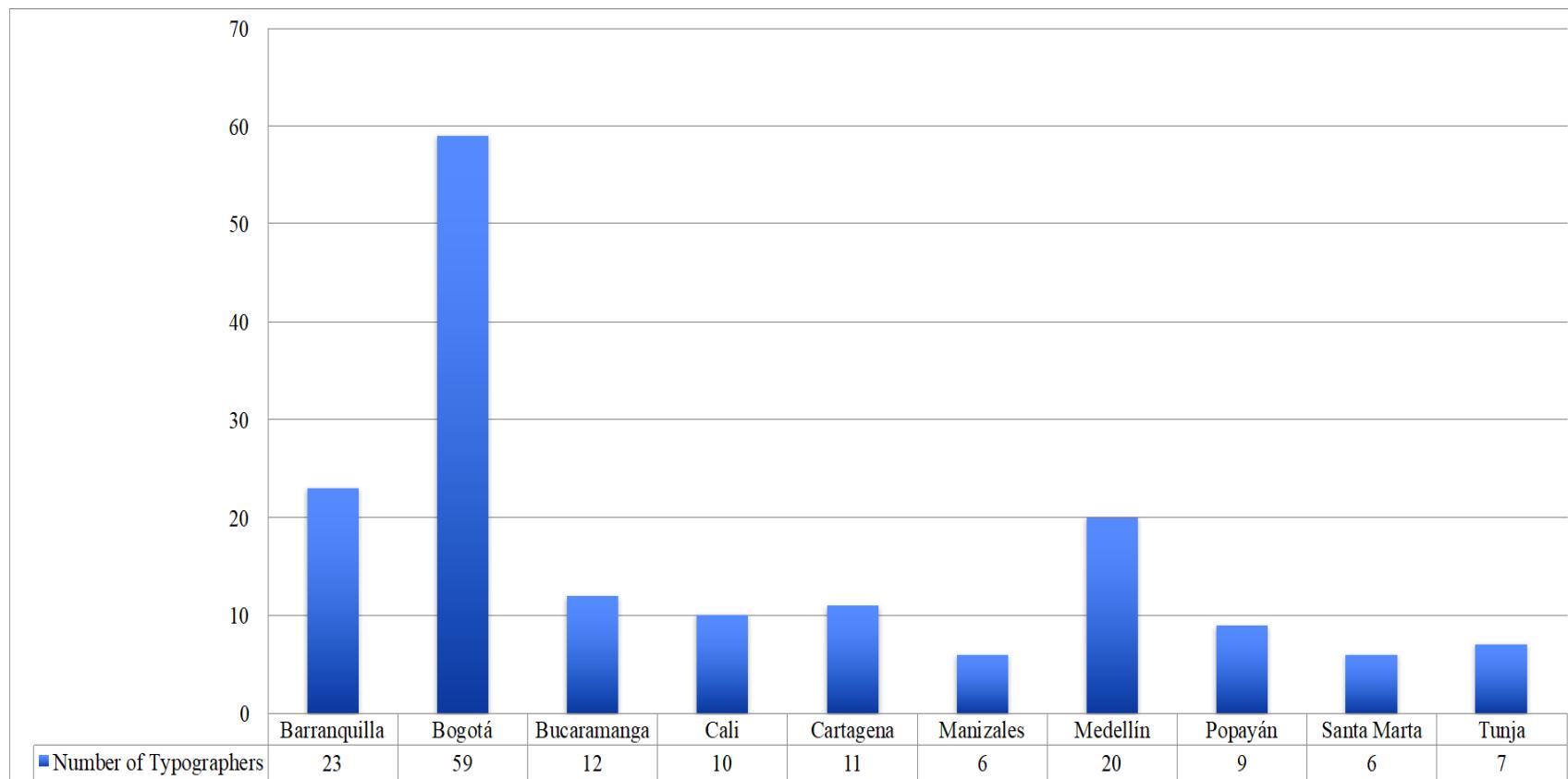


Figure 9. *Typographers active in the main Colombian cities by 1935.*⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Diagram based on information provided by Renán Silva (2004).

The growth of Colombian presses during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries required an increasing number of laborers. The creation of *Escuelas de Artes y Oficios* (schools of arts and crafts) in cities like Bogotá, Barranquilla, Cartagena, and Medellín satisfied this new demand for a skilled workforce after 1860 (Mayor Mora et al. 2014). These schools also introduced an educational model that replaced the one inherited from the Iberian tradition, centered on the individual relationship between master and apprentice. Indeed, the Escuelas de Artes y Oficios followed the French model of the *Écoles des Arts et Métiers*, aspiring to accomplish three main goals: educate members of subaltern social classes in fields that the industrial and urbanization processes required; provide productive and disciplined labor that a capitalist economy demanded; and introduce new technologies and skills that contributed to the modernization of the cities.

Therefore, artistic education in Bogotá provided skilled labor that required musical printing and publishing. In contrast, printers and publishers in cities like Medellín, Cartagena, and Barranquilla were trained by educational models introduced by earlier industrialization and urban modernization. In turn, this phenomenon was reflected in the main printing techniques used in these cities, as illustrated by the absence of lithographers printing music in Medellín and Cartagena until the first decade of the twentieth century, two cities where the use of movable type printing prevailed in musical presses until the second decade of the twentieth century.

Many pieces compiled in binder's volumes were printed locally in periodicals. Indeed, binder's volumes often contained sheet music published in magazines in Medellín and Bogotá such as *El Mosaico*, *El Granadino*, *El Motañés*, *La Miscelánea*, *El Repertorio*, *Lectura y Arte*, *Colombia Artística*, *Cromos*, and *Mundo al Día*, whose editors published musical scores either as "gifts" for subscribers and readers, as musical sections of special issues, or as collectable pieces

published in weekly issues (Duque 1998; Cortés Polanía 2004; Velásquez Ospina 2012). This phenomenon illustrates the impact of local typographers and the consumption of literary and cultural magazines on musical practice during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries.

Indeed, few typographers and lithographers operated exclusively as musical presses. One exception was the Imprenta Musical, a movable type press that Gonzalo Vidal imported from the United States in 1899. At this musical press, which remained active during the War of the Thousand Days, Vidal edited and published the *Revista Musical* and some of his compositions. This included the pasillos *Calaveradas*, *Susana*, *El Disloque*, and the *Zorzicos no. 1* and *no. 2*, among other pieces that Vidal published after enrolling a minimum number of subscribers who made the printing profitable. Unfortunately, after 1903 there is no trace of the Imprenta Musical, which suggests that Vidal probably sold it in the midst of the economic crisis that followed the war (Velásquez Ospina 2012).

As with Vidal's press, many musical typography establishments had a short life. However, the way in which Vidal directed his business was similar to the way in which editors such as Gregorio Navia in Bogotá promoted their businesses, by offering their services as editors and publishers to local composers or selling pieces to a list of subscribers (fig. 10). This similarity illustrates that much of the sheet music published in Colombia fit into two of the categories that Roger Chartier (2000) proposes for classification of printed music based on production goals.⁵¹

⁵¹ Chartier suggests that musical printing also can be classified according to the main production goal that encouraged this endeavor. Thus, he differentiates between “authorial prints” where the composers aim to monopolize the distribution of their work; “entrepreneurial prints” made to order, reducing costs and risks of economic losses; and “user’s prints” made by collectors who compiled music following their personal or collective tastes and preferences.

The first type is “authorial paintings” in which the composer has control over the printing process and distribution, assuming the risks of the venture. The second type is “publication by entrepreneurs,” where the printer reduces the risk of failure and economic loss either by printing under an order made by a client or by printing a certain number of scores after having a minimum of subscribers.

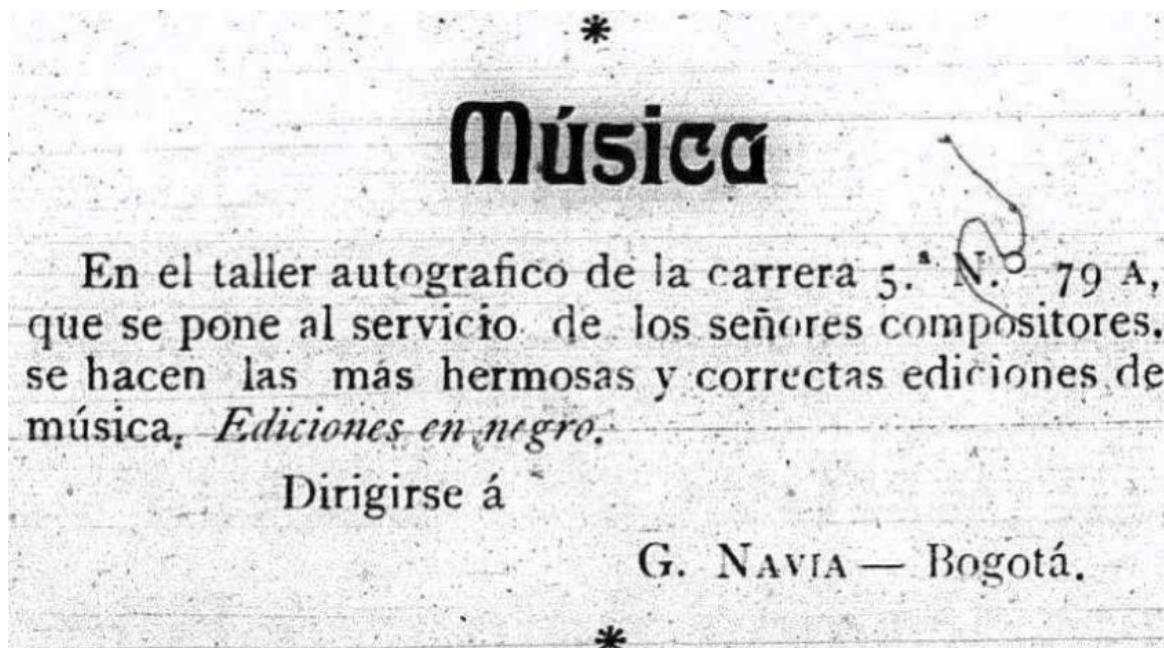


Figure 10. *Newspaper advertisement of G. Navia, 1911.*

El Gráfico, No. 66, [n.p.], December 9.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá

These dynamics of production indicate that local consumption of sheet music in the Colombian cities during the last decade of the nineteenth century did not reach the high rates that would have made musical printing a profitable industry as it did in other urban centers such as

Leipzig, Madrid, Paris, New York, and Buenos Aires.⁵² Bogotá was the only Colombian city where musical publishers and editors regularly published sheet music during the first decades of the twentieth century. Four publishers dominated this market by 1930: Samper-Matiz, Humberto Conti, L.M. Aguillón, and Gregorio Navia, all of whom edited and offered sheet music as part of collections of “Colombian composers,” “national music,” or “national authors,” often listed on the cover or the last page of these documents (fig. 11).

⁵² After 1924 Buenos Aires became one of the main centers of musical printing in the region, when the Italian publisher Ricordi established its headquarters for the Americas there.

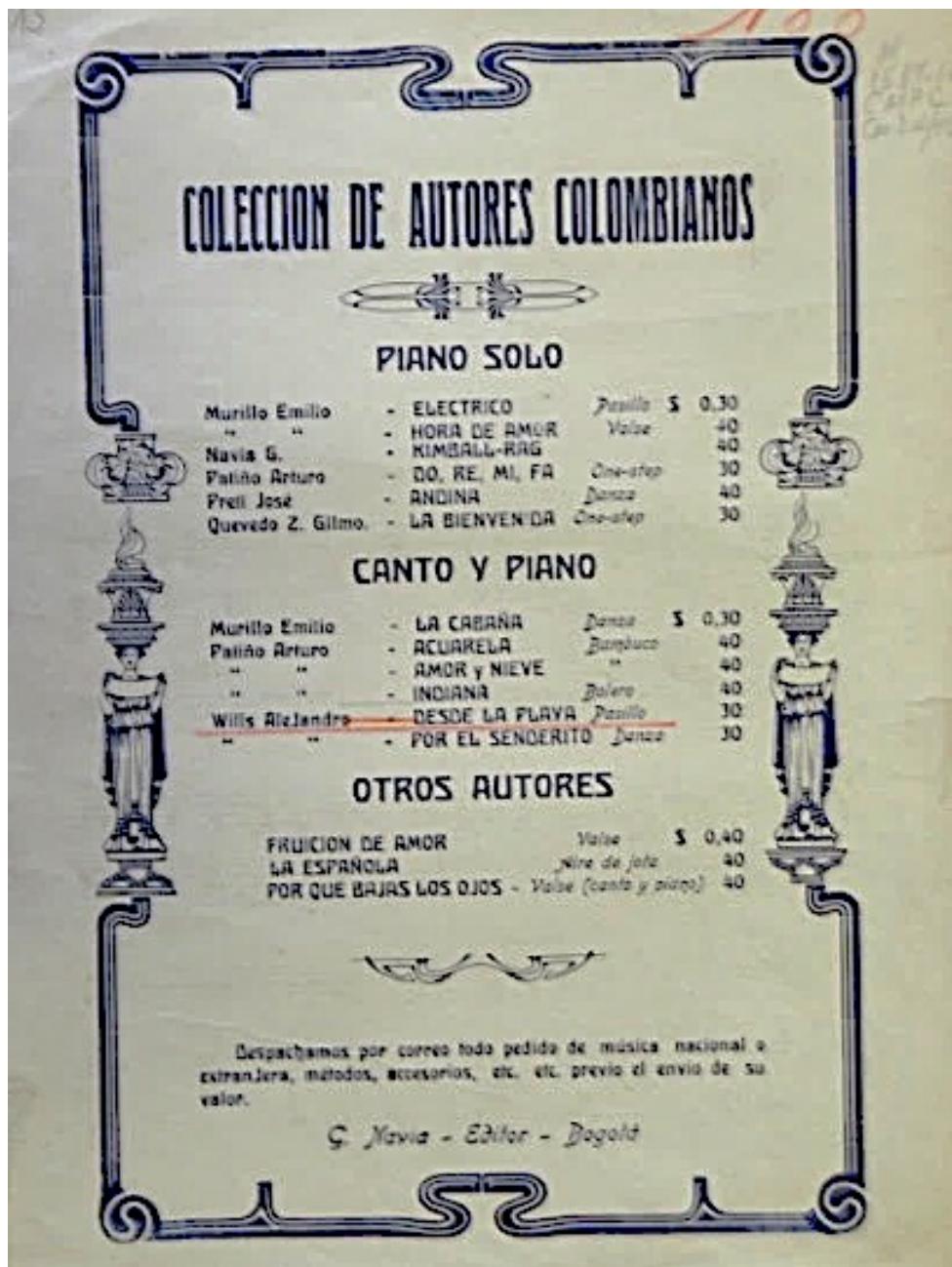


Figure 11. *Desde la Playa*, pasillo by Alejandro Wills, published by Gregorio Navia, ca. 1917.

Courtesy Centro de Documentacion Musical, Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá

The history of the Conti family business reveals how many of these entrepreneurs diversified their enterprises, adapting them to the challenges introduced by the changes in the local

market. Humberto Conti, son of Emmanuelle Conti, continued the family business by extending its offerings to new devices and goods such as player piano paper rolls, radios, gramophones, and “updated series of national authors,” as well as new editions of popular music (Sanabria Tapias, 2014.). Eduardo and Amelia Conti, siblings of Humberto, also had their own businesses and edited music. However, my count of the number of pieces published by each Conti in the collection of music of the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia suggests that Humberto’s production of sheet music outnumbered that of his siblings.⁵³

In addition to lithographers and typographers, other presses also published sheet music in Colombia. Since the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Colombian commercial houses imported machines that allowed local entrepreneurs to print multiple copies of a single document without the requirements of a numerous or highly skilled workforce. In an advertisement in the newspaper published *El Trabajo* published in 1884, Francisco Botero announced the arrival of the *Polígrafo* (Cyclostyle or mimeograph) to his store in Medellín, affirming that the buyer of this machine could print “100 copies of a single document.” Another advertisement published in the newspaper *La Correspondencia* in 1895 offered one Edison mimeograph⁵⁴ on sale in the *Agencia de Ingeniería*, a local hardware (fig. 12).

⁵³ My search in the database of the Biblioteca Nacional indicates that Egidio edited 19, Amelia 16, Eduardo 107, and Humberto 370 musical scores preserved in this library.

⁵⁴ In 1876 Thomas Edison patented a method of “Autographic Printing,” followed by a patent for “Autographic Stencils” in 1880. In 1887 Albert Blake Dick licensed and refined Edison’s patents, developing a new printing machine—the mimeograph—which Blake Dick introduced to the market as the “Edison Mimeograph.” This low-cost, stencil-based printing technology was popular until displaced by photocopying machines and offset printing in the 1960s (Casper, Chaison, and Groves 2002).

MIMEÓGRAFO DE EDISON

En la Agencia de Ingeniería se halla
de venta este ingenioso y útil aparato,
que saca 3.000 copias en una hora, de un
original, ya sea escrito, dibujo, música,
etc.

5-1

Figure 12. Edison's mimeograph advertised in *La Correspondencia*, 1895.

La Correspondencia, No. 98-99, p. 403, January 10

Courtesy Carlos A. Echeverri Arias. Medellín

This advertisement underlined two characteristics that point to why mimeographs, and later spirit duplicators,⁵⁵ became serious competitors of typographers and lithographers in the field of music publishing. Although the 3,000 copies per hour that was promised in the advertisement seems like an exaggeration by the seller, mimeographs and spirit duplicators could produce a significant quantity of copies in a relatively short time. These machines did not require skilled labor to be operated, because the “cutting of a stencil” was also a simpler and faster process than setting type or making engravings. Ultimately, these characteristics facilitated the production of a

⁵⁵ In 1923 Wilhelm Ritterfeld invented the heptograph, a process that produce cheap and smaller numbers of copies (between 200 and 300) of a document using a gelatin tray or pad in which the ink is in the master. A further development of this process replaced the gelatin with a liquid or spirit. In the United States the trade name Ditto became popular to refer both heptograph and spirit duplications (Cole, Browning, and Schoeder 2003, 84).

wide variety of documents such as maps and sheet music at a lower cost than lithographic and typographic presses.

Copies made in mimeographs and Ditto machines are easily recognizable due to the violet or blue color of their ink (fig. 13). In addition, mimeographs and spirit duplicators often used low quality inks and paper, which also reduced the price of the sheet music but made the fragile documents deteriorate quickly and easily. Although these characteristics jeopardize the preservation of such documents, the significant amount of sheet music printed in mimeographs and spirit duplicators in several Colombian archives, as well as collected in binder's volumes (especially those compiled after 1920), suggest that they played a prominent role in the circulation of musical repertoires in Colombia after the second decade of the twentieth century.

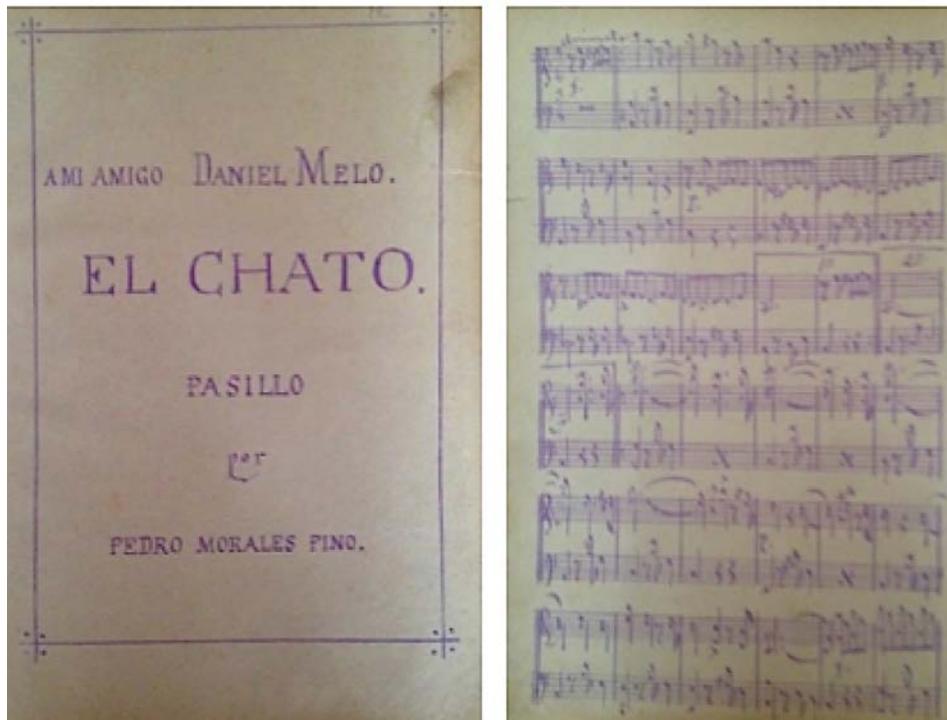


Figure 13. *El Chato*, pasillo by Pedro Morales Pino, spirit duplicator copy, [n.d.].
Courtesy of Sebastián Mejía. Medellín.

Despite the valuable labor of music publishers, other Colombian cities never became centers of production of sheet music at industrial scale, and music publishing was an endeavor that assumed a small network of musicians and entrepreneurs. This phenomenon explains the prominent presence of manuscripts and manuscript copies of printed editions in Colombian binder's volumes. The limitations of the music printing industry in Colombia fostered a dynamic of circulation of musical repertoires in which *copistas* (copyists) played a prominent role.

Copistas, who usually had a musical training that gave them a clear musical calligraphy, made manuscript copies of a wide range of printed documents that they offered to their clients. This mode of circulation of printed music had a significant relevance as a mechanism that fostered the introduction of new musical repertoires and styles, because through manuscript copies local musicians, who could not afford or find European or American editions, had access to musical pieces and methods. For instance, a binder's volume that belonged to Benigno A. Gutiérrez contains a series of manuscript copies of several methods made by Francisco J. Vidal in 1870, including a selection of exercises of Jean-Delphin Alard's (1815–1888) *Conservatory Method for the Violin* (fig. 14).

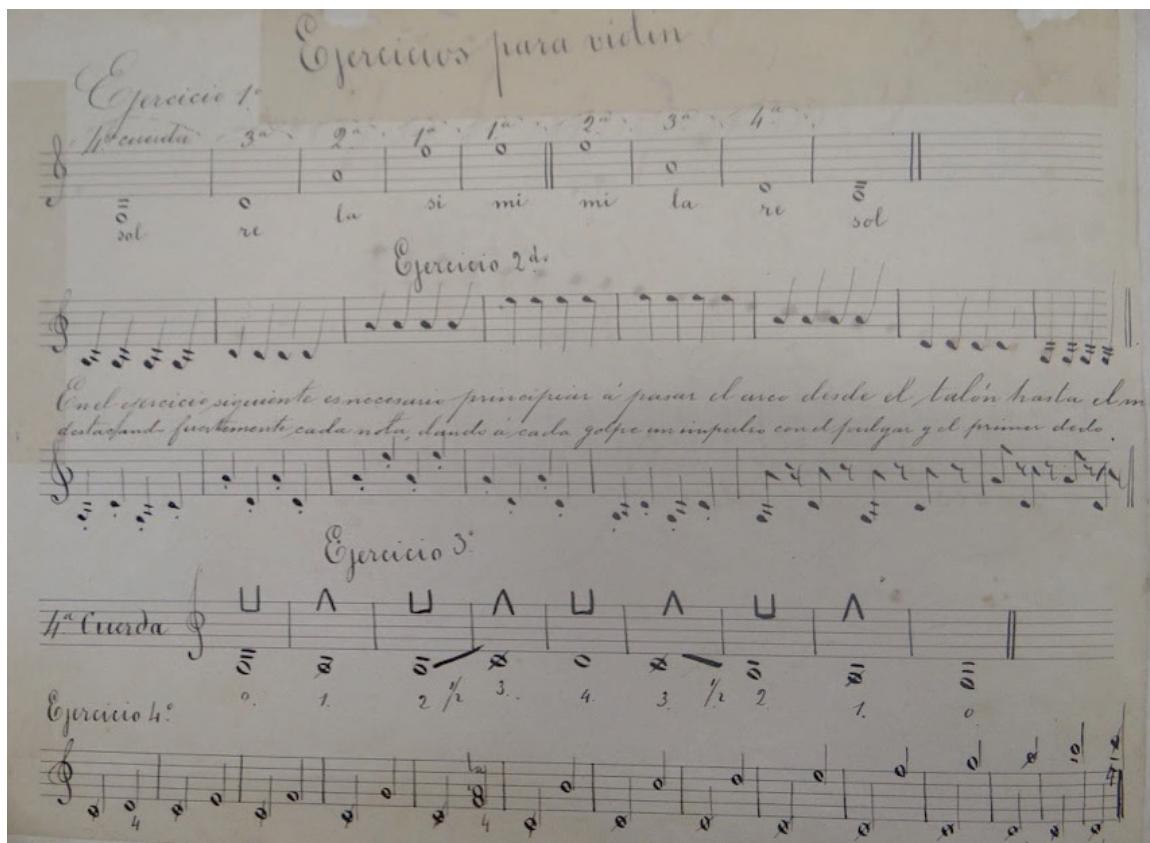


Figure 14. Binder's volume of Benigno A. Gutiérrez (detail), GU780.77V652, 1870.

Courtesy of the Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín

A comparison between the rates of two copyists of Medellín, who offered their service through advertisements published in the newspaper *El Bateo* in 1909 and 1910, illustrates how the price paid per page could change. While Enrique Castro charged 60 Colombian pesos per page (fig. 15, top), Teresa Vidal charged 100 Colombian pesos (fig. 15, bottom). The noticeable difference between the prices is due to the reliability of the transcription: Castro was a violinist and editor of the *Bateo*; Teresita was the daughter of Gonzalo Vidal, which guaranteed that her father would review the manuscript copy. In addition, as Vidal's father was the agent of two French musical publishers in Medellín, she had access to a newer and more fashionable musical repertoire than Castro.



Figure 15. *Newspaper advertisements of two copistas from Medellín, 1910.*

Enrique Castro (top), El Bateo, No. 420, p. 4, May 21, 1910.

Teresa Vidal (bottom), El Bateo, No. 349, p. 1, January 26, 1910.

Archive Sala Antioquia, Biblioteca Universidad de Antioquia. Medellín

Thus, despite the absence of a local industry exclusively devoted to music publishing, local printers and editors, copyists, bookstores, and agents produced, imported and sold sheet music that was bought and compiled in binder's volumes. The interchange of sheet music, repertoires, and tastes that these networks developed thus created an active flow of goods, tastes, and ideas between

peers from different cities and countries. This in turn fostered significant changes in the musical practice within the Colombian cities. This process locates music as a medium that this community of peers deployed as part of a broader repertoire of symbols, mechanisms, and practices that aimed at creating individual and collective senses of belonging to a white, civilized, and distinguished community, extended beyond the limits of regional or national boundaries.

These music albums are also cultural objects that, as will be explained in chapter 4, were crucial for the introduction and consolidation of a musical practice that privileged written text and music literacy as means to differentiate “amateur” and “professional” musicians. Thus, binder’s volumes were the expression of a form of cultural capital that echoed the prevalence of written knowledge as a social marker that distinguished the urban local elites from their subalterns. As pointed out by Ángel Rama (1984) and Ana María Ochoa (2014), this distinction based on literacy also intertwined ideas about race by presenting the urban elites as a “white urban social class” that inherited the monopoly of the public administration from the colonial regime,⁵⁶ an issue that also was reflected in other aspects of the musical practice within the Colombian salons.

⁵⁶ This relationship between high social class, race, and literacy was so evident that travelers who visited Colombia during the first decades of the twentieth century include it in their accounts. For instance, the American journalist Arthur Ruhl affirmed, “[the Colombians] read a great deal of Poetry in Bogotá but the folks who do it are only a tiny oligarchy, superimposed on the country’s untrained mass, sloping down grade from merely illiterate mestizos to out-an-out savages. Only about one-third of the people are white” (Ruhl 1908, 36).

2.4 CREATING DISTINCTION: SOCIAL CLASS, COSMOPOLITISM, AND WHITENESS

A relevant characteristic of binder's volumes and music publishing in Colombia is the prominent presence of music for piano or piano and voice, indicating that before the second half of the twentieth century pianos were a symbol of social status. In contrast with European and American cities where pianos were increasingly associated with urban upper and middle classes by the last decade of the nineteenth century, in Colombia they were valued as luxury goods that only members of the upper social classes could afford (Loesser 1990 [1954]; Preston 2011). The cost of a piano, or even its lease, was prohibitive for the members of subaltern social classes.⁵⁷ In addition, local elites associated the piano with forms of behavior, socialization, and taste of the European urban bourgeoisie, especially the English and French. In consequence, by having a piano at home families were projecting distinction and whiteness to the visitors in their salons and ballrooms, while creating a shared sense of cultural closeness to the European urban centers valued as sources of "civilization," two aims that characterized the postcolonial urban elites in Latin America (Quijano 2000; Martínez 2001; Hernández 2007; and Castro-Gómez 2009).

As the importation of goods to Colombia increased during the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of pianos in Colombian cities rose.⁵⁸ By the last two decades of the nineteenth

⁵⁷ For instance, in 1901 Ricardo Botero paid eighteen pesos for the monthly lease of the piano that his family had in their house. This is more than two times the eight pesos that Botero paid each month for membership to the *Club Union*, the most prestigious club in the city (Botero 1901).

⁵⁸ A case in point is Cali. An article published in the newspaper *El Ferrocarril* in 1888 affirmed: "a few years ago, there were just five or six pianos, that few ladies played, within the city; today there are more than thirty pianos in Cali" ["Hace muy poco tiempo que solo había en Cali unos cinco o seis pianos, y en estos tocaban las señoritas las pocas lecciones que habían aprendido en el Colegio. Hoy hay más de treinta pianos."] (*El Ferrocarril* 1888, 1197).

century, this instrument became the favorite of upper social classes (Casas Figueroa 2013), as indicated by an article published in the newspaper *El Cascabel* in 1899: “The piano is and will be the favorite instrument in the salons; it is possible to find it often in the salons of houses [of distinguished families], and is an essential piece of furniture for the *people of the world*” (Gaviria 1899, 153).⁵⁹

Music played on pianos became a soundmark⁶⁰ of upper-class neighborhoods in Colombian cities, as indicated by Tomás Carrasquilla (1848–1940). In his tale *El Zarco* (The Blue-Eyed Boy), Carrasquilla describes how Castor and El Zarco, two characters, talk about a piano that they are listening to while walking through the streets of Quebrada Arriba, one of the wealthiest neighborhoods of Medellín at the end of the nineteenth century: “Then he [Zarco] can listen to the music, what is this [sound]? Cástor [a friend of Zarco’s family] answers: a piano. A piano? Zarco had never heard of it (...) [Zarco then thinks] how much that lady [playing the piano] must know, how he wished to be able to play those melodies” (Carrasquilla 1912, 1412).⁶¹

Carrasquilla’s description—probably based on his own experience when he moved from Concepción, a mining town, to Medellín in 1864—evokes a “white, delicate, and distinguished lady” wearing an elegant long dress and a hair style that resembled those in vogue during the Second French Empire and Victorian England, a figure that became an icon of feminine sensibility and accomplishment among local elites in urban contexts by the last two decades of the nineteenth

⁵⁹ “El piano es y será siempre el instrumento favorito de los salones; se le encuentra en la mayor parte de las casas; se ha vuelto un mueble casi indispensable para las *gentes del mundo*.”

⁶⁰ Schafer (1994 [1977]) coined the term “soundmark” to refer to sounds that are a recognizable characteristic of a space or place. For Schafer, the relation established between a given space and a particular sound transforms these into a “natural” and “crucial” part of the experience of being in such a space.

⁶¹ “Entonces oye música.ca. ¿Qué sería? Cástor le explica.ca. ¿Piano? No lo había oído mentar siquiera (...) Y qué tanto sabería (sic) esa señorita. Si el pudiera tocar esos sones.”

century. This phenomenon, which Ruth Solie (2004) described as “girling,”⁶² established a system of representations that intertwined the ladies playing piano with the “sacred aura” that the feminized private spaces had as centers of domestic life.

In Colombia, this process interacted with the principles of Catholic morality to produce a model of “chaste and sensible femininity” echoing the virtues attributed to the Virgin Mary, such as chastity, resignation, abnegated dedication to the family, and obedience to masculine figures. Indeed “chaste and sensible femininity” was often depicted in portraits and illustrations in magazines that showed ladies in front of a keyboard, such as the *Interior Santaferéno* (Interior in Santafe [Bogotá]) portrait by Ramón Torres Méndez (1809–1885) (fig. 16, left), and the photogravure to the poem “Lucia” by Melitón Rodríguez (1875–1942) published in Medellín in the magazine *El Montañés* in 1898 (fig. 16, right).

Both images also imply that the presence of pianos in private and semiprivate spaces interwove multiple interactions between different forms of material, symbolic, and cultural capital. These interactions suggest that, in Colombian cities, class distinction was a result of the transformation of material capital into symbolic capital through gestures, behaviors, and tastes that aimed for simultaneously differentiating local elites from subaltern social classes and rural elites while validating their hegemonic position within the postcolonial society. This in turn, produced urban contexts where, as pointed out by Norber Elias (2000 [1939]), culture and civilization became increasingly envisioned as values that belonged to specific social classes, which in a

⁶² Solis, who borrowed this term from Judith Butler, uses “girling” to describe a two-way process that “marks girls’ lived experience of their cultural values” by forming them, according to the expectations of the society where they live and by enacting behaviors that satisfy social demands and the girl’s own desire to reassure herself (Solie 2004, 86).

postcolonial Colombia also had attached a racial identity. Therefore, for Colombian urban elites being civilized and distinguished were increasingly envisioned as means for differentiating social classes and validating their hegemonic control of power.



Figure 16. *Interior Santafereno* (l.), ca.1874. and Illustration for *Lucía* (r.), 1898.
Courtesy of Museo Nacional de Colombia and Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit.
Bogotá and Medellín

Local notions of culture and civilization also transformed them into forms of symbolic capital that individuals should acquire through education. Members of upper social classes prized performing piano music at home as proof that a lady had an adequate education, informed by European models of proper behavior and good taste, which would guarantee her adequate

performance as mother and authoritative figure within the private space of home. For this reason, even before the creation of musical academies and conservatories, music often was a significant part of women's education, whether as a subject in the curriculum of schools and academies or through private tutors such as José Viteri in Cali (El Ferrocarril 1888, 1197), Luisa Uribe in Medellín (Rodríguez 2007.), and José María de León in Cartagena (fig. 17).



Figure 17. *Newspaper advertisement of José María de Leon's piano academy, 1915.*

El Porvenir, No. 5309, p. 4, December 30.

Courtesy Biblioteca del Banco de la República. Cartagena

Although musical education is an issue that will be analyzed in further detail in chapter 4, it is necessary to indicate that in some cases schools and academies offered music classes as an extra subject to interested families and students who could register if they had the funds. An

example is the Instituto de Santa Ana (Santa Ana Institute) in Medellín. In 1888 Maria Restrepo Uribe de White advertised its founding in one announcement published in the conservative newspaper *La Voz de Antioquia* (The Voice of Antioquia).⁶³ Restrepo Uribe de White invited prominent families to register their daughters as interns, semi-interns, or external students, offering a curriculum that is an interesting account of the values underlying musical instruction within private schools that distinguished women attended:

Our students will learn writing, reading, Spanish, natural drawing, geometric drawing, arithmetic, global and Colombian geographies, religion, urbanity, music, singing, and calisthenics. [We also offer] a special course, theoretical and practical, in cutting and sewing. In addition, [professors] will teach practical lessons in knitting and embroidering, working with leather and feathers (...) The institute will also offer French and English classes to the ladies interested in learning to speak and translate these languages (Restrepo Uribe de White 1888, n.p.).⁶⁴

This curriculum points out that this institute, and similar institutions, aspired to educate women as future keepers of familial morality and prestige. A priest taught religion classes for moral uplift and pupils studied “urbanity” and “etiquette” to adopt proper behaviors. A series of

⁶³ This school was located at “La Ladera,” a country house of Carlos Coriolano Amador (1835–1919), owner of gold mines and one of the wealthiest men in Colombia at the end of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁴ Las materias de enseñanza del instituto serán las siguientes: Escritura, Lectura, Castellano, Dibujo Natural, Dibujo Geométrico, Aritmética, Geografía Universal y de Colombia, Religión, Urbanidad, Música, Canto y ejercicios calisténicos. Habrá una clase especial de Corte, teórica y práctica.ca. Además, se enseñará prácticamente a hacer bordados, tejidos, costura, trabajos con pieles y plumas (...) Se darán clases de inglés y francés para las niñas que quieran aprender a hablar y traducir estos idiomas.

manual arts, such as tailoring, and basic arithmetic were crucial to providing diligence in both the administration of a home's budget and the care of husbands, sons, and daughters. Literacy classes also were useful for ladies who were expected to teach their children and write social correspondence. Finally, artistic education in drawing and music cultivated their sensibility while keeping them busy during their leisure time.

In short, the education that the institute offered promised to transform the students into accomplished ladies following a Victorian standard adapted to local contexts and the catholic model of "chaste and abnegated housewife." Nevertheless, there were social sectors that questioned this new model of femininity. Indeed, some conservative groups pointed out that it conveyed the threat of an increasing banalization of feminine and maternal figures. These conservative sectors often stated that excessive sensibility and promotion of new manners and arts demanded time and dedication to labors, distracting women from their main duties at home, and eroding women's role as mothers and heads of the family within the private sphere:

It would be more convenient to consider another kind of education [for the ladies] that was not just an ornament. To learn how to be a mediocre pianist, or how to draw bad paintings or despicable watercolors, will never lead a lady to be a good wife, housewife, and mother: while a lady is busy for two or three hours playing arpeggios on the piano, the modest family meal is burning, the family's clothes are not sewn and ironed, and the house is messy and disordered (Sinués 1887, 1187).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Sería más conveniente el que se pensase ya en otra clase de enseñanza [para las damas] que no fuese solamente de adorno: saber tocar el piano muy medianamente, saber pintar muy malos cuadros o detestables acuarelas, no conduce ninguna joven a ser buena esposa, buena ama de casa o buena madre: en tanto que

This criticism also reveals an opposition to the extension of the private sphere to a semiprivate realm that called into question the boundaries between the house and the public sphere using, among other arts, music. Despite the resistance that this process provoked, education promoted changes in the habitus of urban literate elites' members, expressed in behaviors and understandings of the arts and the body that contrasted with old practices. Thus, education also was a means for acquiring cultural capital that supported forms of symbolic capital differentiating new urban elites from their predecessors, projecting them as civilized, distinguished, and concerned with progress.

From this standpoint, schools were institutions that played a prominent role in the introduction of new behaviors and forms of socialization. These new codes of behavior and taste, which members of upper social classes learned in school, simultaneously established a difference between the new and the old elites as well as rural and urban spaces. The tale *Mi Compadre Don Facundo* (My Friend Don Facundo) by Juan de Dios Restrepo (1825–1884) illustrates how learning music and dance was central to the acquisition of markers of cultural and social distinction, revealing changes in the habitus of urban elites and the tensions this process produced. Don Facundo, a rich landowner and merchant from a village in northern Antioquia, expresses the frustration that he feels when he discovers the new ideas and tastes that his son has acquired after studying in a school in Bogotá: “After four years in Bogotá, he [Facundo’s son] was a great dancer, played the vihuela neatly, wrote poetry, and flirted with ladies”⁶⁶ (Restrepo: 1936, 75).

una señorita se ocupa dos o tres horas en hacer arpegios en el piano, la modesta comida de la familia se quema, la ropa está sin coser y sin aplanchar, la casa está desaseada y falta de arreglo.

⁶⁶ “Después de cuatro años en Bogotá, él era un gran bailarín, tocaba la vihuela prodigiosamente, escribía poesía y coqueteaba con las muchachas.”

Restrepo's tale points out that regional disparities in access to educational institutions also determined local variations in the understanding of the role that music and dance played in promoting social interaction. Aside from revealing generational differences, Don Facundo's inability to find any "practical use" for these new tastes and behaviors also reveals discontinuities between urban and rural centers, in terms of the way the urban elite invoked modernity and modernization to claim a hegemonic position over their rural counterparts. In sum, this tale indicates that the difference between modernity, civilization, and barbarism was culturally constructed, performed, and sonically expressed through music and dance, but not uniformly distributed among regional elites. This tale also illustrates that education introduced a notion of cosmopolitanism that informed the experience of private and public spaces in the Colombian cities, playing a prominent role in the process of sonic construction of difference within the salons and ballrooms.

The education that Don Facundo's son received in the city shared a prominent goal with the education that the Instituto de Santa Ana offered to its female students: the formation of cosmopolitan subjects. Although French and English languages were optional subjects at the Instituto de Santa Ana, their presence indicates that there was a model of "sophisticated woman" equivalent to the "man of the world" that Túlio Ospina (1919) refers to in the *Protocolo Hispanoamericano de la Urbanidad y el Buen Tono* (Hispano American Protocol of Urbanity and Good Tone). Indeed, the advertisement of the Instituto de Santa Ana stressed that "the utility and practicality of English educational models" informed the curriculum of the Institute.

This concordance between women's and men's education illustrates that the models of masculinity and femininity that local elites adopted and promoted in the salons also implied certain forms of cosmopolitanism that enriched their notions of civilization, culture, and social distinction.

Local upper and middle-upper classes increasingly envisioned actions such as performing the piano in front of friends and family, reading books in English or French, wearing elegant clothes, and attending concerts, balls, and social meetings in salons as opportunities for celebrating, constructing, and spreading culture among peers, expressing tastes in a way that distinguished them as *gentes de mundo* (people of the world). Expressions like *gente de mundo*, *hombre de mundo* (man of the world), and *mujer de mundo* (woman of the world) often were associated with the term *buen tono*. This relationship denoted a form of understanding the local in relation to the global, often in terms that simultaneously recognized being in postcolonial spaces and expressed the aspirations for the modernization of such spaces in a way that did not challenge the status quo inherited from the colonial order. As explained by Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006), colonial spaces were cosmopolitan spaces where hegemonic powers tended to impose a uniform identity by establishing a seemingly “natural and universal” hierarchy that structured the social order.

Paradoxically, Colombian postcolonial elites adapted this form of “universalizing cosmopolitanism” in such a way that appealed to multiple external referents, mainly Europeans, to create and recreate a homogeneous collective identity through music playing and listening. This is a symbolic gesture that reinforced and renewed the control and presence of old hegemonic structures of power like the Catholic Church and the “white” prominent families over private and semiprivate spaces, and simultaneously relegated the sonic presence of other social groups such as indigenous and African descendants to the role of exotic and barbaric others, disempowering the members of these groups and their descendants while reinforcing their role as subalterns of urban lettered elites.

As indicated by Frèdèric Martinez (2001), during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, especially after the victory of La Regeneración, Colombian conservative elites

increasingly envisioned English liberal-conservatism as a model for organizing the nation and some of its administrative and political institutions. England was valued as an exemplary model in issues such as a balanced bipartisan political system where individual freedom did not affect the order of the nation, the authority of governmental institutions, and the political and economic interests of hegemonic social classes:

If we inquire about the real characteristics of the English [political] parties instead of their purely accidental features, we will notice that they represent two principles that require the happiness of the nations. The Liberal (or Whig) is the custodian of freedom and the Conservative (or Tory) is the [guardian] of the order; one is the state's moving force while the other one preserves it (Arrieta 1885, CIV).⁶⁷

However, for the Colombian elites, England also was a Protestant nation that illustrated how, despite the activities of charity and welfare associations, the industrialization process simultaneously produced wealth and created increasing social unrest between the elites and subordinate social groups due to the uneven distribution of its benefits and the increased poverty and misery in the growing cities:

⁶⁷ Si dejamos a un lado, los rasgos puramente accidentales de los partidos ingleses, e investigamos cual es el carácter esencial de ellos, podemos considerarlos como representantes de dos grandes principios necesarios a la felicidad de las naciones. El uno (el Liberal, o Whig) el custodio de la libertad, y el otro (el Conservador o Tory), el del orden: fuerza motriz aquél y fuerza conservadora éste del Estado.

Nowadays, England spends annually more than 35,000,000 [Colombian] pesos just in “visible” actions of social welfare. What does this enormous budget reveal?

Although it proves the amazing wealth of the well-off social classes, it also reveals the heinous and indigent life of other [social] classes and the frightening and inequitable “distribution” of well-being due to the secular influence of vicious institutions (Samper 2011, 95).⁶⁸

In addition, for Colombian elites the movements associated with British laborers could pervert the catholic values that they felt should characterize the Colombian subalterns: acceptance of the status quo, resignation, respect for the moral and religious authorities, and obedience to the will of the church and governmental institutions (Martinez 2001). France also represented an ambiguous model. It was increasingly considered as an example of the risk of uncontrolled individual freedom and social unsteadiness that utopian liberalism and excessive laicism could introduce, but for the Colombian elites France was also a nation whose educational institutions, including those dedicated to the arts and music, were an example of the academization of culture that they felt should be adapted to the local context and idiosyncrasy.

Like French and British cultures, Spanish culture was a template that Colombian elites molded and adopted according to their own interests. Colombia was the last Latin American republic recognized as an independent state by the Spanish government, when both countries

⁶⁸ Hoy gasta Inglaterra más de 35,000,000 de pesos anualmente en solo las atenciones “visibles” de la beneficencia pública. Una suma tan enorme ¿qué es lo que revela? Si prueba la increíble riqueza de las clases acomodadas, revela aún más la enormidad de la indigencia en que viven las otras clases, es decir, la espantosa desigualdad con que, por la influencia secular de instituciones viciosas, se ha podido ‘repartir’ el bienestar.

renewed their diplomatic relations in 1881. However, after 1870, the labor of José María Gutiérrez de Alba in Bogotá and the promotion of Spanish literature, as well as tours by Spanish artists including zarzuela⁶⁹ and theatrical companies, led Colombian elites to call attention to similarities that supposedly made Colombia an heiress of the “white Iberian culture.”

Therefore, local conservative elites established bonds with Europe through new narratives of both the Spanish Conquest and the colonial period, using the “Iberian legacy”—whose stakes were the Spanish language, Catholic faith, and whiteness—as a mean for validating hegemonic political, economic, and cultural positions. Thus, conservative elites envisioned Spain as a Catholic and modern nation suitable as a model for the Colombian modernization process in which Catholic morality had to guide subordinates in rural and urban areas, encouraging them to accept the status quo and respect the institutions (Martinez 2001; Rubiano 2011).

A text by the conservative politician and philologist Miguel Antonio Caro⁷⁰ illustrates how these new representations of the Spanish Conquest in literature and the arts facilitated the assumption of hegemonic control by white conservative Colombian elites over public administration and political and economic processes during the late nineteenth century. As described by Caro, the members of subaltern social classes were seen as descendants of defeated races who should be disciplined and controlled: “The conquest and colonization of the [Latin American] countries offer to our consideration the spectacle of a defeated race that partially

⁶⁹ According to the *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, zarzuela is a Spanish lyric genre that was born as courtesan spectacle in the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, the zarzuela became popular in the theaters of Spanish and Latin American cities. (Casares, López-Caló, Fernández et al. 1999: 1139).

⁷⁰ Caro was one of the main leaders of the Regeneration movement and served as vice-president between 1892 and 1894 and president between 1894 and 1898. He also was a renowned philologist and intellectual and founder of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua.

disappears and partially mixes with a superior and powerful race from which we are branches” (Caro 1874, 73).⁷¹ The form in which Colombian urban elites understood and adopted these multiple external referents to construct imaginaries of social class and distinction indicates that this process was not a simple imitation or emulation of foreign models but an appropriation and adaptation of them to local contexts, in such a way that simultaneously molded individual and collective identities while reinforcing relations of power and control over policies and institutions.

For this reason, the process of appropriation and adaptation of these models also informed notions of culture and civilization in such a way that they became simultaneously markers of social class and tools for controlling the process of nation building and ways of understanding citizenship and personhood in late nineteenth century Colombia. As Caro’s interpretation of the Iberian heritage suggests, race also informed the multiple relations between representations of Europe and the construction of local identity. Thus, according to the “universalizing cosmopolitanism,” being civilized and distinguished also implied being white. Regarding this issue, there is a significant difference among cities located in different Colombian regions.

In prominent urban centers during the colonial period, such as Bogotá, Cartagena, and Popayán, whiteness became an issue of lineage focused on tracing ancestors to Europe. In contrast, in cities such as Medellín and Cali, the increasing concentration of capital in the hands of families who did not have such strong bonds with Iberian or other European ancestors made whiteness a complex issue that demanded forms of differentiation beyond skin color, as indicated by the French traveler Charles Saffray: “Each [prominent family] boasts about descending from blue blood

⁷¹ La conquista y colonización de estos países [latinoamericanos] ofrece a nuestra consideración el espectáculo de una raza vencida, que en parte desaparece y en parte se mezcla con una raza superior y victoriosa; un pueblo que caduca, y otro que en su lugar se establece, del cual somos legítimas ramas.

noblemen; but the truth is that brown, yellow, and swarthy skins that you can see in almost every family deny these pureblood origins" (Saffray 1948 [1873], 93.).⁷²

Fashion and taste were stakes in this process of "whitening." Merchants and commercial houses often published announcements in newspapers offering new dresses, fine jewelry, makeup, and new accessories for the ladies, especially before balls and social events that reunited the members of prominent families in salons, ballrooms, and clubs. In some cases, announcements even emphasized that by using items like makeup, a lady's skin will have "ideal whiteness and softness," as stated in the announcement published by the Sons of Pastor Restrepo and Company, published in the newspaper *El Bateo* before the lavish ball that Daniel Botero held in his house in Medellín in May 30, 1908 (fig. 18).

⁷² Cada cual se jacta [hablando de los miembros de familias notables] de descender en línea recta de hidalgos de sangre azul; pero la verdad es que los colores morenos, amarillos y atezados se ven en casi todas las familias, desmienten esa pureza de origen.

A LAS DAMAS QUE ASISTAN AL BAILE ESTA NOCHE

creemos deber avisarles que en la Drogueria de

H. de P. R. & Cía.

encuentran perfumes de primera calidad, Polvo para la cara, Lociones para el cabello y el sin rival "Baño de leche" del Dr. Emilz, preparación científica para refrescar el cutis, dándole al mismo tiempo que un perfume muy grato, tersura y blancura ideales. Las damas elegantes de París usan el "Baño de leche Emilz".

En la misma Drogueria de H. de P. R. & Cía, encontrarán, además, cintas, encajes, adornos, peinetas, joyas finas, etc., etc., etc.

Figure 18. Newspaper advertisement by Sons of Pastor Restrepo and company, 1908.

El Bateo, No. 230, p.1, May 30.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín

Playing or singing music was as necessary as dresses, makeup and imported jewelry in this process of whitening through taste and distinction. As in other Latin American countries, Colombian urban elites molded and promoted paradoxical national identity upon the ideology of *Mestizaje*, a nation-building discourse that claimed that cultural mixing of Indigenous and Hispanic people (Wade 2000; Quintero and Silva 2001; Muteba 2012)⁷³ was the essence of the

⁷³ Often the written references in the early twentieth century portraying the African diaspora insist in the "pernicious" influence of blacks to the "mestizo" nation (López de Mesa 1926; 1934).

Colombian nation, while privileged whiteness was the standard for measuring the degree of civilization that enabled the participation in power structures, citizenship, and rights.⁷⁴ Therefore, Mestizaje was an ideology that was inclusive in theory but exclusionist in practice (Stutzman 1981; Wade 2000; Palacios 2015), and perpetuated forms of colonial control over the subalterns that reinforced the hegemonic position of the “white” urban elites, especially those from Andean cities, over other social classes and ethnic groups.⁷⁵

2.5 THE PASILLO: CREATING A NEW SYMBOLIC GEOGRAPHY OF SOUND

As indicated by Ketty Wong (2011), the popularity of the Austrian waltz in salons and ballrooms coincides with the emergence of the instrumental pasillo in Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, the former territories of Gran Colombia and the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada. Indeed, both musical genres shared a series of characteristics: the time signature is the same (3/4); there is a tendency to create the main sections using symmetrical phrases of four, eight, and sixteen measures; the most frequent modulations are to neighbor tonalities, relatives, and parallels; and there is a resemblance of basic rhythmic patterns. I illustrate this resemblance in the comparison presented in fig. 19.

⁷⁴ As Indicated by Marco Antonio Palacios (2015), ethnicity played a prominent role in the restructuration of agrarian relations in Colombia, especially in departments where the ethnic borders between “white and indigenous” were blurred with the dismantling of colonial “resguardos” such as Boyacá, Cauca, Cundinamarca, and Nariño where the indigenous communities became increasingly assimilated as “mestizos.”

⁷⁵ This phenomenon was extended throughout Latin America. For instance, after study of the Ecuadorian case, Rafael Quintero and Erika Silva suggest that the independence of Latin American countries from the Spanish crown was an exchange of political power from *peninsulares*, or white Iberians, to *criollos*, or white Latin Americans (Quintero and Silva 2001).



Figure 19. *Comparison between rhythmic patterns of waltz and Colombian pasillo.*

However, as indicated by the pieces in the Echeverría binder's album, waltzes tended to be composed in major tonalities while the pasillos often were composed in minor tonalities, which in turn established a "sentimental" and "expressive" difference between both genres. Thus, the waltz became increasingly associated with joyfulness while the pasillo was related with a "nostalgic" and "melancholic" ethos (Hernández Salgar 2015).

Another significant difference between both genres is how the rhythmic patterns are distributed within the measure. The series of eight pasillos published in 1886 in *La Lira Antioqueña* (The Antioquian Lyre), the first musical newspaper published in Medellín,⁷⁶ illustrates how the piano music composed for salons and ballrooms made them central spaces for the crystallization of the pasillo's main rhythmic characteristics during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. A comparison between these eight pasillos and the pasillos in Echeverría's album reveals the presence of two main rhythmic patterns (or variations on them) that pianists often played with the left hand: (1) dotted quarter, eighth, and quarter or two eighths; and (2) quarter, eighth rest, and quarter or two eights (table 3).

⁷⁶ This newspaper was printed in La Republicana, a musical press established by Manuel J. Molina and the composer Daniel Salazar (Velásquez 2012).

Table 3. *Pasillos published in La Lira Antioqueña*, 1886.

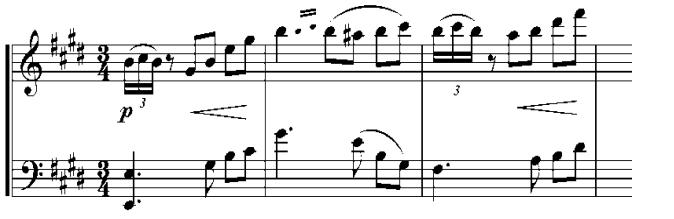
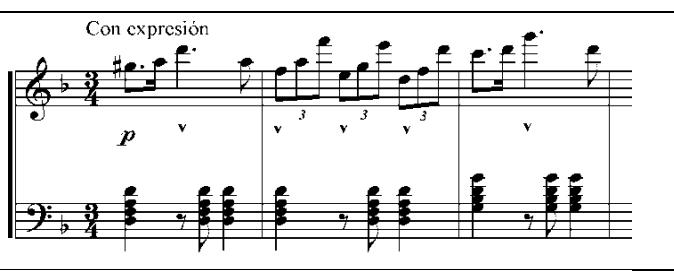
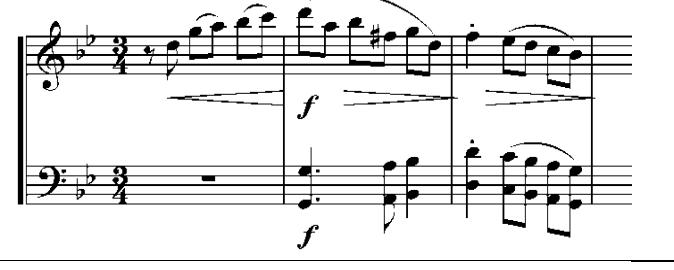
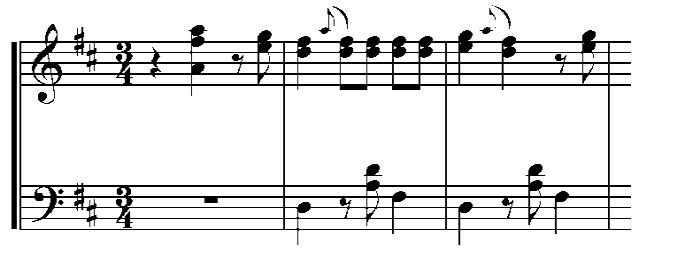
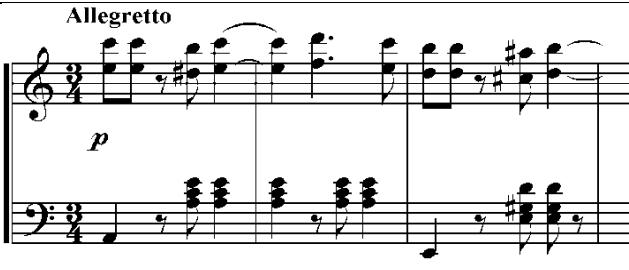
Title	Composer	Rhythmic Pattern Type	Musical Incipit
El Primer Amor	Daniel Salazar	1	
Siempreviva	Gonzalo Vidal	2	
Los Ecos del Alma	Juan de Dios Escobar	2	
Una Lágrima	Daniel Salazar	1	
El Hijo Ausente	José Viteri	2	

Table 3 (continued)

Pousse Café	Gonzalo Vidal and Pedro Morales Pino	2	
Pasillo	Francisco J. Vidal	2	

Pattern one does not have an eighth rest as does pattern two. Nevertheless, annotations in the Echeverría album suggest that the player followed a certain performance practice that varied from the printed notes, taking a short pause between the dotted quarter and the first eighth when playing pasillos, even when the musical score indicated a dotted quarter instead a quarter and an eighth rest. As a result, when performed, both patterns became the same and were played in such a way that the off-the-beat placement of the middle note in the pattern was stressed, establishing an emphasis on the third beat that was a determinative factor for differentiating the pasillo from the European waltz.

This emphasis on the off-beat is a rhythmic gesture as well as choreographic one. As explained by scholars like Davidson (1973) and Wong (2011), the pasillo dancers used to take a shorter step between the first and second beat of the measure, which later gave origin to the name *pasillo* (short step) to the musical genre. This relation between music, rhythm, and dance suggests that this short pause became increasingly coded and written as an eighth rest. Then, pattern two

and its variations became the standard for Colombian pasillos during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In short, the *pasillo* was a musical representation of the processes of assimilation and adaptation of foreign models of sociability and taste that produced cosmopolitan and white representations of nationhood among the urban elites. It was choreographically and rhythmically different but at the same time had a harmonic language and phrasing that provided musical structure comparable with the waltzes played in salons. Indeed, the *pasillo*'s ambiguous resemblance to/difference from the waltz, a musical genre that urban elites increasingly prized as an expression of culture, good taste, and civilization, was a sonorous response to the local elites' need to differentiate themselves from the old guard Spanish elites while establishing both cultural and racial proximity to what they considered as other European centers of culture and civilization.

Documentary evidence such as the Echeverría album also indicates that *pasillos* were in dialogue with other musical genres in the ballroom and salon. Indeed, the Colombian urban elites often performed, danced, and listened to *pasillos* in such way that they interacted through music that members of the local elite considered exemplars of European taste and aesthetics, such as waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and fantasies on operatic themes. This musical repertoire created an imaginary aural landscape that established a symbolic geography of sound where the local elites positioned themselves, in symbolic and aural senses, closer to their "European peers." The role of the piano in salons and ballrooms reinforced this perception because it was a symbol of status and good taste that upper and middle urban social classes shared with the European bourgeoisie. In other words, the musical repertoire for piano that was collected in albums was a marker of social class and distinction, based on race, wealth, and a shared interpretation of notions of cosmopolitanism, culture, and civilization.

In conclusion, the salon and the ballroom were spaces where, paraphrasing Martinez, music participated in a process that not only imitated and copied European tastes but also referred to European models in a process of construction and reformulation of national self-identity (Martinez 2001). Thus, the increasing popularity of pasillos among the urban elites was a powerful symbolic gesture within the process of listening to and sounding this symbolic geography of sound. While the inclusion of other genres was interpreted as evidence of cosmopolitanism, the pasillo became a sonorous expression of the efforts for building a reflexive self-identity within private and semiprivate spaces where socialization among peers facilitated the reformulation and construction of shared notions of social class, race, gender, and cultural capital.

Notions of whiteness, gender roles in public and private spaces, distinction, proper behavior, and restraint of the body interacted in a series of imbricated and complex relations, in a multimodal configuration that posited the elite's vision of urban modernization and progress as natural and universal. Thus, paraphrasing Oscar Hernández Salgar, salons and ballrooms became spaces where local elites constructed, experienced, and promoted their own "world of meaning" through a series of experiences that intertwined space, listening, bodies, social class, gender, race and sound, so that members of the urban elite could establish a strong sense of belonging to a broad community of peers, differentiating themselves from both their rural peers and their urban subalterns.

The process beneath the construction of this "world of meaning" informed and intertwined representations of social class, gender, race, and taste that delineated singular experiences of modernity and modernization in Colombia. For this reason, it is crucial to understand how the elites later projected notions of citizenship through sound production and listening onto the public spaces of the Colombian cities, transforming music into a means to discipline the members of

subaltern social classes. As I will explain in chapter 3, this was the phenomenon in which the symphonic bands played a prominent role by performing *retretas* in plazas and parks.

3.0 FROM THE PLAZA TO THE PARQUE: URBAN PUBLIC SPACES, DISCIPLINING, AND CULTURES OF LISTENING AND SOUND PRODUCTION

Retretas—that is, public outdoor concerts performed in plazas and parks by bands—were among the main soundmarks of Colombian cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Articles and notes published in newspapers and journals, travelogues, and complaints registered in judiciary archives offer multiple descriptions ranging from music that “transported the audience to a fairyland” to “obnoxious music” and “annoying noise.” We might consider these texts to be written registers of sonic experience, reflecting the ontologies of sound that characterized specific social groups and the multiple interactions between them (Ochoa Gautier 2014). In other cases such as legislation, the written word reflected how the government and its institutions envisioned the use and nature of urban spaces within the modern city while privileging some ontologies over others in an attempt to control and transform the sonic experience into a mechanism to cast citizens.

From this standpoint, the heterogeneity of sonic experience in written accounts masks a series of ideas promoted through the presence of symphonic bands in parks, suggesting that the introduction of new understandings of sounding and listening was a process echoing the social tensions that urban modernization produced within Colombian cities. I argue in this chapter that the *retretas* reflected a changing urban environment that simultaneously produced new understandings of public culture and use of urban spaces through music and sound.

Conventional treatments of bands by musicologists and ethnographers may overemphasize their institutional function, precluding the possibility of other interpretations (Reily and Brucher 2013). Scholars have suggested that in Latin American cities, symphonic bands were recognized as musical ensembles, whether as military or civic-military institutions, whose labor educating performers and audiences reflected the changing history of public institutions and cities (Calcaño 1985; Miranda 1993; Bermúdez and Duque 2000; González and Rollé 2004; Gil Araque 2009; Álvarez 2012; Ruiz 2015).

This approach accurately describes the nature of the bands and their pedagogical role. However, this chapter presents and develops an alternative reading by considering the relationship between bands, public spaces, and cultures of listening that articulated changing sonic narratives, which permeated both public spaces and the bands. Following the ideas of Yi-Fu Tuan (2014 [1977]) and Emily Thompson (2002), I consider the bands as mechanisms that local elites and authorities deployed as a part of a broader civilizing project that involved the control and promotion of behaviors that both delineated and expressed new experiences of urban public spaces. Thus, the retreta in the parks, the modernization of the band, and the transformation of the plaza in Colombian cities produced meaningful experiences of sound, transforming public spaces into venues for constructing multiple experiences of modernity.

I consider these multiple experiences by introducing an analysis of documentary sources—such as notes and articles published in newspapers and magazines, letters from public officers, legal documents, travelogues, memoires, maps, and manuscripts of musical scores—in three parts. First, I explore how the transformation of the colonial plaza into the republican park introduced new models of socialization and enabled the experience of urban public spaces as places with specific roles within a civilizing project. I then move to a discussion of the modernization of the

band and how this process led to new understandings of the relationship between sound and space, and of the role of the bands within the postcolonial city. I conclude by considering how the modernization of both bands and parks transformed the retreta into a means for the local elites to spread a civilizing project—whose semiprivate manifestations are explored in chapter 2—among the assembled citizens in the public audience, while aspiring to establish a new ordering of the city through the promotion of both proper behaviors and good taste. Ultimately, the historical processes that this article examines suggest a complex interaction between new modes of listening and older traditions that reveal the contradictions between the city that the Colombian elites envisioned and other residents' experiences of urban public spaces.

3.1 THE PARKS: URBAN GARDENS AND SHELTERS

In 1897 Genaro Valderrama, Bogotá's finance minister, sent a letter affirming that the growth of Bogotá called for the construction of new urban parks. He advocated parks as spaces where the citizens of modern cities like New York, London, and Paris collectively gathered to find rest during their leisure time:

In all the modern and civilized capitals around the world there is a center that attracts people during their leisure days, such as Central Park in New York, Hyde Park in London, and the Bois de Boulogne in Paris, where they find proper and honest amusements for themselves and their families. This keeps them, especially the youth, far from the headquarters of corruption. Most of the residents of these

joyful cities go there [to the parks] in search of entertainment and happiness, and then return to their jobs and studies free from any sorrow. Our capital city, now growing in population, requires a space that keeps our youth far from clubs and casinos (Valderrama 1897, 432).⁷⁷

Valderrama's words suggest that the local elites and governmental institutions envisioned the park as a natural shelter within the city, whose benefits could have a doubly positive impact: first, keeping citizens—especially the youngest ones—far from corruption and immorality, and second, offering local residents the proper leisure they required to increase their productivity when they returned to daily labor.

By 1910, when the first centennial of Colombia's Independence was joyfully celebrated in the country's largest cities for seventeen days (Acevedo Tarazona 2010), Valderrama's vision of the role of the parks as new urban public spaces within the modern cities seemed to be widely accepted and adopted. For instance, in the capital city of Bogotá the acts of commemoration included a National Fair in the new Parque de la Independencia (Independence Park). The bandstand of the park—inaugurated on July 23—was frequently used, especially on Sundays, when the band played *retretas*.⁷⁸ These public outdoor concerts soon became a significant part of

⁷⁷ En todas las capitales civilizadas del mundo hay un centro que atrae en los días de descanso a las gentes, en donde encuentran diversiones honestas y apropiadas para ellas y sus familias, que aleja de ciertos focos de corrupción especialmente a la juventud, tales como el Central Park en New York, el High Park [sic] en Londres y el Bois de Boulogne en París. La mayor parte de los habitantes de estas felices poblaciones se trasladan allí en busca de expansión y alegría, y vuelven, al empezar la semana al trabajo o al estudio, sin que un pesar les acompañe. Nuestra capital, ya un poco populosa, necesita de un canto y de algo que aleje a nuestra juventud de los clubs o casinos.

⁷⁸ The construction of bandstands in Colombian parks followed European models, especially the French designs. As explained by Marie-Claire Mussat, the bandstands were adapted from the garden kiosks built

the soundscape of the park, fostering an experience that involved music, introspection, and nature: “In the graceful bandstand the band begins the retreta by exquisitely playing the Intermezzo of *Cavalleria* [Mascagni’s *Cavalleria Rusticana*] under the blue morning [sky], and sometimes it seems that the music is what makes the leaves fall from the trees.” (El Gráfico 1910, 81)⁷⁹

Accounts published in other Colombian cities offered similar descriptions of parks transformed into idyllic places during the retreta. According to these accounts, the audience’s attentive listening to music promoted a sensible and sublime attitude toward the surrounding beauty that affected the senses, which in turn enabled the people to perceive and experience the beauty of nature and the proper behavior of other citizens, despite the fact that they inhabited a boisterous city. This indicates that, from the perspective of local elites and authorities, a noticeable goal of retretas was to produce among the listeners both the experience of cities as livable, peaceful spaces, and the experience of parks as places where citizens could find comfort, respite, and a particular form of “high culture” during their leisure time. Behind these idyllic portrayals lay the transformation of parks into significant public spaces intertwined with the specific functions and symbolic values of order, progress, culture, and civilization that the band and the retreta held within the modern postcolonial city.

It was not the park, however, that first introduced the idea of a focal center for urban socialization—one where citizens from diverse social origins could converge and interact with apparent freedom. Before the park, the locus of this social interaction was the *plaza*, a space

in Europe during the eighteenth century, during the golden era of the orientalist fashion that introduced the Anglo-Chinese and French gardens (Mussat 1992).

⁷⁹ “En su elegante kiosco la banda ha empezado a tocar la retreta. El intermezzo de Cavallería [sic] canta exquisitamente bajo la mañana azul y en ciertos momentos parece que es la música la que hace caer las hojas de los árboles.”

inherited from the colonial city. Following a Western tradition that can be traced as far as the Agora of the Greek Polis, the plaza—also known in Latin America as *plaza de armas*⁸⁰—has been identified as a preeminent public space, a source and symbol of civic power, with a long tradition as the cultural center of the city (Aguilera Rojas et al. 1998). In Latin America the plaza was the center of urban life during the colonial and early republican period (Low 2000). In fact, cities like Bogotá, Cartagena de Indias, Cali, Bucaramanga, and Medellín grew around the plaza following the Spanish *cuadrícula* (grid pattern).

The plaza was an open square around which sat the cathedral, the city hall, the military barracks, and the houses of distinguished families (fig. 20, red circle). This design had a double symbolic value; it established the plaza as the focal center from which the city spread throughout the surrounding rural areas, and its design was a micro-representation of the matrix of institutional power. Hence, the plaza offered a model for the ordering of the colonial city in which the closer to the plaza the houses were located, the closer to institutional power their residents were. In colonial villages and cities, this shaped an idealized social geography where prominent families, racially defined as white, lived at the center of the city while other racial groups occupied the periphery according to the caste system adopted by the Spanish Crown (Baker 2008).

The plaza was also the beating heart of the city, a multipurpose space and focal point of social, racial, and cultural diversity where the residents and visitors converged to participate in political, religious, festive, and commercial activities (Ruiz Torres 2011). In Colombian cities the

⁸⁰ Due to the absence of adequate spaces for physical exercise, marching, and practicing military formations, in many Latin American cities the plaza became a space to practice military maneuvers. The significant presence of military institutions in urban public spaces partially explains the use of the term *plaza de armas* in Latin American cities, rather than the term more commonly used in Spain—*plaza mayor* (Ruiz Torres 2015).

outdoor market and the Catholic Mass were remarkable economic and social events that brought people together from diverse social and racial origins, usually wearing their best clothes. This created a particular panorama that the scientist and intellectual Manuel Uribe Ángel described: “On holidays, it is nice to see the turnout at the churches or at market squares, because on these days some men wear cloth coats or cloaks, and rich ladies and girls gracefully wear high-heeled shoes. Common women and men wear the better garments that they found in their trunks” (Uribe Ángel 1892, 67).⁸¹

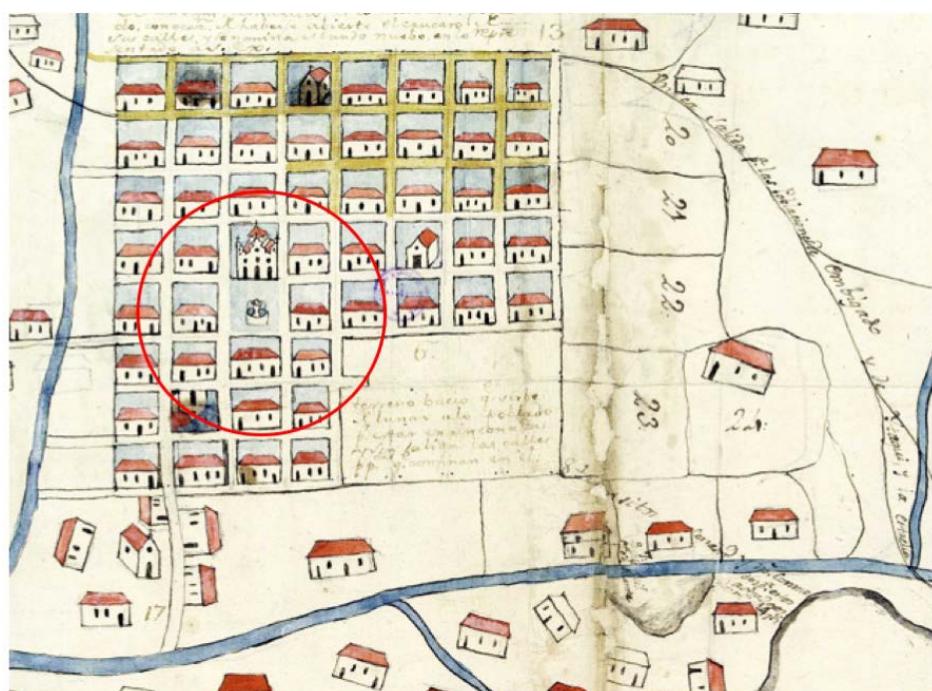


Figure 20. Village plan of Medellín (detail), José María Giraldo [?], 1790.

Mapoteca: Smp.4, Ref.256^a Bis.

Courtesy Archivo General de la Nación. Bogotá.

⁸¹ “En días feriados es agradable ver la concurrencia a los templos ó a las plazas de mercado, porque entonces el saco pañete o la levita lucen sobre el cuerpo de algunos hombres, y la zapatilla de alto tacón es airosamente llevada por las señoritas y señoritas de la clase rica.ca. Las mujeres y los hombres del pueblo visten o mejor que se encuentra en los baúles.”

Hence, the plaza was a public space where the citizens performed their public lives and economic activities. Indeed, in many Latin American cities the plaza was envisioned as the center from which the public spaces radiated throughout the city in a continuous and unrestricted way, and the streets tended to be considered as extensions of the plaza (Miller 2007). The plaza embodied a model of public spaces that survived Independence and the civil wars. Despite the evident processes of urban modernization, by 1885 the *plaza principal* of Colombian cities like Cali still had the functions and architectural design of the colonial period (fig. 21).



Figure 21. *Plaza de la Constitución, Santiago de Cali*, photographer unknown, A583, 1885.

Courtesy Archivo Patrimonio Fílmico y Fotográfico del Valle, Cali.

The plaza also offered the characteristic cacophony of the urban public spaces that included popular musicians, people talking, and the multiple animal, mechanical, and nonverbal human

sounds that echoed the social and racial diversity of Colombian cities—especially on Sundays during the outdoor market. However, these experiences of public spaces changed during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when many colonial plazas were transformed into parks. In Colombia the models of parks as urban forests,⁸² as Valderrama envisioned based on European and American models, often were adapted to the preexisting spatial reality, which led to the transformation of former plazas into urban designed gardens that—despite their discrete dimensions—still fulfilled the function of parks (Cendales Paredes 2009; Martínez Botero 2009).

This series of changes in the physical configuration and use of public spaces also entailed a new model of social interaction, transforming parks into “places” (rather than spaces). As explained by Tuan (2014 [1977]), in contrast to the openness and liberty of movement that space offers, a place is a delimited container of meaning and values produced by the “affective and reflective mind,” which also produces physical settings of social activity located geographically (Giddens 1990). Thus, by transforming public spaces into places, urban modernization created venues that intertwined sounding, listening, and the experiences of place and space, delineating new meanings for citizenship and musicality in Colombia, often imbricated in issues like class, gender, race, and regional identities (Birenbaum Quintero 2009).

In consequence, the processes that drove the transformation of plazas into parks also promoted and required a sonorous reconfiguration of urban public spaces, which introduced a soundscape representing and containing a set of values adopted, adapted, and promoted by the

⁸² These “urban forests” usually were designed, planted, and constructed as a part of special anniversaries like the first centennial of National Independence, the foundation of the city, the independence of the city, and the birth or death of a national or regional hero. In contrast with the plazas transformed into parks, these urban forests tended to be located at the periphery of the expanding city. Prominent examples are the Parque del Centenario in Bogotá (1910), the Parque del Centenario in Cartagena (1911), the Bosque de la Independencia in Medellín (1913), and the Parque Nacional in Bogotá (1934).

local elites. For this reason, some sonic identities of subordinated social classes that had previously inhabited the plaza were denied entry to the park; others, like those represented by the bands, became fixed within the park's time and space.

In many cases, urban gardens also were a result of a city's expansion. For instance, Medellín's growth led to the construction of El Parque de Bolívar in the northeast periphery of the city (fig. 22). This new park, inaugurated in 1892, became the cornerstone of a new conception of the nature and function of public spaces in Medellín. The park was the center of Villanueva, a new enclave of the city's upper classes (fig. 22, green circle) to the North of Medellín's Parque principal (fig. 22, red circle). The new neighborhood was built around two main structures: the new cathedral and the new park. The park was built following a French-inspired design made in 1871 by students of the Escuela de Minas, directed by Juan Rafael Llano and Germán and Manuel Botero.

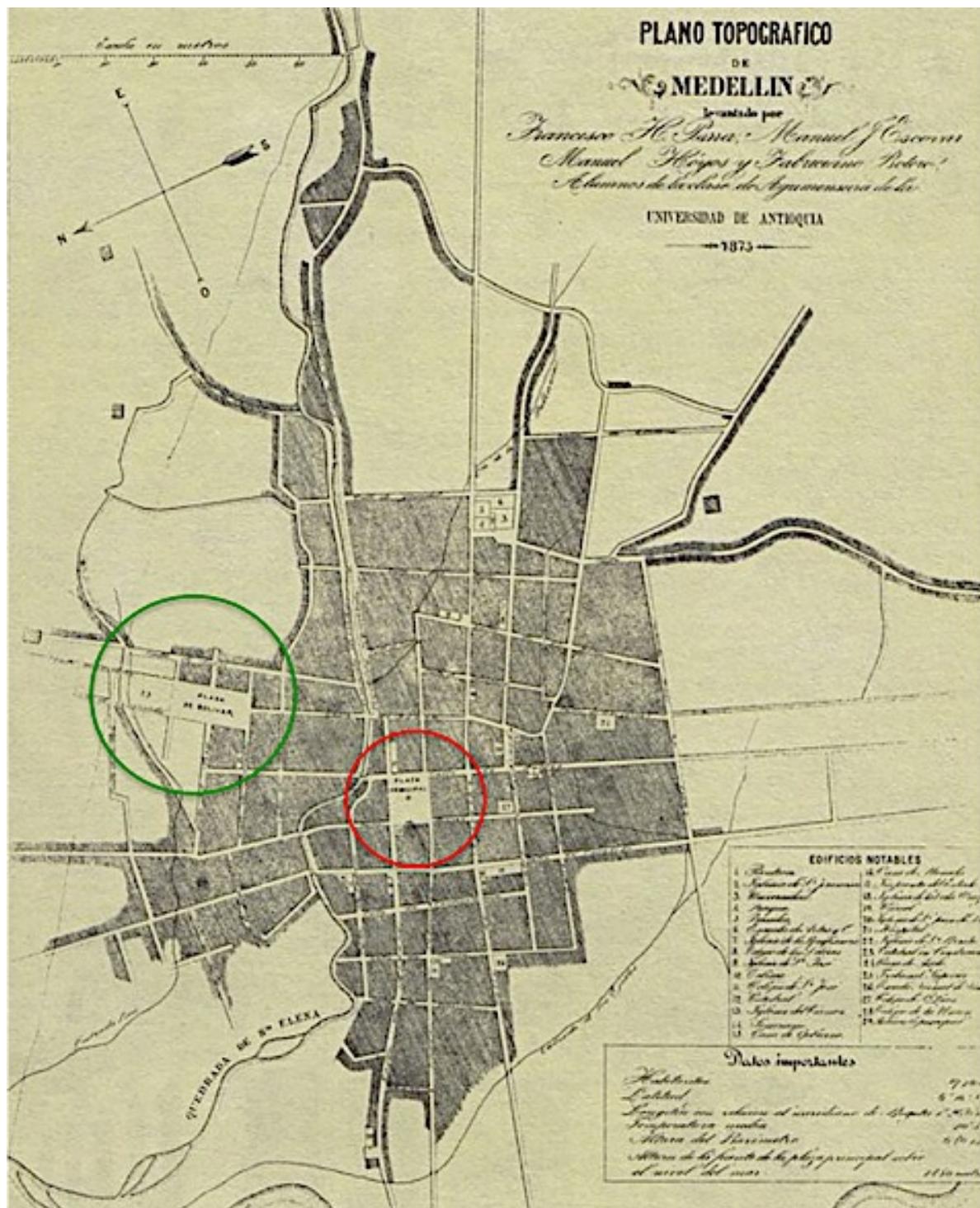


Figure 22. *Plan of Medellín*, Francisco H. Parra et al., 1875.

CO AHM, Deposito 5, Planoteca E, Bandeja 9, Folio 59.

Courtesy Archivo Histórico de Medellín. Medellín

The design of the new park illustrates how these urban gardens departed from the colonial plaza model. Indeed, a metal grille fence imported from Europe delimited a space with trees and flowers ordered in a geometric design (fig. 23).⁸³ The municipality also constructed a reflecting pool, and later added a bandstand and a statue of Simón Bolívar. The construction of the new park was a long process that began around 1880; after its dedication in 1892, some work was still ongoing through 1897.



Figure 23. *Parque de Bolívar*, photography by Melitón Rodríguez, BPP-F-008-0213, 1892.

Courtesy Archivo Fotográfico Biblioteca Pública Piloto, Medellín.

⁸³ The use of these grille fences to delimit parks and restrict the citizens' access to them was a common practice in Colombian cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The grilles were prominent architectonic features in the Plaza de Bolívar (Bogotá) and parks like Parque Caldas (Popayán), Parque de Berrio (Medellín), Parque de Bolívar (Cartagena), Parque-Jardín Reyes González (Bucaramanga), and Plaza de Caicedo (Cali).

The new ideas about urban landscape and public spaces that Llano and Botero's design introduced to Medellín were soon adapted to former plazas. Between 1892 and 1895, when the Plaza Principal of the city was renamed Parque de Berrío—in homage to Pedro Justo Berrío on the fifteenth anniversary of his death⁸⁴—the architect Antonio J. Duque and his students at the Facultad de Minas changed its design (Bravo Betancur 2007). Following the model of the Parque de Bolívar, Duque's refurbishment introduced structures like a bandstand, a sculpture of the park's namesake, benches, and trees (fig. 24).⁸⁵



Figure 24. *Parque de Berrío*, photography by Melitón Rodríguez, BPP-F-008-0447, 1903.
Courtesy Archivo Fotográfico Biblioteca Pública Piloto, Medellín.

⁸⁴ The politician and military Pedro Justo Berrío (1827–1875) was among the most influential conservative leaders in Antioquia during the nineteenth century. As governor of the State of Antioquia, Berrío promoted major reforms in the educational system, public administration, and works of new infrastructure like public roads.

⁸⁵ This change was the more significant intervention in the plaza during the nineteenth century. This process began in 1890, when the governor Baltasar Botero Uribe—a conservative as Berrío—promoted an Ordenanza (act) that changed the name from plaza mayor to Parque de Berrío. Botero also stipulated that any reform made to the park must include one sculpture of Berrío. Julián Cock, the next governor, continued this process. The sculpture and the new park were inaugurated on July 29, 1895 (Bravo Betancur 2007).

The introduction of grille fences and hedges fostered a noticeable reconfiguration of these new public spaces by disrupting the former continuity between plazas and streets. Similarly to what happened in other Colombian cities like Bucaramanga, Bogotá, Cali, and Cartagena, these barriers ultimately invited or compelled the visitor to experience parks as gardens that offered shelter. Thus, the experience of being in the park contrasted with that of being in the multipurpose plaza, introducing both different experiences of the public space and new models of socialization within urban public spaces.

Local authorities envisioned the park as a healthier and more modern place that invited introspection. This was in accordance with campaigns and policies of institutions such as the Junta Central de Higiene (Central Council of Hygiene) that promoted salubriousness and health while advocating quiet and clean public spaces (Gutiérrez 2010). It is no coincidence that at the same time that colonial plazas were being transformed into republican parks, the outdoor markets—and the many cacophonous sounds that they contained—were displaced to buildings like the Plaza de Mercado in Bogotá (1864), the Mercado Público in Barranquilla (1880), the Plaza de Mercado Cubierto in Medellín (1892), the Casa de Mercado de San Mateo in Bucaramanga (1896), and the Mercado Público in Cartagena (1904).

Between 1886 and 1930 retretas were performed in the parks of Colombian cities at least twice weekly (usually on Thursday afternoons or evenings, especially in cities where public illumination was available, and Sunday mornings). The bandstand was the place where the band performed these public concerts and soon became the hub from which sound and music irradiated during the retreta, a place around which people gathered to listen to the music. Indeed, bands and retretas were so tied to bandstands that in some regions, like cities and towns of Cauca Valley, the bandstand developed an almost synecdochical relationship with the retreta. In short, when it was

on the bandstand, the band itself became a topographic referent of the sonorous experience and models of social interaction that the parks offered to their visitors (fig. 25).



Figure 25. *Retreta in Parque de la Independencia*, photographer unknown, 1912.

El Gráfico, No. 76, [n.p.], March 16.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá.

This suggests that through retretas, the local elites, official authorities, and public institutions promoted a complex resignification of the role of music within public spaces, and especially parks, as an important part of the process of modernization within cities. Along with this came a demand for modern musical ensembles to perform in modern public places, which fostered the transformation of bands into civilizing mechanisms whose sound was a sonorous representation of urban progress and the aspirations of “civilized” cities.

3.2 FROM THE CHIRIMÍA TO THE BANDA: A MODERN SOUND FOR A MODERN PLACE

During the eighteenth century, the Spanish Crown introduced a series of reforms that called for the modernization of the public administration in the Hispano-American colonies. In Colombia these reforms transformed music into an essential element in the civil and military ceremonies of cities and villages (Bermúdez and Duque 2000). Thus, European-style military bands replaced the older tradition of *chirimías* within institutionalized contexts, although these musical ensembles, which usually featured indigenous and mestizo musicians,⁸⁶ continued their labor in rural areas and popular celebrations in urban context. Indeed, in Colombian regions such as Cauca, Antioquia, and Cohocó wind ensembles called *chirimías* still exist, despite the difference in the instruments that made them (fig. 26).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ The *chirimías* of indigenous musicians from Fontibón, a Jesuit reduction, who participated in religious processions in Bogotá until the nineteenth century, are a good example of the presence of indigenous musicians in these ensembles (Bermúdez and Duque 2000, 69).

⁸⁷ According to the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, the term *chirimía* originally refers to a family of double reed wind instruments introduced to Spain in the tenth century. However, in Colombia, this term also refers to two different musical ensembles. The first is the chrimía from Cauca, in the Colombian Southwest, composed of traditional instruments: flutes, bombo, tambor, marcas, and chuco. The second is the Chirimía Chocoana that will be introduced in further detail later during this chapter (Casares, Lopéz–Calo, Fernández et al. 1999, 663)



Figure 26. *Chirimeros of Giradota*, photography by Gabriel Carvajal, BPP-F-006-0141, ca.1950.
Courtesy Archivo de Fotográfico Biblioteca Pública Piloto. Medellín

The increased military activity during the wars of independence and the subsequent civil wars meant the creation of battalions and regiments, and so the bands spread through the country during the nineteenth century. After Independence, the bands were considered a significant part of any military institution (fig. 27). In 1830, General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1798–1878) wrote *Ideas Sobre las Instituciones Militares para Colombia en su Nueva Organización* (Ideas for Colombia pertaining to Military Institutions and Its New Order), a manual containing his plan for the reorganization of the Colombian army after the dissolution of Gran Colombia.⁸⁸ According to

⁸⁸ A member of an influential family from Popayán, Mosquera was a liberal who fought in Bolívar's army during the Independence War, then became general and was president of Colombia four times (1845–1849,

Mosquera, each infantry battalion should have 637 men during peaceful times, including one *Músico Mayor* (usually the bandmaster or his assistant), one *Tambor Mayor* (percussionist), and twelve other musicians (Mosquera 1830, appendix D).



Figure 27. Uniform bands for the Antioquia, Girardot, Rifles, Cartagena, and Alto Magdalena regiments.

Watercolor by Y. Aliriventz, MNC-626, 1823.

Courtesy Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

1861–1863, 1863–1862, and 1866–1867). Gran Colombia was the republic that existed after the Independence since 1819 until 1830. It was composed of the territories of Colombia, Ecuador, Panamá, and Venezuela.

As a consequence of Colombia's entrance into global commercial networks, new musical instruments arrived to the country in the mid-nineteenth century. This ultimately led to the introduction of the *banda de armonía* model also known as *banda de música*, the Spanish equivalent of a symphonic band (Bermúdez and Duque 2000). Thus, the introduction of wind instruments with new systems of valves developed by Heinrich Strözel (1777–1854) and Friederich Blüemel (1777–1845) during the second decade of the nineteenth century transformed military bands like the Banda del Batallón de Artillería No. 1 and the Banda del Batallón de Granaderos No. 1 in Bogotá, enlarging their size. By 1860 the average military band was composed of fourteen musicians, who usually played “one E-flat clarinet, three B-flat clarinets, two trumpets, one flugelhorn, one E-flat Cornet, two saxhorns, one euphonium, one side drum, one bass drum and cymbals” (Sarmiento Rodríguez 2015, 10).

At the end of the nineteenth century, these bands coexisted with a new model of military band, informed by the French and Italian traditions introduced to Bogotá by the Italian Emanuele [Manuel] Conti Tamburini (c. 1868–1914), who arrived in Colombia in 1888 when the Ministry of War hired him as General Bandmaster of the Army (Sarmiento Rodríguez 2015). There is an interesting parallel in the adaptation of European and American designs, technologies, and materials for the recharacterization of architecture in the new urban public spaces (Saldarriaga Roa 1986) and in the process of adapting original orchestration to the availability of instruments, as indicated by a series of manuscripts by Conti. For instance, in *Omaggio al Maestro Bellini* (fig. 28), an operatic paraphrase by Giuseppe Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870) based on Bellini's opera themes, Conti replaced the bass trombones with *barítonos* (B-flat saxhorn) and the double basses with *B-flat bombardoni* (double bass euphonium).

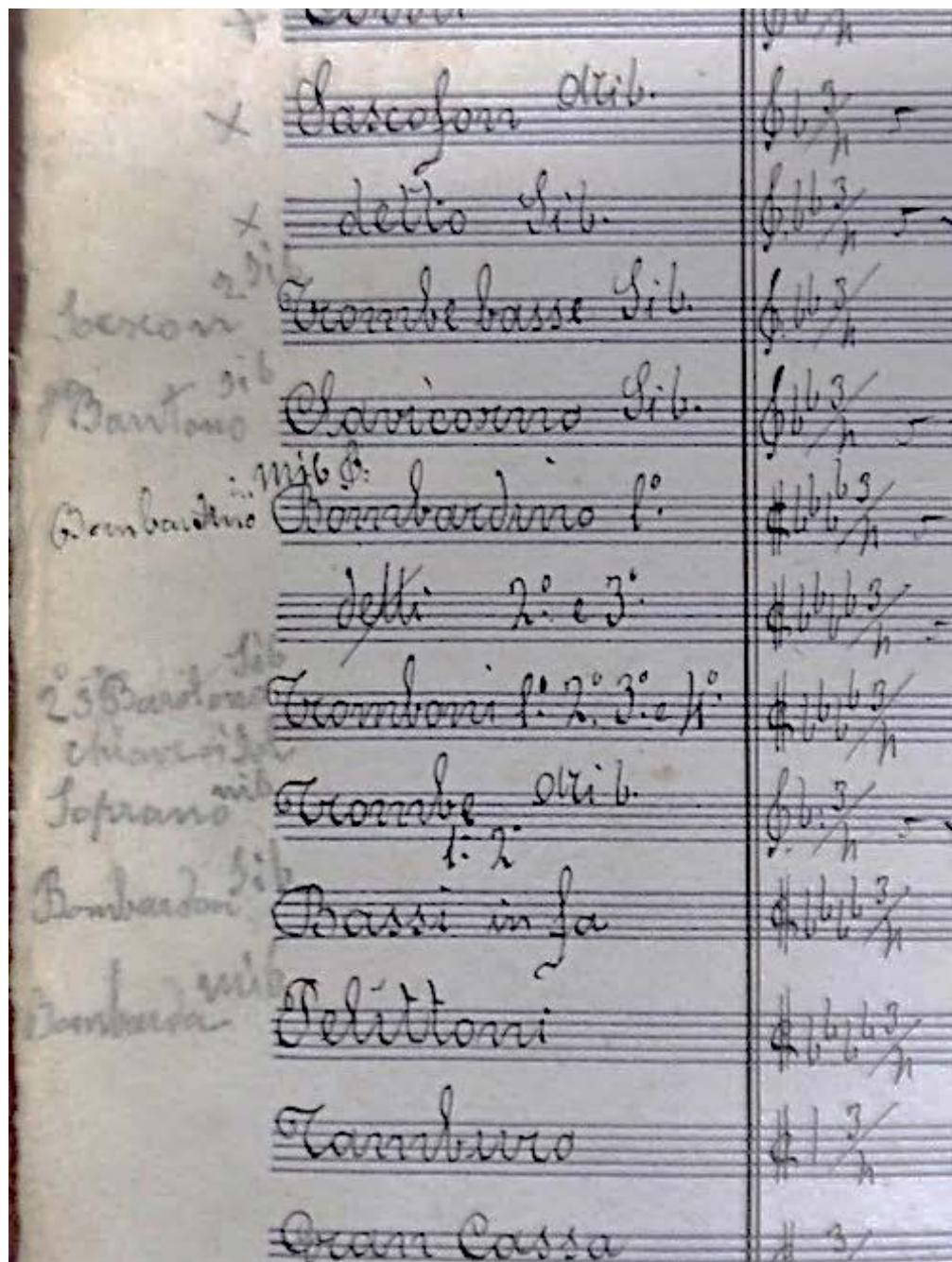


Figure 28. *Omaggio al Maestro Bellini* (detail), MS by Emanuelle Conti, PAR-RI-4084-MS, 1888.

Courtesy Centro de Documentación Musical, Biblioteca Nacional. Bogotá.

In 1897, National Decree No. 228 established Conti's model as the official standard for military bands in Colombia (Ministerio de Guerra 1898, 280–294). Article 4 of this decree

indicated the band's instrumentation, which resembled the French tradition but without double reed instruments and horns (table 4). Notwithstanding, in article 7 this decree also indicates that any military band located in a Colombian city other than Bogotá must "keep the same organization and staff that they had before."⁸⁹ Thus, this decree was inscribed in a centralist policy focused on the modernization of these musical ensembles in Bogotá, while indirectly entrusting this task in other Colombian regions to the goodwill and economic capacities of local authorities and communities.

Table 4. *Instrumentation of late nineteenth-century Colombian and European bands.*⁹⁰

Colombia	France, Belgium, and Holland	Italy	Switzerland
D-flat piccolo C flute [—]	D-flat piccolo C flute Oboe	E-flat or D-flat piccolo C Flute Oboe	D-flat piccolo C flute [—]
E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets [—]	E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets [—]	E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets B-flat bass clarinet	E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets [—]
[—] [—]	Bassoon [—]	Bassoon Double bassoon	[—] [—]
3 saxophones [—] [—] [—] [—]	4 saxophones E-flat horns E-flat sopranino flugelhorn (petit bugle) B-flat flugelhorns E-flat alto flugelhorns	3 saxophones E-flat Horns E-flat sopranino flugelhorn (123iston) B-flat cornets E-flat contralto flicorno	4 saxophones [—] E-flat sopranino flugelhorn (Pikkolo— Kornet) B-flat flugelhorns E-flat althorns

⁸⁹ "Las Bandas militares de música existentes fuera de esta capital continuarán con el mismo personal y organización que hoy tienen."

⁹⁰ This information is compiled from National Decree 228 of 1897 (Colombia), and the article on "Band" § "France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Switzerland" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Polk, Page, et al. 2001, 622–651).

Table 4 (continued)

B-flat trumpets	E-flat trumpets	E-flat trumpets	B-flat trumpets
E-flat alto	E-flat alto saxhorns	[—]	[—]
flugelhorns			
B-flat baritones	B-flat baritones	[—]	B-flat baritones (tenorhörner)
B-flat bass saxhorns	B-flat bass saxhorns	Euphoniums (Bombardini)	B-flat baritone
Trombones	Trombones	Valve trombones	Trombones
E-flat double bass			
saxhorns	E-flat double bass	Bombardoni (flicorni	
(contrabajos)	saxhorn	basso-gravi)	E-flat bass tuba
B-flat double bass			
saxhorns	B-flat double bass tuba	Pelitoni (flicorni	[—]
(contrabajos)		contrabassi)	B-flat double bass tuba
Side drum	Side drum	Side drum	Side drum
Bass drum	Bass drum	Bass drum	Bass drum
Cymbals	Cymbals	Cymbals	Cymbals
[—]	[—]	Bell-lyra	[—]

The arrival of new instruments also was interpreted as a means for introducing a modern sound, suitable for the new public spaces that urban modernization was creating. In 1882, Jorge W. Price (1853–1953), director and founder of the Academia Nacional de Música, praised the saxophone as “a member of a new, modern and beautiful family of [musical] instruments whose timbre offers new and beautiful voices that are sweet and penetrating” (Price 1882, 54).⁹¹ In contrast, Price discouraged the use of the cornet, declaring: “Its voice is rude, sharp, and out of tune” (Price 1882, 62).⁹²

⁹¹ “He aquí una familia moderna de instrumentos bellos. Su timbre da a la orquesta voces nuevas y preciosas, dulces y penetrantes.”

⁹² “Su voz es fuerte, penetrante y poco afinada.”

As Price's comments indicate, the importation of new instruments, especially those with systems of keys and valves mentioned above, was a significant change. As explained by Thompson (2002), scientific research and technological developments produce changes in how humans understand sound and its relationship with space. Thus, the brilliant timbres and more precise tuning that differentiated these new instruments from their predecessors also was intended to produce a sound easily audible and identifiable in open spaces—a characteristic often cited as sonorous projection—which made them ideal for outdoor performances. Thus, the technological development of instruments determined one characteristic of the new sound of the band; its efficiency was measurable in terms of projection, tuning, and pervasiveness.

Since the band usually performed retretas in the parks, a greater projection was necessary to guarantee that the audience could hear the music outdoors. As a result, the retreta temporarily annihilated other sonorous presences, like the gossip and laughter of some spectators, the noise of peasants in the surrounding streets, and the guitars and songs of the *serenateros*.⁹³ By establishing a difference between the administration of the bands in Bogotá and other regions, National Decree No. 228 also allowed local processes of band modernization. Thus, the process of centralization of public administration in Colombia was reflected in the processes of modernizing the bands, which paradoxically also encouraged regional autonomy that led to the transformation of many military bands into civic-military ensembles, often made up of members of the army or the local police but sponsored, whether partially or totally, by civil authorities.

⁹³ The *serenateros* were musicians—usually singers and guitar players—hired by suitors to sing sets of love songs known as *serenatas*. They typically waited for their clients in parks and then traveled with them to the exterior of the house of the woman who was to receive the serenata as a gift.

This process of reorganization of the bands also entailed a regularization of the musical repertoires that they performed in the retreta. As pointed out by Mario Sarmiento Rodríguez (2016), by the late nineteenth century the standardization of symphonic band instrumentation in the Colombian army also introduced an organization of the musical repertoire that they performed. Such organization was based on three categories or *órdenes* (orders): (1) adaptations of operas, operatic overtures, fantasias after operas (operatic paraphrases), and “grand marches”; (2) a series of waltzes, “grand polkas,” and “bambucos in four parts”; and (3) dances that also were popular in the salon, such as polkas, contredances, and pasillos. This reorganization of the musical repertoire, which replicated in the retreta the hierarchical order supporting the symbolic geography of sound introduced in the salon, was so crucial for the processes of modernization of the band and the retreta that it was made explicit in the contracts of new musical directors. For instance, Sarmiento Rodríguez also points out that these three categories were mentioned in the contract that José María Ponce de León signed when he was as director of the Banda del Medio Batallón de Artillería in Bogotá in 1874 (Sarmiento Rodríguez 2016, 68).

Bands from several Colombian cities adopted these categories as guides for organizing the performance of the retreta. Indeed, by the first decade of the twentieth century they still informed how directors organized the musical repertory that the band performed during the retreta, as illustrated by the programs for the retretas that Julio Cuadros directed in Cali on December 21 and 22, 1904 (fig. 29). By playing this musical repertoire in retretas in plazas and parks, the bands became a significant soundmark within the modern city, attached in time and space to the new urban models of socialization that the park aspired to promote. For this reason, the civil authorities of the municipalities supported bands attached to military institutions by buying new musical

instruments for these ensembles and creating civic-military bands that hired musicians to play in civil and religious ceremonies, carnivals, and special celebrations.

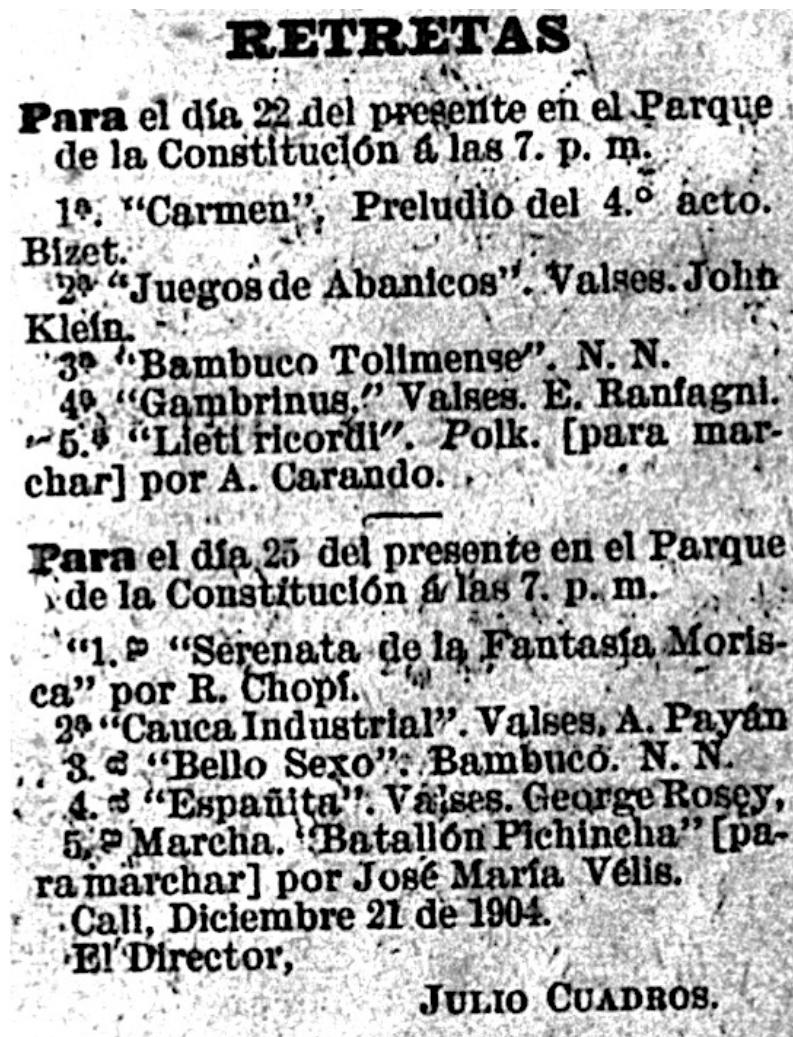


Figure 29. Program of the retretas in Cali, 1904.

El Correo del Cauca, No. 90, p. 395, December 21.

Courtesy Biblioteca del Banco de la República, Cali.

This role as generators of a place and space for proper social interaction during leisure time, encouraged local communities in the regions to consider the band and the retreta as significant

expressions of cultural capital. Therefore, in accordance with the increasing influence and power of civil authorities, the bands were gradually resignified beyond the limits of a military institution, while also increasingly perceived as a prominent part of both the apparatus that educated citizens in public spaces and sonic representation of the modern city. For these reasons, the local communities promoted their creation, supported their work, and defended their existence when threatened by budget cuts and military reforms.⁹⁴

A case in point is Medellín. In 1907 the Medellín Municipal Police had a band with twenty-six musicians and one bandmaster.⁹⁵ This same year, the municipality of Medellín acknowledged that the band required “new and modern instruments that replace the ancient ones, in order to satisfy [the taste of the audience]” (El Bateo 1907, 3).⁹⁶ In response, the municipality, the Society of Public Improvements, and the citizens of the city collected seventy thousand Colombian pesos to purchase a new set of instruments. In August 1907, Medellín’s government purchased and imported new musical instruments from Europe through Hijos de Pastor Restrepo y Cía., a local

⁹⁴ For instance, in 1919 when the national government decided to move the Battalion Gidardot to Barranquilla, the council of Medellín sent a complaint to the minister of war demanding that the battalion’s band stay in Medellín. In their complaints, local authorities affirmed that the municipality had been paying the salary of the bandmaster and had bought the band’s musical instruments (Concejo de Medellín to Ministerio de Guerra Auguts1919). Civilian authorities of cities like Manizalez, Popayán, and Cali wrote similar complaints when the Ministry of War ordered the closing or moving of local bands during the military’s 1910 reforms.

⁹⁵ The first directory of Medellín by Isidoro Silva (1906) published a list indicating the names and ranks of the members of the band: Director (Colonel) Rafael D’ Alemán; Subdirector Carlos Estrada (Captain); Assistant of Director Pedro María Mesa (Lieutenant); Francisco A. Muñoz, José J. Ortíz, Enrique Cuervo, Emilio Velásquez, Leopoldo Hernández, Francisco Gallo (Lieutenants); Munuel J. Cano, Juan P. Vásquez, Jesús M. Zapata, Julio J. Becerra, Rafael Muñoz, Pedro P. Henao, Pacífico Carvalho (Sublieutenants); Alfredo Estrada, Teodoro Alfaro, Francisco Restrepo, Simeón Isaza (Sergeants); Abel de J. Gómez, Alejandro Angel, Martín E. Osorio, Jesús M. Gaviria, José M. Hernández, Marcial Osorio, Jesús M. Olarte (Gendarmes). Silva 1906

⁹⁶ “Instrumental nuevo y moderno del que se espera satisfaga [a la audiencia], y reemplace el antiquísimo que hoy posee [la Banda].”

trading company (El Bateo 1907, 3; Hijos de Pastor Restrepo to Concejo de Medellín August 12 1908). The new instruments arrived in the harbor of Barranquilla and were shipped to Medellín in April 1908 (El Bateo 1908,3). That year, Benjamín de la Calle took a photograph of the band, showing the musicians wearing their new uniforms and posing with their new instruments: one piccolo, four flutes, four clarinets, two saxhorns, four flugelhorns, three trombones, two horns, one bugle, two trumpets one tuba, cymbals, one side drum, and one bass drum (fig. 30).

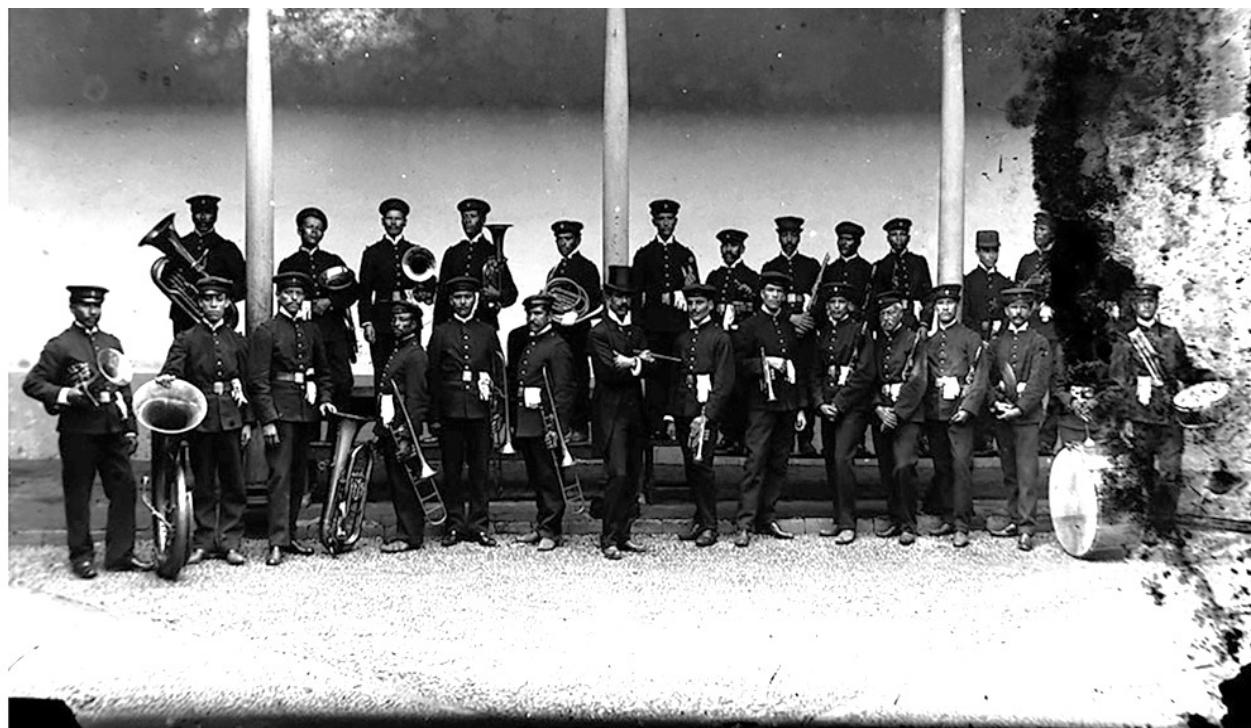


Figure 30. *Banda de Música, Medellín*, photography by Benjamín de la Calle, BPP-F-011-0841, 1908.

Courtesy Archivo Fotográfico Biblioteca Pública Piloto. Medellín

This band did not differ in structure and size from the military bands active in other Colombian cities. For instance, in his report to the Colombian Congress in 1898, General Isaías Luján, Minister of War, indicated that the military band of Cali had twenty-six members and the

military band of Popayán had twenty-three musicians. As indicated above, the interest of Medellín's civil authorities in modernizing the military band of the city (later transferred to the Battalion Girardot) also indicates an increasing participation of civilian institutions in the support and creation of bands.

In many Colombian cities and towns civilian organizations that promoted urban modernization assumed the responsibility for creating, sponsoring, and keeping active symphonic bands that fulfilled the role that military bands fulfilled in other cities. For instance, in 1925 the Society of Public Improvements of Manizales created a symphonic Band that played the retretas in the Parque de Bolívar. According to a picture published in the magazine *Sábado* (fig. 31), this band has sixteen musicians. This picture shows two relevant characteristics of such ensembles: first, although they were civilian ensembles the uniforms still offered a visual reference to the governmental institutions during the retretas; and second, the presence of children in the ensemble illustrates a form of musical learning based on practice that, as will be explained in further detail in chapter 4, transformed these musical ensembles into key institutions that educated musicians.

Since the bands of Bogotá were the main target of the reforms implemented in 1897, the transition toward a civilian band was more dramatic in the Colombian capital. In 1911 the Ministry of Public Instruction commissioned Guillermo Uribe Holguín, director of the National Conservatory of Music, to evaluate the main military bands in Bogotá and analyze future strategies for creating one symphonic band out of the military institutions. Uribe Holguín produced a detailed manuscript report, in which he listed the three main military bands—Banda del Batallón Bolívar No. 1, Banda del Grupo de Artillería, and Banda del Batallón Caldas—and suggested merging the Banda del Batallón Bolívar No. 1 and the Banda del Grupo de Artillería to create a single institution (Guillermo Uribe Holguín to Minister of Public Instruction, September 12, 1911).

He suggested that this new band should be a civilian musical ensemble attached to the Ministry of Public Instruction. Uribe Holguín's reform aspired to separate the band's military and civilian functions by creating small brass bands for the battalions and one symphonic band that performed retretas and concerts.



Figure 31. *Banda de Manizales*, photographer unknown, 1925.

Sábado, No. 96, p. 1163, June 2

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín

Two years after Uribe Holguín's proposal, the Colombian government partially implemented his plan, motivated by the fact that a reduction of military bands and the creation of

the new band would lower operational expenses—Uribe Holguín had projected a decrease in the budget from 39,240 to 24,000 pesos per year. National Decree No. 203 of February 28, 1913 (República de Colombia 1913, 550) removed the Banda del Batallón No. 1 and Banda del Grupo de Artillería from the Ministry of War, transferring them to the Ministry of Public Instruction. National Decree No. 272 of March 17, 1913 (República de Colombia 1913, 669) fused these two bands into a single band called Banda Nacional de Bogotá (National Band of Bogotá), composed of former military musicians who became professors and students at the National Conservatory of Music.

Uribe Holguín's recommendations ultimately promoted a major reform of the bands in Bogotá, which had four main goals: (1) the creation of a civilian symphonic band that performed symphonic concerts in urban parks; (2) the modernization of the band through the introduction of instruments like oboes, English horn, and flugelhorns (table 5), following French and Belgian models that envisioned the symphonic band as equivalent to a symphonic orchestra for outdoor concerts; (3) the founding of military fanfares in the battalions that performed in military parades and religious and civic celebrations; and (4) the professionalization of the band and its musicians at the National Conservatory of Music.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Between 1907 and 1910, Uribe Holguín studied composition with Vincent D'Indy at the Schola Cantorum in Paris.

Table 5. *Instrumentation of Colombian, French, and Belgium bands between 1897 and 1919.*⁹⁸

Colombian Military Bands 1897	Colombian National Band 1913	Colombian National Band 1919	France/Belgium
D-flat piccolo C flute	D-flat piccolo C flutes	D-flat piccolo 2 C flutes	D-flat piccolo C flutes
E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets [—]	E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets Bass clarinet	1 E-flat clarinet 10 B-flat clarinets 1 Bass clarinet	E-flat clarinet B-flat clarinets Bass Clarinets
[—] [—] [—]	Oboes English horn Bassoons	2 Oboes [—] 2 Bassoons	Oboes English horn Bassoons
3 saxophones [—] [—] [—]	4 saxophones [—] E-flat Horns E-flat sopranino flugelhorn	2 E-flat alto saxophones 2 B-flat tenor saxophones 1 E-flat baritone saxophone 4 E-flat horns 1 E-flat sopranino flugelhorn	4 saxophones [—] E-flat horns E-flat sopranino flugelhorn
[—] [—]	B-flat flugelhorns (bugles) E-flat alto flugelhorns	3 B-flat flugelhorns (bugles) 3 E-flat alto flugelhorns	B-flat flugelhorns (bugles) E-flat alto flugelhorns
B-flat trumpets [—] E-flat alto flugelhorns B-flat baritones B-flat bass saxhorns Trombones E-flat double bass saxhorns (contrabajos) B-flat double bass saxhorns [—] [—]	B-flat trumpets E-flat trumpets E-flat alto flugelhorns B-flat baritones B-flat bass saxhorns Trombones E-flat double bass saxhorns (contrabajos) B-flat double bass saxhorns Ophicleide Double basses (strings)	3 B-flat trumpets 2 E-flat trumpets 3 E-flat alto flugelhorns 3 B-flat baritones 3 B-flat bass saxhorns 4 Trombones 2 E-flat double bass saxhorns (contrabajos) 3 B-flat double bass saxhorns [—] [—]	B-flat trumpets E-flat trumpets E-flat alto saxhorns B-flat baritones B-flat bass saxhorns Trombones E-flat double bass saxhorn B-flat double bass tuba E-flat sarrusophone Double bass (string)
Side drum Bass drum Cymbals	Side drum Bass drum Cymbals	1 Side drum 1 Bass drum Cymbals	Side drum Bass drum Cymbals

⁹⁸ Information regarding Colombian bands gathered from National Decree 228 of 1897 (1897), music scores at the Banda Nacional's archive (1913), and Honorio Alarcón's Album (1919). Information regarding French and Belgian bands gathered from *Cours d'Ensemble Instrumental à l'Usage des Musiques Militaires, d'Harmonie et de Fanfare* by Gabriel Parès (1898).

One of the main symbolic gestures of the process of modernization that led to the creation of the Banda Nacional was that this reform transferred the new band to the ministry that designed and implemented the education policies in Colombia. This reveals that the transformation of the bands into civic-military and civilian institutions was a result of both the reconfiguration of the symbolic value of these musical ensembles and the increasing demilitarization of Colombia after War of the Thousand Days. The transition from military bands to civilian and civic-military ensembles also ushered in a process of modernization that fostered the transformation of the repertoires performed during the retreta, privileging adaptations of arias, opera overtures, and fantasias of operas. The presence of Italian bandmasters like Emanuele Conti in Bogotá, Giovanni (Juan) De Sanctis in Cartagena, and Augusto Azzali in Medellín, as well as local musicians familiar with operatic repertoire—such as Rafael de Alemán and Gonzalo Vidal in Medellín (Zapata Cuéncar 1971)—contributed to the preeminence of opera melodies and operatic paraphrases, and opera overtures in the retretas.

The introduction of operas and zarzuelas also was a means of validating a particular form of cultural capital, as indicated by an editorial complaint directed to Giovanni De Sanctis, bandmaster in Cartagena, published in the newspaper El Heraldo in October of 1909: “One question and request to our friend [Giovanni] De Sanctis: Why during the retretas does [the band] only play waltzes and danzones, and not include zarzuela and opera?” (El Heraldo 1909, 4).⁹⁹ In response to this criticism De Sanctis changed the retreta’s program, replacing danzones with operas, as a note published three months later in the Heraldo indicates: “Very good, friend De

⁹⁹ “Una pregunta y una súplica, amigo [Juan] De Sanctis: ¿Por qué en las retretas solo tocan vals, danzones, etc y nada de zarzuela u opera?”

Sanctis, very good! You can see how many ovations your retreta received last Sunday. Our audience wants to listen to classical music, which is demonstrated by the ovation that the band, that you so skillfully direct, received" (*El Heraldo* 1910, 4).¹⁰⁰

By praising opera and zarzuela, the editor of *El Heraldo* associated these musical genres with the values of high culture, proper social interaction, and good taste that the elites adopted in theaters and salons. In a few words, bands were transformed into mechanisms for projecting into public spaces the cultural capital that, as explained in chapter 2, the local elites acquired in semiprivate spaces such as salons, or semipublic spaces such as theaters (Velásquez 2013). This phenomenon also informed the labor of local composers, who introduced sonorities and gestures in response to the symbolic value of musical genres and musical styles associated with high culture, distinction and modernity, adapting a "new musical language" to their new works in a way that paralleled the symbolic geography of sound that the pasillo created within the semiprivate sphere of the salon.

Two examples illustrate how local composers adapted sonorities from the opera and salon music to local traditions. The first example is *Pasodoble* by Francisco Javier Vidal (1834–1886). A piano adaptation of this piece was published as homage to Vidal in 1901 in the musical magazine *Revista Musical*. Although this piece represents the tradition of the salon—a microform associated with the dance—its coda contains a compositional technique frequently used by Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) in the overtures of his operas such as *La Gazza Ladra*, *Il barbiere de Siviglia* and *Guillaume Tel*. Measure 95 prominently features an ostinato triplet line on tonic and dominant

¹⁰⁰ "¡Muy bien, amigo [Juan] De Sanctis, muy bien! Ya ve usted cuántos aplausos cosechó con su retreta el domingo último. Nuestro público quiere música clásica [sic], y esa a de manera ovación, que le hicieron a la banda que hábilmente dirige usted, lo deja demostrado."

harmonies (fig. 32, red square) that leads to an expansion on the tonic chord D major in measure 103 (fig. 32, green square). This brilliantly finishes with a run up seven degrees of the scale in the space of a dotted quarter that reaches the tonic in measure 105 (fig. 32, blue square).

Figure 32. *Pasodoble* by Francisco J. Vidal, *Coda*. Revista Musical, No 1, p.1, November, 1901.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín

Transcribed by Juan Velásquez

Vidal played the double bass and was hired frequently to support opera companies that visited Medellín. He also created the first zarzuela company in Medellín and occasionally conducted the band after 1910 (Zapata Cuéncar 1971). Vidal's contacts with lyric repertoire through his work in theaters familiarized him with this harmonic expansion through arpeggiation

and melody, which were introduced in a piece that the band performed in the park during the retreta.

Another example is *Melodía Fúnebre* (Funeral Melody), a short funeral march by Gonzalo Vidal (1863–1946). *Melodía Fúnebre* was premiered in a funeral retreta after an homage mass to the general Próspero Pinzón (1856–1901), Commander in Chief of the Army, General Treasurer, and Minister of War of Colombia who headed the conservative army during the One Thousand Day's war. Composed just one generation after Francisco Javier Vidal, this short piece shows how other stylistic influences were introduced. For instance, the first measures of the *Melodía Fúnebre* (Figure 33) contain elaborate chromaticism and an identifiable treatment of dynamics (opposition between decrescendo and an ascendant melodic line, and vice versa) that resemble Chopin's nocturnes, pieces that Gonzalo Vidal admired (Vidal 1925).

Adagio

Dolente

5

cresc

f p

Figure 33. *Melodía Fúnebre* by Gonzalo Vidal (detail), Revista Musical, No. 4 and 5, [n.p.], 1901.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín

Transcribed by Juan Velásquez

The introduction of these features was beyond imitation; it was a result of the aspirations of some musicians, especially composers, to position themselves as “professional artists” who were aware of “musical languages” that represented good taste and distinction. As will be explained in further detail in chapter 4, the status of such musicians often differed from the performers, especially the musicians of the symphonic bands and other musicians within the local communities who also created their own ensembles (López, Loaiza and Ezquivel 2012). These small bands usually were made up of members of subaltern social classes, such as craftsmen or descendants of African slaves and indigenous people, who offered freelance services, and used to be independent from any governmental institution.¹⁰¹ Indeed, although these musical ensembles were made of newer musical instruments, they often accomplished the former function of the chirimías in public festivities. From this standpoint, such wind ensembles can be considered as forms of appropriation of new sonorities and instruments, which according to the local elites were associated with modern urban spaces, by the members of subaltern social classes, who adapted them to old practices and habitus that predated the Colombian independency.

Two examples of such processes are the chirimía chocoana and the banda pelayera. The Chirimía Chocoana is a traditional musical ensemble from Chocó, a department in the Colombian Northwest that has a large Afrocolombian population. Even though they have the same name of the old musical ensemble, the chirimía chocoana is made up of clarinet, flugelhorn, side drum, bass drum, and cymbals, and often perform music in public spaces in contexts of celebration and

¹⁰¹ For instance, one article published in the newspaper *El Bateo* indicates that the “Banda de la América” and the “Banda Paniagua,” from Medellín, were composed of peasants, laborers, and craftsmen (*El Bateo* 1909, 1).

carnival.¹⁰² The Banda Pelayera is a traditional musical ensemble from the plains of Córdoba and Sucre in the Colombian Caribbean that often performs airs such as fandango and porro in celebration such as *corralejas*¹⁰³ and carnivals. It is made of three or four trumpets in B flat, three clarinets in B flat, three baritone flugelhorns, three trombones, one tuba, one side drum, one bass drum, and cymbals (Valencia 1999; Yepes Fontalvo 2015.). In both ensembles, issues like tuning and the treatment of instrument's timbre reveal their relation with previous practices. For instance, the timbre of the clarinets in the chirimía chocoana and the banda pelayera is bright, which outsiders often described as “open,” suggests that the performers are informed by the timbre of other instruments that popular musicians used to be perform in urban public spaces, for instance the double reeds as the chirimía, and the *gaita*, or traditional clarinets such as the *caña de millo*¹⁰⁴.

In contrast with the institutional symphonic bands, the musicians of these small ensembles owned the instruments, often inherited from a member of the family or bought secondhand.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, these small civilian bands displayed a mixture of new and old instruments (fig. 34)

¹⁰² Indeed, the chirimías chocoanas play a prominent role in “San Pacho,” a carnival celebrated in Quibdó—the capital city of Chocó—between September 20 and October 5. The Chirimías play vernacular airs such as pasillo chocoano, jota, and abozao in public celebrations and parades in the streets during this festivity, which honors Saint Francis, the saint patron of Quibdó’s main parish (Tobón Restrepo, Zapata Builes, and Londoño 2006; Arango Melo 2010)

¹⁰³ The corralejas are a popular celebration of the Colombian Caribbean region. During such celebrations bulls are fought in a sand circle by spectators who enter to the circle at their will while the bands perform fandangos and porros.

¹⁰⁴ The Colombian *gaita* is a musical instrument of pre-Columbian origin resembling a flute with 3 to 6 holes in the lower part of the body. It is built from the heart of the cardoon channel at one end made of a beeswax formation mixed with coal dust, where a slot is made and a cylindrical appendix (usually the base of a duck feather) is inserted as mouthpiece (Ochoa Escobar 2013).

The *caña de millo*, also known as *flauta de millo* or *pito atravezado*, is a traditional clarinet from the Colombian Caribbean. This instrument is an eight to twelve inches’ cylindrical piece of sorghum cane with four holes, and a reed carved at one end. According to Edgardo Civallero (2015), this instrument comes from clarinets introduced to the Caribbean by African Slaves. The *caña de millo* replaces the *gaita* in the cumbia ensembles of the flats of Córdoba and Sucre.

¹⁰⁵ As suggested by letters and memos from battalions’ commanders, sales of secondhand instruments were a common practice within the military bands.

while performing music in carnivals, parties, and religious and civic celebrations within urban public spaces, and soon became a prominent sonorous presence during public festivities in cities like Medellín, Cali, and Cartagena. Thus, as suggested by the Chirimía Chocoana and the Banda Pelayera, the members of these small civilian bands adapted the heterogeneous sonority that produced the mixture of new and old instruments to old practices. Indeed, in many Colombian towns these civilian bands became valued musical ensembles that accomplished the functions of symphonic bands by performing retretas and accompanying civil and religious ceremonies.



Figure 34. *Banda Pelleja, Tuluá*, photographer unknown, 0502977, ca. 1910.

Courtesy Archivo Patrimonio Fílmico y Fotográfico del Valle, Cali.

In contrast with the acceptance of these small bands in intermediate cities, small towns, and rural areas, in major cities the local elites and authorities interpreted them as “contemptible

expressions” of uncivilized practices that did not contribute to the modernization of the city, especially when they performed music in contexts of celebration and dance in public spaces. Notwithstanding, the sonic identities of lower social classes that these small bands represented often were accepted or tolerated in the private and semiprivate spheres. Ultimately, this contrasting reaction indicated that retretas increasingly became intertwined with a civilizing project and fixed ideas about the use and dwelling of parks and public spaces, which Colombian elites aimed to introduce in parks and other urban public spaces.

3.3 RETRETA: MUSIC, LISTENING, AND PUBLIC SPACES

For many years, the contributions of the symphonic bands to the urban soundscapes in Colombia included processional music (fig. 35), the *serenata* (serenade),¹⁰⁶ and the retreta. Initially, the retreta or *ritirata* (retreat) was the final parade of the band returning to the military barracks that closed the serenatas, the outdoor public concerts that the bands played during the celebration of religious and civil festivities. As this suggests, retretas and processional music implied a movement of the band through the streets of the city until it reached the plaza.¹⁰⁷ However, as the serenades finished with a retreta, over time the term retreta became a synecdoche for serenade.

¹⁰⁶ The serenade in the context of the band signified a “musical greeting, usually performed out of doors in the evening, usually to homage a person of rank” (Unverricht and Eisen 2001, 112). Later, as indicated above, this term was adapted to describe romantic outdoor music sung by itinerant guitarists.

¹⁰⁷ The routes that the musicians followed through the streets usually connected salient urban buildings and spaces like the churches, barracks, plazas, houses of prominent families, and government buildings, connecting a series of points that created a symbolic geography, providing a sense of ordered urban spaces (Waismann 2005).

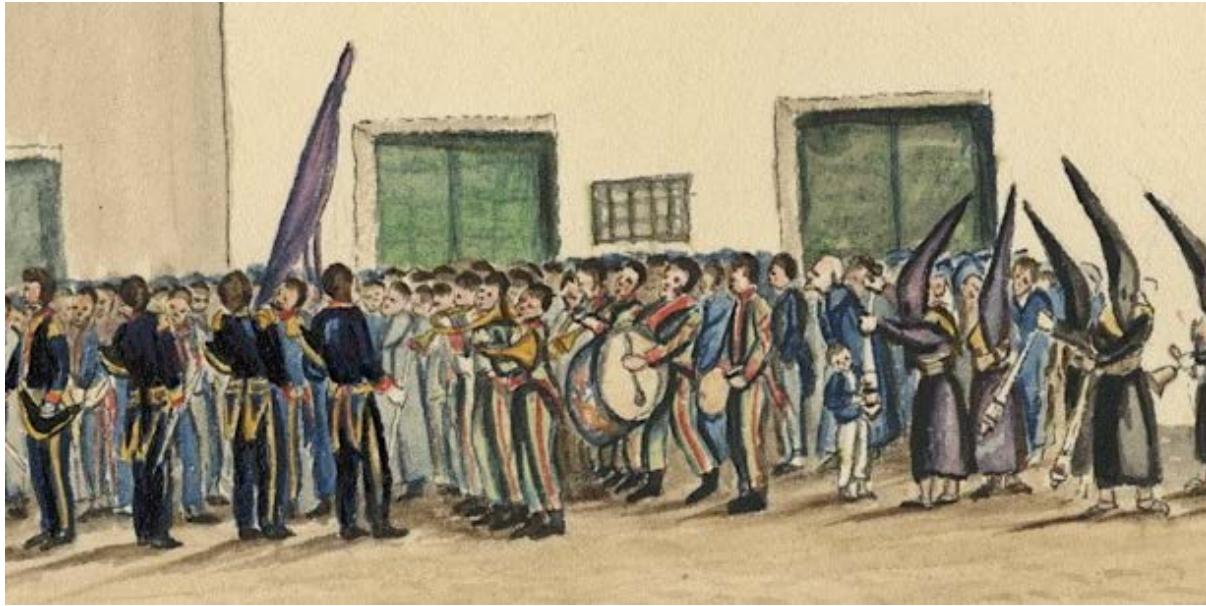


Figure 35. *Une procession à Bogotá (detail)*, watercolor by Auguste Le Moyne, MNC 5489, ca. 1853.
Courtesy Museo Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá.

When retretas began to be performed regularly in the bandstand, they increasingly became considered public concerts that the municipal institutions offered to the citizens, as well as opportunities to educate the audiences constituted by men and women from diverse social classes and ethnic groups, promoting adequate behaviors and good taste.¹⁰⁸ This understanding of retretas' role ultimately transformed parks into outdoor civics lessons and the band into an instrument for civilizing the listeners, who were expected to adopt the proper behaviors collected in *manuales de urbanidad* (urbanity manuals), often promoted in private and semiprivate spaces. Thus, in the public spaces civility became synonymous with urbanity.

¹⁰⁸ In contrast with other arts, Colombian elites often considered that music was able to have a positive impact in broader audiences, as suggested by the words of the liberal leader Rafael Uribe Uribe (1892, 33): “Admiring of beauty in literature and fine arts will always be an exclusive parcel of a privileged minority. In contrast, the enjoyment of the music is directed to the crowds; it [the music] even makes accessible the tiniest, generous, and noble emotions to everyone.”

Carreño (1857, 30) defined “urbanity” as “decency, moderation and propriety in our actions and words, expressed in the gentleness and gallantry of all our movements, revealing soft manners.”¹⁰⁹ The words of Carreño also point out that urbanity promoted a model of social interaction and behavior expressed through the containment of the body and self-restraint, fostering a model of listening that departed from the festive environment that predominated during the colonial era and the first years of the independence. Thus, the experience of the audience during the retreta shifted from one emphasizing movement or dance in collective celebration—and the implied connections between bodies and sounds—to a listening model that Larry Shiner (2001) describes as attentive, passive, and disinterested, promoting a decorous silence that highlighted music listening as a subjective aesthetic experience. In a few words, the retreta was transformed into a presentational performance, in which there is a clear separation between performers and audience and the main goal of the performer is to keep the attention of the listeners directed toward the music performed (Turino 2008).

By doing this, retretas introduced a model of listening in which the separation between artists and audiences also aspired to cast the listeners as “civilized citizens.” As explained by Norbert Elias, the civilizing process controlled behaviors, aspiring to promote self-control and restraint, allowing both predictability in daily social interaction and long-term urban planning (Elias 2000 [1939]). While modernization reshaped the spaces within the city, the civilizing process reshaped behavior; according to the civilizing discourse, the mode of listening promoted

¹⁰⁹ “La decencia, moderación y oportunidad en nuestras acciones y palabras, y aquella delicadeza y gallardía que aparecen en todos nuestros movimientos exteriores, revelando la suavidad de las costumbres.”

for and by retretas in the park had desirable moral effects because it softened behaviors, creating disciplined citizens.¹¹⁰

Therefore, the new role of retretas as a means for introducing an aesthetic experience ultimately transformed the band and the retreta into a part of a disciplining dispositive, which aspired to convert the listeners' bodies into "docile bodies" that belonged to productive and well-behaved citizens. Michel Foucault (1995 [1975]) points out that disciplined bodies are malleable; they are what is rendered docile, so productivity increases while political resistance decreases. From this standpoint, the experience of listening introduced during the retreta was part of a disciplining dispositive echoing the one implemented in theaters during the same period (Velasquez 2013). These also promoted silence, self-restraint, and the adoption of particular codes of behavior—like "proper" clothing—that delineated a civilizing agenda among the listeners (fig. 36).

¹¹⁰ During the late nineteenth century, "softening behaviors" was a recurrent topic in discussions about the role of the arts and the education of arts within the modern city (La Voz de Antioquia 1888, 203; Montoya y Flórez 1906, 135). Often the authors referred to "softening" as a process through which the subalterns, especially those coming from rural areas, blacks, and indigenous peoples, could learn and adopt proper behaviors while acquiring the cultural capital that modern urban contexts demanded (Velásquez 2011). From this standpoint, softening can be interpreted as an educative process of disciplining subalterns that aimed to transform them into well-behaved and law-abiding citizens.



Figure 36. *The audience during the retreta in the Parque de la Independencia, Bogotá. 1915.*

El Porvenir, No. 5203, p.3, August 20,

Courtesy Archivo Histórico de Cartagena. Cartagena.

A remarkable effect of these changes is that retretas transformed parks into places where the interaction between men and women was public but constrained by the norms of etiquette, urbanity, and social class. This promoted a model of femininity in public urban spaces, emphasizing idealized delicacy, fragility, and sensibility that mirrored the beauty of nature, especially plants and flowers, within the park:

Retretas—The appearance of Bolívar's park was very lively in the early hours of last Sunday night, when the band, so ably conducted by Mr. D'Aleman, performed the retreta. There were groups of young ladies, with their pale suits, slim bodies and beautiful eyes, whose presence left aromas confused with the perfume of flowers;

a diaphanous, silvered moon that threw its rays to the landscape through clouds; the chords of the music that thrilled the audience with the “Duo de la Africana”; the many gentlemen present; the large crowd; the beauty of the park. In short, all presented a picturesque portrait that would lead the traveler arriving at that moment in this capital, Medellín, to think that this city was a fairyland (Escobar 1895, 4).¹¹¹

For the same reason, the behavior expected during the retretas also underlined chivalrous masculinity as the model that any accomplished man should follow within urban public spaces. This process defined gender roles within the parks, among other public spaces, in a similar fashion that socialization through music made it in the salons, while encouraging the acquisition of specific forms of cultural capital expressed through the adoption of specific behaviors, discouraging other behaviors, and calling for the intervention of the enforcement authorities to control those who did not follow the conventions that civilization and urbanity imposed:

Now we know why the benches in the park are not enough [for the audience] during the evening’s retretas in the Park of Bolívar. Last Sunday we saw that many impolite *cachaquitos* [young craftsmen] and shabby *ruanetas* [poor men and peasants] occupied them. Many ladies crossed in front of them... and nothing

¹¹¹ *Retretas*—muy animado era el aspecto que presentaba el Parque de Bolívar en las primeras horas de la noche, el domingo anterior, con motivo de la retreta ejecutada por la Banda que tan hábilmente dirige el Sr. D’Alemán. Grupos de señoritas, con sus trajes claros, sus esbeltos cuerpos y sus hermosos ojos, los aromas que dejaban tras sus pasos, aromas confundidos con el perfume de las flores, la luna diáfana, argentina, que entre nubes lanzaba sus rayos al paisaje, los acordes de la música, que entusiasmaba con el ‘Dúo de la africana,’ los muchos caballeros allí presentes, la numerosa concurrencia, la belleza del parque, en fin, todo resumido, presentaba un aspecto pintoresco que haría pensar al viajero que llegase en aquellos momentos a esta capital, que Medellín era un país de hadas.

[happened]. They pretended to stay unaware to evade a commonplace act of gallantry. Mr. Park Keeper and police officers, [remember that] gentlemen come before louts, and before all of them come the ladies (*El Bateo* 1908, 3).¹¹²

Criticism and complaints reveal the contradictions between former and new models of inhabitation and socialization within the parks and other public spaces. This indicates that the former habitus of many urban residents, informed by the previous uses of plazas and streets, continued through practices that openly contradicted the idealized and predictable series of behaviors expected in the parks and streets within a modern city.

Loud voices, vernacular songs, and laughter represented both the expression of the former uses and forms of dwelling in public spaces and a questioning of the principles of civilization and good behavior. As they called into question the idea of parks envisioned as shelters and their concomitant role as milestones of the modern city, such noises became “uncouth” and “barbaric” expressions of misbehaving citizens who should be disciplined, silenced, and ultimately, expelled from the park: “There is a bunch of uncouth women smoking tobacco, loudly speaking vulgarities, disturbing the decent persons who attend the Sunday retretas in the Park of Bolívar. Dear mayor, can you expel them [from the park]? If it would be possible, please order it” (*El Bateo* 1908, 3).¹¹³

¹¹² Ya sabemos por qué es que no alcanzan las bancas del Parque de Bolívar en las noches de retreta. El domingo tuvimos ocasión de observar que muchas de aquellas estaban ocupadas por cachaquitos descorteses y ruanetas desarropados. Pasar y pasar señoritas delante de ellos y...nada! Unos y otros se hacían los desentendidos, por no cumplir con un trivialísimo acto de galantería. Señor Guardaparque, señores agentes de policía: primero son los caballeros que los patanes, y primero que todos, las damas.”

¹¹³ “Hay una ola de mujeruelas fumando tabaco, hablando mil vulgaridades e importunando a las personas decentes los domingos en las retretas del Parque de Bolívar. ¿No se les puede prohibir la entrada al Parque Sr Alcalde? Hágalo así.”

In other cases, these complaints were a criticism of the band's poor intonation, rhythmic inaccuracy, and disproportionate volume. These reports usually emphasized that an inadequate performance of the musicians affected the sound of the band, transforming the pervasive and brilliant modern sound into noise. This is an alternative narrative of sound that describes a distortion of music, which detracts from its beauty while impeding the sublime experience that music in parks aspired to promote.

It is important to recognize that not all the articles describing bands and retretas are laudatory. Some authors presented a very different account: "The maestro Ospina's band performed the da capo of a bustling Polka. Among other [instruments] played: a clarinet that was out of tune masterfully, a horn that must have been stolen from the angel in the heavenly hosts that will call the final judgment, and a drum that produced cold sweat and nausea in more than six anemic girls" (Botero Guerra 1894, 3).¹¹⁴ As this review shows, in Colombian cities the bands generated experiences of sound that were anything but uniform. This kind of criticism often was directed toward small bands, which as aforementioned, usually were made up of amateur musicians or professional musicians from the symphonic bands working on their own for an extra income. Therefore, the criticism also can be interpreted as an effort to underline differences between small civilian ensembles and symphonic bands attached to governmental institutions. Thus, reports of noise and distortion often expressed concerns about the use of sound, dance, and celebration to create contested spaces.

¹¹⁴ "La banda del maestro Ospina acababa de tocar el último da capo de una polca bulliciosa en que funcionaban, entre otros instrumentos, un clarinete que desafinaba magistralmente, una corneta que debió de ser usurpada a un ángel reservado en las legiones celestiales para llamar al juicio final, y un bombo que dejó sudando frío y con bascas a más de seis niñas anémicas."

By playing music in contexts like the fiesta and carnival in streets and parks, in which the logic of the participatory performance prevails¹¹⁵ and where the interest directed toward the participation of people allows a “wide tuning of fundamental pitches” (Turino 2008, 45), small civilian bands became the sonorous representation of the subaltern groups that questioned the civilizing project that retretas, as forms of presentational performance proposed. In this perspective, these complaints also suggest that beyond the retreta, other social groups adapted a significant part of the new sonority of the band and its potential to their own musical traditions, establishing an alternative model of experiences of sounding and listening based on a representational performance that differed from those proposed by the elites and public institutions in the retreta.

Many of these accounts of noise, cacophony, and disorder in public spaces pointed to black and indigenous people, craftsmen, and poor people as the usual transgressors. By doing this, the authors also reinforced local elites’ hegemonic position by underlining that the subaltern classes, who were often ethnically and racially differentiated from the “white” elites (Wade 2000; Hernández Salgar 2007), were inclined to deploy improper behaviors and annoying noises. This also differentiated them socially and racially from both the elites and the idealized model of citizenship.

Ultimately, this labeling of sounds was an exercise of power over the differentiation between music and noise as described by Jacques Attali (2011 [1977]), which elites and institutions used to validate forms of symbolic violence while justifying the intervention of the authorities to

¹¹⁵ As explained by Turino (2008), in participatory performances the attention used to be focused on the active interaction among audience and performers, addressing to create social bonds and a sense of belonging to a broader community.

exercise control and punishment over other sonic identities within the modern city, aiming to promote a soundscape that echoed the ideal order that civilization should produce within modern cities. Thus, beneath these claims for the intervention of law enforcement officers lies a major effort to control the experience of urban spaces and eradicate previous forms of use, dwelling, and inhabitation that disagree with the elite's vision of a modern city. These public spaces are instead based on and promoted by social distinction. As indicated out by Pierre Bourdieu (1984 [1977]), distinction is the product of a process through which wealth exerts power in the form of symbolic capital, enabling an interaction among social classes based on domination. The model of listening and sonorous experience of the retreta in the park should be considered a powerful mechanism that the local elites and authorities deployed as a part of a broad civilizing process.

Ultimately, the law and enforcement officers—both expressions of civilian governmentality—established an epistemology of sound based on the understanding that retretas, and the listening they promoted, were a means to educate the new citizens that the modern city demanded. This process also reveals that around the retreta were articulated practices and forms of symbolic violence that reproduced and reinforced social differentiation and social class distinction. This took place in a society that experienced a process of demilitarization and an emergence of civilian institutions through which the elites aspired to spread and shape their vision of the modern city and the modern state, while locating civilization and culture as values that belonged and characterized certain social classes within the city.

From this perspective, in Colombian cities, multiple and often contradictory experiences of urban modernity were reflected in the music that should and should not be heard in parks and in the ways audiences were expected to listen to it. These examples also suggest that although the urban modernization conveyed processes that can be understood as a top-down model, in which

local elites introduced music to acculturate their subalterns, it also entailed processes of appropriation that contradicted the official narratives through alternative experiences of sound, which deserve more attention from researchers and scholars.

4.0 MUSICIANS AND MUSICIANSHIP: INSTITUTIONALIZATION, PROFESSIONALIZATION, AND TRANSCULTURATION

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, urban elites and institutions in Colombia increasingly recognized that the changes in the city, which introduced the performance of music in spaces such as the parks and theaters, required a new kind of musician. As the transformation of military bands into the Banda Nacional in Bogotá suggests, presentational performance was crucial for the transformation of listening into a means for disciplining citizens within the public spaces. By the same token, this process introduced a form of musical practice that reconfigured musicianship in urban contexts by creating spaces where musicians could exhibit skills and forms of knowledge that differentiated them from the audience. In a few words, the new role of presentational performance simultaneously depended on and fostered a process of professionalization that established a significant difference between “dilettantes” and “professional artists.”

The institutionalization of music education was fundamental in this process. Indeed, the creation of music academies and conservatories in several Colombian cities was a phenomenon that began in the last two decades of the twentieth century and continued during the first half of the twentieth century (Bermúdez y Duque 2000; Barriga Monroy 2014; Cortéz Polanía; and Gil 2015). Many private tutors taught music, especially piano, during the second half of the nineteenth

century, but the institutionalization of musical learning began with the 1882 creation of the Academia Nacional de Música in Bogotá.

This process continued with the establishment of the Academia de Música de Santa Cecilia in Medellín in 1888, the foundation of the Instituto Musical de Cartagena in 1889, and the creation of the Conservatorio del Tolima in Ibagué in 1906. In 1910 the Academia Nacional became the Conservatorio Nacional, and the Academia de Música de Santa Cecilia became the musical Conservatory of Music at the Instituto de Bellas Artes de Medellín. During the thirties and forties, other musical conservatories were created in different Colombian cities such as Cali (1933), Manizales (1938), and Barranquilla (1943).

The introduction and promotion of presentational performance and the institutionalization of musical education privileged *musical literacy*, or the capacity to write and read musical notation, as a skill that differentiated the musician as “competent professional,” questioning a former model of musicianship based on the oral transmission of musical repertoires, which often was related to musical practices that supported participational performances. However, what exactly it meant to be a “professional musician” in the Colombian cities during the Conservative Hegemony is an issue that involves multiple aspects. Indeed, this concept underwent significant changes during the first two decades of the twentieth century, when the first recordings of Colombian artists and music by local composers introduced Colombian musicians within the logic of the cultural industry and mass consumption.

In the first section of this chapter I will direct my attention toward the philharmonic societies, indicating how these associations played a prominent role in both the creation of a shared “bourgeois identity” beyond the salon and the introduction and promotion of presentational performance through a newer form of urban elite socialization around music: the concert. Then, I

analyze how the promotion of presentational performance facilitated the institutionalization of musical learning by introducing a top-down model of teaching and training that forged a notion of “professional musicianship,” privileging a form of musical knowledge based on mastery of particular musical repertoires and literacy in music.¹¹⁶ Finally, I consider how the musician’s experience of such changes in their daily lives transformed them into transculturators whose activity in different spaces and contexts questioned the binary artist/dilettanti that the institutionalization of musical education aimed to introduce in the Colombian cities by establishing new sets of values around cultural industry and new non-canonic musical repertoires.

4.1 PHILHARMONIC SOCIETIES: KEY INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROMOTION OF PRESENTATIONAL PERFORMANCE

As explained in Chapter 2, by the mid-nineteenth century, the consolidation of commercial elites and groups with intellectual and artistic interests in some Colombian urban centers fostered changes in the musical practice within the salons of prominent families, transforming musical performance and listening into means for promoting socialization among peers. In turn, this process of “instrumentalization” of music was crucial for the establishment of forms of social interaction that shaped a “white, distinguished, and civilized” elites collective identity differentiated from subalterns.

¹¹⁶ By “literacy in music” I refer to a process of acquisition of musical knowledge based on and expressed through the capacity of writing and reading musical repertoire notated in music scores, which in the case of Colombia reinforced the hegemonic position of musical repertoires based on the notions of form and harmony that prevailed in Western art music by the end of the nineteenth century.

These spaces for socialization among peers also created the proper conditions for the foundation of philharmonic societies made up of musicians and music lovers, who often were members of families that initially played music in the semiprivate sphere of the salons. Thus, in comparison with their European counterparts, the Colombian philharmonic societies did not originate exclusively with the high-middle urban social classes, but with European immigrants and white urban elites that established a community of peers while acquiring forms of cultural and symbolic capital reinforcing social distinction. The community of peers created in the salon facilitated the foundation of the Colombian philharmonic societies established in Bogotá (1846), Cartagena (1848), Medellín (1850), and Popayán (ca.1850).

As suggested above, European immigrants were active in these societies. Indeed, three of immigrants were involved in the creation of the first three societies: Henry (Enrique) Price (1819–1863) in Bogotá, Emile (Emilio) Herbrüger (1808–1894) in Cartagena, and Edward Gregory in Medellín. This phenomenon illustrates that, despite the small number of European immigrants established in Colombian cities during the nineteenth century, the presence and participation of these transnational subjects in commercial activities, societies, and clubs had a significant impact through the introduction of new tastes, practices and forms of socialization.

Although Price, Herbrüger, and Gregory had musical training, none of them exerted musicianship as his main economic activity while in Colombia. Gregory arrived as part of the British legion that fought during the War of Independence (Rodríguez Álvarez 2007); afterwards he stayed in the Colombian West in cities like Medellín and Popoyán, where he combined musicianship and music teaching with commercial activities. Price, another British citizen, came to Colombia in 1841 from New York, where he had married a Colombian lady. In Colombia, Price worked in the commercial house that his father-in-law owned in Bogotá and was involved in

cultural activities that led him to direct the philharmonic society, which he tried to shape following the models that he knew in London and New York (Duque 2004); in addition, Price's training in painting allowed him to work briefly as painter in Agustín Codazzi's Comisión Coreográfica after the end of the philharmonic society in 1852; he later owned a daguerreotype studio (Appelbaum 2016.)

Herbrüger was a German citizen who arrived in Colombia in 1848, after traveling through the Caribbean and the southern United States working as photographer; while in Colombia Herbrüger had daguerreotype studios in Bogotá (1846), Santa Marta (1847), Cartagena (1848), and Medellín (1849). In each city, he offered his services as both photographer and music teacher, affirming that he was a "former member of the Italian Opera in New York, and director of the Fund-Society Orchestra at Nashville" (Moreno de Angel 2000, 179).

In addition to the contribution of European immigrants, these societies were promoted by members of local upper and upper-middle social classes who paid a membership fee, attended the concerts, or were "amateur musicians" who played in the musical ensembles (Duque 2004; Cortés Polanía 2016). As explained by Jaime Cortés (2016), the prevailing presence of "amateur musicians" as members of the philharmonic societies accomplished two functions: (1) Being "amateur" was a category that differentiated the members of privileged social classes who could practice music as part of "edifying leisure" from the *músicos de oficio* (musicians for hire), who often belonged to subordinate social classes and played music as labor; and (2) the "amateur" designation differentiated the members of philharmonic societies from "professional musicians," especially the Italian musicians who arrived as members of opera companies, which in turn protected the "amateur performer" by inducing the audiences to excuse inaccuracies in the performance. In a few words, Colombian philharmonic societies were more concerned about

creating new spaces for social interaction through music than introducing higher standards of musical performance.

Indeed, philharmonic societies often were perceived as organizations that promoted the creation of spaces where the members of the elites could interact, cultivating taste and behavior that established and reinforced a shared set of values. One article in the *Semanario de la Provincia de Cartagena*, published a few days after the first meeting of the board of the new philharmonic society, pointed out the main ideas and goals driving the creation of this new organization. The author of this article joyfully declared that this society aspired to “foster the growth of music and to promote the spirit of sociability, contributing to the improvement of customs that should rule in our relationships” (*Semanario de la Provincia de Cartagea* 1848, 8).¹¹⁷

Thus, the relationship between music and new forms of socialization was central to the promotion of the philharmonic societies, because it positioned the members of upper urban social classes who promoted, attended, and played to the concerts, as individuals committed to the “spiritual progress of the city,” as illustrated by Eladio Gónima in his memoirs: “The progressive Mr. Gabriel Echeverri¹¹⁸ and the enthusiast Mr. Víctor Gómez¹¹⁹ [supported] Mr. Gregory and organized Sunday’s concerts in their houses, [where they] invited young people of both genders,

¹¹⁷ El objeto la sociedad es dar impulso al cultivo de la música i (sic) fomentar el espíritu de sociabilidad que tanto contribuye a la mejora de las costumbres que debe reinar en nuestras relaciones.

¹¹⁸ Gónima refers to Gabriel Echeverri Escobar (1796–1886). Echeverri Escobar was a military officer and politician who descended from white Spanish colonizers. He owned a prosperous commercial house that imported manufactures from Jamaica and exported gold to Europe and North America. Echeverri Escobar also founded the first bank established in Medellín and was one of the main investors in the firm Uribe, Santamaría, and Echeverri, which sponsored the colonization of southwest Antioquia. From this perspective, Echeverri was a key figure in the early industrialization and colonization of the Colombian southwest during the nineteenth century (Mejía Cubillos 2012).

¹¹⁹ Like Echeverri Escobar, Vicente Gómez was a descendant of a Spanish colonizer who also was a recognized printer and pedagogue and founder of one of the first Lancastrian schools in Medellín in 1825 (Silva 1906).

who did not belong to the philharmonic but had a nice time socializing together” (Gónima 1909, 94).¹²⁰

As spaces for the interaction between men and women, these societies seemed to follow to some extent the logic of semiprivate spaces such as the salon, transforming concerts into places where an audience made up of associates and external peers invited by society members followed a specific set of behaviors. However, in contrast to the salons where these behaviors were followed by agreement, the philharmonic societies had bylaws. Usually the members of the society signed these bylaws, transforming them into binding contracts that provided legal support for both administrative issues and the control of improper behaviors. Indeed, the legalist language of the bylaws facilitated the use of symbolic violence to enforce the adoption of “proper behaviors” by introducing penalties to punish those offenders.

In her study of the bylaws of the Philharmonic Society of Bogotá, Ellie Anne Duque presents an example of this enforcement. As explained by Duque, the Society’s proceedings of 1848 recorded that the son of Jorge Bunch, a member of the society, occupied a wrong seat and was rude when invited to move to the seat indicated on his ticket, then he was expelled from the concert because of his “improper and indecorous behavior” (Duque 2004, 242). This example illustrates that symphonic societies were agents that transferred the unspoken agreements regulating behaviors in the semiprivate sphere of the salon to the semipublic sphere of theaters and

¹²⁰ De acuerdo con el progresista señor D. Gabriel Echeverri y el entusiasta D. Víctor Gómez, organizó dominicalmente [Eduard Gregory, músico inglés llegado a Medellín en 1837] unos pequeños conciertos que tenían lugar indistintamente en las casas de los señores Echeverri y Gómez, adonde eran invitados jóvenes de ambos sexos que no hacían parte de la filarmónica, y allí se pasaban ratos deliciosos picoteando de lo lindo.

concert halls, through a series of norms compiled in bylaws enforced through symbolic violence that disciplined the members of the audience.

Through their role as agents connecting semiprivate and public spaces, the philharmonic societies also extended forms of representation of distinction, such as musical repertoires and codes of behavior. Although the Colombian philharmonic societies claimed, as did their European and the American counterparts, that their main goal was the promotion of symphonic music, they also facilitated the construction of collective identities that delineated forms of social class distinction through the promotion of specific musical repertoires while introducing a disciplinary logic.

The creation of these associations also can be interpreted as a significant part of a broader process of *asociacionismo* (associationism),¹²¹ which entailed the collective reorganization of the Colombian urban social classes, expressed through the creation of charities, societies of artisans, and societies for the promotion of the arts, among others. While the associations of artisans aspired to create earlier forms of collective protection, the urban elites envisioned collective associations as a means for promoting civilizing discourses and their political agenda,¹²² which impacted the cities as spaces and places by promoting processes of urban transformation and the promotion of new forms of habitus among citizens. Thus, from the perspective of the urban elites, associationism

¹²¹ Authors such as Emilio Casares and Celsa Alonso (1995), Victoria Eli (2009), and Jaime Cortés Polanía (2016) use the term *asociacionismo* (associationism) to describe a process of collective organization of urban elites extended throughout Ibero–America, which led to the creation of a collective identity among the local elites through the creation of magazines, theaters, and cultural and scientific institutions.

¹²² This process continued during the second half of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the creation of the *Sociedades de Mejoras Públicas* (Societies for Public Improvements) that were involved in processes of urbanization. Through these new societies, the local elites impacted the cities as spaces and places.

accomplished a twofold function, shaping a collective identity while reinforcing the elite's hegemonic position.

Some societies, such as the *Sociedad Democrática* (Democratic Society), which the followers of the Liberal politician and general José Hilario López established in 1848, and the *Sociedad Filotémica* created by the conservative party, aspired to involve subaltern social classes within the political parties by attracting the artisan voters and positioning youth leaders (Dueñas-Vargas 2015). Meanwhile, other societies were focused on the promotion of the arts, such as the *Sociedad Protectora del Teatro*, the *Sociedad de Lectura* and the *Sociedad de Dibujo y Pintura*,¹²³ established in Bogotá during 1840s (Duarte and Rodriguez 1992). These artistic societies opened spaces for socialization among peers, facilitating the construction of a new “bourgeois” identity among the urban elites through the promotion of “good taste” while promoting forms of social interaction intended to create family bonds among like-minded individuals.

Thus, from the perspective the elites, the societies that promoted the arts differed from those focused on political issues because they fostered collective organization among peers, creating a sense of individual belonging in semipublic spaces that was crucial for the consolidation of the upper social classes as a collectivity during the first decades of the Republic. From this standpoint, the private promotion of arts, including music, was a means that Colombian elites used for establishing the basis of a “bourgeois urban identity” by spreading shared notions of “good taste,” values, and codes of behavior.

¹²³ Ramón Torres, who worked as painter for the Comisión Coreográfica as did Price, founded the Sociedad de Dibujo y Pintura with Narciso Garay and Luis García Hevia in October of 1846 (Duque 2004).

In addition to its role in the creation of a bourgeois identity, this associative process also created spaces where their members could experience and experiment with democratic institutions. As explained by Carlos A. Forment (2014) in his comparative study of Mexico and Peru, since their organization and functioning created a “democratic selfhood” among its members, who often were born and raised in an antidemocratic colonial milieu, these associations were crucial to the introduction of democracy and democratic practices in postcolonial Latin American countries. A strong example of the role of these associations in the introduction of democratic practices and values is the Philharmonic Society of Bogotá. As explained by Ellie Anne Duque in her introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Reglamento de la Sociedad Filarmónica* (Bylaws of the Philharmonic Society [of Bogotá]),¹²⁴ the society had regular meetings—an average of four per month—and a board of officers comprised of a president, vice-president, secretary, second secretary, treasurer, musical director, second musical director, and archivist. In September of 1847 José Caicedo Rojas was elected as president, Domingo A. Maldonado as secretary, and Henry Price as director (Cotés Polanía 2016). The admission of new members also was a democratic process, as indicated in the Bylaws, Article 8:

Article 8: An associate must recommend an individual if he wants to be admitted as [a new] member to this society. Later, he must obtain the number of favorable votes required in the bylaws [just three negative votes were enough to justify the candidate’s

¹²⁴ This edition, published in 2004 in the journal *Ensayos: Revista de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, reproduced a manuscript copy of the bylaws of the philharmonic society that were compiled with other documents related to this society in a binders’ volume that belonged to the composer, organist, theoretician, and pedagogue Andrés Martínez Montoya (1869–1933). Today this binder’s volume belongs to one of his descendants, the composer Juan Antonio Cuellar (Duque 2004).

rejection]. The elections will be done during the meeting following the nominations (Duque 2004).¹²⁵

The members of the philharmonic society paid a monthly membership fee and could play in the orchestra or just attend the concerts. As the case of Bogotá illustrates, the members also could invite one or two members of their families or friends to the concerts. However, the members changed frequently because many of them were foreigners who stayed briefly in the cities or were local merchants who traveled abroad for several months each year. The division between a board of officers that had administrative functions and an artistic board introduced by the Philharmonic Society in Bogotá was replicated in other Colombian cities. For example, in 1903, in a second attempt to establish the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Popayán*, which was previously active between 1854 and 1855, Saturnino Torres was named the president of the board while Sergio A. González was the musical director (Correo del Cauca 1903, 103).

By the same token, the boards of these philharmonic societies used to be made up of members of the same social classes and groups, who shared intellectual and cultural interests and aspirations. For instance, the first board of the *Sociedad Filarmónica of Cartagena* was comprised of the musicians Miguel Munárriz (artistic director) and José Ines Ruiz (artistic sub-director), as well as members of prominent families like José María de la Espriella (president), José Rodríguez Latorre (vice-president), Lázaro María Pérez (secretary), Dámaso Villareal (treasurer), and Manuel

¹²⁵ Artículo 8: Para que un individuo pueda ser admitido como miembro de la sociedad debe proponerlo ante ella alguno de los socios, y obtener el número de votos favorable que se requieren por este reglamento. La votación tendrá lugar en la sesión siguiente a la que se haga la propuesta.

Román (vice-treasurer), Antonio Tangle and the priest Francisco de Zubiría (witnesses), who were merchants, politicians, clergy, and public administrators.

This phenomenon suggests that the democratic practices promoted by associationism, through groups like the philharmonic societies and other associations among peers, delineated a form of “democracy,” setting the proper conditions for the “oligarchic republic” that characterize the “Conservative Hegemony” period (1886–1930). As explained by Paul W. Drake (2009), oligarchic republics have a restricted sense of democracy with limited civil liberties that create limited electorates. As did restricted representative regimes in Europe during the same period, such republics hold regular elections but the participation in them is limited in such a way that a narrow oligarchy has hegemonic control over institutions.

Philharmonic societies also projected this understanding of democracy beyond administrative issues by encouraging new forms of collective experiences of music. As suggested by Luis Merino Montero (2010) in his study of the Sociedad del Orfeón and the Sociedad Lírica in Santiago, Chile, the common aim of philharmonic societies for “promoting the music” through their activities was a response by the urban elites to the “democratizing project” that conveyed modernity in Latin America (Canclini 1990). Ultimately, this aim encouraged philharmonic societies to reach broader audiences by establishing new spaces for social interaction beyond the salons and ballrooms, which crystallized in a new form of urban habitus: attending concerts (Eli and Carredano 2010).

The experience of listening to the music in a concert hall or theater became increasingly centered on musical performance and the separation between musicians and audience, unlike the experience in the salon, which was based on a complex interaction between dance, conversation, and music playing. In a few words, despite the prevalence of “amateur musicians” in the

Colombian philharmonic societies, their concerts created spaces that introduced the presentational performance as a form of musical experience that later informed the approach that elites and institutions had to musical practice and musicianship.

These concerts usually were divided into two main sections, in which the musicians performed five to six pieces, separated by one intermission that provided a time for “proper socialization.” The programs of these concerts often included adaptations and compositions by the members of these societies such as Henry Price and José Vicente Guarín in Bogotá, Emile Herbrügher in Cartagena, Edward Gregory in Medellín, and Francisco J. López in Popayán (fig. 37).¹²⁶ In addition, a comparison between the programs also indicates the prominent role that Italian opera played in the musical practice in Colombia by the second half of the nineteenth century, increasingly becoming a sonorous symbol of good taste, status, and distinction among urban elites that, as suggested in chapter 3, later was projected into the public spaces through the retreta.

¹²⁶ The concert program of the Sociedad Filarmónica de Cartagena was published in the *Semanario de la Provincia de Cartagena*, No. 334, p.7, in December 3, 1848. Meanwhile, the program of the Sociedad Filarmónica de Popayán is preserved in the Fondo Vergara of the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá, FVYVD 5.

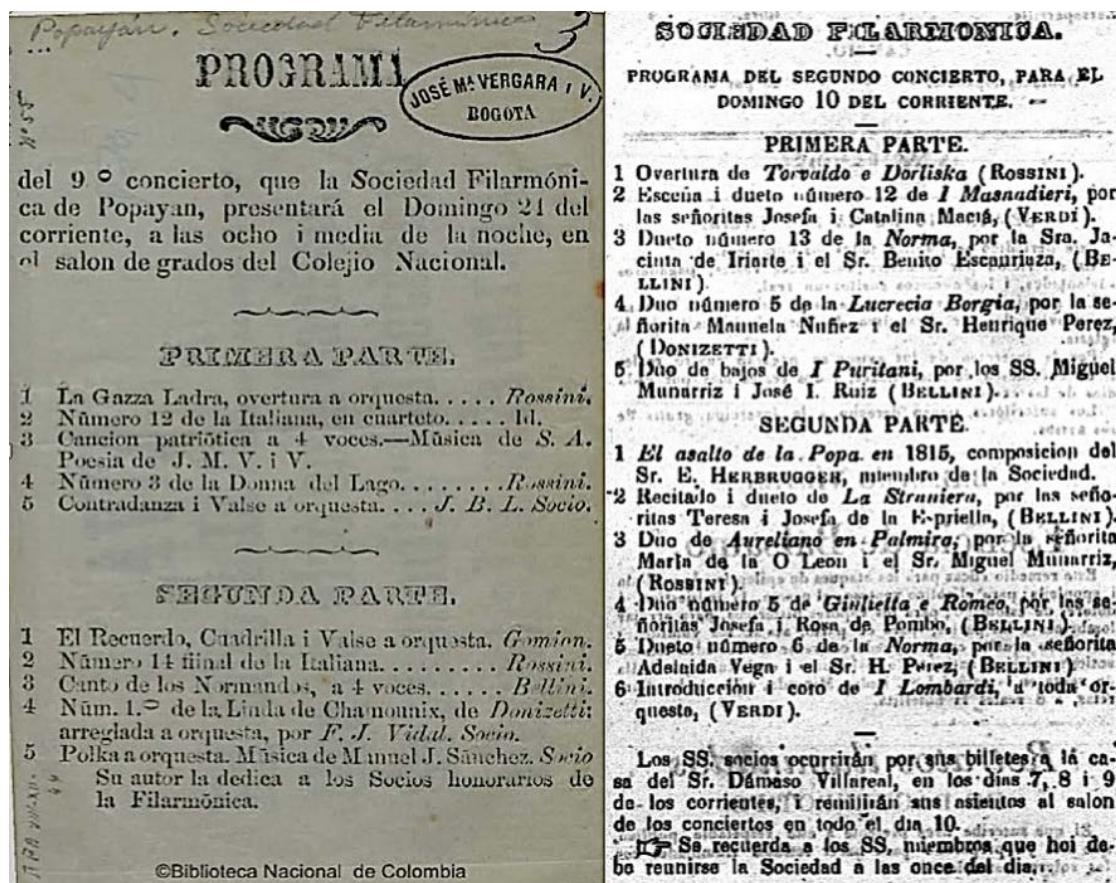


Figure 37. Concert programs of the Sociedad Filarmónica de Popayán (l.) and Sociedad Filarmónica de Cartagena (r.), 1853 and 1848.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia and Banco de la República. Cartagena.

An analysis of the concerts' programs also indicates that Colombian philharmonic societies did not promote symphonic music as it was understood in its European counterparts, but likewise in colonial and federal United States (Hamm 1983), as a mixture between orchestral sections (usually at the beginning and end of each program section) and chamber music arrangements of operatic excerpts, symphonies, dances, and songs, often played by heterogeneous ensembles that ranged from four—or eight—hand piano, piano duets, vocal quartets and piano, violin and flute trios, to two soprano and bandola trios (table 6).

Table 6. *Repertoire performed in concerts in Colombia, 1848–1854.*

Bogotá (1849)	Cartagena (1848)	Medellín (1850)	Popayán (ca. 1854)
1. "Oertura Triunfal," Henry Price	1. Overture from "Il Barbero de Seviglia," Gioachino Rossini	1. March from "Lucia de Lammermoor," Gaetano Donizetti	1. Overture from "La Gazza Ladra," Gioachino Rossini
2. "La Dicha," song	2. "Himno a los Mártires de la Patria," Emile Herbrügher	2. Obertura del "Rey de los Griegos" (Sic)	2. Cuarteto, No. 12 from "L'italiana [en Alger]," Gioachino Rossini.
3. "Sinfonía a ocho manos," Ludwig van Beethoven	3. Duet from "Lucia de Lammermoor," Gaetano Donizetti	3. Choir from "Der Freischütz," Carl Maria von Weber	3. "Canción Patriótica a Cuatro voces," Music by N.D. and poetry by José María Vergara y Vergara
4. "El Pescador," song, José Joaquín Guarín	4. Cavatina from "Il Pirata," Vincenzo Bellini	[—]	4. "Donna del Lago, No. 3," Gioachino Rossini
5. "Vals de Amor," Joseph Lanner	5. Duo from "Anna Bolena," Donizetti	[—]	5. "Contradanza y Valse a orquesta," J.B.L. Socio
Intermission	Intermission	Intermission	Intermission
6. Overture from "La Violeta," Michelle Caraffa.	6. Overture from "La Italiana in Alger," Gioachino Rossini.	4. Ouverture from "Fra Diavolo," arr. for piano, violin, and flute by Edward Gregory.	6. "El Recuerdo, Vals y cuadrilla a orquesta," Gomion.
7. "Cuadrilla a cuatro manos," Hers, arr. Dinding.	7. Recitative and duet from "Beatrice di Tenda," Vincenzo Bellini.	5. Duet from "Norma," Vincenzo Bellini, arr. For two sopranos and bandolas.	7. "No. 14, Final from "L'italiana [en Alger]," Gioachino Rossini.
8. "La Promesa," song, Gioachino Rossini.	8. Duet from "La Straniera," Vincenzo Bellini	6. "Polka de concurso," anonymous.	8. "Canto de los Normandos a cuatro voces," Vincenzo Bellini.

Table 6 (continued)

9. Valses “Saint Petersburg.” Joseph Lanner	9 Recitative and duet from “Elisa i Claudio,” Giuseppe Saverio Mercadante.	[—]	9. “No. 1 from Linda de Chamounix,” Gaetano Donizetti, adapted by Francisco J. Vidal, Socio
[—]	10. Scene and Duet from “Capuletti e Montecchi,” Marco Aurelio Marliani	[—]	10. “Polka para orquesta,” Manuel J. Sánchez

Despite these early efforts to create symphonic orchestras and promote concerts, these musical institutions were fragile and unstable. The orchestra of the Academia Nacional de Música performed concerts in the Colombian capital, but Bogotá did not have a more stable symphonic orchestra until 1910, when Guillermo Uribe Holguín reorganized the Orquesta del Conservatorio in Bogotá and offered concerts on a regular basis.¹²⁷ In other Colombian cities, the creation of symphonic orchestras came even later: for instance, in Medellín the Orquesta Sinfónica de Antioquia was established as late as 1945 (Gil Araque 2009).

Hence, the close relationship between the salon and the origins of the philharmonic societies in Colombia, as well as the absence of any symphonic tradition in the country, implied that the musical repertoires performed during the concerts that the philharmonic societies organized in Bogotá, Cartagena, Medellín, and Popayán were closer to salon music than to the symphonic tradition that their European and American counterparts promoted. In an interesting parallel with the process of modernization that the symphonic bands experienced later during the

¹²⁷ This orchestra later became the Sinfónica Nacional de Colombia.

nineteenth century, these societies also introduced a practice, promoting a new habitus through a form of social interaction adapted to the local availability of performers and instruments in the 1840s.

Although these societies developed a valuable category of labor by introducing the concert as a new form of socialization in semipublic spaces, their private character also made them fragile in their attempts to establish concerts as spaces for socialization that depended on prosperity, proper connections with governmental institutions, and the good will of their members, all of which were unpredictable in the volatile context of a country prone to civil wars, economic crises, and social tensions. Indeed, political and economic instability and the notorious absence of governmental funding jeopardized the survival of these associations, which explains why the average lifespan of these associations was three years. The only association that survived for a longer period was the Sociedad Filarmónica de Bogotá, which was active between 1846 and 1857 thanks to the persistence of its members, as well as their close relationships with the matrix of institutional power that their counterparts in other Colombia cities barely had (Duque 1998; 2004).

Despite the difficulties that they faced, Colombian philharmonic societies had a significant impact on the future of urban musical practice, reconfiguring notions of musicianship in “modern societies” through the concert. These societies fostered a new model of musical patronage and collective listening in semipublic spaces, while promoting places that facilitated association among “peers,” people who shared tastes, interests, and visions, that reconfigured the role of music in the Colombian cities. At the same time, the concerts created spaces where representational performance increasingly set the standards for musical practice.

As explained by Thomas Turino (2008), the distance that representational performance introduces between the audience and the musicians is based on a set of conventions that create a

domain of musical knowledge by establishing standards of “quality”—such as “proper tuning,” “skillful performative technique,” and “rhythmic accuracy”—that characterize “professional musicians.” To accomplish these standards, musicians had to be trained in these skills, through an educational process that familiarized them with specific repertoires and allowed them to mediate between the written register of music and the audience. Thus, the promotion of representational performance by the philharmonic societies contributed to setting the conditions for the institutionalization of musical education in Colombia.

4.2 PROFESSIONAL AND DILETTANTE MUSICIANS: INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MUSICAL EDUCATION

A comparison of the music played in semi-public concerts organized by philharmonic societies, with the repertoires performed in the semiprivate spaces of the salon and in the public space of the retreta, described in chapters 2 and 3, reveals that the elites’ experience of sound as music was increasingly centered on representational performance. For this reason, the elites and institutions promoted forms of musical learning in which musical literacy became a major marker of “professional musicians.” The labor of the philharmonic societies was crucial to set the conditions that made possible the institutionalization of musical education. Professors and members of the local elites established the first Colombian musical academies in Cartagena, Bogotá and Medellín, three cities that had philharmonic societies during the late 1840s and early 1850s. These philharmonic societies developed activities that contributed significantly to the institutionalization of musical education in Colombia by raising the interest of elites, the upper middle urban classes,

and institutions through the promotion of repertoires and representational performance, shaping a shared notion of “professional musicianship.”

Documentary evidence suggests that some characters involved in the creation of the philharmonic societies also promoted changes in musical education. For instance, Edward Gregory was the first private professor who taught in Medellín using scores as the main support for the transmission of musical knowledge (Gónima 1909), and Henry Price and other members of the Sociedad Filarmónica de Bogotá unsuccessfully tried to create a music academy attached to the society, an idea that materialized a generation later when his son Jorge Wilson Price founded in Bogotá the Academia Nacional de Música in 1882.¹²⁸

The institutionalization of musical education also required an increased number of professors and students and the secularization of musical practice. During the nineteenth century, the increasing significance of the salon and the concert established spaces for socialization while introducing forms of musical practice in which the musical score played a prominent role as both a medium of transmission of musical knowledge and a symbol of musicianship. As suggested in chapter 2, the increased significance of printed scores within musical practice created new forms of production, distribution, and consumption of music, especially among the urban elites. However, beneath these transformations also lay a process of institutionalization of musical education that first involved a network of tutors and private professors, and later musical academies and conservatories.

¹²⁸ The first board of the Academia Nacional de Música also included José Caicedo y Rojas (who also was an active member of the philharmonic society), Vicente Vargas de la Rosa, and the Italian Oreste Sindici. (Bermúdez and Duque 2000, 137).

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the traditional role that the Catholic Church played in the musical education of subordinate social classes was declining while musical practice was blossoming in secular spaces such as the salon, the park, and the theater. At the same time, the presence of musicians performing vernacular music in the streets, cafes, and bars was common. This broad process of secularization of musical practice and repertoires relied on a network of performers who taught music as private tutors.

Music teachers had a deep impact among upper and upper-middle urban social classes, whose members could afford the cost of tutors, musical scores, and instruments. As illustrated by the numerous classified ads published in newspapers and magazines, tutors and private professors offering their services became common figures in the Colombian cities. As many of their possible students belonged to specific social classes, many of these professors taught instruments like piano, violin, and singing that the members of the urban elites considered to be representations of bourgeois cultural capital. However, some teachers also indicated in the ads that they could teach some basic notions of musical theory and musical literacy.

Some of these professors were musicians who came to Colombia as members of opera and zarzuela companies, who either were looking for an extra income teaching music while staying in a city or were established in Colombia and were working as performers and teachers. The Italian singer Oreste Sindici (1828–1904) is an example of the contribution made by these foreign musicians. Sindici studied music in Rome at the Ospizio Apostólico di San Michele and came in 1862 to Colombia as a tenor in the opera company that directed Eugenio Luisia and Enrique Rossi-Guerra. After the dissolution of the company in 1865, Sindici stayed in Bogotá and worked as Kapellmeister in the churches of San Carlos, las Nieves, and Santo Domingo while offering his services as private tutor of music theory, solfège, and singing. By 1880, Sindici had such a good

reputation that the Secretary of Public Instruction hired him to coordinate musical education in the public schools of Bogotá.

The close relationship that Sindici had with the matrix of institutional power in the 1880s also helped him to make a successful transition from private tutor to professor in the newly created Academia Nacional de Música in 1882, when Jorge Price hired him as member of the council and professor of solfege and singing in the academy (Klein 2017). However, Sindici was removed from this position after two years due to disagreements with his students and the administration of the academy (Barriga Monroy 2014). Then, he returned to his former jobs as private tutor and consultant for the Secretary of Public Instruction. As a part of his duties, Sindici composed the music for a series of children's songs based on lyrics of Colombian poets such as Miguel Antonio Caro, José Eusebio Caro, Rafael Pombo, and José Joaquín Ortíz (Bermúdez 2008). Based on his experience, Sindici composed the music for a poem by Rafael Núñez in 1887, which later became the Colombian national anthem.

Other foreign musicians were involved in the earlier institutionalization of musical education in other Colombian cities. For instance, in 1889 the newly opened Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia of Medellín published an advertisement in the newspaper *La Voz de Antioquia* promoting a new singing course taught by Antonio de Santis (fig. 38). De Santis was a Spanish tenor and actor who arrived in the city in 1888 as member of the Monjardín and Iglesias zarzuela company.

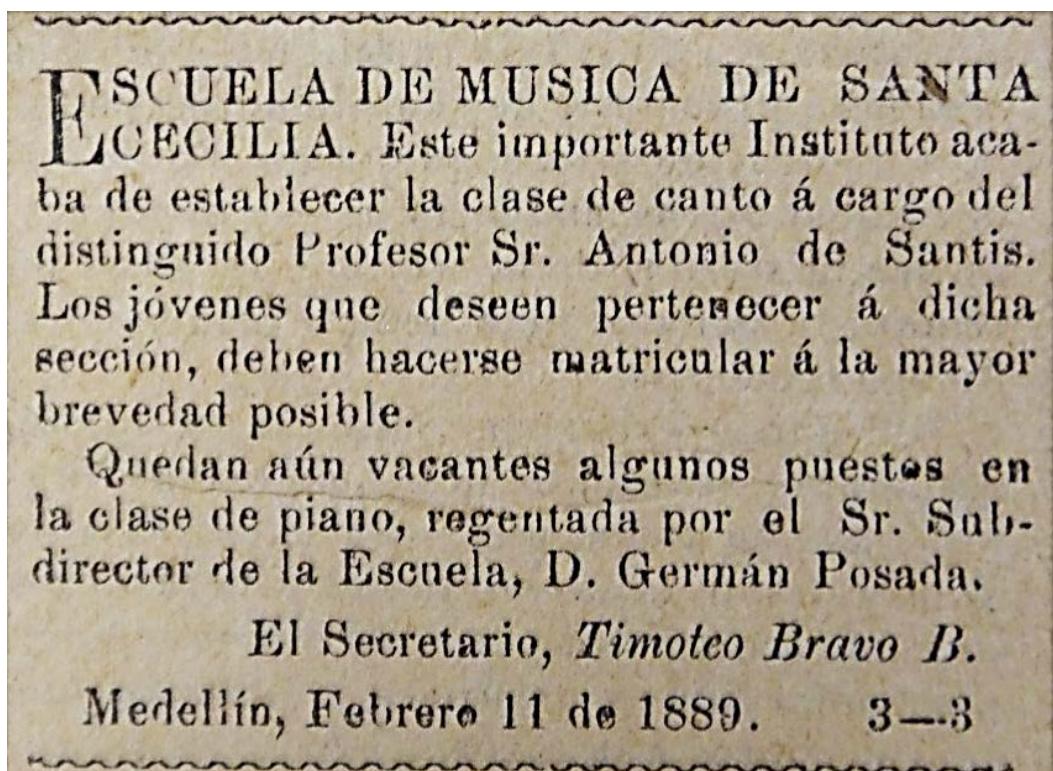


Figure 38. *Newspaper advertisement of the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia, 1889.*

La Voz de Antioquia, No. 77, [n.p.], February 27.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

In other cases, these professors were Colombian citizens, who had learned music either from members of their families or through tutors and institutions. Learning music from fathers, mothers, siblings, uncles, and aunts was a common phenomenon that suggests the existence and pertinence of premodern logics of learning that predicated and coexisted with the introduction of the institutional modern logic represented by musical academies and conservatories. Generations of families such as the Quevedo Family from Zipaquirá,¹²⁹ the Camargo Spolidore family from

¹²⁹ While several members of the Quevedo family played musical instruments, three of them played prominent roles in the reconfiguration of the musical practice in Bogotá during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries: Nicolas Quevedo Rachadell (1803?–1874), who came to Colombia as member of the major command of Bolívar's army and promoted a series of concerts

Boyacá,¹³⁰ the Vidal family from Popayán, and the Vieco and Uribe families from Medellín, indicate that by the mid-twentieth century this form of musical learning was still present in several Colombian cities.

The labor of professors and private tutors reconfigured the soundscape in the semiprivate spaces of many Colombian cities. As illustrated by an article published in the newspaper *El Ferrocarril* in Cali, by the 1880s the number of piano performers and singers increased among the members of the urban elites, while the interest of upper social classes in a classical repertoire played in these instruments also rose:

A few years ago, there were just five or six pianos in the city, which few ladies played after some lessons that they received in school. [For this reason], it was unusual to listen to so much as an excerpt of a classical piece. Today, there are more than thirty pianos and many ladies who play them in Cali. The greater number of pianos and the progress [in the performance] of this instrument results from the circumstance of having more professors [of piano] than the city had before (*El Ferrocarril* 1888, 1197).¹³¹

in his home that, according to his contemporaries, were milestones in the cultural life and musical practice of the elites of the Colombian capital; Julio Quevedo Arvelo, who became a respected composer of sacred music (1829–1896); and the composer Guillermo Quevedo Zornoza (1886–1964) (Duque 2011; Cortés Poanía 2016).

¹³⁰ The pianist Jorge Camargo married the pianist and violinist Antonieta Spolidore (1891–ca. 1955) in 1915 and had nine sons and daughters. The Camargo Spolidore family and two sisters of Antonieta Spolidore established a family orchestra that toured in several Colombian cities between the 1920s and 1940s. Their son, Jorge Camargo Spolidore (1912–1974), became a renowned composer and arranger after he won the first prize in the “Música de Colombia” competition organized by the textile company Fabricato in 1948 (Sanabria Salamanca 2010).

¹³¹Hace muy poco tiempo que solo había en Cali unos cinco o seis pianos, y en estos tocaban señoritas con las pocas lecciones que habían aprendido en el colegio; era muy raro oír siquiera un trozo de una pieza

As this note suggests, many students were women. This is a phenomenon expected in contexts where, as explained in chapter 2, discourses about chaste femininity and musical practice were intertwined with class distinction.¹³² By the same token, the understanding that the “progress” of the students depended not just on a “natural talent” but also on regular attendance reveals a change in the habitus of the upper urban social classes, connecting musical learning, promotion of repertories, and social distinction. For the urban elites, attending private classes was a way to acquire musical knowledge as well as to demonstrate social status.

An 1893 announcement by Germán Posada [Berrio] (1866–1941),¹³³ published in Medellín in the newspaper *El Movimiento* (fig. 39), indicates that students or their families used to pay a fee in advance either for one or several classes, which they could take once or twice per week for 60 minutes. Professors like Posada also offered discounts when they had several students in the same house, but did not reimburse fees if the student cancelled classes. This evidence indicates that regular attendance also was a factor that made it possible for some musicians to establish themselves as professors, supplementing the income that they earned for musical performance.

clásica. Hoy hay más de treinta pianos y muchas señoritas que tocan bien. El mayor número de pianos y de los adelantos que se han hecho en este instrumento se deben a la circunstancia de haberse conseguido maestros que antes no los había.

¹³² Indeed, the number of women studying music was so significant that institutions such as the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia in Medellín, the Conservatorio Nacional in Bogotá, and the Conservatorio de Ibagué opened sections where women could take classes separately from men.

¹³³ Posada Berrio studied piano with Daniel Salazar and flute with Juan de Dios Escobar and later was professor at the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia and the Instituto de Bellas Artes de Medellín. He also was director of the symphonic band before Rafael D’ Alemán and often was hired to play music in ballrooms and theaters (Gil Araque 2009).

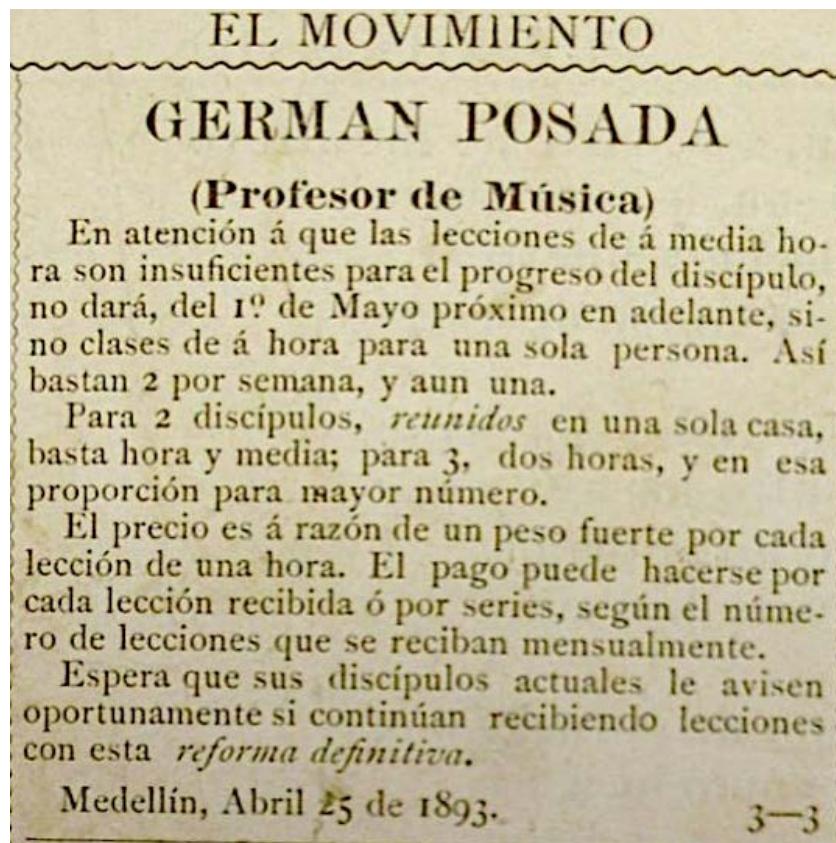


Figure 39. *Newspaper Advertisement of German Posada, 1893.*

El Movimiento, No. 20, [n.p.], April 25

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

The market for these music teachers became more stable but relatively small, as the changes in the habitus of the upper and upper-middle urban social classes increased the consumption of music performed at home. This market was so established by the first decade of the twentieth century that many teachers who taught in musical academies and conservatories also offered their services as private tutors, as did Henrique Gaviria in Medellín (fig. 40). Gaviria, who was professor of violin at the Academia de Música de Santa Cecilia in Medellín, offered private classes through one announcement published in the newspaper *El Bateo* in 1908.

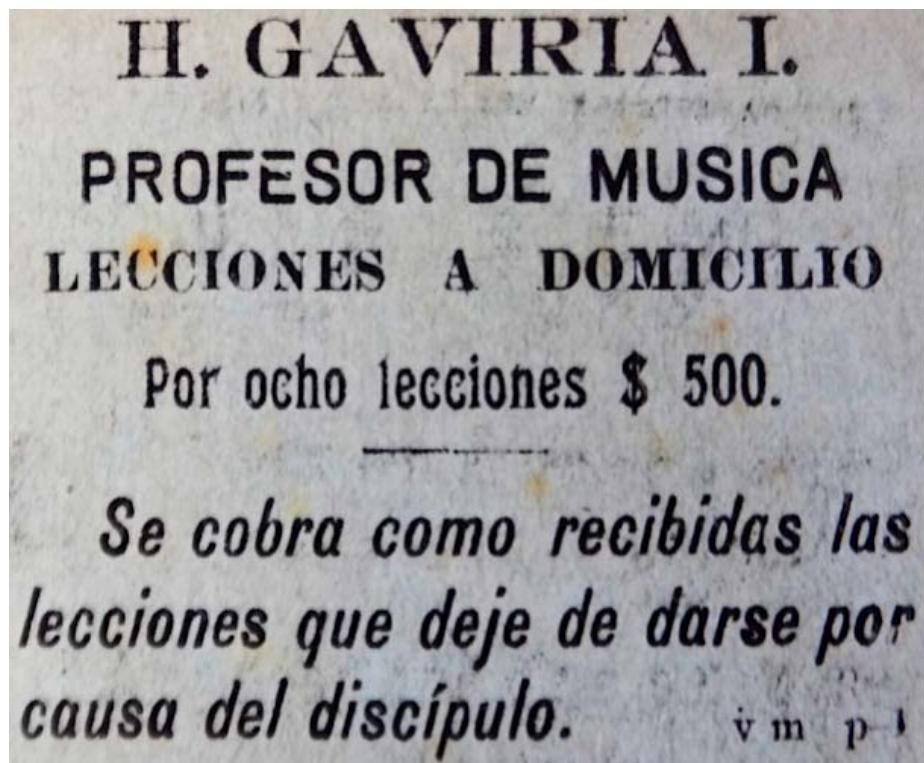


Figure 40. *Newspaper advertisement of Henrique Gaviria, 1908.*

EL Bateo, No. 224, [n.p.], May 22.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

Private professors became key characters in the promotion of both a new model of musicianship centered on presentational performance and a musical repertoire whose support of transmission was the printed score. As pedagogic laborers, they also were crucial in the creation and survival of institutions dedicated exclusively to musical education. This role was especially relevant in cities where musical academies and conservatories were established between the 1880s and the 1910s, such as Bogotá, Cartagena, Medellín, and Ibagué. However, in other urban centers private classes were the closest experience to a formal music education that any pupil could have.

This process of institutionalization was also possible because some musicians attained a social status that allowed them to extend their labor beyond the private classes by establishing their

own academies. For instance, in 1846 José Joaquín Guarín and Francisco Londoño opened a music academy in Bogotá, where they taught guitar, singing, and piano (Cortés Polanía 2016). This transition from a musical education centered on private classes to a more formal training in musical academies continued during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

In 1873, after studying music in France, the pianist Eusebio Celio Fernández founded an academy in a house on the Calle de la Moneda, one of the main streets of the Barrio de San Diego of Cartagena.¹³⁴ The students of the academy could choose from among a series of courses, including composition, harmony, orchestration, organ, piano, violin, singing, and clarinet (Lorduy 2014; Salazar Cabarcas 2016). A published announcement (fig. 41)¹³⁵ indicates that the academy was open until the War of the One Thousand Days spread to the Caribbean in 1900, forcing its untimely closure. After a hiatus of twelve years, Fernández and his son Luis Manuel reopened the academy in 1912 and still was active by 1915.

In his academy Fernández also had a library that contained “150 pieces, methods, and opera excerpts” that the student could loan by paying a cent per day. In addition to the weekly attendance to two 50-minute classes, Fernández also requested the pupil’s dedication to the practice of the instruments, discipline, and obedience to his professors: “the student must practice between two and three hours per day and follow the instructions and methods [provided by] the director [of the academy].”¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Fernandez was one of the pioneers of musical pedagogy in the Colombian Caribbean; he also wrote a method for teaching music in 1893 (Salazar Cabarcas, 2016).

¹³⁵ According to Hernán Alberto Salazar Cabarcas (2016), this announcement was published in the *Diario de la Costa*.

¹³⁶ “El alumno estará obligado a estudiar entre dos y tres horas diarias y a aceptar las prescripciones y métodos dela Dirección”

ACADEMIA MUSICAL

" FUNDADA EN 1873. SUSPENDIDA EN 1900.

" REANUDADA EN 1912.

PROSPECTO PARA 1915

Las tareas comenzarán el 7 de Enero.

Las clases se darán dos veces por semana, en hora designada, durante cincuenta minutos, y constando de tres partes: Ejercicios o escalas, medida o contrapunto y teoría.

La mensualidad se pagará íntegra en oro o su equivalente, descontándose solamente las clases por faltas *voluntarias* de la Dirección y las perdidas por enfermedad *grave* del alumno, pudiéndose transferir estas por mutuo acuerdo, para el día siguiente.

No se admitirán alumnos que den clases con otro.

Las vacaciones serán del 20 al 31 de Julio, y del 8 de Diciembre al 6 de Enero, próximo, las cuales deberán pagarse.

El alumno estará obligado a estudiar dos o tres horas diarias y a aceptar las prescripciones y métodos de la Dirección.

PRECIOS:

Clases de Composición, Armonía e Instrumentación.....	4,50
" " Organo, Piano, Armonium o Violín.....	3,20
" " Canto, Clarinete, Flauta, Cornetín o Saxofón, etc	2,50
" " Sueltas cada una.....	0,50
" " en comunidad en los Colegios, cada alumno.....	2,00
" " fuera de los muros de la ciudad, o estudiando en el local, tienen de aumento.....	1,00

La Biblioteca musical de la Academia, constante de 150 piezas de estudio y trozos de óperas, estará a la orden de los alumnos, pagando un centavo diario por el uso.

Cartagena; (Calle de la Moneda), Enero 2 de 1915

P

Eusebio Celio Fernández.

Ayudante,

Luis Manuel Fernández.

Figure 41. Newspaper advertisement of the Academia Musical of Eusebio Fernández, 1915.

[Diario de la Costa, n.p], January 2.

Courtesy Hernán Alberto Salazar Cabarcas. Cartagena.

On April 13, 1888, after a process that began in the last months of 1887, the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia in Medellín was opened. Like other music schools, such as Fernández's academy in Cartagena and the Academia Nacional de Música in Bogotá, the Escuela de Santa Cecilia was active until 1899 when civil war precipitated its closure. This music academy reopened its doors briefly in 1903, but the economic crisis that followed the One Thousand Days War forced its end. The founders of this music academy were a group of "young enthusiasts who loved the divine art of music, led by the Jesuit priest Pablo E. Montiel" (*La Voz de Antioquia* 1888, 238). The members of the first board of the school were Marco A. Peláez, Luciano Carvhalo, Juan José Molina, Juan P. Bernal, Emilio B. Jhonson, Juan P. Bernal, Timoteo Bravo, Salvador Bravo, Manuel Botero, Pedro A. Bernal, and Rafael Trujillo. Many of these young men later were active members of the Society of Public Improvements, an institution founded in 1899 that reintroduced the institutionalization of musical education in Medellín in 1911, establishing a musical conservatory at the Instituto de Bellas Artes (Gil 2015).

As indicated by the cases of these musical academies, the creation of these institutions began as a private effort led by urban lettered elites, who aspired to have the sponsorship of public institutions that created venues for the "professionalization" of musicians and the "promotion" of music. These social sectors, made up of members of the lettered elite and upper-middle urban classes, envisioned the institutionalization of musical education as a necessary step toward progress in the context of urban modernization. From their perspective, the institutionalization of musical education contributed effectively to the cultural progress of the cities through the promotion of the arts and values associated with "the good taste." For instance, in 1892 the Liberal leader Rafael Uribe Uribe described the Academia de Santa Cecilia as a "significant public work

that contributed to the progress and embellishment of the city [Medellín]" (Uribe 1892, 5).¹³⁷ Thus, institutionalization was the next step that the social sectors involved in the associationism of the mid-nineteenth century made to consolidate the hegemonic position of their notions of music and musicianship within the Colombian cities.

The Colombian music academy that most successfully bridged the interests of the lettered urban elites and the governmental institutions was the *Academia Nacional de Música* of Bogotá (Bermúdez and Duque 2000). The records of this academy suggest that Jorge Price, its first director, strived for several years to secure any governmental support that would make this project viable. After a series of fiascos—which included a failed attempt to reopen the philharmonic society in 1875, the dismantling of the Choir of the Iglesia de las Nieves after a year of labor in 1880, and the unsuccessful attempts to establish a chamber orchestra—Price finally convinced Ricardo Becerra, the Secretary of Public Instruction, that governmental support was vital for the long-term survival of the Academia Nacional de Música or any similar project (Price 1887). As in the case of the symphonic bands, the Academia Nacional de Música was a public institution that left a traceable record of laws, decrees, and institutional reports for secretaries and ministries that offer valuable information for researchers interested in its history.¹³⁸

National Decree No. 68 of 1882 created the Academia Nacional de Música, which had a small annual budget of 1,200 Colombian pesos and premises in the Claustro de Santo Domingo in

¹³⁷"Una obra pública importante por el aspecto de embellecimiento y progreso de la ciudad."

¹³⁸This institution had been studied since the seminal works of José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar (1963) and Andres Pardo Tovar (1966). In recent years, the analysis by Bermúdez and Duque (2000), Barriga Monroy (2014), and Cortés Polanía (2016) contributed significantly to the understanding of the logics and dynamics behind the construction of musical knowledge fostered by the Academia Nacional de Música.

Bogotá's downtown.¹³⁹ When it opened its doors on March, the academy had thirty-two students and six professors who taught violin, viola, violoncello, double bass, clarinet, saxophone, horn, trombone, solfège, and music theory. Decree No. 68 also placed the academy under the administration of the Secretary of Public Instruction, later the Ministry of Public Instruction.

This decree was a part of a broader plan for the institutionalization, formalization, and centralization of artistic education that led to Law No. 67 that the Colombia Congress approved on September 11, 1882. This law created the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, dividing it into four schools: The Drawing and Engraving School, the Arrubla School of Architecture, the Vásquez School of Painting, and the Guarín School of Music (Congreso de los Estados Unidos de Colombia 1882, 154.). By naming three schools as homage to the architect Juan Manuel Arrubla (1800?–1874), the painter Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos (1638–1711), and the composer José Joaquín Guarín (1825–1854), the Colombian government also implicitly suggested a “national canon of the arts” that was informed by notions about the role of the arts in the “modern nation” while associating artistic production with specific social classes and their tastes.

Arrubla was involved in processes of urbanization in Bogotá and introduced newer architectural styles in the mid-nineteenth century (Corradine and Mora de Corradine 2001); Vásquez was the main representative of the Baroque Criollo style in the Viceroyalty of New Granada and was prized as a seminal figure in the Colombian arts (Chichangana-Bayona and Rojas Gómez 2014.); and Guarín was celebrated as a composer who created a society for the promotion of sacred music, established one of the first musical academies in Bogotá, and published waltzes

¹³⁹ The records of the Academy also reveal that the annual cost of operations of the institution was 1,500 Colombian pesos. Price paid the annual deficit of 300 Colombian pesos out of his pocket, which illustrates the commitment that Price had to this project (Price 1888, 7).

and contredances in periodicals from this city (Duque 1998). These three characters also represented models of the artist: they were males from Bogotá and belonged to a white local lettered elite class, and their ancestry had strong bounds with the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, the canon that the new academy and its schools aspired to create was informed by the notions of cosmopolitanism, race, and gender described in chapter 2.

Law No. 67 also ordered an increase in the annual budget of the Academia Nacional de Música to 4,000 pesos, divided into 3,000 for operational expenses and 1,000 for the acquisition of new musical instruments and scores (Congreso de los Estados Unidos de Colombia 1882, 2). This improvement in the budget supported the growth of the academy during the next year. By 1883 the school had fifty-four students and nine professors: Vicente Vargas de la Rosa (theory), Oreste Sindici (singing and solfège), Ricardo Figueroa (violin-advanced course), Emilio Conti (violin-beginners course), Luis Figueroa (viola), Antonio Figueroa (violoncello and double bass), Pablo Esguerra (clarinet and saxophone), Dario D' Achiardi (trumpet, trombone, and horn), and Jenaro D' Alemán (Flute) (Price 1888). This list indicates that a prominent goal of the academy since its creation was to train performers who later could play in a stable symphonic orchestra. However, the scarcity of double-reed professors and students in Bogotá, a phenomenon that also affected the symphonic bands, undermined the fulfillment of this goal during its first years.

As the Academia Nacional de Música was a centralized project, the economic instability and increasing political tensions that characterized the last years of the federal regime in Colombia threatened its survival. In 1884 the Colombian Congress approved a new increase in the budget of the academy up to 6,000 pesos, but the civil war of 1885 delayed this increase until 1886. In addition, several professors and students were recruited to the army, and protests and riots in Bogotá forced the cancellation of classes several times (Price 1888). The precarious situation of

the Colombian economy after the war also jeopardized the future of the academy, but Price's persistence prevailed, encouraging the national and the Department of Cundinamarca governments to approve a new increase in the academy's budget to 7,200 pesos, which finally allowed the opening of piano, oboe, and bassoon classes.

Thus, by December of 1886 the academy had a staff of twenty-five members, including professors and administrators such as director, librarian-copyist, secretary, and doorkeeper (Secretaría de Instrucción Pública 1887, 4). An 1886 list of the faculty included for the first time renowned musicians who taught classes that were new to the curriculum, including Julio Quevedo (harmony), Pedro D' Achiardi and Diego Fallon (piano), Pablo Esguerra (clarinet, oboe, and bassoon), and Santos Cifuentes (double bass), among others (fig. 42). In 1887 the Department of Cundinamarca withdrew its economic support from the Academy. Then, Price decided to pay some expenses of the academy out of his own pocket again, hoping to avoid the possible crisis that this deficit could produce. Thanks to Price's efforts, the academy still grew in 1887, establishing a women's section directed by Carmen Gutierrez de Osorio on October 3 (Price 1888). After this process of earlier consolidation, the academy continued its activities until 1899, when the War of a Thousand days forced its closure.

CATEDRATICOS Y EMPLEADOS.

La Academia ha tenido en el presente año los siguientes Catedráticos y empleados:

- Secretario, señor Enrique M. Maldonado.
Pasante-Portero, señor Juan Casís.
Bibliotecario, señor Juan Roberto Páramo.
Maestro de Armonía, señor Julio Quevedo.
- Id. Piano, 1.^a clase, señor Pedro D'Achiardi.
Id. id., 2.^a id., señor Diego Fallon.
Id. Canto. id. José Mariani.
Id. Solfeo de entonación, Id.
Id. Teoría y solfeo, 1.^a clase, id. Gumersindo Pereira.
Id. id. id., 2.^a id., id. id. id.
Id. id. id., 3.^a id., id. Julián Cabrera.
Id. Violín 1.^º señor Ricardo Figueroa.
Id. id. 2.^a clase, señor Ignacio Billoque.
Id. id. 3.^a id., señor Abraham Salcedo.
Id. Viola, señor Luis Figueroa.
Id. Violoncello, señor Eugenio Andrade.
Id. Contrabajo, señor Santos Cifuentes.
Id. Clarinete, fagot y oboe, señor Pablo Esguerra.
Id. Flauta, señor Jenaro D'Alemán.
Id. Trompa, Trompeta y Trombón, señor Jorge W. Price.
Id. Suplentes de id. id. señores Indalecio Landínez y Rafael Casís.
Id. Suplente de Clarinete, señor Rafael Andrade.

Figure 42. *Staff and faculty of the Academia Nacional de Música, 1887.*

Memoria Histórica del Fundador de la Academia Nacional de Música, p. 41.

Courtesy Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango. Bogotá.

A comparison between the Academia Nacional de Música and the academies established in Medellín and Cartagena during the last decades of the nineteenth century reveals the first period of the institutionalization of musical education in Colombia. This period ended with the War of a Thousand Days in 1899 and was characterized by efforts to create a curriculum that regularized the acquisition of musical knowledge, delineating standards that made measurable both the

progress of the students and their knowledge of music theory expected of “professional musicians.”

As pointed out by Cortés Polanía (2016), these standards were based on principles of authority and criteria associated with and expressed through a “musical canon” that established a set of values. In turn, this process imposed certain musical languages and repertoires as expressions of “good taste” and “high culture” in a direct relationship with “professional musicianship.” Behind these goals it is possible to trace a notion of cosmopolitanism that aspired to adapt European models to local realities. The introduction of this musical canon was a long and complex process that faced many obstacles.

In his reports to the Office of Public Instruction, Price insisted several times that the growth of the Academy demanded the acquisition of new instruments, especially pianos, as well as musical methods and masterpieces of the “universal repertoire.” This necessity in some cases forced the local production of some texts. For instance, in 1882 Price published *Tratado Teórico Elemental para la Enseñanza de los Instrumentos de Cobre* (Elementary Treatise for the Teaching of Brass Instruments). In 1888 the Imprenta de *La Luz* published Price’s translation of a singing manual by Alberto Randeger (1832–1911), an Italian professor at the Royal College of Music in London (fig. 43).

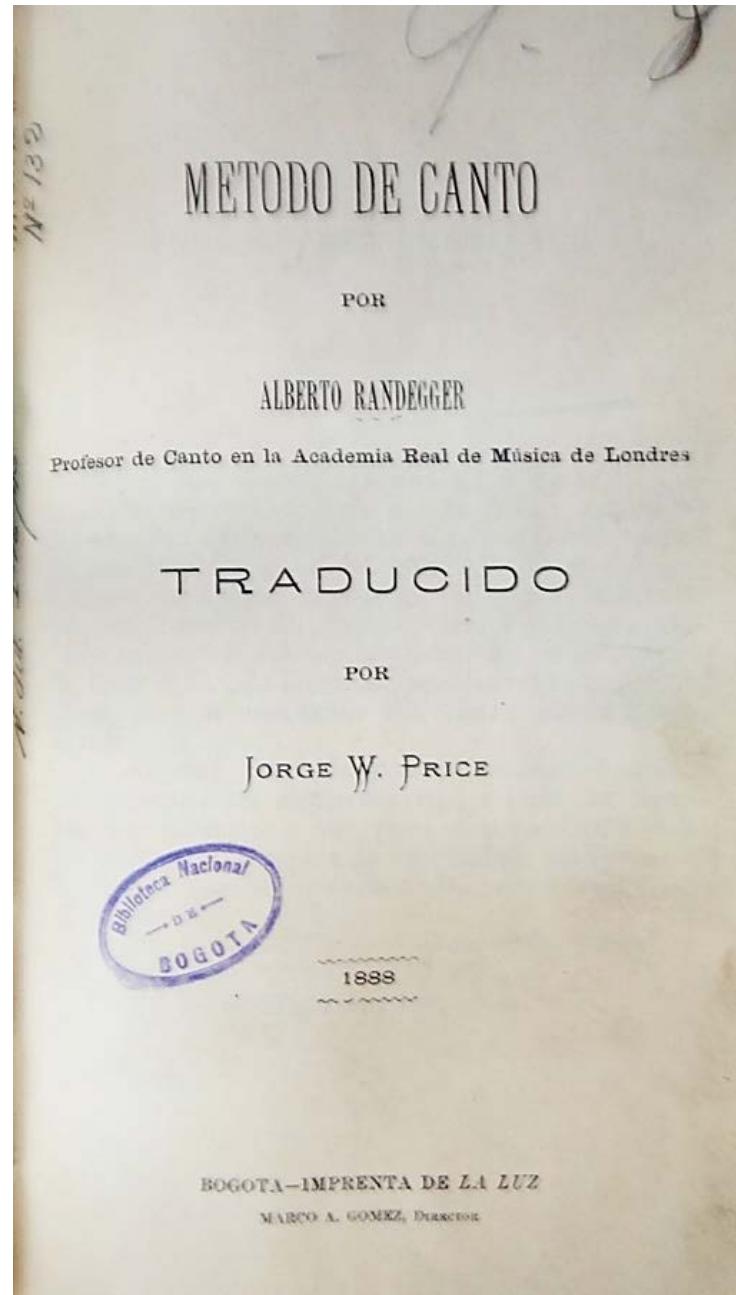


Figure 43. Alberto Randegger's *Method of Singing*, translation by Jorge Price (Cover Page), 1888.

Miscelanea J.A.S. 132.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá

Price's foreword to his 1882 treatise for teaching brass instruments also reveals that the authors of these texts often envisioned them as means for introducing and adapting European models of "scientific" musicianship to the local context:

I am convinced that the scientific works [of authors like] Berlioz, Gevaert, Lobe and Marx dealing with this subject [the brass instruments and their performance] only exist in the hands of a few professors, [they are also written] in a foreign language, and usually are extremely classic [sic] and expensive for beginners. These [issues] persuaded me that a work like this one was extremely necessary, especially in Colombia (Price 1882, 6).¹⁴⁰

The main textbooks in subjects like harmony and theory were either translations of books by foreign authors or works by Colombian authors who in many cases were professors or alumni of the academy. For instance, in 1887 a method by Vicente Vargas de la Rosa and a translation by Price of a method by the English musician William Hayman Cummings were textbooks in the class of music theory (table 7); later the academy also adopted as textbooks for theory and harmony two treatises by Santos Cifuentes (1870–1932) written in 1896 and 1897. Cifuentes, who graduated from the academy as double bass performer in 1890, was the first student to successfully finish the composition program in 1894, and was professor in the section for women (Cortés Polanía 2004;

¹⁴⁰ Convencido de que el número de obras científicas como las de Berlioz, Gevaert, Lobe y Marx que tratan esta materia, no existen sino en manos de muy pocos profesores, y esto en idioma extraño, y que son por lo general demasiado clásicas, extensas y costosas para ponerlas en manos de un principiante, me he persuadido de que una obra como la presente es sumamente necesaria, especialmente en Colombia.

Meza Martínez 2013). Instead of locally produced texts on theory, performers used methods written by European authors that were extensively used in European conservatories (table 7).

Table 7. *Textbooks and methods adopted by the Academia Nacional de Música, 1887.*¹⁴¹

Method	Subject
Stainer (translated by Price)	Harmony
Hilarión Eslava	
B. Tours	Violin
Alard	
Martín	
Campagnoli	
Kreutzer	Viola
Prendiville	
Lestan	
Julies Swert	
G. Braga	Violoncello
H. Bertini	
E. Paeur	
Carpantier (sic)	
Czerny	Piano
Panserou	
A. Randegger	
Vaccaj	
Vicente Vargas de la Rosa	Theory
G. Angulo	
Cummings and Price	
E. Quincherat	Solfège
Giffle	
Carnaud	Flute
Tolou	
Excelsior (Prendiville)	
Antonio Romero	Clarinet
H. Brot	Oboe

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 95.

Table 7 (continued)

E. Jancourt	Fagot
Danverné	Trumpet
J. Mohr	Horn
Prendiville	Trombone
G. Bottesini	Doublebass
Arban	Piston

The regularization of content and the increasing importance that theory had in the curriculum was just a part of the institutionalization of musical education in the Colombian cities. Another relevant aspect of this process was that it aspired to cast musicians into disciplined citizens. As explained by Duque (2001), Price believed that musicians should be exemplary citizens who followed a code of behavior informed by Catholic values and morality. Indeed, during the first period of the Academia Nacional de Música, the students and professors had annual “spiritual retreats” in March (Barriga Monroy 2014). This also suggests that Price planned to promote a process of institutionalization of musical education attuned with the increasing influence of the Catholic Church as an institution that regulated citizens’ behaviors during the *Regeneración*.¹⁴²

Musical academies and conservatories, like the philharmonic societies, were institutions that moved towards a disciplinary regime based on rules compiled in bylaws. These rules accomplished several goals. First, they provided a legal support for the standards that introduced

¹⁴² Authors like José David Cortés (1998) had observed that the *Regeneración* was a period of “the sacralization of the [Colombian] society,” in which Catholic morality, the Catholic church, and Catholic ministers influenced institutions like the family, while promoting values like respect for and obedience to the authorities, and subordination of women to the will of masculine figures, which led to the exclusion of those who “denied” these “truths.”

curriculum in a way that aspired to validate a model of “cosmopolitan musician” based on the adaptation of European referents: “The new bylaws of the academy had been approved after much study and consultation of the bylaws of the [Royal] Conservatory of Madrid that the Honorable Mr. Bernardo J. de Cologán requested. These bylaws were very useful in regulating exams and some classes” (Price 1887, 34).¹⁴³

Second, these bylaws restricted access to the musical academies and conservatories by establishing a series of conditions that individuals had to fulfill in order to be admitted as students. For instance, the requirements for applicants to the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia of Medellín in 1893 seem to have been designed to guarantee a greater presence of students who belonged to the urban elite and upper-middle classes, while the members of subaltern social classes had to demonstrate outstanding behavior and educational level.

Article 4: [Applicants] must accomplish the following conditions to be admitted in the School: 1º They must demonstrate good behavior; 2º they must be lettered and have some notions of arithmetic, grammar and orthography; 3º they must have a musical disposition; 4º they must be older than twelve years; 5º they must be admitted by the majority of the board of the school after a nominal vote; and 6º they must accept and obey this bylaw (Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia 1893, 3).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ “Se acaba de aprobar el nuevo Reglamento de la Academia, el cual ha sido elaborado después de mucho estudio y de consultar los Reglamentos del Conservatorio de Madrid, que el Honorable señor Don Bernardo J. De Cologán tuvo la fineza de pedir, y que han servido en mucho para reglamentar los exámenes y ciertas clases.”

¹⁴⁴ Art. 4. Para ser alumno de la Escuela se requieren las siguientes condiciones: 1º. Que la conducta sea buena; 2º. Que sepa leer y escribir y tenga nociones de aritmética, gramática y ortografía; 3º. Que tenga disposiciones para la música, 4º. Que no sea menor de doce años; 5º que sea admitido por el Consejo en

These and similar requirements included in different bylaws reveal that the goal of musical academies to “spread the practice of music” should be interpreted as “spread certain music among certain social groups.” Thus, in a fashion similar to the organization of philharmonic societies that echoed the logic of restricted democracy that drove the organization of the state, the access to a formal musical education also seemed to privilege a particular profile of candidate: a male, literate, abiding of law and institutions, and member of—or at least able of interact with—the urban elites and upper middle classes.¹⁴⁵ In turn, this profile indicates that the institutionalization of musical education aspired to cast musicians as professional artists as well as model citizens. Indeed, the requirements that applicants to the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia had to fulfill resembled the characteristics of the Colombian citizen established in Title II, Article 15 of the 1886 Colombian Constitution: “a male, older than 21 years, who dedicated to any licit art or labor, who respects the law and [Catholic] morals” (Gobierno de la República de Colombia 1886, 7).¹⁴⁶

Musical academies and conservatories also triggered a process that distanced “professional musicians” from both “amateurs” and “listeners.” For instance, in Bogotá the Academy had an orchestra that performed concerts regularly, and the Conservatorio Nacional promoted a season of symphonic concerts and students’ public auditions. In this way, musical academies and conservatories fulfilled the previous role of the philharmonic societies as key institutions that promoted a form of musicianship based on representational performance.

votación nominal y por la mayoría de sus miembros y 6º que se someta a todo lo expuesto en este reglamento.

¹⁴⁵ The Academia Nacional de Música established a section for women in 1887, Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia also established a similar section 1893, and the Conservatorio del Tolima did so in 1909.

¹⁴⁶ Un varón, mayor de 21 años, dedicado a un arte u oficio lícito, respetuoso de la ley y la moral.

From this standpoint, the process of institutionalization of musical education ultimately created and recreated a hierarchy in the world of art that, as suggested by Alejandra Isaza, delineated an ontology of sound that the elites and institutions promoted by differentiating three actors according to their roles within the sounding and listening experiences: those who produce it, those who perform it, and those who consume it (Isaza Velásquez 2014). This differentiation of roles was crucial to the promotion of representational performance, because it disenfranchised the audiences while transforming performers into “professional mediators.” In a few words, audiences could appreciate music, but musicians had to “understand it” to perform music properly:

Musicians and audiences appreciate music in a different way. Musicians must *understand* it because there is no other way to perform [music] as it is. The true professional musician must know how a piece is built, be able of analyze it, and be aware of its [technical] difficulties and its [essential] beauty, in order to overcome the former and reveal the latter (Uribe Holguín 1911, 116–117).¹⁴⁷

This process changed the understanding of terms like “aficionado,” “dilettante” and “amateur.” From positive terms associated with enthusiastic promoters of the arts, they became increasingly charged with a negative connotation. In contexts where the field of musical creation and consumption of printed repertoires was restricted to the elite and upper middle urban classes,

¹⁴⁷ La música es apreciada diferentemente por los músicos y por el público. Los primeros deben *comprenderla*, porque de otra manera no pueden interpretarla tal como es. El verdadero músico profesional debe saber cómo está construida una obra, poder analizarla, no ignorar ninguno de sus detalles, tener conciencia de sus dificultades y de sus bellezas, para poner en relieve estas y vencer aquellas.

both terms were often used to establish the hegemonic position of a notion of “professional musicianship” that represented the values of the urban lettered elites. At the same time, “amateur” and “dilettante” were labels that established a boundary between trained “artists” and musicians, and listeners who had a “shallow understanding and knowledge” of music, as Uribe Holguín made clear in 1911, when he was director of the National Conservatory:

We call *amateur* or *dilettante* any [person] who loves art but did not study it deeply.

The amateurs, although convenient for the progress of the arts because they support it, are often pernicious in countries where the arts are not spread because they assume the role of infallible referees who exert artistic authority with disastrous consequences. It is quite common for the amateur who criticizes everything to presume knowledge, and impose his and others’ opinions about any artistic issue, no matter how intricate it could be (Uribe Holguín 1911, 116–117).¹⁴⁸

As the domain of this musical field was circumscribed by printed music, musical theory and *Solfeo* (solfège) were crucial to establishing these multiple boundaries. Ultimately, the role of musical literacy created a notion of professional of musicianship in dialogue with the forms of cultural and symbolic capital that the urban elites prized. For this social group, literacy was both a marker of social distinction and a mechanism that guaranteed their control over the public

¹⁴⁸ Se llama *amateur* o *dilettanti* (sic) a un aficionado al arte, pero que no lo ha estudiado profundamente. Los aficionados, tan convenientes para el desarrollo de arte, porque le prestan su ayuda, son muy frecuentemente perniciosos, sobre todo en países en que el arte no está muy difundido, porque se eligen en árbitros infalibles para ejercer una autoridad artística de las peores consecuencias. Es muy común el tipo del *amateur* que todo lo critica por hacer gala de saber, y no menos el del que quiere imponer sus opiniones, suyas o ajenas, sobre cualquier punto de arte, por intricado que sea. Italics in the original.

administration (Rama 1984; Ochoa 2014). In consonance with this set of values, the institutionalization of music set musical literacy as a fundamental skill that differentiated the “artist” from the “dilettante,” as illustrated by an article published in Medellín in the newspaper *La Organización*: “We consider it trivial to state again that without solfège there is no knowledge about what music is. [You] might be a mediocre amateur, but never an artist. The solfège is the mandatory and unavoidable foundation for the learning of music” (*La Organización* 1905, 3).¹⁴⁹

Hence, the institutionalization of musical education promoted a new notion of “professional musician” that simultaneously located and depended on solfège and printed music as the bases that provide symbolic and material support for a form of “musical knowledge” that increasingly characterized the musicians in urban contexts. By the same token, musical literacy also characterized a change in the habitus of musicians who labored in urban contexts, when the score became for them a symbol of “artistic” musicianship that provided a status that differentiated them from “amateurs” and “dilettanti.”

4.3 MUSICIANS, DILETTANTI, AND ‘MÚSICOS TODEROS’: THE MUSICIAN AS TRANSCULTURATOR

Musical academies and conservatories offered a musical education that differed from the one that was available through private classes in two key aspects: these institutions introduced curricula

¹⁴⁹ “Nos parece trivial repetir que sin saber solfear no puede haber conocimiento de lo que es la música, se podrá ser aficionado más o menos malo, pero artista nunca. El solfeo es base obligada e ineludible para el aprendizaje de la música.ca.”

that aspired to organize the content taught to the students in such way that theory and solfège played a prominent role in changing the musicians' habitus; and they introduced a more formalized musical education based on a regular attendance in classes throughout the completion of a program, issuing certificates and diplomas that certified their alumni as professionals (Ospina Romero 2017). This practice contrasted with the former logic of "learning musical labor by doing it" under the guidance of a more experienced musician, because it fostered a construction of knowledge based on the rationalization and scientification of music, instead of a guild-style education and the consequent master-apprentice relationship.

The role of musical theory and solfège was crucial because they embodied a form of *artistic connaissance*¹⁵⁰ based on a process of scientification of musical knowledge, which in turn, was in dialogue with the positivistic *savoir*¹⁵¹ prized by the members of the local elites. Thus, just as the knowledge of the theory behind labor provided a symbolic capital that differentiated the education offered by universities from that offered by *escuelas de artes y oficios* (trade schools),¹⁵² the knowledge of musical theory and solfège distinguished the "professional artists" from the "empirical musicians." The memoir of the writer Luis Latorre Mendoza (1934, 376) illustrates such binary. Latorre divided the musicians of Medellín into two different groups: in the first group, he included musicians who described as "professional artists by education";¹⁵³ in contrast, he refers

¹⁵⁰ As theorized by Foucault (1969), *connaissance* is a particular corpus of knowledge defined by relations between subject to object, which aims to establish the rules that govern it.

¹⁵¹ Foucault (1969) used the term *savoir* to describe a series of cognitive structures whose interaction ultimately creates a shared cognitive field in which they are deployed, creating the conditions that make possible to establish the relations between subject and object that define a form of *connaissance*.

¹⁵² This was also a distinction in terms of social class. While the members of the lettered urban elite and upper-middle classes attended the universities, the few members of subordinated social classes who could access a more formal education generally attended the trade schools.

¹⁵³ Artistas por formación y profesión.

to the second group as *músicos de oído* (musicians by hearing), who were “musicians that played string musicians and were born to be musicians.”

Other documentary sources indicate that many members of the lettered urban elites embraced this system of classification of musicians and musicianship in the Colombian cities. In 1909 the newspaper *El Bateo* published a series of short biographies of local musicians. Enrique Castro, editor of the newspaper and a violinist, divided this series into two categories: *artistas coterráneos* (local artists) and *murgistas coterráneos* (local street musicians).¹⁵⁴

The biographies of the “artists” portrayed them as renowned pianists, singers, violinists, and flutists who were either professors of music or talented students who had attended the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia, which implies that they were also members of the local elite and upper-middle social classes. In contrast, the biographies of the street musicians depicted them as talented empirical musicians and improvisers who often performed plucked-string instruments and were naturally gifted in music. Another issue that differentiated the “murgistas” was their social class; their biographies often stressed that they were craftsmen, and some of them taught music in the homes of their students or in their own workshops, such as the tiplista and shoemaker Manuel A. Yepes from Medellín (fig. 44). This phenomenon also points to a logic of construction and transmission of knowledge based on a guild-style education that privileged orality and empirical experience, which also prevailed in labors like shoemaking, tailoring, or baking.

¹⁵⁴ The list of “Artistas Coterráneos” includes Jesús Arriola, Antonio Berrio, Antonio J. Cano, Enrique Castro, Samuel Cadavid, Rafael D’Alemán, Manuel Escobar, Manuel Molina, Nicolás Molina, Luis Mondragón, Henrique Gaviria, Germán Posada, Gonzalo Vidal and Teresa Vidal. The list of “Murgistas Coterráneos” includes Eduardo Arango, Sebastián Arnau, Germán Benítez (D. Yerman), Pedro Betancur, Leonel Calle, Fernando Córdoba, Enrique Gutierrez (Cabezas), Roberto Mesa, Eusebio Ochoa, Daniel Restrepo, Ricardo Robledo, Pedro Santamaría, Pedro Tabares, Aníbal Valencia, Pedro León Vásquez (Pelón), Alejandro Vélez, and Jesús María Villa (Santa Rita). *El Bateo*. 1909–1910

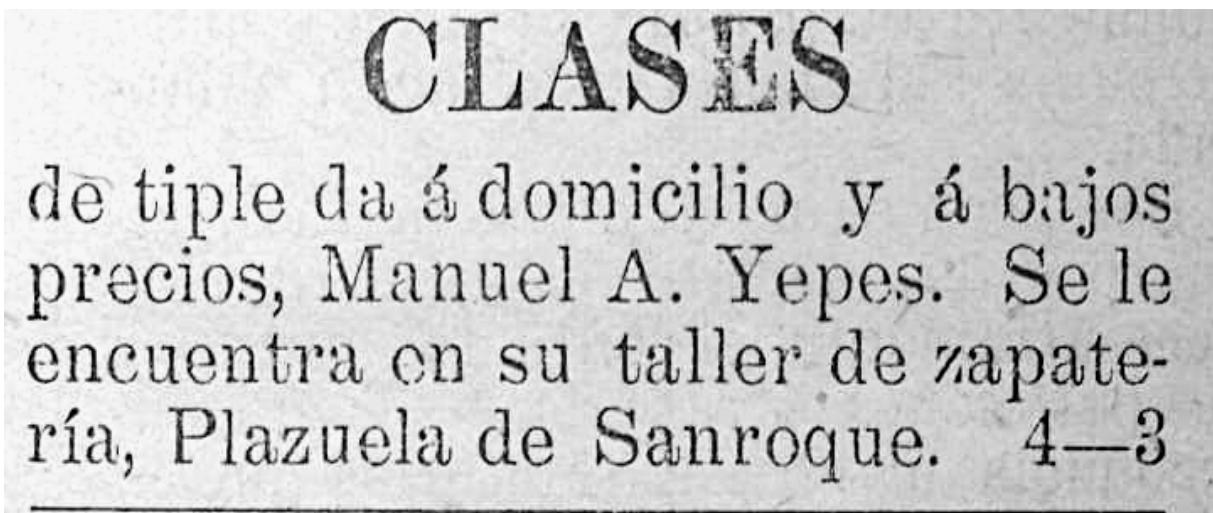


Figure 44. *Newspaper advertisement of Manuel A. Yepes, 1904.*

La Organización, No.87 [n.p.], October 18

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit. Medellín.

The binary “musician as artist” and “dilettanti” also established a hierarchical relationship between both forms of musicianship, validating a form of symbolic oppression of the sonic identities of the subaltern social classes by trivializing the qualities of the musicians formed through a guild-style education and the repertoires that they performed. Thus, when the urban lettered elite celebrated conservatories as centers that educate “artists” and promoted a standard of “professional musicianship” in concordance with their taste and values, they also emphasized their understanding of “high culture.” Meanwhile, these elites also dismissed the musical knowledge of the subaltern social classes by describing it as an irrational use of a natural musical talent, and the successful musicians who came from this tradition were celebrated as exceptional performers and singers who excelled despite their lack of “theoretical knowledge.”

These empirical musicians, often described as dilettanti, used to be complimented in a derogative way that essentialized their musical skills as “natural,” while their colleagues, especially the singers, used to be compared to animals who produced annoying and non-rational

sounds. An example is the article about the singer Pedro León Velásquez (1867–1952),¹⁵⁵ also known as Santamarta: “Velásquez seems to almost completely ignore the note[sic] and technique of singing, but his exquisite taste and the talent that nature gave him saved him from the group of the *cicadas*” (Da Capo: 1909, 1342).¹⁵⁶

This system of distinction between musicians also reveals other significant markers of difference. In addition to privileging the knowledge of theory, this system of classification places two forms of musicianship in opposition: one based on the oral transmission and aural experience as a means for the construction of knowledge, and another based on writing that guided the performance. In turn, these different modes of transmission and construction of musical knowledge reveal different experiences of sound production and listening, which indicates that, from the perspective of the lettered elite and upper-middle social classes, social distinction and “good taste” were increasingly associated with the European musical canon, tonal language, and the extensive use of Western harmony and rhythmic patterns. This binary also indicates that, as suggested in chapter 2, musical instruments themselves became material and sonic markers of social class distinction and difference. Thus, plucked strings were increasingly associated with rural environments and oral traditions, while pianos and instruments performed in symphonic orchestras became associated with the tastes and values of the upper social classes.

¹⁵⁵ Velásquez, who learned singing from Ciriaco Uribe and José María Salazar, was a tailor whose talent allowed him to sing in the Cathedral. However, he was more known for the duet that he established with Plutarco Roa. The duet Velásquez–Roa became popular among the local bohemian scene, and used to sing in cafes and bars in “Guanteros,” a low–middle and lower class neighborhood. Velásquez also was the father of Pedro León Franco (also known as Pelón Santamarta), who was among the first Colombian singers to record Colombian music (Restrepo Duque 2003 [1984], 164–166).

¹⁵⁶ “Velásquez parece ignorar casi por completo la nota y el tecnicismo del canto, habiéndose salvado del grupo de *chicarras* [sic] por su gusto exquisito y las dotes de cantor que la naturaleza tuvo a bien dispensarle.”

However, in practice the boundaries that divided musicians from dilettanti were more diffuse than this binary suggests. As indicated by Velásquez's case, under certain circumstances musicians who had learned music and acquired musical skills through a process based on active learning and oral traditions could reach recognition and acceptance among urban lettered elites. In other cases, musicians who learned music in this tradition were inserted into the processes of institutionalization of musical education in Colombia, transitioning from an orally based premodern tradition to a formal education in musical academies and conservatories. These musicians often moved from one sphere to the other in search of cultural and symbolic capital, which opened doors to new spaces where they could exert their labor and increase their earnings.

A case in point is Luis A. Calvo (1882–1945). As pointed out by Sergio Ospina-Romero (2017a), Calvo, who later became a renowned composer, lived in Tunja between 1892 and 1905.¹⁵⁷ In Tunja, Calvo lived and worked as an office boy in a grocery store of Pedro José Gómez León, an empirical musician who also became Calvo's first mentor. While in Tunja, Calvo complemented this musical education with his experience singing in the church choir of the Franciscan order. Gómez later helped him to be admitted as an apprentice in the Banda Departamental of Boyacá. The years that Calvo spent in this band illustrate a logic of construction of musical knowledge based on empirical experience rather than the domain of theory. Calvo began as a cymbalist, later was promoted to bass drummer, and finally learned and played the saxhorn. In 1905 Calvo moved to Bogotá and worked as musician in the Banda del Regimiento Bolívar while he wrote his first compositions and strove for admission to the Academia Nacional

¹⁵⁷ This city, located in the Department of Boyacá, had been an important colonial center that was experiencing a decline in the late nineteenth century. However, it still was a reference point of urban life for many inhabitants of rural surrounding areas, such as the Calvo family.

de Música, where he was finally enrolled in the course of harmony taught by Rafael Vásquez Flórez.

However, in many cases the transiting between these multiple spheres produced tensions reflecting the discordances between both the elite's and institutional visions of musicianship in the “modern” city and the nature of the musical labor that musicians experienced in their daily lives. The measures that musical academies and conservatories took to refrain their student and professor from adopting “unacceptable behaviors” or performing music “in places of bad reputation” were among the most dramatic examples of such tensions. For instance, in 1892 the board of the Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia closed the class of brasses “because the students, mostly grantees, were ill-mannered, undisciplined and, as a consequence they could not have a result worthy of the free artistic education that the school offered them” (Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia 1892: 24).¹⁵⁸

In other cases, musicians moved in the opposite direction to expand their market. For instance, Anastasio Bolívar (1896–1949), a violinist disciple of Guillermo Uribe Holguín who played in the orchestra of the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, extended his activities beyond the limits imposed by the academy, creating several successful musical ensembles that played popular music at social gatherings, balls, and other events, such as the Orquesta Colón, which he co-directed with Federico Corrales, and one of the first jazz bands that existed in Bogotá.

Bolívar also edited his own music and promoted his ensembles in the back pages of his musical scores (fig. 45).¹⁵⁹ As explained by Jaime Cortés, this multifaceted and versatile profile

¹⁵⁸ “Desde el mes de marzo se clausuró la clase de instrumentos de embocadura porque los alumnos de ella, que fueron becados, eran de mala educación e indisciplinados, y por consiguiente no podían corresponder dignamente a la educación artística que gratuitamente les brindó la Escuela.”

¹⁵⁹ Additional information about Bolívar is available in Bermúdez and Duque (2000) and Cortés Polanía (2004; 2010; and 2016)

transformed Bolívar into one of the most successful “musical entrepreneurs” of Bogotá in the 1920s and 1930s (Cortés Polanía 2010). Thus, the transition of musicians between institutional and non-institutional spheres also reveals that the musical field of creation and consumption of music in the Colombian cities did not necessarily privilege the musical practice and musical repertoires that embodied the civilizing project embraced by the elites and institutions. In the absence of stable symphonic orchestras or patronage, musicians who aspired to earning a living from their musical labor had to work in dissimilar spaces where contrasting musical repertoires were consumed. Even musicians who were involved in projects that follow an institutional logic worked beyond them in pursuit of a better income.

A case in point is Jerónimo Velasco (1885–1963), who began his musical training with José Viteri in Cali. As Calvo did in 1905, Velasco moved to Bogotá in 1906 and worked as clarinetist in the symphonic band that directed Emilio Conti. In Bogotá, Velasco pursued a formal education at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música. The experience that Velasco had as performer and director, and his training as composer and arranger of Colombian music for different instrumental formats, facilitated his participation in institutional and non-institutional instances of musicianship.



Figure 45. *Febrero 12, Romanza Sentimental* by Anastasio Bolívar, front and back covers, 1910.

M1687 .C6 CMPC CAR 3/111.

Courtesy Archive Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá

During his professional career Velasco was the musical director of diverse musical ensembles such as the Orquesta Union Musical, the Banda del Batallón Guardia Presidencial, and the Symphonic Band of Cali (Montoya 2010). In 1930 the Colombian government named Velasco as artistic inspector in the HJN, the first radio station created in Colombia, administrated by the Ministry of Public Instruction. As part of his new duties, Velasco directed an orchestra made up of members of the Unión Musical (fig. 46). Under Velasco's direction the Unión Musical became one of the most popular orchestras of Bogotá; it was recorded by the scouts of the Victor Talking

Machine Company who traveled to Colombia in 1913 (Spottswood 1990, Ospina-Romero 2017b)¹⁶⁰ and often played for the radio.



Figure 46. *Jerónimo Velasco conducting the Unión Musical*, photographer unknown, 1930.

El Mundo al Día, No. 1873, p. 13, April 23.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá.

¹⁶⁰ In 1913 the scouts of the Victor Talking Machine recorded Velasco directing this orchestra in Bogotá (Ospina-Romero 2017b). According to Spottswood (1990), these records contain the following pieces: the march “Los Cadetes” by Velasco (matrix L-427), the pasillo “Amores” by Velasco (matrix L-457), the Tango “! Qué Mujeres!” by Velasco (matrix L-451), the tango bog “otano (sic) “Cómo ha estado” (matrix L-381), the pasodoble “Honor Patrio” by Velasco (matrix L-455), the waltz “Maruja” by Velasco, and the Colombian national anthem (L-450).

The program that Velasco's orchestra performed on the radio on April 23, 1930, illustrates the heterogeneity of the musical repertoire that these ensembles offered. Next to canonical authors and pieces appeared reminiscences of salon music, and popular music by local and foreign composers: “*Jolly Robbers* [Banditenstreiche], overture by Von Suppe; *Fedora*, waltz by Bucalossi; *The Debutante* by Herbert L. Clarke; *The Hours of the Night*, blues by Wall; *Spanish Serenade* by [Joaquín] Malats; *overture from the Mastersingers* [Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg] by Richard Wagner; *Boyacá*, pasillo by Luis Manuel Rodríguez; *Russian Intermezzo* by Theodore Franke; and *The Land of Joy*, onestep by [Joaquín] Valverde” (*El Mundo al día* 1930, 10).

This program indeed indicates that the consumption of live music in the Colombian cities differed from the aspirations of “high culture” and the education of the listeners in the appreciation of the Western canon that was concomitant with the symbolic plan of “an ordered and civilized” city envisioned by the elites and institutions. Indeed, as pointed out by Egberto Bermúdez (2009) and Sebastián Mejía Ramírez (2014a), musicians that created ensembles such as the *Lira Colombiana* and the *Orquesta Salazar* were aware that to be competitive in the local market they had to play in theaters as well as in clubs, cafes, social gatherings, and even religious ceremonies.

Therefore, in order to offer live music as a saleable commodity, musicians had to know a musical repertoire that fit in three categories that resemble the “orders” that the symphonic bands used to perform in the retreta mentioned in chapter 3: (1) Opera, especially Italian and French opera, and zarzuela; (2) *música ligera* (light music) taken from operetta and musical theater; and (3) works by local composers that could be danced to in social gatherings, either “national airs” such as pasillos, danzas, and bambucos or fashionable rhythms such as foxtrots, danzones, and tangos, which acquired increasing value as markers of a “new, rich, and fashionable” musical product when they began to circulate and be consumed through recordings. Thus, musicians like

Calvo, Bolívar, and Velasco embodied a form of “professional musicianship” that contrasted with the romantic vision of “professional artists” promoted by institutions like the conservatories. Instead of the elite ideal, these musicians reveal a form of musical practice and musical labor similar to the one that musicians like Pedro Morales Pino and the Members of the *Lira Antioqueña* had adopted a generation before, during the late nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries.

Thus, the distance that existed between musicians’ labor as it was envisioned by the local elites and the market reality for the local consumption of live music ultimately transformed the musician into a mediator connecting different musical traditions. Musicians responded in a market that demanded increasing versatility in the adaptation and performance of academic and non-academic repertoires in new spaces that urban modernization and changes in the habitus of the urban upper and upper-middle classes introduced, such as social clubs, cafes, cinemas, and radio stations. Thus, the characteristics of the musical field in Colombia created a demand for a new character: the *músico todero* (musical jack of all trades),¹⁶¹ a multitask musician able to perform several instruments, make adaptations of musical pieces to diverse instrumentations (sometimes transcribing them from records), and perform some representative pieces from the Western canon, while enriching his musical repertoires by adding traditional and newer popular music. In short, rather than the “artist” who followed the standards championed by the local elites, the musical job market in the Colombian cities ultimately shaped a form of “professional musicianship” that

¹⁶¹ A good example of these musicians are the directors of bands. Their labor often demanded that they knew canonical “masterpieces” but also often had to make adaptations of popular music to be performed in the retretas, as well as work as instructors of new members of the bands (Valencia 2017).

transformed the musician into a *sonic transculturator* who mediated between dissimilar musical repertoires that represented contrasting sonorous identities.

The Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortíz introduced the concept of transculturation in his work *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar* (2002 [1940]), which describes the complex social and political relations that shaped the interaction between Cuba and European metropolitan centers. Ortíz's *transculturation* indicates a multi-directional, endless, and interactive process in which multiple cultural systems interact following a complex dynamic, in contrast to the lineal and hierarchical relations of cultural and political structures often associated with the principle of cultural authority. In her interpretation of Ortíz's transculturation from the perspective of the aural experience, Ochoa Gautier (2006) used the term *sonic transculturation* to describe a process of writing about music that music contextualized and recontextualized the aural modernity in Latin America in such way that it established an aural experience revealing a decentered modernity, which was no longer exclusively defined by the primacy of the lettered world.

The relationship established between local musicians and cultural industry during the first decades of the twentieth century illustrates how the transformation of musicians into transculturators created spaces and practices that introduced collective experiences of sounding and listening that differed from the ones envisioned by the elites, questioning the logic of the musician as agent that embodied a sonorous representation of the standards of "high culture." Since the pioneer international tour of La Lira Colombiana in Central America and the United States in 1901, followed by the recordings made by the duet Pelón y Marín in Mexico for the subsidiary of Columbia Records in 1908 (Bermúdez 2009), the recordings made by Emilio Murillo and by La Lira Antioqueña in the United States for Columbia Records in 1910 (Brooks 1999; Cortés Polanía

2004),¹⁶² and the recordings made by the scouts for Victor in Bogotá in 1913, the Colombian musicians that most successfully participated in transnational networks of recording were those that could mediate between local traditions and the expectations of the industry, in particular the market that created the production of “ethnic records” (Spottswood 1990).

These recordings also illustrate that two types of musical ensembles became increasingly associated with “national music” (Cortés Polanía 2004) in the early recordings of “Colombian music.” The first are the string ensembles of plucked instruments that followed the model of the Spanish “Estudiantinas,” such as the Lira Colombiana and the Lira Antioqueña. The Lira Colombiana was an ensemble founded and directed by Pedro Morales Pino (1863–1926), and was among the first Colombian ensembles that performed concerts outside the country. Indeed, although this ensemble did not make a record, the concerts of the Lira Colombiana in several Colombian cities and the participation in the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo in 1901 transformed it into an iconic model for other musical ensembles (Bermúdez 2009). Among these ensembles was the Lira Antioqueña, created in Medellín in 1903 by Fernando Córdoba (director and first bandola), Nicolás Torres (second bandola), Enrique Gutiérrez “Cabecitas” (tiple and voice), Eusebio Ochoa (guitar and voice), Leonel Calle (voice). In 1910, the Lira Antioqueña became the first Colombian ensemble of its kind that made recordings for Columbia, including a version of the Colombian national anthem made to celebrate the first centennial of the Colombian independency (Rendón Marín 2009; Santamaría Delgado 2014).

¹⁶² As indicated by Tim Brooks (1999), several Colombian artists who traveled to the United States and recorded music for Columbia Records in New York. The list includes the brothers Daniel and Samuel Uribe, Emilio Murillo, the Lira Antioqueña the duet Cabecitas and Ochoa, and the duet Calle and Ochoa.

The second kind of ensemble were male duets accompanied by plucked-string instruments. In Colombia, these duets were a common presence in urban spaces like cafes and bars—which explains why the voices were men’s voices—where they often sang romantic songs. Indeed, many of these musicians were hired to perform the romantic *serenatas* that the men used to include as a part of their courtship. However, the bohemian character of these duets transformed them into an expression of a growing urban middlebrow culture among middle urban classes that was distancing itself from the “high culture” promoted by the elites, as suggested by a note published in Medellín in the magazine *La Miscelánea* comparing the cost of a “romantic serenade” with ensembles for the salons:

You can think first about the serenade, which costs between one and two hundred pesos, because you will need the piano of Daniel [Salazar] and Daniel himself to play it, a tenor, two baritones, a bass, a violin, a flute, and a clarinet. However, the girl would be satisfied with the maestro Zuleta singing accompanied by a guitar and two bandolas (Rodríguez 1888, 202).¹⁶³

In some cases, these duets traveled from one city to another as members of theatrical spectacles. This was the case of the duet of Pedro León Franco Rave (1867–1952), also known as “Pelón Santamarta,” and Adolfo Marín (1882–1932), who traveled throughout the Caribbean and made their pioneer recordings with the Columbia label when they arrived in Mexico in 1908. The

¹⁶³ Empiece usted por la serenata, cuesta cien o doscientos pesos; pues son menester el piano de Daniel y Daniel que lo toque, un tenor de fuerza, dos barítonos y un bajo, un violín, una flauta y un clarinete. La muchacha tal vez se conformaría con que al son de la guitarra y dos bandolas le cantara el maestro Zuleta.

duet, known as “Pelón y Marín,” played songs and made comic sketches that allowed them to play in the bohemian environment of in cafes and bars, romantic serenades, and theatrical vaudevilles. The scouts of the Victor Talking Machine Company also recorded similar ensembles performing a parallel repertoire in Bogotá in 1913 (Arias Calle 2011). For instance, the duet of Pinillos and Villamarín—which included Villamarín (singer), Andrés Pinillos (singer and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)—recorded three humorous songs *La Viejita de los Animales* (matrix L-394), *Los Antioqueños* (matrix L- 396), and *Chiss-Pum* (matrix L.396); meanwhile, the duet of Alejandro Wills (voice and guitar) and Alejandro Escobar (voice and tiple) recorded the gavota *Ausencia* (matrix L-376).

The musicians involved in these recordings shared several characteristics: they did not belong to the urban elites but were members of urban upper-middle and middle classes, they often were descendants of craftsmen who also labored in commercial activities,¹⁶⁴ they were male, and they performed instruments and rhythms that increasingly became associated with the notions of a “white Iberian heritage” (Cortés Polanía 2004; Bermúdez 2009). In turn, these coincidences reveal that the agents involved in the processes of sonic transculturation ultimately created a soundscape that, despite of the multiple ways in which it differed with the one that represented “the modern and civilized city” envisioned by the elites, still echoed some of its central notions of nation: a “whitened” mestizo nation, connected with the “centers of civilization and cultural production” through its Iberian heritage, and controlled by males.

¹⁶⁴ For instance, Emilio Murillo (1880–1942), one of the main characters behind the recordings made by Columbia in 1910, combined his activities as musician whit commercial endeavors such as a brewery “La Rosa Blanca” (The White Rose) (Cortés Polanía 2004). Meanwhile, Pedro León Franco was the son of the abovementioned Pedro León Velásquez.

However, this soundscape was equally shaped by an external agent: the recording companies and their technicians. As suggested by Ospina-Romero (2018), the technicians making the recordings often became active agents in the process of transmission and shaped both the industry and the taste of the consumers by deploying improvisatory interventions. Indeed, as Ospina-Romero points out, “who made it to the studio and what repertoires turned out to be massively disseminated depended on the aesthetic and/or acoustic judgments of the scouts, the frequent random selection of musical numbers, and the convoluted networks of local artists.” Hence, the introduction of the mechanical reproduction of music and its new cultural industry were central to the transformation of the urban soundscape because they offered a newer material support through transnational networks of production and distribution, reinscribing oral traditions through the consumption of sound as commodity while fostering new experiences of listening that often were described using the binary music-versus-noise.

5.0 MUSIC, NOISE, AND SPACE: MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION OF MUSIC AND LISTENING

As chapters 2, 3, and 4 describe, urban modernization processes promoted changes in the listening practices of Colombian cities' residents in multiple ways. Some changes seem to have privileged a top-down model of analysis of the Colombia urban soundscape, such as the creation of academies of music and conservatories, the modernization of symphonic bands, and the introduction of musical printing. From this standpoint, urban elites and institutions adapted notions of civilization and culture to their own interests, in which they created, recreated, and imposed their visions of the role of music and listening as means for guaranteeing hegemonic control of urban spaces in a way that transformed a civilizing process into a disciplining one. Thus, issues like the use of music and listening as instruments for disciplining the citizens in private and public spaces, the creation of institutions that aimed for the professionalization of musicians, and the promotion of particular musical repertories were interrelated parts of a broader project that ultimately aimed to transform the Colombian cities into quintessential venues for the construction of a white mestizo nation with cosmopolitan aspirations.

However, the changes that urban modernization processes fostered in the Colombian cites also involved multiple cultural, political, economic, and social actors that belonged to different social groups. Therefore, despite the valuable approach that the aforementioned analytical

framework offers, this top-down model just represents a part of the process underlying the construction of citizens' experiences of urban spaces in Colombia. To expand this analysis of the relationship between sounding, listening, and urban modernization in Colombia, I will direct my attention in this chapter to discussions that reveal experiences of contested spaces by considering how the arrival, distribution, and consumption of forms of mechanical reproduction of music unveiled representations of race and social class that introduced alternative understandings and uses of urban spaces.

These nuances reveal that urban modernization also conveyed the creation of a cultural market, where traders and consumers understood music and sound as commodities. As pointed out by Sergio Ospina-Romero (forthcoming), the distribution and consumption of forms of mechanical reproduction of music such as player pianos set in motion dynamics of cultural appropriation in the periphery of their centers of production. Thus, the analysis of processes of consumption and appropriation of technologies associated with the mechanical reproduction of music portrays the subaltern social classes as key actors in the reconfiguration of both the urban soundscape and the uses of urban spaces. Indeed, the accounts of the experience of listening to player pianos, gramophones and phonographs¹⁶⁵ in Colombian cities often present contradictions, calling into

¹⁶⁵ It is necessary to clarify the meaning of several terms that often appeared in the Colombian periodicals. During the first decade gramophone and phonograph seem to have been used indiscriminately to refer to any machine that mechanically reproduced music via either cylinders or discs, but by 1920 both terms came increasingly to reference different devices. The terms *fonógrafo* (phonograph) or *fonógrafo de Edison* (Edison's phonograph) usually referred to different machines that reproduced cylinders; meanwhile *gramófono* (gramophone), *grafonola*, and *grafófono*, on its own often referred to Berliner's design, which reproduced discs. However, due to the popularity of the models introduced by the Victor Talking Machine Co., the gramophones also were increasingly called *victrolas*, especially after 1910. Another term that appears in documentary sources after 1925 is *ortófono*, which refers to devices designed to play electrically-recorded music. As in the case of victrola, ortófono is a term that reveals the prominent position that Victor's models had in the local market, and was introduced by agents of the company who promoted devices like the "Victrola Credenza," introduced in 1925 as "Victrolas Ortofónicas."

question linear models that cast the subalterns as passive agents within both the processes of urban modernization and the construction of representations of citizenship and nationhood.

As indicated by the notion of musicians as sonic transculturators presented in chapter 4, subaltern social classes' experiences of sound production and listening were a force that shaped the urban soundscape. Thus, the dwellers of new urban spaces negotiated new uses and notions of music with their former habitus through processes of appropriation and adaptation of old practices to new forms. As suggested by Gavin Steingo in his study about mobility and obduracy in South African electronic music, in the Global South technological failure creates particular conditions, tending to produce alternative logics in subjective and collective sonic experiences (Steingo 2015). In turn, these logics produce regimes of sound and repertoire circulation that contradict the logic of civilizing discourses.

The appropriation of technological supports by subaltern social classes and the promotion of the repertoires that represented their tastes created contested spaces, reconfiguring the experiences of sound and listening. These processes of appropriation and promotion created experiences of urban spaces that called into question the aforementioned top-down model. In turn, the local elites and institutions read this alternative use of player pianos, phonographs, and gramophones as a failure of technology to promote a civilizing process.

The accounts of this “technological failure” often opposed “music and noise,” describing an experience of listening informed by notions of progress, order, and civilization. Thus, these contested experiences of sound and the efforts to control them also reveal the efforts of institutions

and elites to create normative contexts through the “silencing of noise.”¹⁶⁶ They show how the use and appropriation of technology by subaltern urban classes subverted the disciplinary logic of the civilizing discourse. The construction of the binary “music and noise” illustrates both the contradictions that characterized the modernization processes in Colombia, and the uneven relations of power that created and recreated those processes within the Colombian cities.

In this chapter, I introduce an analysis in four parts of these phenomena by studying the introduction, distribution, and consumption of mechanical technologies of reproduction of music in Colombia, and their impact on the construction of listening regimes within the Colombian cities between 1886 and 1930. First, I explore how the processes of urbanization and rural migration created a new soundscape that the residents of the Colombian cities often described as evidence of urban progress and development, as well as a boisterous, unhealthy, and noisy byproduct of urban modernization in which devices reproducing recorded music had a prominent presence. Then, I consider how the changes in the geopolitical context and the insertion of Colombia into international trading networks positioned local traders and commercial houses as mediators in the introduction of new forms of sound recording and reproduction of music. Later, I focus my attention both on the local consumption of such devices and on the musical repertoires that they conveyed, inquiring how the mechanical reproduction of music was promoted by manufacturers and local elites as a mean to “democratize the listening,” a notion that in the Colombian case became a means for spreading good taste, promoting civilizing discourse, and guaranteeing “social order.” Finally, I analyze how such notions were informed by American hygienist discourses

¹⁶⁶ As explained by David Novak, noise control and noise abatement are phenomena that characterize normative context. Indeed, as indicated by Ana Maria Ochoa, silencing can be understood as an act of epistemological violence that aimed to control subaltern identities (Novak 2015; Ochoa 2014).

adapted by local elites and governmental institutions control and co-opt former models of socialization, which reconfigured ideas of nation and nationhood based on an ambiguous interpretation of sounding and listening that constructed new representations of otherness within urban contexts.

I suggest that these contradictory interpretations of the experience of listening to sound reproduced mechanically played a central role in the discussions about noise by introducing new understandings of the role of music and musicians within Colombian cities. I argue that the contradictory accounts of sound as music and sound as noise revealed a model of otherness imbricated in and by issues like race and social class, in which dissimilar experiences of urban modernization shaped the residents' experiences of the urban soundscape while promoting a set of practices around music.

5.1 LISTENING TO THE “BOISTEROUS CITY”

The inhabitants of big Colombian cities witnessed a dramatic series of changes that reconfigured the spaces around them during the first half of the twentieth century. New public services such as water supplies, electric power, telegraph and telephone, and systems of public transit were introduced. Strategic spaces for the promotion and transformation of musical practices—such as musical conservatories, theaters, cafes, and cinemas—were created. Industrialization and the insertion of the country into transnational commercial networks introduced novel forms of recording, reproduction, and transmission of sound such as player pianos, phonographs, gramophones, and radios.

Members of the local elite and governmental institutions often promoted and presented these transformations as evidence of the “progress” of the Colombian cities. Thus, the association between modernization processes and progress became, as suggested by Robert A. Nisbet (1994), a narrative of linear evolution towards a hypothetical future where citizens would experience the city as a comfortable and developed space, as illustrated by the following text describing Manizales, the main center for the coffee market in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century:¹⁶⁷

Today this rich and prosperous city [Manizales] has four banks, a chamber of commerce, multiple factories of many kinds of local industries; the gondola lift that will connect [Manizales] and Mariquita [a town in the Magdalena Valley] will be finished soon, facilitating commercial [activities], and the importation and exportation [of goods]. The progress of this prosperous inter-Andean capital will increase prodigiously (Matéus 1921, 204).¹⁶⁸

Local elites and institutions easily embraced this optimistic narrative because it resonated with Catholic belief in the promise of a future paradise that working and honest men could reach

¹⁶⁷ Nisbet (1994) suggests that a process of “secularization” of the idea of progress began during the Enlightenment and the eighteenth century, which transformed it into one historical process that followed principles and laws. Thus, during the nineteenth century the ideas of “progress” and “evolution” were used interchangeably.

¹⁶⁸ Hoy tiene aquella rica y próspera ciudad cuatro bancos, cámara de comercio, e infinidad de fábricas para toda clase de industrias locales; y ya casi llega allí el cable aéreo que la comunicará con Mariquita su comercio de importación y exportación [...]. El adelanto de la próspera capital interandina aumentará de una manera prodigiosa [...].

if they followed the rules of faith, morality, and obedience to the authorities. Indeed, the backers of urban modernization often described it as a positive, natural, and necessary process that would lead the city toward the goal of progress, transforming the old colonial village into a comfortable space where the citizens finally would find jobs, education, and wellbeing.

This “pursuit of progress” fueled processes of urban modernization that became a new means for guaranteeing control over subaltern social classes within the urban spaces. Elites and institutions soon understood and promoted progress as a crusade for the “collective wellbeing,” whose implementation and success demanded the general adoption of the notions of order and civilization. The sonorous expression of this progress was first developed in the semiprivate spaces of the saloon and later projected and transformed into the public spaces through the retreta.

According to this heroic narrative, the threats of “barbarism” and “disorder” that embodied the subaltern social classes were the main enemies of progress and its backers. Elites and institutions were prone to claim that the *populacho* (popular social classes), a mass of peasants, craftsmen, and laborers racially related with Indigenous and African ancestors, embodied the “uncivilized” and “barbaric” other that threatened the civilized citizens by impeding the development and progress of the city. Thus from their perspective, urban progress demanded the control and disciplining of the populacho to overcome the obstacles that the nation inherited from its colonial past and the inconvenient presence of “inferior racial influences” among the subaltern social classes.

The positive image of the future city that supported the litany of progress differed with many inhabitants’ daily experiences of the changes in urban spaces, however. Contrasting with the marvel of progress introduced in new “cosmopolitan” urban spaces, many accounts were charged with nostalgia for the “old times” and the calm and predictable life within the “colonial village.”

They also presented the modern city as an uncomfortable space where the new tastes and practices collided with the former habitus, disturbing the citizens' experiences of the urban spaces, including their freedom of movement throughout public spaces (fig. 47).



Figure 47. Bogotá's amenities, editorial cartoon by Pepe Gómez. 1912.

El Gráfico, No. 6, [n.p.], Julio 6.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá.

Another issue was the increasing social unrest that the changes in urban demography fueled in the Colombian cities. Unlike countries such as Argentina and Brazil, where local governments successfully implemented policies addressed at “improving” the racial profile of the nation by attracting foreign immigrants, in Colombia the arrival of foreign immigrants was discrete and restricted to little groups of Lebanese, Syrian, Turkish, and Italian migrants in the Caribbean, as well as British, German, and Spanish migrants in Antioquia, Cundinamarca, and Santander.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, civil wars and early processes of industrialization conjoined to propel an increase in the migration into cities, coming from rural

areas and little towns. As a result, many peasants and craftsmen came to inhabit urban spaces whose infrastructure barely had changed in decades. Therefore, migration in Colombia was mainly an internal and transregional phenomenon, fostered by the expansion of the agricultural lands in the Colombian southwest due to the coffee exportation boom, and by an increase in commercial and industrial activities in cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, Barranquilla, Cartagena, and Cali.

This demographic change transformed the Colombian cities into overcrowded spaces. A comparison between the 1918 and 1928 censuses (Dirección Nacional de Estadística 1924; Contraloría General de la república 1930) illustrates how this process was distributed among several urban centers located in different regions.¹⁶⁹ As illustrated by fig. 48, Bogotá was the most populated Colombian city by far. However, new regional centers such as Barranquilla, Cali, Cartagena, Manizales, and Medellín experienced nearly similar or even higher proportional population growth in a period of ten years,¹⁷⁰ which in turn indicates that these cities also became regional hubs for industrial and commercial activities that attracted a significant influx from rural areas or other cities. In contrast, cities such as Popayán and Tunja that had been prominent urban centers during the colonial and early republican period experienced lower rates of demographic growth in this decade.

Although transregional migration was a common phenomenon, it was not a simple and straightforward process. Illustrated through the case of the composer and pianist Luis A. Calvo, migrants coming from rural areas often moved from one city to another looking for new job

¹⁶⁹ The census of October of 1918 was approved by Law 8 of September 19, 1921 (Dirección Nacional de Estadística 1924). Meanwhile, the census of 1928 was approved by Law 26 of 1928, published in 1930 (Contraloría General de la república 1930).

¹⁷⁰ The comparison between the 1918 and 1928 censuses shows that the population of Bogotá grew by 57% while Barranquilla grew by 116%, Cali by 174%, Manizales by 65%, and Medellín by 52%.

opportunities, education, and improvements in their living conditions. Calvo's family first moved from the little town of Gámbita in Santander—a Department in the Colombian Northeast—to Tunja around 1891, looking for new opportunities in a city where Calvo could develop his musical skills and his mother could find a job; later, in 1905, Calvo migrated to Bogotá, where he was hired as a musician in a military band (Ospina-Romero 2017a).

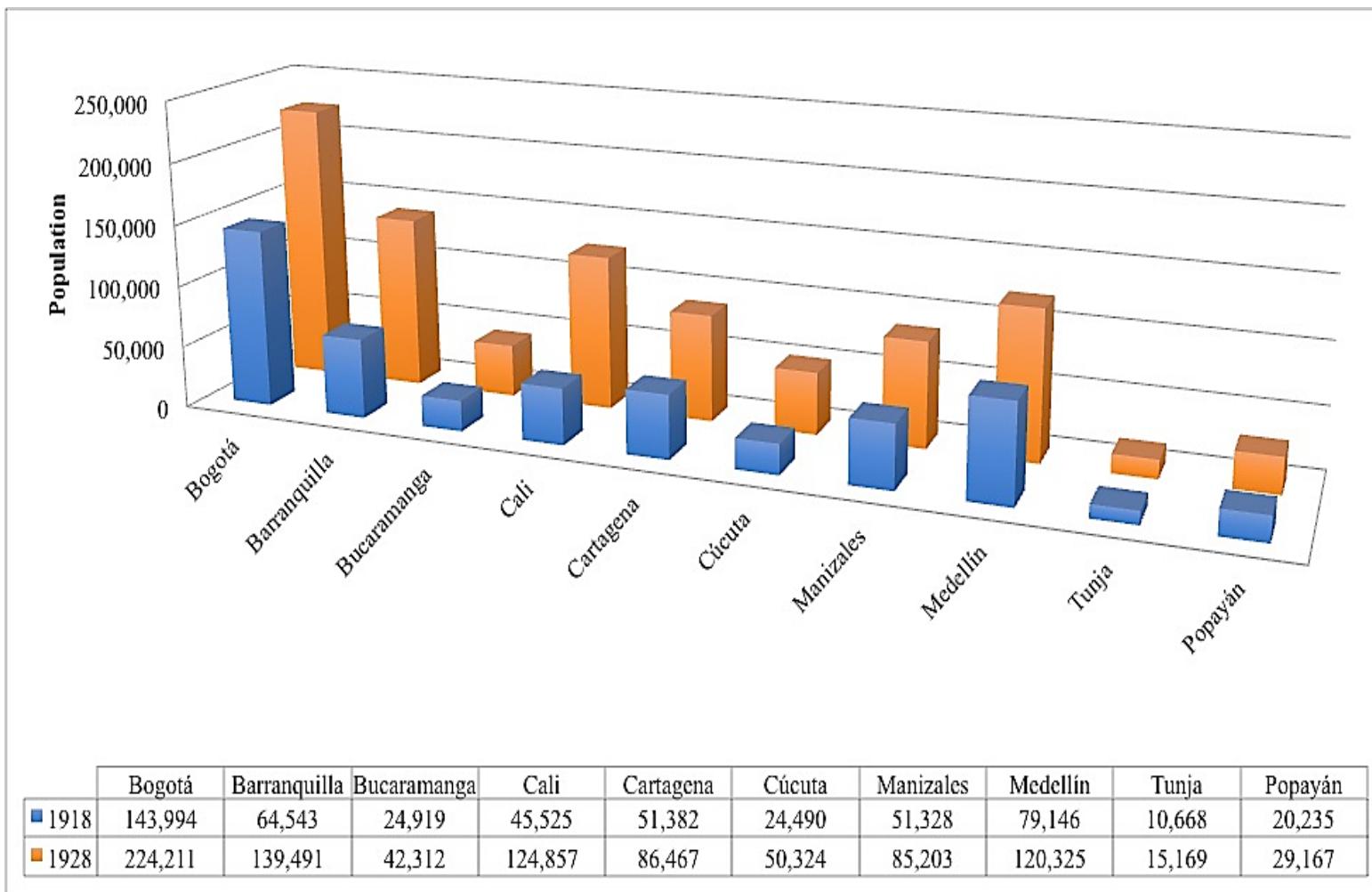


Figure 48. Population growth in the main Colombian cities between 1918 and 1928.

As many other migrants to Colombian cities experienced, the absence of an adequate infrastructure in poor neighborhoods in Bogotá forced Calvo to live under harsh conditions quite different from his expectations. In Colombia urbanization was an uneven process. While the local elites started to move to the new peripheries of the cities such as Chapinero in Bogotá, Manga in Cartagena, Prado in Barranquilla, and Villa Nueva and Prado in Medellín (Ferro Bayona et al. 2016), the immigrants arrived to slums and ghettos where they lived in harsh and unhealthy conditions, struck by poverty, and deprived of public services:

In front of the most populated areas of the city [Bogotá], between Sixth and Seventeenth Streets, there is a series of neighborhoods that spread throughout the hills, whose names the experts can barely recall (...). Cleaning becomes impossible and the needy [inhabitants] must collect water in the city, as in these places there is no drinkable water because the pipelines extend below [the hills]. Neither is there any sewer system and all the human sewage accumulates in nooks until a torrential storm moves it (Cromos 1926, 4).¹⁷¹

Therefore, although the promises of “modern and livable cities” often made by the backers of progress could suggest that urban modernization ultimately satisfied the citizens’ expectations of wellbeing and comfort, many citizens, especially those who were members of subaltern social

¹⁷¹ Frente a la parte más poblada de la ciudad, más o menos entre las calles 6 y 17, se extienden a lo largo de los cerros una serie de barrios que llevan diversidad de nombres que apenas los expertos pueden distinguir (...) Como en estos sitios no hay agua potable, como las tuberías se extienden mucho más abajo, el aseo es imposible y los menesterosos tienen que venir a buscar agua en la ciudad. Como allí no hay ni asomo de alcantarillado algunos, todos los detritus humanos se acumulan en los rincones a la espera de algún torrencial aguacero.

classes, saw them as false and empty promises. Accounts of the new urban soundscape, such as a text by Carlos Arturo Soto published in the magazine *El Gráfico*, also reveal the contradictions and paradoxes of urban modernization by presenting the Colombian cities as overcrowded spaces whose soundscape often was described as “boisterous,” “stressful,” and “noisy”:

We, living in a city that barely has 250,000 inhabitants, are noisier than necessary.

Our city [Bogotá] is beyond the category of “boisterous city.” Here, the [screams of] outdoor vendors, horns, gramophones, trolley cars, bells, carts, and old vehicles with metallic wheels hurt the nervous system [of the citizens] (Soto 1923, 13).¹⁷²

As in Soto’s text, other descriptions of urban soundscapes often insisted that the urbanization created a new aural experience of space, revealing areas of urban expansion within the Colombian cities. The authors of these descriptions also seemed to accept the city as a boisterous space during the day but affirmed that new economic and social activities transformed the “silent night” by introducing new sounds. For instance, Alberto Sánchez de Iriarte (a.k.a. Doctor Mirabel)¹⁷³ pointed out that a pedestrian walking in the newer section of Bogotá to the north of Jiménez Avenue could hear “the electric trolley, carts, vendor, cars, and music of an

¹⁷² Nosotros, no siendo más de doscientos cincuenta mil habitantes, hacemos más ruido del necesario. Nuestra ciudad ya ha pasado a la categoría de ciudad estrepitosa, en donde el sistema nervioso se resiente considerablemente a consecuencia de esa terrible tortura que de sol a sol nos someten los vendedores al aire libre, los pitos, las victrolas, los tranvías, las campanas, los carreteros, y los viejos carros de llanta metálica.

¹⁷³ Sánchez de Iriarte was member of the Gruta Simbólica, one of the most influential intellectual groups in Bogotá, whose activities spanned the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. Sánchez de Iriarte, who often published his texts as Dr. Mirabel, was one of the pioneers of the modern chronicle in Colombia.

infernal mechanism coming from cafes and theaters” (Sánchez de Iriarte 1912, 4).¹⁷⁴ In contrast, pedestrians walking to the south of Jiménez Avenue experienced a “melancholic ethos” from sounds such as “the bells from the cathedral chiming, the steps of some grey servicemen, or the pasillo that somebody played on the piano, killing some time in a café” (Sánchez de Iriarte 1912, 3).¹⁷⁵

By contrasting this nocturnal quietness associated with the old city with the frantic cacophony of the modern city, Sanchez de Iriarte’s account simultaneously documents how urban transformations impacted the urban residents’ experiences of the urban soundscape, while characterizing noise as a by-product of urban modernization that made audible the flaws and contradictions of the discourses of progress and development as promoted by the local elites and institutions. In sum, for authors like Sánchez de Iriarte noise revealed that the elites’ promises of wellbeing and progress were siren songs that were alluring but potentially harmful. The boisterous city was both symptom and consequence of the disparity of the arrival of modernization processes, citizens’ unequal access to its benefits, and the threat of an increased mechanization of daily life. Ultimately, these issues informed the discussion about the role of music, musicians, and forms of mechanical reproduction of music in Colombia.

¹⁷⁴ “Al norte de la Avenida Jiménez puede oírse el tranvía eléctrico, carruajes, vendedores, carros y música de infernal mecanismo saliendo de teatros y cafés.”

¹⁷⁵ “Campanadas graves de la Basílica, el volver de algunos militares grises, o el piano de un café en donde alguien para matar la hora toca un pasillo lento.”

5.2 TRADERS AND AGENTS: OLD TRADING NETWORKS FOR A NEW MARKET DURING THE “RESPLICE POLUM” ERA.

After 1903 when the War of a Thousand Days ended, Colombia reentered transnational trade networks that played a prominent role in the introduction and consumption of forms of mechanical reproduction of music in the country. Despite the difficulties that topography and the poor infrastructure imposed on trade,¹⁷⁶ the consolidation of coffee as the main Colombian export, the twenty-five million dollars that the American government paid to Colombia as compensation for its intervention in the Independence of Panamá, and the higher international prices of coffee, oil, and bananas during the late teens and the twenties injected economic capital into Colombia that fostered early industrialization processes, invigorating regional commercial networks throughout the country. These commercial networks imported goods from the United States and Europe to satisfy the tastes and demands of clients from high and upper-middle urban classes. Commercial houses established in Bogotá, Barranquilla, Cali, and Medellín contacted European and American traders and manufacturing companies during the second half of the nineteenth century, establishing bonds that facilitated the introduction for devices and support for the mechanical reproduction of music, often promoted as “novelties” and “modern marvels.”

As illustrated in the analysis of Colombian customs reports of player piano importation between 1904 and 1931 (figs. 49 and 50), internal and external factors impacted the Colombian player piano market, generating cycles that responded to phenomena such as the opening of new

¹⁷⁶ For instance, the American traveler Arthur Ruhl (1913) described Bogotá as the “South American Lhasa.” Ruhl introduced this comparison between the Colombian capital and its Tibetan counterpart to emphasize Bogotá’s isolation and poor connection with the coastal areas.

commercial routes for international trade through the Panamá Canal, the inauguration of Buenaventura Harbor in the Colombian Pacific in 1914, the opening of steamboat routes in the Magdalena and the Cauca rivers, the construction of new railways, and international and local periods of economic growth and contraction such as the “Danza de los Millones” (Dance of the Millions)¹⁷⁷ in the twenties and the Great Depression. However, fluctuations in the international prices of player pianos and the devaluation of the Colombian peso also impacted the market.

¹⁷⁷ “Danza de los Millones” (dance of the millions) is a term that historians often use to refer to period of continuous growth that experienced the Colombian after 1922. This growth, which allowed an and increased investment in infrastructure and the modernization of the public administration, was fueled by good higher international prices of coffee, the abundant capital flowing from investments that some Colombian citizens made in the New York stock exchange, and especially, the great stimulus that came from 25 million dollars that the United States government paid to Colombia as compensation for the separation of Panama (Acosta Gómez 2014).

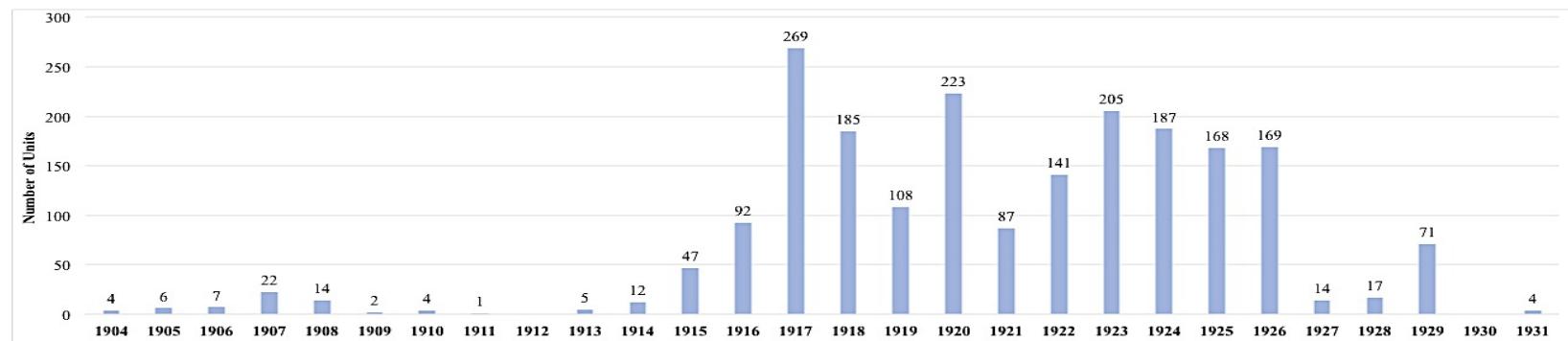


Figure 49. *Units of Piano Players imported from the United States to the Colombian harbors per year, 1904–1931.*¹⁷⁸

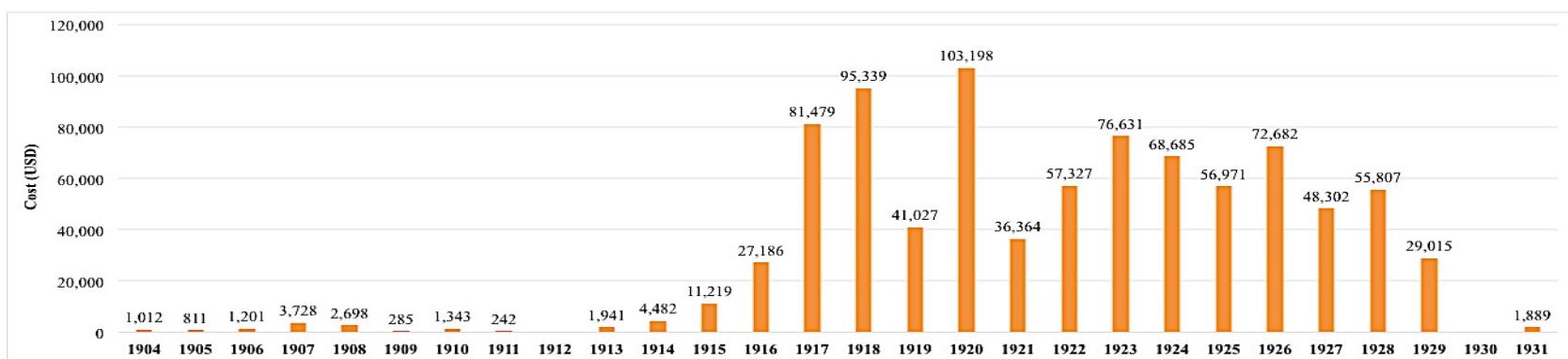


Figure 50. *Consolidated commercial value of player pianos importation from the United States to Colombia, 1904–1931.*

¹⁷⁸ These graphs are based on information collected by Carlos Echeverri Arias, who consulted reports of foreign commerce and navigation of the United States published between 1904 and 1911 by the Bureau of Statistics (Dept. of Commerce and Labor) and between 1912 and 1930 by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (Echeverri Arias Forthcoming). There are two gaps in the information gathered for different reasons: Echeverri Arias did not find information about player pianos in 1912 customs reports. In 1930, amidst the Great Depression, there was no importation of player pianos to the country. Indeed, the importation of these devices plunged dramatically in the 1930s.

A comparison between figs. 49 and 50 suggests that the relationship between the number of units imported and the cost declared in Colombian customs is not proportional. Thus, although more player pianos entered through the Colombian harbors in 1917, the value of the player pianos imported reached its peak in 1920.¹⁷⁹ This difference indicates that the cost declared in customs did not necessarily reflect the number of devices imported, an issue that should be considered by any researcher interested in the market for devices of mechanical reproduction of music in Colombia. Player pianos, phonographs, gramophones, paper rolls, wax cylinders, and records mostly entered Colombia through harbors located in the Colombian Caribbean (Barranquilla, Cartagena, and Santa Marta), and later were shipped and delivered to cities in the interior of the country through a complex network of distribution involving steamboats that navigated the Magdalena river, old trails transited by muleteers (fig. 51), and railways.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Figs. 49 and 50 also indicate that the boom of the player pianos' consumption predated the boom of the gramophones. As explained by Marina Cañardo (2017), the hemispheric consumption of records was fostered by the post-war reactivation of the economy.

¹⁸⁰ Colombian railway history is convoluted and complex. Many Colombian railways were a response to the necessity of effective connection between regional urban centers and the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the Magdalena and Cauca rivers. However political instability, challenging topography, and bad administrations conspired to delay the advance of work in many regions, and thus the consolidation of a national railway network. For instance, the railway between Bogotá and Girardot, a harbor on the Magdalena river, was completed in 1911; the railway connecting Cali and Buenaventura, the main harbor in the Colombian Pacific, was finished in 1915; and the railway between Medellín and Puerto Berrío on the Magdalena River was realized in 1929. For this reason, during the first three decades of the twentieth century manufactures and goods shipped from the coasts to the interior of the country often were transported at some point by mules through old trails (Arias de Greiff 2011).

**manner in which a Pianola was delivered from
Medellin, Republic of Colombia, S. A., to Jerico,**



Figure 51. *Mules carrying a pianola from Medellín to Jericó*, photographer unknown, ca. 1917.

The Music Trade Review, Vol. 64, No. 22, p. 30. June 2.

Courtesy Carlos Echeverri Arias. Medellín.

An analysis of the Colombian customs reports between 1916 and 1919 also suggests that the importation of phonographs, gramophones, wax cylinders, records, and replacement parts remained stable in Barranquilla during the last years of World War I, although it decreased in Cartagena, Buenaventura, and Santa Marta (fig. 52). This documentary evidence also suggests that after 1918 the importation of these goods to Colombian harbors increased consistently. The only exceptions to this trend were Tumaco, an isolated port in the Colombian South Pacific, and Santa Marta, a Caribbean harbor that experienced a long decline after the harbor of Puerto Colombia was opened in Barranquilla in 1897 connecting the Caribbean and the Magdalena River.

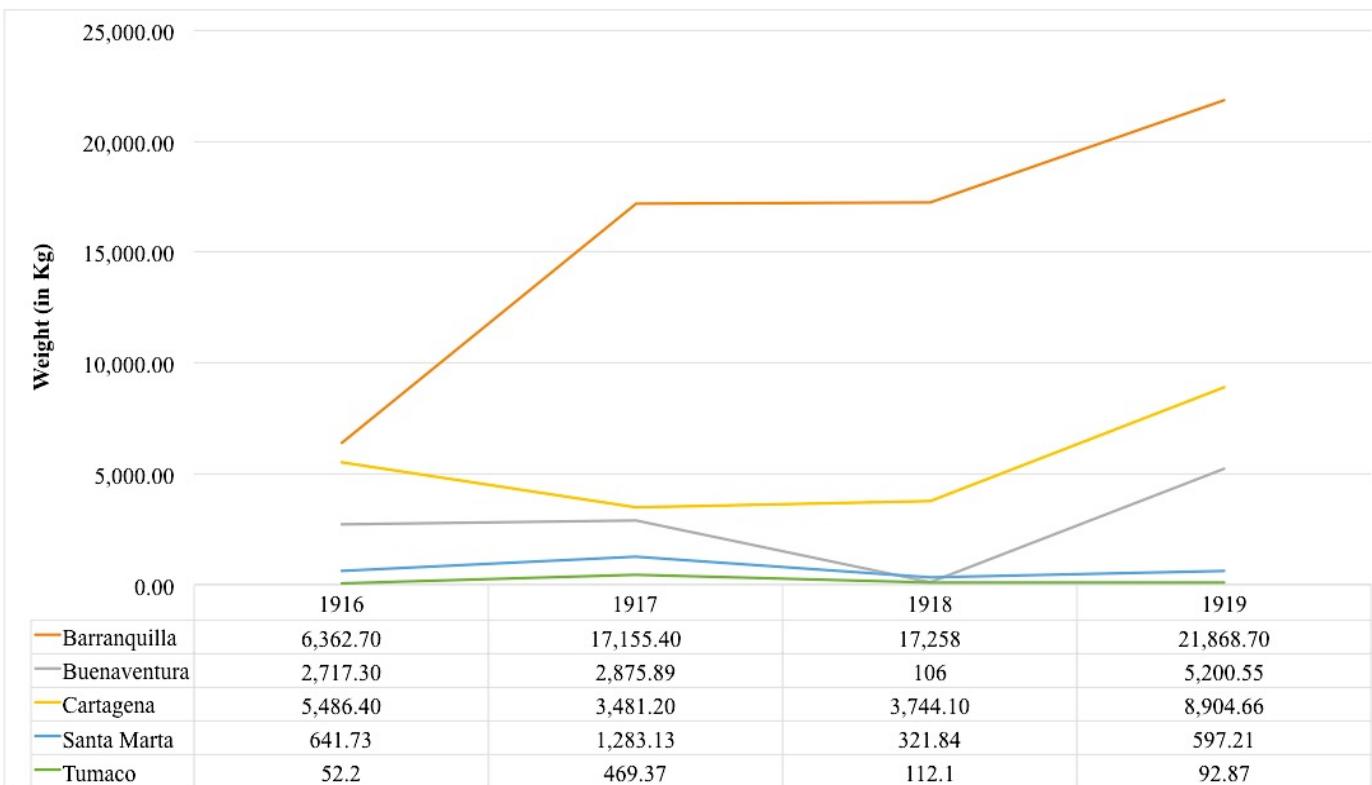


Figure 52. *Tonnage of the importation of phonographs, gramophones, records, and replacement parts to the main Colombian harbors in kilograms per year, 1916–1919.*¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ The data used to create this graph was collected with the help of Juan Felipe Santos at the Archivo General de la Nación. It is not possible to collect similar information before 1916 because the Colombian legislation did not establish these devices in their individual categories that could allow a register of the entrance of these devices. However, after 1916 phonographs, gramophones, and records were declared in the customs as musical instruments, while nails and replacement parts were declared as hardware. This information was published annually in the Anuario de Comercio Exterior issued by the Dirección General de Estadística of the Ministerio de Hacienda (Ministerio de Hacienda 1919; 1921; 1923). However, the information in these reports is presented as total tonnage, not the number of instruments introduced through the Colombian harbors.

The sustained introduction of these devices during the last two years of World War I through Barranquilla's harbor and the increase in their importation after 1918 also reveal the growing participation of American manufacturers in the Colombian market,¹⁸² and illustrate the growing importance of South American markets as destinations for devices produced by American companies during and after World War I. Indeed, the increasing prominence of American companies in the Colombian market followed a tendency that began in the last decade of the nineteenth century. For instance, American companies were the main suppliers of "electric apparatuses" and the secondary suppliers of pianos (after Germany) by 1897 (Bureau of American Republics 1897).

Trade gained relevance in the diplomatic relations of both countries after 1903, when the relations between Colombia and the United States reached a low and tense point after the American involvement in the independence of Panamá. During the first and second decades of the twentieth century, economic, commercial, and geopolitical interests in both countries were crucial to reversing the deterioration of binational relations. Although Colombia lost its geostrategic value with Panamá's independence,¹⁸³ American industries still needed raw material such as oil, rubber, silver, and gold; thus Colombia became a source of raw materials that attracted the interest of

¹⁸² The increased importance and magnitude of trade between Colombia and United States is clear when it is considered that by 1895 the United States was the fourth source of Colombian imports after France, Germany, and the United Kingdom (Bureau of American Republics 1897, 512). In contrast, according to the Colombian customs reports, by 1920 the United States replaced European countries as the main source of Colombian imports.

¹⁸³ Indeed, the reduced geostrategic value of Colombia had a positive impact on the future of the country, because it encouraged the United States to implement the "soft diplomacy" of the "good neighbor" in its diplomatic relations with Colombia, instead of the aggressive "dollar diplomacy" and military intervention that characterized the American relationships with Central American and Caribbean countries during the twentieth century (Drekonja-Kornat 1982).

American companies and investors.¹⁸⁴ In turn, the Colombian government and elites realized that the only way to survive was to align their own interests with the American ones, especially in the new geopolitical context established after the Independence of Panamá and World War I, when the United States became the main imperial power in the hemisphere.

This pursuit of mutual benefits motivated changes in the Colombian government's international policy. A significant step was made in 1914 when both governments signed the Urrutia-Thompson treaty in which Colombia recognized the independence of Panamá and the United States compensated Colombia with twenty-five million dollars. Although political resistance delayed the signature of this treaty until 1921, it paved the way to the introduction of the *Resplice Polum* policy ("admiring the polar star") during the presidency of Marco Fidel Suárez in 1918 (Bermúdez Torres 2010). Instead of the "imperial threat" often condemned in articles and speeches or portrayed in editorial cartoons (fig. 53), the United States increasingly became a model "developed and civilized nation" with "pragmatic use of technology" for the Colombian conservative governments and elites.

¹⁸⁴ Even under the worst moments of the bilateral relations, American investors such as the United Fruit Company and the Standard Oil Company invested in Colombia. For instance, between 1882 and 1910, William Randall and Frank Allen owned the Bogotá City Railway Company, which operated the trolley system in Bogotá. This company battled an acrid anti-American campaign after the independence of Panamá in 1903, which finally led to a major boycott that forced the American investors to sell the company (Baquero Mora 2009).

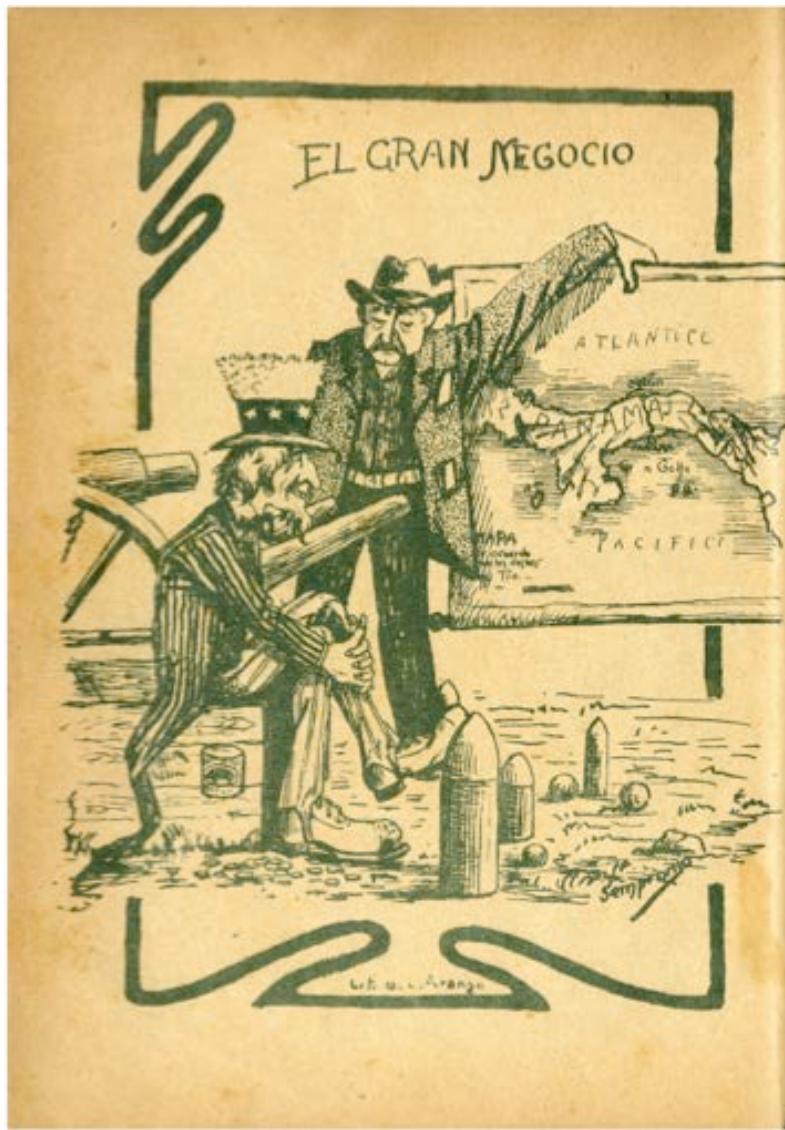


Figure 53. “*El Gran Negocio*,” editorial cartoon by Marco Tobón Mejía. 1903.

Lectura y Arte, No. 4 and 5, [n.p.], November.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Eafit, Medellín

Conservative elites that controlled Colombian institutions and public administration increasingly used and adapted visions of the “Northern Neighbor” to establish a referent for renovating Colombia’s self-image in a new geopolitical context. Meanwhile, the harmful tendency of American companies such as the United Fruit Company and the Standard Oil Company to establish monopolies that controlled the production and commercialization of strategic products

led liberals and socialists to describe the “American imperialism” as a major threat to Colombia’s economy and sovereignty. These contradictory representations of the “Northern Neighbor” competed, and eventually replaced, some European models presented in chapters 2, 3 and 4. For instance, texts such as “Nueva York Tentacular y Prodigiosa” (Tentacular and Prodigious New York) by Alfredo Vargas indicate that local elites increasingly reconfigured their own expectations of progress and development in urban spaces as technologically centered:

It could be that in luminous cities such as Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, the human mind researches and discovers, but the realization [of modernity] will be accomplished in this colossal laboratory [New York], where you could say that machines think instead of men (Vargas 1930, 6).¹⁸⁵

Hence, although technological production and trade between Colombia and the United States were based on an unequal and imbalanced relationship, they played a prominent role in both the reconfiguration of Colombo-American relations and the construction of multiple representations of the “Northern Neighbor.” Indeed, objects such as player pianos, gramophones, phonographs, and radios were crucial in the sonic representation of the United States as center of technical and scientific production whose industrial accomplishments should be emulated. From this standpoint, these devices provided a materiality that embodied notions of sound production and recording, listening, and scientific and technological progress. Like the piano, the sonorous embodiment of the “European modernity” in the Colombian salons, the phonograph, the

¹⁸⁵ “Puede [ser] que en las ciudades luminosas, París, Viena, Berlín, el cerebro humano investigue y descubra, pero la realización [de la modernidad] vendrá a consumarse en este colosal laboratorio, donde se diría que las máquinas piensan por los hombres.”

gramophone, and the radio provided a material support for the sonic representation of modern subjectivities in the “American fashion” within the Colombian houses. In a few words, the mechanical reproduction of music relocated the United States as an aural referent of cosmopolitan modernization of the Colombian cities, while paradoxically technology provided the support that made possible the consumption and production of musical repertoires that supported the aural construction of representations of a “white” mestizo nation.

Beneath the introduction and distribution of these devices, often promoted as “modern marvels,” there was a trading network of Colombian commercial agencies and representatives of overseas’ companies and manufacturers. These agencies and representatives usually were exporters of raw materials and importers of manufactures to the main Colombian urban centers, which established and controlled regional markets and chains of distribution between towns and cities in specific geographic areas. During the first decade of the twentieth century, these Colombian traders and commercial houses expanded their offer of manufactures by adding, among other items, player pianos, phonographs, and gramophones to a list of products that included textiles, perfumes, and jewelry.

Thus, instead of the model of “exportation of industries” that fostered the creation of local subsidiaries of American companies that made recordings in countries like Mexico, Argentina and Brazil in the early twentieth century,¹⁸⁶ in countries like Colombia the American companies relied on the expertise and knowledge of local entrepreneurs to distribute products coming from American and Latin American centers of production. Indeed, by 1920 American firms such as the

¹⁸⁶ As pointed out by Franceschi (2002) and Cañardo (2017), the Edison Company established a local branch in Rio de Janeiro in 1900 and Victor Talking Machine opened a subsidiary in Buenos Aires in 1921.

Aeolian Company,¹⁸⁷ Autopiano Company, Edison Phonograph Company, Brunswick records, and the Victor Talking Machine Company had agents settled in Bogotá, Cartagena, Cali, Chiquinquirá, and Medellín that also distributed their merchandise in cities such as Barranquilla, Manizales, and Popayán (table 8).

Table 8. *Main Colombian agents of American companies between 1914 and 1929.*

Agent	Company	City
Sucesores de Hijos de Pedro D'Achiardi	The Autopiano Company, Kohler & Campbell, and J.C Fisher.	Headquarters in Bogotá and Medellín; branch offices in Barranquilla, Cartagena, Honda, and Manizales.
Camacho Roldan & Co.	Aeolian Company	Bogotá
Gumercindo Perea & Co.	Wurlitzer player pianos	Bogotá
Ernesto V. Duperly	Aeolian Company, Victor Talking Machine Company	Bogotá
Manuel J. Gaitán	Victor Talking Machine and Hardman player pianos	Bogotá
Antonio Puerto	The Wilcox & White Company (Angelus player pianos)	Bogotá
Federico G. Burckhardt	Victor Talking Machine Company	Cali
Diego Martinez and Sons	Odeon, Brunswick Records	Cartagena
Vicente Martinez R.	Victor Talking Machine Company and Columbia	Cartagena
Franco and Covo Co.	Aeolian Company, Columbia Phonograph Co.	Cartagena
Eduardo Páez Casas	Aeolian Company	Chiquinquirá

¹⁸⁷ William B. Tremaine founded the Aeolian Company in Meriden, Connecticut, on 26 July 1887. This company was one of the main American manufacturers of player pianos and organs. In Colombia, its agents offered models such as the pianola, the piano-pianola, the Aeolian tubular organ, and the vocalion in advertisements published in newspapers and magazines. The golden age of this company ended around 1930, when the economic crisis and competition with gramophones and radios reduced the annual sales, although it remained active into the late 1980s. Additional information about this company is available in Rex Lawson's (2008) article "Aeolian Halls: A History of Concerts Inspired by the Pianola" available at: <http://www.pianola.org/factsheets/aeolianhalls.cfm>.

Table 8 (continued)

Ramón M. Vargas Sicard	Aeolian Company and Q.R.S.	Manizales
David E. Arango & Co.	Columbia Phonograph Company	Medellín
Félix de Bedout & Sons Co.	Victor Talking Machine	Medellín
Julio and José Ramirez Johns	Story and Clark, Victor Talking Machine, and Odeon	Medellín
Rafael Echavarría & Co.	Aeolian Company	Medellín
Gabriel Vieco O.	Aeolian Company	Medellín

As regional representatives and agents of American companies, Colombian commercial houses and traders became key mediators in the introduction, promotion, and consumption of forms of mechanical reproduction of music in the Colombian cities. Many of these Colombian agencies and representative companies were a result of the networks of commercial entrepreneurship established in the second half of the nineteenth century, and often were based on familial relationships built during several decades, sometimes involving two or three generations of the same family. Two cases in point of this phenomenon are Cartagena and Medellín. In Cartagena, the cousins Vicente Martínez Recuero (1871–1948) and Diego Martínez Camargo (1869–1952) represented the Victor Talking Machine and Brunswick Records respectively (fig. 54). Their fathers, Miguel and Diego Martínez, founded in 1861 the commercial house Diego Martínez L. and Co. to export cattle and import manufactures, establishing valuable contacts with American and Cuban traders and companies (Ripoll 1999.). When the company was dissolved, the cousins created their own commercial houses with their sons.

Meanwhile, in 1908 David Arango and his brothers Agustín and Eugenio created David E. Arango and Co. in Medellín.¹⁸⁸ This company owned one store in Medellín and imported jewelry,

¹⁸⁸ The archive of the Third Public Notary of Medellín preserves the deed No. 923 of June 4, 1908, which contains the act of creation of this commercial house.

watches, gramophones, records, gift items, and sewing machines that were also distributed among associated commercial houses in Antioquia. Before attempting this commercial enterprise, the Arango Brothers worked with their father, Leocadio M. Arango (1831–1918), one of the most prominent traders of Antioquia. Arango was the main shareholder and legal representative of Leocadio M. Arango and Sons Company.



Figure 54. *Vicente Martínez in his store in Cartagena*, photographer unknown, ca. 1920.

Courtesy Archivo Histórico de Cartagena. Cartagena

This commercial house, opened in 1867, exported gold and silver and imported jewelry, weapons, and other manufactures (Campuzano Hoyos 2006). These activities allowed Leocadio Arango to establish a commercial network that mediated between local traders in Western Colombia and European and American companies, including Western Union and Winchester.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Leocadio Arango also had philanthropic interests. He was one of the earliest and biggest collectors of minerals and archeological pieces in Colombia. Although today we know that some pieces in his collection are fake, others were among the first pieces donated to the collections of the Museo de la Universidad de Antioquia and the Museo del Oro (Silva 1906).

Arango's sons inherited some of his fathers' local and international contacts, and became agents of American companies in Medellín such as Standard Sewing Machine Co., Tavannes Watch Co., Longines Watch Co., and Columbia Phonograph Co. (fig. 55). David E. Arango and Co. also distributed to other cities in the region, and sold in Medellín goods such as jewels, watches, gramophones, records, gift items, and sewing machines (Posada Callejas 1918; Botero and Sáenz 1923).



Figure 55. *Newspaper advertisement of David E. Arango, 1914.*

La Voz de Antioquia, No. 11 [n.p.], June 3.

Courtesy Sala de Patrimonio Documental Universidad Eafit

Also in Medellín was Julio Ramírez Johns (1885–1982). Ramirez Johns established his first contacts with transnational commercial networks when he worked with his father, José Pablo Ramírez, a prosperous exporter of gold. Later, Ramírez Johns traveled to the United States of America to study international finance at New York University, and worked for some years in the

stock market while also becoming a member of the Colombian American Chamber of Commerce and the Pan American Society of the United States. When Ramírez Johns returned in 1915 from the United States, he joined to his brother José Domingo and using his American contacts he opened a store where the brothers sold electric generators, home appliances, gramophones, and player pianos (fig. 56).¹⁹⁰

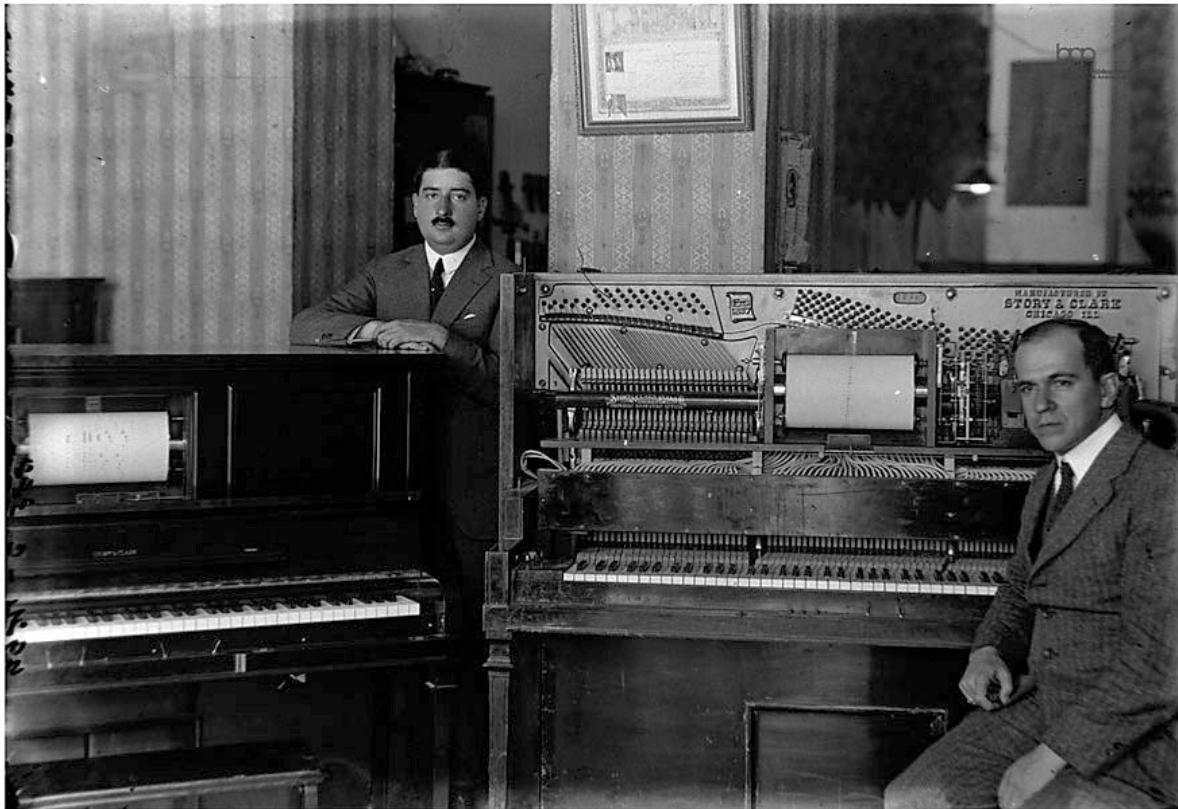


Figure 56. *The Ramírez Johns brothers*, photography by Melitón Rodríguez, ca. 1923.

BPP-F-011-0653,

Courtesy Archive Fotográfico Biblioteca Pública Piloto, Medellín

¹⁹⁰ The Ramírez Johns brothers' case illustrates how Medellín's commercial elites increasingly moved from gold mining towards industrial and commercial activities during the first decades of the twentieth century. These brothers left the business of their father and opened stores, created a cigarette factory, and were involved in other industrial activities. Both brothers also were members of the Society for Public Improvements and José became its president in 1941.

Colombian citizens seemed to lead these networks, but two cases illustrate that, as in Argentina and Brazil (Frachesci 2002; Cañardo 2016), the European immigrants and their descendants also participated in the importation and distribution of devices and supports used for the mechanical reproduction of music. *Sucesores de Hijos de Pedro D'Achiardi* (Successors and Sons of Pedro D'achiardi and Co.) was a company created by the descendants of Pedro D'Archiardi, an Italian musician who arrived in Colombia as pianist and choir director of the Rosi-D'Archiardi opera Company (Torres 2012). D'Achiardi and his brother Darío decided to stay in Bogotá when they were hired as professors in the newly opened Academia Nacional de Música. Later, Pedro became member of the Superior Council and piano professor in this institution and his brother became professor of wind instruments (República de Colombia 1887, 1299). This advantageous position in the local musical scene and the valuable social and commercial networks that the brother D'Achiardi created as operatic impresarios—which included contacts in Europe, the Caribbean, and some of the main urban trading hubs in Colombia—allowed them to establish a strong position as piano importers and sellers. The descendants of Pedro continued this familiar business adding player pianos to the catalog of products.¹⁹¹

In a second case, Federico G. Buckhardt, the son of German immigrant Alberto Burckhardt Blum, became one of the most prominent members of the German community in Cali and also was the representative of Kodak in that city. A picture of Federico G. Burckhardt's store in Cali published in *The Blue Book of Colombia* in 1918 shows that he also offered photographic cameras, jewelry and perfumes (fig. 57). Like Bruchardt, other Colombian commercial houses that imported devices such as player pianos, phonographs, and gramophones, offered them as a part of a longer

¹⁹¹ Sebastián Mejía Ramírez (2014) recovered a list of D'Achiardi's clients in Medellín published in the *La Semana, Suplemento del Espectador* in 1916. This list contained 44 buyers, including schools, members of prominent families, and priests.

list of articles and goods that were often promoted as fashionable novelties for Colombian homes, suggesting that their ownership represented a step toward the sonic reconfiguration of private spaces that expressed good taste, distinction, and cosmopolitism.¹⁹²



Figure 57. Federico Burckhardt's store in Cali, photographer unknown, ca. 1918.

Picture taken from the *Libro Azul de Colombia*.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá.

Some of these agents and entrepreneurs eventually expanded their commercial ventures by producing their own products. In Colombia, the piano-roll factories were among the first commercial ventures creating locally produced media for mechanical devices. There are several reasons for this phenomenon: the production of piano rolls is less demanding technically and

¹⁹²For instance, Manuel J. Gaitán sold “glassware, porcelain, gramophones, records, and player pianos” (Posada Callejas 1918, 447).

technologically than the production of records in studios, and therefore the total cost of the investment was more affordable for the members of upper-middle urban classes;¹⁹³ the machines required to punch the matrix paper-roll resemble textile machines, and the skilled labor that could repair them was available in several Colombian cities that were centers of textile production, such as Medellín and Bogotá; and American and European companies did not see in Colombia the advantageous conditions for the “exportation of industries” as they found in countries of the Southern Cone like Argentina and Brazil.¹⁹⁴

Among the first local entrepreneurs were Gabriel Vieco in Medellín and Gumercindo Perea in Bogotá. Perea was a professor of piano and musical theory at the Academia Nacional de Música and the Conservatorio Nacional in Bogotá. Perea combined his labor as pianist, professor, and composer with the administration of his musical store, where he also offered his services as a piano tuner and sold Wurlitzer player pianos and piano rolls, including some produced by the *Colombian Roll*, a company that he created.¹⁹⁵ Three surviving exemplars of these piano rolls indicate that the

¹⁹³ The production of the matrix of piano rolls could follow three different processes. Two methods made the matrix of the piano rolls from a live performance, and often involved the participation of a well-known pianist. In the first, the piano keys were hooked up to eighty-eight carbon markings through roll-punching machinery; after the performance, arrangers and editors would manually punch holes into the roll corresponding to the pencil marks, creating a matrix that later could be copied several times; in the second method, the piano keys were hooked up directly to a special piano that punched holes directly into a master roll; and in a third method, the editor took a template made by a pianist and “embellished” the performance by punching extra pitches and rhythms onto the matrix, a method extensively used to record lesser-known pianists (Wente 2016).

¹⁹⁴ There are several reasons why American companies relied on commercial agents to distribute their products in Colombia instead of establishing local subsidiaries that made records of local artists: (1) the size of the Colombian market was not comparable with the size of its Mexican, Argentinian, and Brazilian counterparts; (2) the Colombian harbors in the Caribbean are closer to the United States than the harbors in the South Cone, and after the opening of the Panamá Canal in 1914 the traffic from American boats in the South Caribbean increased in such a way that it transformed the Caribbean into a modern “mare nostrum”; (3) the poor infrastructure and fiscal policies made the country less competitive as a possible new hub of production; and (4) local investors were cautious about investing in such endeavors.

¹⁹⁵ Unfortunately, at this point, my findings do not include documentary evidence that could provide more precise dates for the creation and period of operation of Perea’s company. However, the repertory that Perea

company recorded a minimum of eighty-two pieces, mostly focused on a popular music repertoire that include pasillos and foxtrots, some of which were composed by Colombian authors (fig. 58).¹⁹⁶



Figure 58. Pianola rolls manufactures by the Colombian Roll Company, Bogotá, ca. 1920.

Maravilloso, RP0016 (top), and *Chispazo* (below), RP0008

Courtesy Sala de Libros Raros y Manuscritos, Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango. Bogotá.

Gabriel Vieco was a violinist and piano technician trained in the United States who also was a representative for the Aeolian Company in Medellín. Indeed, Vieco became so renowned and recognized as a piano technician that the Conservatorio de Ibagué hired him to repair and tune

recorded on his piano rolls suggests that his company was active ca. 1917 and 1925, when the consumption of player pianos also reached its peak in Colombia.

¹⁹⁶ There are three piano rolls produced by Perea's company that today are preserved at the Colección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos of the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango in Bogotá. These piano rolls contain "Chispazo," a pasillo by Pedro Morales Pino, and two anonymous pieces: "Maravilloso," a foxtrot, and "Querube," a pasillo.

its pianos in 1951 (Hernández Guayara, García, and López 2012). He also established a player-piano roll factory in Medellín that won a prize in the Industrial Exhibition held to celebrate the first Centennial of the Boyacá Battle in 1919. This factory stayed active throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, until the economic crisis and the competition from cheaper gramophones and radios drastically reduced the consumption of player pianos in Colombia, forcing its closure (fig. 59).¹⁹⁷



Figure 59. Advertisement and seals of piano rolls produced by Gabriel Vieco, Medellín, ca. 1925.

Courtesy Biblioteca Pública Piloto and Antonio José Manrique. Medellín and Armenia.

¹⁹⁷ The Boyacá Battle was the last large battle between Bolívar's militia and the Spanish army. The victory of Bolívar marked a major point of inflection in the Independence War by guaranteeing the rebel army's control of Bogotá and Tunja. Although Spanish troops later resisted in some cities in the Colombian Caribbean and South West, the role that this battle played in the liberation of Bogotá encouraged the conservative Governments to promote it as a major milestone in the creation of the "Colombian State."

Vieco was a member of a family of artists and musicians. One his brothers, Carlos Vieco, was a pianist and celebrated composer of popular music. Although the seals and covers of Vieco's piano rolls did not name the pianist performing in the recording, it is quite probable that Carlos Vieco was the player, because several of his pieces were recorded on piano rolls and included in the company's catalog. Although the preservation of piano rolls is difficult due to the fragility of the material of which they were made, the Biblioteca Pública Piloto in Medellín and the private collection of Antonio José Manrique in Armenia preserve thirteen piano rolls produced by Vieco's company (table 9).

Table 9. *Piano rolls produced by Gabriel Vieco preserved in Colombian archives.*

Title	Rhythm	Composer	Archive
Medias de Seda	Tango	J. Bohr	Antonio José Manrique
Fumando Espero	Tango	[Juan Viladomat Masanas]	Antonio José Manrique
La Bayadera	Foxtrot	[Emmerich Kálmán]	Antonio José Manrique
Virginia	Pasillo (song)	anon.	Antonio José Manrique
Calesera	March [From the zarzuela] <i>La Calesera</i>	[Francisco] Alonso	Antonio José Manrique
Echen P'al Morro	Pasillo	Carlos Vieco Ortiz	Antonio José Manrique
Las Golondrinas	Mexican Song	[Narciso] Serradell Sevilla	Antonio José Manrique
El Gato Montés	Pasodoble	M. Penella	Antonio José Manrique
Flor de Mayo	Waltz	F. de Buernis	Antonio José Manrique
Mi Viejo Amor	Danzon	Alfonso Esparza	Antonio José Manrique
Las Noches de Agua de Dios	Danza	Carlos Vieco Ortiz	Antonio José Manrique
Fox de los Besos	Foxtrot [From a zarzuela] <i>El País de los Tontos</i>	[Jacinto] Guerrero	Biblioteca Pública Piloto
Mi Noche Triste	Tango	[Samuel Castriota]	Biblioteca Pública Piloto

The repertoire that Vieco recorded (fig. 60) illustrates the changes introduced to the musical repertoire performed in the semiprivate sphere of the houses of Colombian families during the twentieth century. Vieco's production suggests that there were three main rhythms representing more than 50% of the musical repertoire recorded in these piano rolls: Tango (23%), Foxtrot (15%), and Pasillo (15%). The prominence of the tango and foxtrot suggests that the arrival of recorded musical repertoires fostered a major change in the taste of Colombian consumers by introducing new musical genres. The presence of pieces selected from zarzuelas also suggests that mass production of zarzuela excerpts was crucial in the vernacularization of this genre among the Colombian audiences.

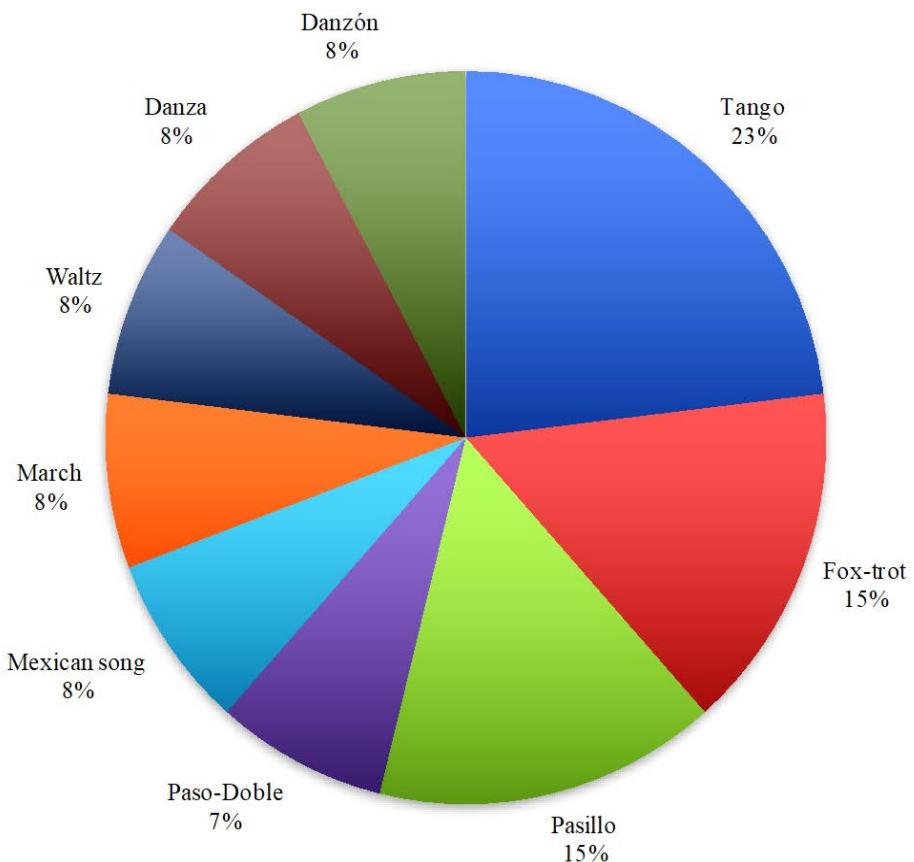


Figure 60. *Musical genres in Vieco's piano rolls.*

The absence of opera and musical repertoires associated with the Western canon in Vieco's and Perea's productions also indicates that these companies aspired to fulfill a commercial niche that created an increasing demand for vernacular music in urban contexts; it also reveals that the consumption of forms of mechanical reproduction of music among the urban upper-middle classes was leaning more towards mesomusic and "middlebrow culture" than to the standards of "high culture" that embraced institutions such as the conservatories. Clear evidence of such a phenomenon is the piano roll collection that Antonio José Manrique preserves in his house in Armenia. Manrique, an enthusiastic collector of devices that record and reproduce sound, has one of the most complete and broad private collections of its kind in Colombia. Among the objects that Manrique has reunited there is an Aeolian piano-pianola and a complete collection of piano rolls that he acquired in Manizales (fig 61).



Figure 61. *Player piano and piano rolls*, photographies by Juan Velasquez.

Courtesy Antonio José Manrique. Armenia.

Manrique's collection belonged to a single owner before he bought it in the late 1990s. According to Manrique, the former owner was a lady around 80 years old who lived in Manizales and affirmed that her parents had bought the player piano and the piano rolls as gifts when she was a young girl. The good shape in which Manrique preserves his collection and the conservation of this player piano and its piano rolls as a single cultural object provide a unique glimpse into a musical repertoire that, similar to the binder's volumes such as the Echeverría album analyzed in chapter 2, reveals both the relevant characteristics of the music consumed by upper-middle urban classes and how the networks of circulation of music worked in a Colombian city like Manizales during the late 1920s.

Several piano rolls in Manrique's collection have a seal from Ramón M. Vargas Sicard's store in Manizales, which also indicates that buyers could pay for the player pianos and piano rolls in "affordable monthly fees." This suggests that Sicard aimed to attract buyers from the upper-middle urban classes, encouraging them to consume these goods. Another issue to consider is the origin of the piano rolls. As illustrated by table 10, the main source (41%) was a local company (Gabriel Vieco Co.), followed by American piano rolls (26%), Ecuadorian piano rolls punched by Onix in Guayaquil (22%), and Spanish piano rolls made by Victoria in Barcelona (11%).

The prominent presence of Q.R.S.¹⁹⁸ piano rolls in this collection indicates the role that this manufacturer played in the hemispheric piano roll market. American companies selling recorded music to South America—like the Victor Talking Machine, Columbia Records, and Q.R.S.—made a series of recordings of "ethnic music" in their search for a profitable product in

¹⁹⁸ Q.R.S., a company created in 1900 in Buffalo, New York, has shown an astonishing adaptability to the changes that the market has experienced. This company often has introduced new musical repertoires, has searched for new commercial niches, and has reduced its size and operational costs until finding a balance. As a result, it is the only manufacturer of piano rolls active today.

two promising markets: the Hispanic and Latin American immigrants in the United States, and the audiences in Latin American countries. Indeed, the piano rolls from Q.R.S. in Manrique's collection fit in this category: tangos, pasodobles, and the Colombian anthem (table 10).

Table 10. *Piano rolls in Manrique's collection.*

Title	Rhythm	Composer	Manufacturer	City/Country
Medias de Seda	Tango	J. Bohr	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Fumando Espero	Tango	[Juan Viladomat Masanas]	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
La Bayadera	Foxtrot	Emmerich Kálmán	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Virginia	Pasillo [song]	anon.	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
March [from the zarzuela] <i>La Calesera</i>	March	[Francisco] Alonso	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Echen P'al Morro	Pasillo	Carlos Vieco Ortíz	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Las Golondrinas	Mexican Song	[Narciso] Serradell Sevilla	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
El Gato Montés	Pasodoble	M. Penella	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Flor de Mayo	Waltz	F. de Buernis	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Mi Viejo Amor	Danzon	Alfonso Esparza	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Las Noches de Agua de Dios	Danza	Carlos Vieco Ortíz	Gabriel Vieco	Medellín, Colombia
Rosita	Waltz	F. Paredes H.	Onix	Guayaquil, Ecuador
Barcelona	One step	T. Evans	Onix	Guayaquil, Ecuador
Mal de Amor	Tango	G. del Barrio	Onix	Guayaquil, Ecuador

Table 10 (continued)

Madre	Tango	Francisco Pracánico	Onix	Guayaquil, Ecuador
No Importa	Pasillo	Feraud Guzmán	Onix	Guayaquil, Ecuador
Señor Comisario!	Tango	Pepe Blanco	Onix	Guayaquil, Ecuador
Fox-trot from <i>La Leyenda del Beso</i> (No.8)	Foxtrot	Soutullo y Vert	Victoria	Barcelona, Spain
Waya-Wais	Foxtrot	[Kepler] Lais	Vicoria	Barcelona, Spain
Valencia	Pasodoble	[José] Padilla	Victoria	Barcelona, Spain
Pasión Argentina	Tango	José Lentis	Vocalstyle	Cincinnati, United States
National Anthem of the United States of Colombia (sic)	Anthem	[Oreste Sindici]	Q.R.S	Buffalo, United States
Ramona	Waltz	Mabel Wayne	Q.R.S	Buffalo, United States
Corina	Pasodoble	Adolfo Colon	Q.R.S	Buffalo, United States
La Bejarana	Pasodoble	[Francisco] Alonso	Q.R.S	Buffalo, United States
Tango Fatal	Tango	[Alfonso] Vidal	Q.R.S	Buffalo, United States
A Media Luz	Tango	Edgardo Donato	Q.R.S	Buffalo, United States

Another company that has a significant presence in Manrique's collection is Onix. As do the Colombian companies created by Gumercindo Perea and Gabriel Vieco, the Ecuadorian Onix offers valuable information about the origins of the companies that produced piano rolls in northern South America, and how they participated in transnational networks of recorded music distribution. In 1910 the pianist José Domingo Feraud Guzmán, who also performed the music

recorded on the piano rolls, made his first piano rolls of Ecuadorian music manually. In 1916, Feraud Guzmán took a loan of \$250 and imported a machine from the United States, on which he could produce sixteen piano rolls in an hour. Then, Feraud Guzmán opened a store in Guayaquil, where he sold player pianos and his own rolls, creating the label Onix.

Guayaquil has the main Ecuadorian harbor; therefore, Feraud Guzmán used the advantageous location of his company and exported his products to Perú and Colombia. In the mid-1920s he established a center of distribution in Cali, a city that became a major commercial hub in the Colombian southwest due to its proximity to Buenaventura, the main Colombian harbor in the Pacific. Onix produced piano rolls until 1941, when the war between Ecuador and Peru forced its closure. After the war, Feraud Guzmán reopened his business, but the declining consumption of piano rolls convinced him to move his commercial endeavor toward discographic production (Pro Meneses 1997).

As pointed out by Ospina Romero (forthcoming), this production of local repertoires for player pianos transformed these machines into a technology that was “readable” for local audiences, fostering processes of appropriation of this and similar technologies. Indeed, collecting piano rolls also shows both how often former practices were adapted to new technologies of musical recording and how the market behind these technologies transformed the tastes of consumers by introducing and spreading a musical repertoire. Just as the binder’s volumes, discussed in chapter 2, were a form of collecting music recorded through a written medium (sheet music), the piano rolls in Manrique’s collection illustrate how this practice was adapted to a new medium that recorded music on a punched paper roll that later was mechanically reproduced.

Despite the differences between both forms of musical reproduction and the change that the mechanical reproduction of music introduced in the role of the performer, from the perspective

of the listener's experience, the principle beneath the collection of music sheets for a binder's volume and a series of piano rolls was quite similar: listening to a selection of music performed on a piano (or at least an instrument whose shape resembled the piano), which was an instrument that was a symbol of social status; in addition, the musical genres that comprised this repertoire represented the taste and cultural capital of both its owner and his or her social peers. Furthermore, as the case of Manrique's collection indicates, this musical repertoire later was mostly performed by ladies in the semiprivate sphere of social gatherings in the salons. Thus, the player piano rearticulated old forms of the habitus that shaped notions of social class, social distinction, and gender roles while introducing a mechanism for reproducing music that could be mass produced and consumed.

Mass production and consumption departed from the old model of the "lady playing piano in a salon," because the commercial logic beneath the production and consumption of player pianos differed on a key point: a broader market was necessary to guarantee that industrial manufacturers and transnational commercial networks profited, which in turn encouraged the introduction of commercialization strategies, transforming the piano players and piano rolls into goods that were attractive to the upper-middle urban classes. These strategies introduced a broad series of changes, including new promotional and vending approaches.¹⁹⁹

As illustrated by the case of companies such as Q.R.S., Onix, and Gabriel Vieco, manufacturers also have diversified their products by offering a musical repertoire beyond the

¹⁹⁹ The advertisements of player piano and gramophone sellers reveal a broad repertory of strategies that aimed to make these devices affordable: payment through monthly fees, accepting second-hand devices and records in good shape as part of the payment for a new one, customer discounts and promotions, rental, leasing, and even raffles. The idea beneath these strategies was to reach a broader audience of consumers and increase the sales. However, the lower cost of gramophones and radios made them more competitive than player pianos in the long term.

reduced and exclusive market that imposed “high culture” consumption, introducing new genres that became popular among consumers in a way that shaped a new urban “middlebrow culture.” A crucial part of this transformation was the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of musical genres²⁰⁰ through the circulation and distribution of recorded sound, which fostered a superimposition and integration of new foreign musical repertoires in local cultures (Santamaría Delgado 2009; 2014). In turn, this process of reterritorialization introduced these musical repertoires in social contexts where they were rearticulated to former practices in such a way that they acquired new cultural and social attributes (Mejía Ramírez 2014b). Indeed, an analysis of the musical genres in Manrique’s collection (fig.62) reveals a noticeable presence of musical genres—tango (29%), pasodoble (15%), and foxtrot (11%)—associated with forms of “cosmopolitanism” among the upper-middle urban social classes.

²⁰⁰ Deleuze and Guattari (1987 [1980]) describe deterritorialization and reterritorialization as dynamic, opposite, but complementary processes whose interaction deconstructs and reconstructs the experiences that humans have of spaces and places through a circulation of people, objects, goods, and ideas that have shaped individual and collective identities. Authors such as Ramón Pelinski (2000), Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2003), and Carolina Santamaría Delgado (2009) have explored this concept within the frames of the cultural industry and the circulation of musical repertoires, pointing out that the cultural industry promotes such a dynamic of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in a way that establishes an interchange between the global and the local, revealing uneven relations of power, regimes of circulation of ideas, and processes of negotiation and appropriation that shape social identities.

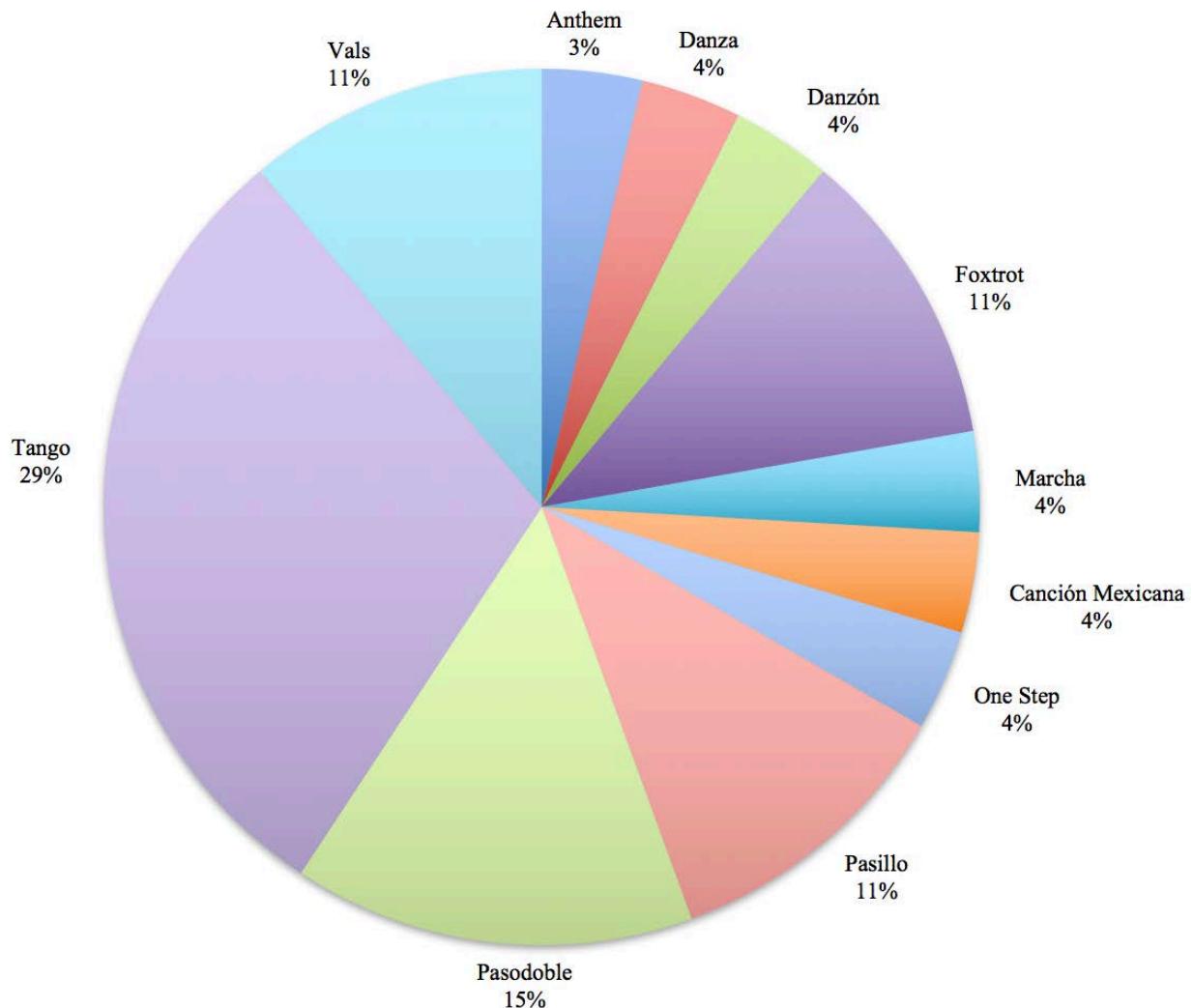


Figure 62. *Percentages of musical genres in Manrique's piano rolls.*

Although Manrique's collection offers a valuable glimpse of the musical repertoire that circulated through piano rolls, other collections have a contrasting selection of music that reveals how social class identity informed the consumption of piano rolls. For instance, a selection of piano rolls that belonged to Otto de Greiff,²⁰¹ preserved at the Biblioteca Pública Piloto in Medellín

²⁰¹ De Greiff, a descendant of Swedish immigrants, was a member of a family that played a significant role in the intellectual life of the country during the twentieth century. His father, Luis de Greiff Obregón was a liberal politician and congressman involved in the creation of influential literary magazines in Medellín, and his brother León de Greiff is one of the main figures in twentieth century Colombian poetry. Otto was an engineer and worked for several years at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia; he also was involved

and the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, contains a tango and a foxtrot produced in Vieco's factory, but also piano rolls produced by the Aeolian company in the United States containing a musical repertoire representing the quintessential model of "high culture," such as a recording of Chopin's *Nocturne in B-flat minor* [Op.9, No.1], a selection of excerpts [Operatic paraphrase] of Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*, Liszt's piano version of Wagner's *Tannhäuser March*, a selection of themes [operatic paraphrases] from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, and Franz Liszt's *Paganini-Grand Etude in G sharp minor* [S. 151] No. 3, "La Campanella" and the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, in C-sharp minor* [S. 244].

The difference between both collections indicates how social class was a key factor in this process of reterritorialization of sound, and suggests that this process also must be considered in light of both the symbolic value that forms of mechanical reproduction of music acquired as symbols of cosmopolitanism, and a listening experience independent of the performer, calling into question the logic of a listening experience that privileged the representational performance as the hegemonic aesthetic experience. However, the very nature of the paper roll and the player piano also invites researchers to consider the impact of the mechanical reproduction of music and its consequences as part of a broader and ongoing process. By the late 1920s technologies like the player piano coexisted with the gramophone, the phonograph, and the radio, distributing music, sometimes the same music,²⁰² among different social classes that listened to it in different contexts, attaching contrasting values to both the musical repertoire and the listening itself.

in the creation of the Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia, the main public radio station in Colombia, where he hosted a series of programs on musical appreciation. In addition, De Greiff promoted Western art music through articles published in magazines and newspapers, and wrote musical criticism for them.

²⁰² Sebastián Mejía Ramírez (2014b) presented an interesting example in his analysis of the formats of distribution of the music of Nicolás Molina Vélez. Mejía traced a mode of convergent circulation of this musical repertoire through different media (piano rolls, sound recordings, sheet music), that in many cases involved the same piece.

If the consumption of devices and media that mechanically reproduced music also fostered processes of circulation and appropriation of musical repertoires that changed the soundscape of the Colombian cities, the multiple reactions to such changes reveal how the ideas of the Colombian elites about the role of music and listening in urban contexts contrasted with the experiences of the urban middle and subaltern social classes in such a way that called into question the narrative of linear progress and technological advance as inherently natural, as well as positive aims that supported the civilizing agenda of the elites and institutions.

5.3 MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION OF SOUND AND THE CIVILIZING PROJECT: THE “DEMOCRATIZATION OF LISTENING”

In addition to their relationship with international trading networks, Colombian agents also promoted their products appealing to well-established images that often refer to old practices, stressing a pre-existing narrative that connected between music, taste, gender, and distinction in salons and ballrooms as discussed in chapter 2. For instance, agents of European and American manufactures of player pianos—such as Pedro and Daniel D’Achiardi (fig. 63, top) and Arturo Franco Pombo and Victor Manuel Covo Iglesias (fig. 63, bottom)—often advertised these devices using images that echoed the relation between whiteness, gender, delicacy, cosmopolitanism, distinction, and social class within the private spaces.



Figure 63. Newspaper advertisements of two player-pianos sellers.

Pedro and Daniel D'Achiardi (top), *El Porvenir*, No. 6189, p. 3, 1919.

Franco and Covo and Co. (bottom), *El Progreso*, No. 59, p.1, February 25, 1913.

Courtesy Instituto de Bellas Artes and Archivo Histórico de Cartagena. Medellín and Cartagena

Another prominent aspect of this adaptation of new forms of technology to old narratives was how they were envisioned as new instruments for educating and civilizing the citizens, which in many accounts are promoted and described as machines that provided a morally uplifting activity during the leisure time, spreading good taste. This “edifying leisure,” previously related to activities such as playing a musical instrument or attending the opera, also was attached to listening to a wide selection of records that included music as well as speeches, sermons, and declamations.

For instance, in 1897 Gustavo Navia offered a new phonographic service in an announcement published in the newspaper *El Ferrocarril* in Cali. According to the announcement Navia would visit any family interested into listening to his phonograph reproducing a selection of “speeches, sermons, and pieces of instrumental and vocal music” in exchange of a “fair economic compensation” (*El Ferrocarril* 1897, 20804).²⁰³ The presence of speeches and sermons in Navia’s offer is not surprising if we consider that, as explained by Jonathan Sterne (2003), Edison initially conceived the phonograph as a device to record the human voice, especially speeches, dictations, and messages.

Indeed, during the early 1910s Colombian traders sold not only musical records but also recordings of speeches, theatrical sketches, and “pedagogic records.” An example of such products are the records of the *Método Rosenthal* (Rosenthal’s method) that Diego Martínez sold in his store in Cartagena (fig. 64). The German linguist Richard D. Rosenthal, director of the Academy of Foreign Languages in Berlin and Leipzig, invented and developed this linguistic method, also known as the *Meisterschaft System*, to teach his pupils how “to really speak and write and

²⁰³ “El señor Navia se presta a llevar su fonógrafo a las casas particulares, mediante una retribución equitativa.”

understand the modern European tongues" (Rosenthal 1882, ii). To accomplish its goal, Rosenthal's method did not rely on the "comprehension of the principles of grammar," but rather, on a "process by which sound becomes a matter of language" (Rosenthal 1888, 2). Thus, this method uses listening and the repetition of sounds, words, and sentences compiled in records, encouraging pupils to interiorize the structure, meaning, connotation and pronunciation, becoming fluent speakers of another language who also could "think using it instead their native tongue."



Figure 64. Newspaper advertisement of the "Método Rosenthal," 1919.

El Porvenir, No. 6194, p. 3, February 8.

Courtesy Biblioteca del Banco de la República. Cartagena.

This method was published in the early 1880s as a series of textbooks to be used in a classroom with a native-speaker professor; however, when recording technologies appeared, records that the students should listen to and carefully imitate were introduced to “replace” the professor. Ultimately, uses of mechanical reproduction of sound like this indicate that consumers also regarded sound recordings and listening as means for an aural acquisition of knowledge, that transformed them into “natural” tools in the education of “cosmopolitan citizens.”

Another aspect of recordings both musical and non-musical that deserves further attention is how they shaped notions and representations of national and popular cultures. As pointed out by Sergio Ospina-Romero (2017b), record companies such as the Victor Talking Machine recorded theatrical sketches informed by the traditions of the *carpa de circo* (big-top tent) and vaudeville in Latin American countries. These recordings, made as “ethnic records” for local markets, mixed music, dialogs, and sound effects to reproduce actions located in a particular time and space, using music as a diagetic tool that aimed to recreate acoustically a context that could be familiar to the audience. These recordings often recalled episodes of national history, picturesque sketches with moral lessons, or speeches by notable politicians, as illustrated by the twenty-nine record of humoristic sketches, humoristic songs, poetry, and historical sketches made by the scouts of the Victor expedition in Colombia in November of 1913 (table 11).

Table 11. *Humoristic sketches, humoristic songs, poetry, and historical sketches recorded during the Victor expedition in Colombia, 1913.*²⁰⁴

Record	Matrix	Label/ status	Performers	Composer/ Author	Recording Date	Genre
Viaje de un Indio a Bogotá	L-379	65924	Jorge Andrade Hewitt (speaker)	Jorge Andrade Hewitt	November 10	Humoristic sketch
Especialidad	L-380	67355	Jorge Andrade Hewitt (speaker)	Jorge Andrade Hewitt	November 18	Humoristic sketch
Ricaurte en San Mateo	L-391	67669	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 12	Historical Episode
La Lora	L-393	67665	[Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist) and Villamarín (vocalist and tiple)	[Andrés] Pinillos and Villamarín	November 13	Humoristic song
La Viejita de los Animales	L-394	65897	[Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist), Villamarín (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	[Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist), Villamarín (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	November 13	Humoristic song
Chiss-Pumm	L-395	65924	[Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist) and Villamarín (vocalist and tiple)	[Andrés] Pinillos and Villamarín	November 13	Humoristic song
Los Antioqueños	L-396	67357	[Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist), Villamarín (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	[Andrés] Pinillos and Villamarín	November 13	Humoristic song
Geringonza	L-397	67667	[Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist), Villamarín (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	[Andrés] Pinillos and Villamarín	November 13	Humoristic song
Bambuco Llanero	L-398	67670	Jorge Andrade Hewitt	Jorge Andrade Hewitt	November 14	Recitation with tiple

²⁰⁴ Information collected from Richard Spottswood (1990), the database of the Discography of American Historical Recordings at UC Santa Barbara Library (<https://adp.library.ucsb.edu>), and complemented with data gathered during fieldwork travels to Sergio Orozco's private collection in Medellín (2016), Carlos Echeverri (2016 and 2017), and Antonio José Mariqué's private collection in Armenia, Colombia (2017).

Table 11 (continued)

No val al Cielo	L-399	67670	Jorge Andrade Hewitt	Jorge Andrade Hewitt	November 14	Humoristic Sketch
Portete de Tarqui	L-409	65896	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 15	Historical Episode
Batalla de Palonegro, Parte 1	L-410	65895	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 15	Historical Episode [with band]
Batalla de Palonegro, Parte 2	L-411	65895	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 15	Historical Episode [with band]
Batalla de Palonegro, Parte 3	L-460	65896	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 19	Historical Episode [with band]
Batalla de Peralonso, Parte 1	L-412	65923	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 15	Historical Episode
Batalla de Peralonso, Parte 2	L-440	65923	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 18	Historical Episode
Los Versos son Príncipes	L-413	65894	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	November 15	Poetry [declamation]
Sevillana	L-414	65922	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	November 15	Poetry [declamation]
Sueños	L-415	65894	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	November 15	Poetry [declamation]
Enigmas	L-416	65922	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	Alfredo Gómez Jaime	November 15	Poetry [declamation]
Batalla de Boyacá Parte 1	L-441	67668	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 18	Historical Episode
Batalla de Boyacá Parte 2 (En el Pantano de Vargas)	L-442	67668	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 18	Historical Episode

Table 11 (continued)

Batalla de Boyacá Parte 3 (Puente de Boyacá)	L-443	67669	Carlos Romero y Compañía	Carlos Romero	November 18	Historical Episode
Los Cotudos	L-444	67357	Villamarín (declamation), Ms. Guevara (declamation), [Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	Andrés Pinillos	November 18	Humoristic song
En el Trapiche	L-445	67666	Villamarín (declamation), Ms. Guevara (declamation), [Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	Andrés Pinillos	November 18	Humoristic song
En la Playa	L-446	65882	Villamarín (declamation), Ms. Guevara (declamation), [Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	Andrés Pinillos	November 18	Humoristic song
El Bautizo de Indios	L-447	67356	[Andrés] Villamarín (declamation), Ms. Guevara (declamation), [A.] Pinillos (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	Andrés Pinillos	November 18	[Traditional Sketch]
Demanda de Indios	L-448	65897	[Andrés] Villamarín (declamation), Ms. Guevara (declamation), [Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	Andrés Pinillos	November 18	[Traditional Sketch]
Demanda de Indios (por intereses)	L-449	65356	[Andrés] Villamarín (declamation), Ms. Guevara (declamation), [Andrés] Pinillos (vocalist and tiple), and Alejandro Wills (guitar)	Andrés Pinillos	November 18	[Traditional Sketch]

From this standpoint, these recordings also highlighted another aspect of the “edifying” nature attributed to the reproduction and consumption of records. They also could educate citizens by teaching lessons on national history that recalled moments of Colombian history in a way that echoed the agenda of the elites and institutions, while the morals in the traditional sketches presented subaltern social classes as obedient to the institutions. Thus, as indicated by Jaddiel Díaz Frene (2016), recordings produced and reproduced an “audible national memory” for the members of lettered and illiterate lower social classes, conjoining fiction and history to cast a collective identity and shared notions of nationhood.

Manufacturers of records and machines that reproduced music also saw educational potential in recordings—and the interest that it could raise among governmental educational institutions—a new opportunity for marketing their products. These companies aspired to conquer this promising market by introducing and promoting the use of recordings and gramophones in musical appreciation classes. For instance, the Victor Talking Machine promoted in 1922 the use of Victrolas and records in the Latin American schools in the Spanish edition of the magazine *The Voice of the Victor*, affirming that:

There is no better, more convenient or economical system for spreading the value of music and developing [music] knowledge and music appreciation among the children of the present generation than the constant use of the Victrola and the Victor records.

In countries like Chile, Colombia, Mexico, among other Hispano-American republics,

there are a significant number of schools that are taking advantage of Victor's products (*The Voice of the Victor* 1922, 10).²⁰⁵

The Victor Talking Machine Company considered this educational market to be so promising that it appointed the American musical pedagogue Frances Elliott Clark (1860–1958) to create a Department of Education in 1911. This corporate department aimed to promote the use of the phonograph in music appreciation lessons for students in kindergarten through college in the United States and other countries where the company exported its products. Under Clark's direction, this department produced nearly 500 records sold as pedagogic materials for music education curricula in schools (Cooke, Hollweck, Morrisey and Kinscella 1960). The company also produced the Victor model XXV, also known as the "gramophone schoolhouse model," which was intended for use in schools where it could withstand some rough use and be moved around conveniently (Baumbach 2005).²⁰⁶

The promotion of the use of gramophones and records for classes of music appreciation was attractive for Victor because it could be profitable for the company in two ways: (1) by extending the market beyond the limits of "consumption for leisure," and (2) by creating a new audience that would be familiarized with these devices and the consumption of records from childhood. The projections of increasing profits were enough to encourage the company to

²⁰⁵ No hay ningún sistema que se mejor, más conveniente y más económico para diseminar el valor de la música y desarrollar los conocimientos y apreciación musicales entre los niños de la presente generación que el uso constante de la victrola y de los discos Victor en las escuelas. En Chile, Colombia, Mexico, y en muchas otras repúblicas de la América hispana, existe un gran número de escuelas que ya usan con provecho los productos Victor.

²⁰⁶ When introduced, the XXV was sold for \$60.00, but most schools in the United States and abroad were given a discount, as these machines certainly promoted Victor products to a broad audience of young listeners. An estimated total of 18,500 XXVs were sold until the model was discontinued in 1925. By that time, the base price had risen to \$115.00 (Baumbach 2005).

introduce and promote the consumption of mechanical reproduction devices and media as pedagogic tools, which could “democratize good taste and high culture” through the mass consumption of “good music” (*The Voice of the Victor*, 1922, 11).

Thus, companies and backers promoted the mechanical reproduction of music in the form of player pianos, phonographs, and gramophones, stressing that they would “democratize listening” by directly addressing the ear of the listener without the mediation of any visual reference. Potentially, broader audiences could listen to and learn how to appreciate “good music.” Accounts like an announcement by Rafael Echavarría, agent of the Aeolian Co. in Medellín, stressed that the mechanisms of these machines simplified their use, transforming any person into a performer: “The Piano-Pianola transforms any person who so desires into a pianist, even if he never acquired any kind of [musical] knowledge during his life” (Echavarría y cia. 1912, 1).²⁰⁷

Similar accounts also suggest that the mechanical reproduction of music could introduce “proper” and “civilized” musical repertoires to “naturally sensible” listeners. For instance, in a picturesque narration published in 1922 in the Spanish edition of the *Voice of the Victor Magazine*, the Colombian composer Emilio Murillo stated that he had witnessed how Lázaro Escobar, an illiterate peasant who lived in the countryside of a town in Antioquia, sang a Neapolitan song that he learned by listening to Carusso’s record on a gramophone that he kept at his farm (Murillo 1922, 2). As Echevarría’s and Murillo’s texts indicate, the mechanical reproduction of music was envisioned as an aural experience that introduced music free of any constraint imposed by musical literacy and technical skills, the acquisition of which demanded years of study and a considerable budget to pay professors and books.

²⁰⁷ “El Piano–Pianola convierte en pianista a cualquier persona que así lo deseé, aunque en su vida no haya adquirido conocimientos de ninguna especie.”

Although the democratization of listening was a concept used by companies like Aeolian and Victor to promote their products throughout the hemisphere, a comparison between promotions by Victor in the United States versus those in Latin America reveals subtle variations, which in turn indicate that Victor's administrators were aware of the differences between the understandings of what "democratic listening" meant in both markets. For instance, while Clark (1920, 9) stated, "If America is ever to become a great nation musically, as she has become commercially and politically, it must come through educating *everybody* to know and love good music,"²⁰⁸ the Spanish edition of the magazine *The Voice of the Victor* underlined the claim that the Victrola could make it possible for children to listen to "the world's most noticeable singers and renewed performers" (*The Voice of the Victor*, 1922, 10).²⁰⁹ Thus, while the Victor promoted the process of "democratization of listening" in the United States, emphasizing concepts such as "progress," "equal access to the high culture," and the American predestination "to be a great nation," the publicity directed toward Hispanic-American countries underscored that this process would reduce the gap that separated them from modern urban centers by using technology to bring to them the music that "great artists" performed at renowned theaters in the United States and Europe.

This difference illustrates that beneath the notion of a "democratization of listening" lay ambiguous discourses that were articulated around different uses and goals of mechanically reproduced music. From the perspective of the center of production, the education of the listener was a tool in a process that extended the influence of such a center through a transformation of mass consumption into a means for "colonizing the ear" of consumers in the peripheral centers,

²⁰⁸ Italics in the original.

²⁰⁹ "Si no fuera por la Victrola, no sería posible que los niños pudiesen oír a los cantantes más notable y a los concertistas de mayor renombre del mundo."

which would guarantee the increase of profits. Indeed, Western art music was a repertory that Victor recorded, exported, and sold under the reference *Sello Rojo* (Red Seal) that was the most expensive of its catalog.

In contrast, for the elites of these peripheral centers, this technology satisfied their aspirations to cosmopolitanism and distinction, as binder's volumes and retretas did before. It created a symbolic geography of sound that aurally reduced the gap separating them from the centers of civilization and technological production, while reinforcing their hegemonic position by differentiating themselves from the sonorous identities of subaltern social classes. Hence, Colombian elites soon adapted—within the salon, the theater, and the retreta—a new technology to validate and legitimize their taste as a modern expression of “high culture,” when consuming musical repertoires of Western art music that had been positioned as sonorous embodiments of “social distinction,” “whiteness,” and “civilization.”

In addition, the urban elites also considered the consumption of gramophones and phonographs as potentially having a positive impact in their broader civilizing agenda. Texts such as Murillo’s account mentioned above show that local elites envisioned the mass consumption of these devices to be a process that transformed them into valuable tools that could “educate” the members of subaltern classes in their own houses, in a way that introduced to the private sphere processes of disciplining adopted in the public spaces during the retreta, spreading “edifying musical repertoires” and “good taste.” This phenomenon suggests that, from the perspective of the Colombian urban elites, the mechanical reproduction of music introduced an acousmatic listening that provided a sense of immediacy and timelessness, compressing the symbolic geography of sound created in salons and parks. Thus, the mechanical reproduction of music also provided a new sense of “aural immediacy” to the experience of being an “hombre de mundo,” which led

those listening to a Verdi aria performed by Carusso or a Chopin Nocturne performed by Paderewski to perceive that they were not just listening at home to a rendering of a musical piece composed by a “great master,” but also that they were listening to the same performer their European counterparts listened to. In both cases, the transformation of listening depended on a phenomenon of compression and regularization of space and time, which, as explained by Anthony Giddens, characterizes modernization processes.

Advertisements that local agents and representatives of Victor published in Colombian newspapers indicate that this company exploited this phenomenon to promote the consumption of records and gramophones, introducing strategies such as presenting Victor’s factories as centers of musical production comparable with renowned theaters, promoting the gramophones as “new musical instruments” whose benefits attracted the best performers in the world, and highlighting the company’s “exclusive performers” in such a way that, from the consumer’s perspective, the performers became as prominent as the composers and genres (fig. 65).

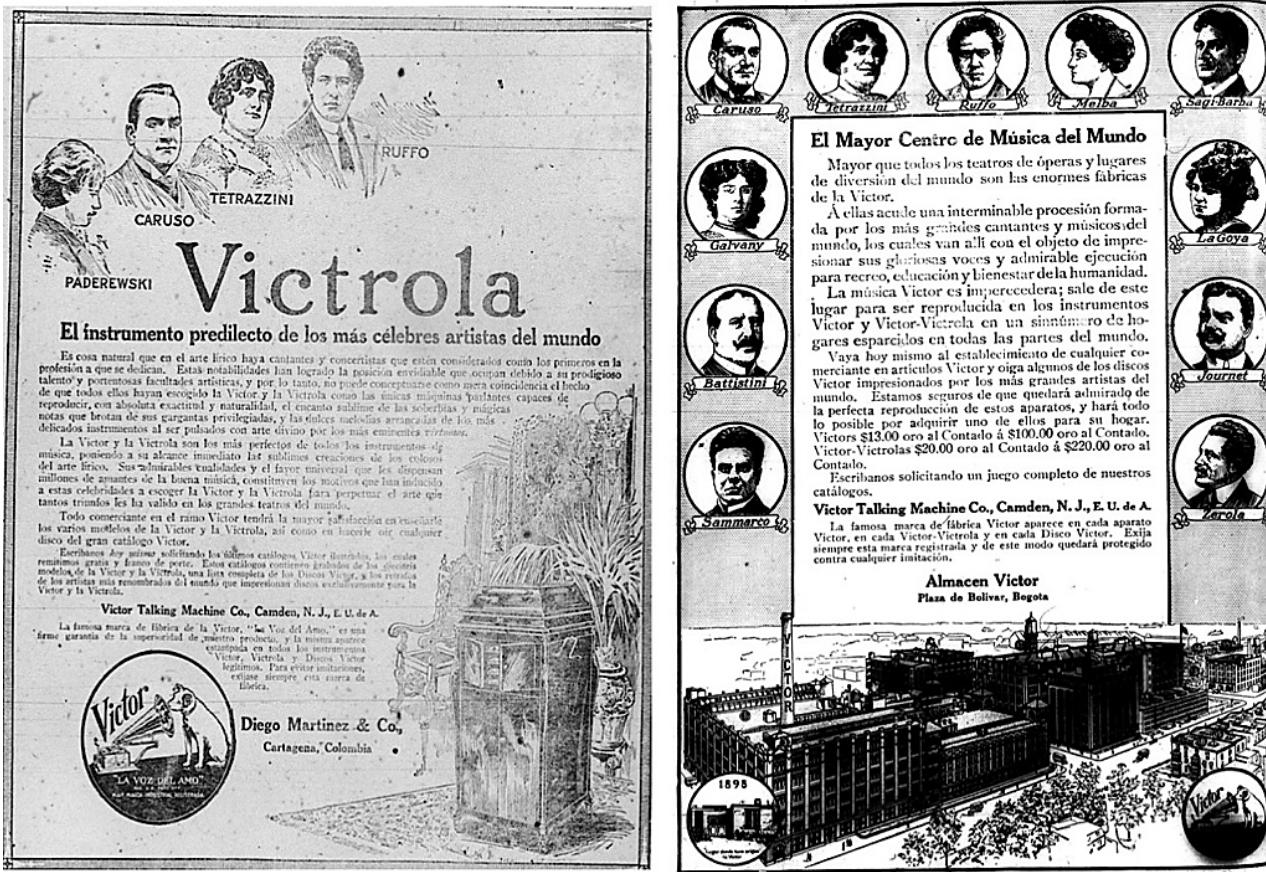


Figure 65. Newspaper advertisements of two Victor representatives in Colombia.

Diego Martínez, Cartagena (l.), El Porvenir, No. 6182, p.4, January 24, 1915.

Manuel J. Gaitán, Bogotá (r.), El Gráfico, No. 233, [n.p.], May 1, 1920.

Courtesy Biblioteca Banco de la República. Cartagena and Biblioteca Nacional. Bogotá

In sum, the analysis of the promotion of gramophones and records as pedagogical tools indicates that for the peripheral centers of production the “democratization of listening” became a means of “colonizing the ear” of the centers of consumption; meanwhile, for the elites of these peripheral centers of consumption, it became a means for recreating the status quo and reinforcing their control over the subaltern social classes and a tool that introduced processes of disciplining citizens through listening to and the promotion of Western art music within the private spaces. However, companies like Victor also recognized that the mass consumption of its products

demanded wider audiences. For this reason, they also promoted recordings of “popular” music in a way that also shaped sonically a notion of “popular culture” in the Colombian cities. The manual *Cómo Obtener el Mayor Provecho Posible de su Victrola* (How to Obtain the Greatest Possible Benefit from Your Victrola), a guide to the operation and maintenance of the Victrolas published by the Victor Talking Machine for sellers and users of the device, illustrates some characteristics of this musical repertoire:

Current simple melodies ever have aroused the common people's enthusiasm, because they satisfy a truly human necessity. It doesn't matter if a piece loses its charm soon, because even if is attractive for a short time this attraction is hugely intense [for the listeners]. When a piece of music has produced emotions in the people, whether it is a popular song or a symphony, its existence is completely justifiable (Victor Talking Machine 1925, 10).²¹⁰

Thus, from the perspective of record companies, “popular music” would “produce emotion” among broader audiences but also had an ephemeral effect over the listeners, two characteristics that transformed recorded sound into saleable and mass-consumed goods. In turn, this phenomenon introduces a paradox: while sound recording technologies introduced material media that could store music and sounds and preserve them for a longer time, they had to be

²¹⁰ Las melodías sencillas de actualidad han despertado siempre el entusiasmo del pueblo, ya que estas satisfacen una necesidad humana verdaderamente natural. Poco importa que esta pieza pierda pronto su encanto, pues aun cuando su duración es corta, su atracción es inmensamente intensa. Cuando una pieza de música ha emocionado el ánimo del pueblo, sea una canción popular, sea una sinfonía, la existencia de esta música queda plenamente justificada.

“forgettable” but “accessible” to broader audiences if the companies wanted to maximize their sales and hence their profit. This paradox implies that the mesomusic mentioned in chapter 4 was a fashionable good that also included genres previously associated with notions like “good taste,” “high culture,” and “social distinction,” which became increasingly consumed as vernacular and ephemeral sounds intended for mass consumption. For example, the manual mentioned above affirms that “the current [popular] pieces, the cuplés, and zarzuelas, are as approachable to any owner of a Victor or Victrola device, as they are to the residents of big cities”²¹¹ (Victor Talking Machine 1925, 10).

Thus, the spectrum of the music circulating and reproduced via mechanical devices was beyond that of the elites privileged by the logic of the civilizing discourse. For this reason, many accounts of the sound produced by player pianos, phonographs and gramophones in the Colombian cities were far from enthusiastic descriptions of tools that civilized the citizens, and often described them in a way that radically differed from the positive portrait presented by their manufacturers, commercial agents, and elites. These accounts contrasted radically with notions such as “edifying leisure” or “democratic listening,” consisting of complaints about noise that portrayed these mechanisms and machines as prominent keynotes of the new urban soundscape.

²¹¹ Las piezas de actualidad, los cuplés y las zarzuelas, se hallan tanto al alcance del que posee un instrumento Victor o Victrola, como del que reside en las grandes ciudades.

5.4 DREAMS OF A CLEAN CITY: NOISE, SOCIAL CONTROL, AND FEARS OF CONTESTED SPACES

An article by David Fuentes published in the newspaper *El Bateo* in 1909 describes how pedestrians walking through the streets of Medellín could hear music coming from the houses around them:

First, [I heard] a rumble like a storm that was coming. It must be something good...Silence, then I heard “*of your celestial charm blue dove*” [from the “Blue Dove”], and this sound followed me through the street with all the notes clear [and the singer] sustaining unthinkable high pitches. When I am about to thank God I am leaving [the music behind], I heard another tempest coming out from a window in front of me. Now it is *La Marseillaise* (finally something new); but this time it is not a singing [voice], but a roar, a squeak, a bray (Fuentes 1909, 2).²¹²

An article by Martín Guerra against the pianola (player piano), published in 1923 in the newspaper *El Bateo*, indicates that the criticism directed towards the machines reproducing music stressed that they triggered a process where the machine replaced the musician with an operator,²¹³

²¹² Primero es un rumor como de tempestad que se acerca.ca. Algo bueno vendrá... Silencio “*de tus encantos celestial paloma azul...* Y aquello me persigue por lo menos media cuadra, con todas las notas claras, sostenidas en unas alturas inconcebibles y cuando voy a dar gracias a Dios de estar lejos, oigo brotar de la ventana por cuyo frente paso, otra tempestad. Ahora siquiera es *la Marseillesa* (al fin algo nuevo); pero esta vez no es un canto: es un rugido, un graznido, un rebuzno.

²¹³ Indeed, as pointed out by Allison Wente (2016), the player piano mechanism operates in such a way that this machine essentially takes the attributes of the performer. As issue confirmed by the words of Rafael Echavarría when affirmed: “Having a piano–pianola at home we will have a *skillful* pianist who [will] delight our ears” [teniendo un Piano–Pianola tendremos un *habilísimo* painista para recrear nuestros oídos] (Echavarría y cia. 1912, 1). Italics in the original.

fostering a mediation that transformed music into noise: “Although this device’s [the player piano] shape resembles the piano it is a wretched machine that crushes music. I wish it was music well smashed and crushed, but what is served to the neighbor is neither celestial nor infernal music but music without music” (Guerra 1923, 1).²¹⁴ This account of the increasing uncertainty that the mechanization that the reproduction of music introduced among listeners and performers was well-extended throughout the hemisphere, especially among the backers of representational performance as the ultimate expression of the musical experience, such as the American bandleader John Philip Sousa who described the machine-made music a “menace” to musicians and musicianship, especially in the private sphere (Sousa 1906).

As explained in chapter 4, after the creation of musical conservatories during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the listening ritual was based on what Thomas Turino describes as “presentational performance,” or a performance where there is a separation between “professional” performers and audiences, and the main goal of the performer is to keep the listeners’ attention directed toward the music performed (Turino 2008). However, the new technologies promoted an alternative experience based on collective listening to recordings and the exhibition of machines to friends and strangers whenever the consumer decided to make it happen, which erases the constraints of dress and decorum prescribed for public and more formal scheduled events. In addition, the way in which the mechanism of devices like the player pianos reproduced music increasingly seemed to replace the performer by an operator, a phenomenon of mechanization that was even more evident after the introduction of automatic pianos,

²¹⁴ Ese aparato que parece piano por la forma es, en síntesis, una máquina infeliz de moler música.ca. Y ojalá fuera música bien molida, o siquiera machacada. Pero esto que le sirven al pobre prójimo no es música, ni celestial, ni infernal siquiera, sino música sin música.ca.

gramophones, and phonographs that just needed an operator who turned them on and changed the medium to play new music.

It is necessary to indicate that many of these devices were in private spaces, but also that many of them were placed in public spaces like bars and cafés when the addition of *traganíqueles*, whose coin operated mechanisms made them attractive for business owners interested in attracting clients. Jukeboxes were among the best-known devices of this kind, but some evidence indicates that the first machines that operated with coins introduced to Colombia were automatic pianos (fig. 66). For example, legal documents and notes published in newspapers in cities like Medellín used the word *pianola*—a term (as indicated above) that designated player pianos—to refer to jukeboxes as well, a usage still practiced among local collectors of mechanical devices and music.



Figure 66. Automatic player piano that operates with coins, ca. 1920.

Courtesy José Henrique Rizo Pombo, Cartagena.

Therefore, the criticism indicates that the mechanical reproduction of music triggers a process of transforming music into something else, probably noise, which is a result of the transformation of the “aura” of music that both mechanization and mass consumption introduced. As explained by Walter Benjamin, the aura is a unique and unrepeatable manifestation of an object appreciated [or heard] from a distance (Benjamin 2008 [1936]). In Colombia, a country where conservative elites drove the modernization process until 1930 and whose postcolonial society had inherited social and cultural structures from a Colonial regime, the aura of music had attached to it political, cultural, and social functions that were beyond the limits of the aesthetic experience.

By educating audiences to appreciate musical repertoires considered as sonic representations of civilization and “high culture,” Colombian elites and institutions promoted notions of progress, order, and civilization that conducted and controlled the citizens’ experiences of urban spaces while creating a “modern and cosmopolitan ear” among the citizens. Thus, from the disciplining of “obedient and law-abiding citizens” in the public spaces through the retreta, the elites aspired to extend this disciplining process to the private spaces of the houses of the peasants and a growing urban social class—the laborers—familiarized with the automatization of and the interaction with machines during their daily lives. However, as some critics suggest, this regime of sounding and listening contrasted with the appropriation of these technologies by these subaltern social classes, which fostered the mass consumption of a musical repertoire often played on gramophones and phonographs, and which, as mentioned above, differed from the one promoted by elites and institutions:

The promotion of dance music and popular music made through the phonograph is noxious and harmful for people's education. For each recording of Debussy's sonata for piano and violin played by Cortot and Thibaud sold [in local stores], people acquire three thousand of a despicable thing called 'La Ronda de los Enamorados' (De Greiff 1930, 540).²¹⁵

These critics pointed to a different kind of experience based on a form of technological failure. As suggested by Steingo (2015), in contrast with the centers of technological production where it is considered an unusual phenomenon, technological failure is a common event in places located in the peripheral centers of technological consumption. Indeed, announcements published in Colombian periodicals indicate that untrained technicians often made makeshift repairs to player pianos, phonographs, and gramophones. However, the failure that the accounts of noise are introducing goes beyond technical issues. It is a conceptual failure of technology to accomplish its role in the disciplining apparatus, at least in the terms intended by urban elites and institutions. The mechanical reproduction of noise revealed the failure of technology as a disciplining dispositive, which made audible a conflict between the intended use of these machines promoted by the elites and institutions and how their actual users articulated listening and sounding practices around them.

This kind of failure, which authors like Díaz Frene (2016) describe as a mediated reconfiguration and renegotiation of a "communicational contract" between the elites and their

²¹⁵ La propaganda que se hace con el fonógrafo a la llamada música de baile y popular, es harto nociva para la educación de las gentes. Por un ejemplar que se vende de la Sonata para piano y violín de Debussy, ejecutada por Cortot y Thibaud, se venden tres mil de una cosa abominable que se llama 'La ronda de los enamorados'.

subalterns, illustrates that the introduction of technology is a process that does not necessarily accomplish the uses intended by those promoting it, nor does it advance in a linear fashion or a single direction. Technology can shape subjective and collective identities as much as it can disable them, because it is malleable and open to complex processes of appropriation where the new and the old are negotiated in such way that provides new forms to former uses. This renovates and invigorates the old habitus by providing a feasible and fashionable support that represents new symbolic and cultural capital. Thus, descriptions of player pianos, phonographs, and gramophones as “wretched machines” underlined both the failure of the top-down model of disciplining that the elites envisioned, and the fear of a social uproar that made the taste of subaltern social classes audible. From this standpoint, critics perceived the transformation of the musical aura as a problem because this process called into question the ritual validating and promoting a specific musical repertoire, often prized as a standard of “high culture.”

Complaints about noise increased during the late twenties in the Colombian cities. This process shaped the way in which Colombian authorities adopted American policies of noise control via hygienic discourses (Thompson 2002), adapting them to the local context. Thus, the elites and Colombian institutions increasingly used and adapted visions of the “Northern neighbor” to establish a referent for renovating Colombia’s self-image while also rearticulating old practices in a new geopolitical context, a process of adaptation of new tastes and ideas to old practices that also informed discussions about noise.

Authors such as Jorge Bejarano (1888–1966), public health policy pioneer and the first Minister of Salubrity, often referred to “the scourge of noise” to describe the harmful effect of urban noise on citizens’ health and wellbeing. Bejarano used this term, coined during the Annual meeting of the American Public Health Association (APHA) held in Chicago in 1928, to name “in

a precise way the havoc that violent and continuous noises are producing among the inhabitants of cities where traffic is increasing" (Bejarano 1929, 3).²¹⁶ Pharmaceutical companies like Bayer also affirmed that noise had a noxious impact on the human body, especially the nervous system, and advertised medicines like "Adalina" in newspapers (fig. 67).



Figure 67. Newspaper advertisement for Adalina. 1930.

El Gráfico, No. 1004, [n.p.], November 8.

Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá

²¹⁶ "Una manera precisa el estrago que el ruido y el temblor están produciendo entre los habitantes de ciudades donde el tráfico está aumentando."

As these examples illustrate, from the hygienic perspective, noise was harmful because it affected the nervous system by overwhelming the human body's capacities for experiencing the world around it, reducing its productivity: "Since long ago, the hygienists have pointed out the harmful impact of the violent and continuous urban noise on the nervous system of the city's inhabitants. This is a cause of the deterioration of the nerves and *surmenage* [chronic fatigue]" (Bejarano 1929, 3).²¹⁷

Thus, as in the American cities, in Colombia noise control also was a response to the desire for an increased individual and collective productivity under a capitalist logic, as described by Thompson (2002). However, the analysis of Colombian legislation such as police codes indicates that beneath this hygienic discourse lay a policy of ordering and controlling urban spaces by restraining any social uproar through the silencing of subaltern sonic identities. Thus, the Colombian case illustrates how legislation transformed word and language into instruments used to introduce forms of noise control that ultimately sought to establish an "aural hygiene" in public spaces, which as pointed out by Samuel Llano (2016) aimed to introduce a "culture of comfort" that should serve as both a guarantor of social order and a marker of class identity.

From this perspective, as suggested by David Novak (2015), noise became a sonic label of "other" subjective identities in an increasingly normative context. Indeed, as pointed out by Jennifer Lynn Stoever (2016), noise is a powerful mechanism that elites often use to reinforce their hegemonic position over subordinate social classes by introducing a category that reduces the subordinate other in terms that conflated race and social class. Thus, elites aspired to monopolize notions such as sound production and listening as means for creating and recreating an ontology

²¹⁷ "Los Higienistas han señalado desde hace largo tiempo los malos efectos de los ruidos violentos y continuos de una ciudad sobre el sistema nervioso de sus habitantes. Hay aquí una causa constante de desgaste nervioso, de grave *surmenage*."

that simultaneously facilitated the control of bodies and spaces by reducing them to the binary “civilized citizens” versus “barbarian others.” Ultimately, as in the Spanish case analyzed by Llano (2016), the elites and institutions used the control of noise as a mean to acquire experience surveying and controlling groups deemed to pose a threat to public morality and order, often labelled as *populacho*. Thus, the term “música populachera” became a term that authors like Gonzalo Vidal used to describe what they considered as a notorious expression of the “bad taste” that characterized subaltern social classes: “Nowadays in Medellín, everywhere and at every time, you can’t listen to something different to boring, populachera (sic), easilycomposed, banal, and uninteresting music, which is spread through gramophones, pianolas [player pianos], and other devices” (Vidal 1928, 578).²¹⁸

This ontology of sound and listening tended to equate the “racialized” and “barbaric” others, making audible standards of citizenship that facilitated the social control and containment of subaltern subordinated social classes by silencing their claims and sonorous identities via law enforcement policies, while denying them access to the benefits of urban modernization and use of public spaces. The privilege of white urban elites was expressed and embodied through sound, and the monopolization of the categorization of sound as noise and sound as music became an instrument to reinforce their hegemonic position while denying full citizenship to subaltern social classes. In contrast, non-white mestizo, indigenous, and black sounds were transformed into “dangerous noise,” which made audible the threat that the *populacho* represented for both the hegemonic position of the white elites and the institutionalized visions of a modern city. Therefore,

²¹⁸ “Ya en Medellín, por todas partes y a todas horas, no se oye otra cosa que música aburridora, populachera, de fácil composición, de género banal, sin halago, sin interés. Los grafófonos (sic) realizan esta labor, con las pianolas y otros elementos”

listening and sounding also became racialized practices projected into the arena of discipline and social order.

A case in point is the prohibition in some Colombian Caribbean cities of *chigualos* or *velorios de angelitos* (wake of the little angels), funeral music and rites for children usually performed by members of lower social classes and informed by Indigenous and African traditions. In 1931 the Police Code of the *Departamento del Atlántico*, where this musical practice was strongly associated with the African diaspora, implicitly prohibited the chigualos in its Article 471: “In no case is any dance or other amusement permitted in an infant funeral, even if it has a private character” (Asamblea Departamental del Atlántico 1931, 179).²¹⁹ This prohibition was so effective that this musical practice disappeared from the main urban centers in the Colombian Caribbean—such as Cartagena, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta—although it survived in some rural areas and other regions with significant Afro-Colombian presence such as the Chocó and the Pacific Coast.

Police codes also prohibited other sounds considered as “socially disruptive.” For example, the police code of the *Departamento de Norte de Santander* (1924) in the Colombian Northwest contained an explicit prohibition in their Article 150:

If anyone in public utters obscene words, sings clumsy songs, executes inappropriate actions, or walks nude, the police officers have to [rebuke and] invite him to refrain from this bad behavior. If [the offender] does not obey, he will be led to the jail immediately”²²⁰ (Asamblea Departamental de Norte de Santander 1924, 25).

²¹⁹ “En ningún caso es permitido baile alguno u otra diversión con motivo de la muerte de un párvulo, aún cuando tenga carácter de función privada o particular.” Asamblea Departamental del Atlántico 1931, 179.

²²⁰ Artículo 150. Si alguno en público, profiere palabras obscenas, o cantare canciones torpes, ejecutare acciones deshonestas, o anduviera desnudo, los agentes de Policía le intimarán a que suspenda en el acto su mal proceder, y si no lo hiciera así, inmediatamente será conducido a la cárcel.

While the prohibition in the Atlántico addressed a specific ethnicity, the prohibition of “clumsy songs” in Santander—also present in other police codes in departments from the Andean region like Caldas—was intentionally broad and vague. By “clumsy songs” the authorities could mean songs that had politically-charged lyrics criticizing institutions and politicians, or those considered as obscene, immoral, and opposed to “civilized” ideals and the Catholic moral code. In any case, the prohibition of such songs reveals an effort to discipline citizens, particularly those who belonged to subaltern social classes, in the urban public spaces. This introduced enforcement practices of silencing that even considered the use of symbolic violence to silence music that could echo any social uproar. Consequently, beneath the classification of noise versus music lies an exercise of power that, as suggested by Jacques Attali, reinforced the hegemonic position of the local elites (Attali 2014 [1977]).

In contrast to the American cities, where advanced acoustic isolation technologies, such as acoustic plasters and tiles, were available (Thompson 2002), in Colombia the absence of such materials implied that much of noise control was exercised through legal means and public health campaigns designed to create and recreate specific models of citizenship and nationhood based on the sonic experiences of urban spaces, such as the projects for creating an “ortophonic (sic) tax” in Bogotá in 1929.²²¹ This project proposed a monthly fee of two hundred and fifty Colombian

²²¹ The use of the term “ortophonic,” a model that the Victor Talking Machine introduced in 1925, in this tax reveals some issues that are relevant for the discussions about noise in Colombian cities. First, it indicates the prominent position that Victor had in the local market of devices that reproduced music; and second, it suggests that the impact of radios in the urban soundscape was not as significant as that of gramophones by 1929. This second issue has a reason: before the creation of the first local radio station, the HJN, in August of 1929 the consumption of radios was restricted to radio amateurs in cities like Barranquilla and Bogotá (Castrillón 2015).

pesos to “any business or public establishment that uses gramophones and promotes public auditions that convoke clients by spreading sound to the neighboring streets” (*El Bateo* 1929, 1)²²²

Although this tax bill was finally rejected, it motivated intense discussions in several Colombian cities. The ways in which many authors described this early effort to introduce and implement a policy of noise control in the Colombian capital and the requests for similar measures in other Colombian cities like Medellín indicate that the goal beneath noise abatement and control lay in a major effort for establishing control over urban public spaces expressed through urban soundscape, silencing sonic identities that called into question hegemonic models of “high culture.”

These discussions also indicate that beneath the descriptions of mechanical reproduction of music as “noise” lay a sensorial experience of listening that challenged perceptions of space, blurring the limits between public, private, and semiprivate spaces. Indeed, ethnographic evidence presented by Francis Dyson (2009) suggests that in certain experiences of “media” where people are immersed in listening, the experience of the audience is that the “medium” disappears, at least perceptually or experientially. This is possible because sound travels as a wave that is projected beyond resonant bodies that produced it, and consequently can overcome the boundaries that separate one space from another, especially if—as in many Colombian cities—there are no acoustic materials that interfere with the transmission of the waves.

Therefore, the absence of acoustic materials in Colombia led to a process of control that echoed the control of citizens’ behaviors during the retretas: law enforcement was to intervene to guarantee order and to impose silence if members of subaltern social classes refused to follow the

²²² “Cualquier negocio o establecimiento público que use ortófonos (sic) haciendo audiciones públicas para atraer a sus clientes proyectando el sonido hacia las calles del vecindario.”

standards of behavior and good taste established by elites and institutions. The role of institutions and law enforcement as guardians of order and silence opened the doors to the introduction of forms of symbolic violence, such as fines and taxes, whose main goal was to dissuade those who “polluted” the public urban spaces with the obnoxious and harmful noises produced by gramophones and phonographs. An editorial cartoon published in the newspaper *El Bateo* illustrates how hygienic discourses became crucial in these efforts for controlling the soundscape. Labeling Medellín as *Villa Mugre* (Dirty Village), the cartoonist compared the governmental control that destroyed the threat of machines producing annoying sounds in Bogotá (fig. 68, left) with the cacophony that polluted Medellín (fig. 68, right).



Figure 68. *Gramophones Taxed in Bogotá*, Editorial Cartoon by K-Margo (pseud.), 1929.

El Bateo, No. 1032, p. 3, June 11.

Courtesy Carlos Echeverri Arias. Medellín.

This editorial cartoon also indicates that the local authorities' efforts for controlling sound were focused on confining some musical repertoires within the limits of the private spaces by imposing a fine on the "improper use" of gramophones, creating "cleaner" public spaces where subordinate sonic identities were excluded. In short, "noise" was a category strongly related to which music citizens should listen to and where and when they should do it. The text below the cartoon reinforces this message by describing noises that contaminated the city in terms that resemble barbarian and non-human sounds: "The feared bludgeon fell over these cases [the gramophones]; meanwhile here [in Medellín] we suffer the shouts, screams and records that resound like a downpour to the ear" (K-Margo 1929, 8).²²³ This was a strategy that, as explained by Ochoa Gautier (2014), was used to alienate other sonorous ontologies.

However, as suggested by the increasing consumption of player pianos, records, phonographs and gramophones, a new urban middle-class was effectively using the mechanical reproduction of sound as a means to project and validate their own taste in the new urban space. Thus, the efforts at controlling the urban soundscape were a response to the calling into question of the hegemonic model that elites and institutions strove to impose. In addition, as pointed out by Santamaría Delgado (2014), the diversification of the musical repertoire that the introduction of records facilitated allowed multiple possibilities of identification that simultaneously could reinforce or subvert ideals of civilization, whiteness, and distinction.

In conclusion, local elites created and recreated an ontology of sound and listening that labelled subaltern sonic identities as expressions of a "racialized and barbaric other," in opposition to their vision of a "white and civilized mestizo nation" (Wade 2001). However, complaints about

²²³ "El garrote del impuesto temido cayó sobre esos cocos [los gramófonos] allá en la capital, mientras aquí [en Medellín] aguantamos berridos y berridos y unos discos que resuenan en los pobres oídos como algún aguacero."

noise and efforts to impose an “hygienic silence” indicate that new technologies of sound reproduction, such as the phonograph and the gramophone, provided alternative means for creating and experiencing the urban spaces. This fostered the negotiation, and sometimes the subversion, of the disciplinary logic that urban elites and institutions aspired to impose, promoting new understandings of “popular culture” that Liberal governments co-opted after 1930. Paradoxically, in the long run this process implied that musical traditions informed by Indigenous and African traditions could be at once contemptible expressions of “barbarism” and representations of the “authentic roots” of Colombian music when they were recorded, manipulated, and consumed as goods.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The documentary sources analyzed in this dissertation reveal intertwined sets of sounding and listening practices, echoing the tensions and contradictions that were characteristic of the modernization process in the postcolonial Colombian cities. From a top-down perspective, the elites used music and listening as powerful disciplining instruments in a broad civilizing project, aiming to forge citizens by shaping new forms of the urban habitus that regulated social interaction. Ultimately, this process of instrumentalization of sound and listening practices created a symbolic soundscape that aimed to transform the “modern city” into a space where elites and institutions could control bodies and spaces.

Thus, first within the semiprivate salons and then moving to public spaces like parks, local urban elites intended to use sounding and listening practices to create and recreate a symbolic plane, transforming urban spaces into places where the elites’ notions of whiteness, gender roles, distinction, proper behavior, and restraint of the body were deployed and imposed. Consequently, sound production and listening interacted in a series of imbricated and complex relations, creating a multimodal configuration that posited the elites’ vision of urban modernization, social order, and progress as natural and universal, both reinforcing their hegemonic position and disciplining their subalterns. In this way, sounding and listening became disciplining tools that echoed the elites’ ideas of nation, nationhood, and citizenship at a crucial moment of social, political, and economic transformation in Colombian history.

A key part of this process was the creation of institutions like philharmonic societies and conservatories, which shaped a notion of “artistic musicianship” based on the promotion of the Western musical canon through the main forms of socialization around music in public and semipublic spaces: the concert and the retreta. This notion of “artistic and professional musicianship” privileged written transmission of musical knowledge while differentiating composer, performers, and listeners via representational performance. The standards of “high” and “vernacular” cultures that the “professionalization of musicianship” introduced also differentiated sonorous identities in terms of social class and ethnic origin, establishing a hierarchical relation of sounds in such a way that musical practice became concomitant with the instrumentalization of sound in semiprivate and public spaces.

However, this top-down model, and the symbolic plane that it created by casting the city as a meaningful structure of order, differed from the material plane that the urban residents experienced in their daily lives. The very nature of the musical labor transformed musicians into transculturators as well as “artists,” making them mediators that facilitated the circulation of diverse musical repertoires in different spaces, sometimes in contexts where participatory performance shaped the experience of place and space. In addition, the multiple ways in which the members of subaltern social classes appropriated and used technologies of mechanical reproduction of sound illustrate how these technologies were adaptable, malleable, and often used in ways that deviated from the uses intended by those that produced and introduced them.

In postcolonial Colombian cities, these alternative uses of technology made by members of middle and subaltern social classes detached listening from representational performance, revealing experiences that shaped collective identities while adapting preexisting forms of the habitus to new forms of technology in a way that fostered the deterritorialization,

reterritorialization, textualization, and retextualization of music and sound. From this perspective, sounding and listening also became means both for the creation of individual and collective identities and for the appropriation of places and spaces. These processes often operated to subvert the disciplinary logic of the civilizing project, while calling into question the instrumentalization of music and sound proposed by the elites and institutions. Thus, the discordances rather than the concordances between the two planes of the city, the symbolic and the material, transformed categories such as music and noise into means for establishing, disrupting, and contesting control over the urban spaces. Ultimately, these discordances indicate that beneath a given listening practice lies a complex network of processes of negotiation, silencing, symbolic violence, and struggle.

In conclusion, sounding and listening reveal discordances, making audible the contradictions characterizing the modernization process in the postcolonial city, transforming the cities into contested spaces where individuals had liminal experiences of space and place that shaped diverse urban soundscapes. Thus, the Colombian cities constitute a case study that presents the urban soundscapes as equally shaped by the multiple sounds that “should be listened to” and the myriad of sounds that “should be ignored and silenced.”

APPENDIX A

ARCHIVES CONSULTED

The following table presents a concise list of the Colombian archives and collections I consulted during the ten months of fieldwork; where it is located; when I visited each archive; and a summary of the primary sources it contains.

Table 12. *List of Colombian archives and primary sources.*

Archive	City	Year(s)	Periodicals and other primary sources
Colección Antonio J. Marique	Armenia	2017	<i>The Voice of the Victor</i> (Latin American Edition), player piano paper rolls, records.
Archivo General de la Nación	Bogotá	2015, 2016, and 2017	Customs reports, Census, letters to the major of Bogotá, police codes, <i>Diario Oficial</i> , Village Plan of Medellín attributed to José María Giraldo, Leyes de los Estados Unidos de Colombia Expedidas en el Año de 1882
Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango (Sección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos)	Bogotá	2015 and 2016	Player-piano paper rolls, Honorio Alarcon's Album, Memoria Histórica del Fundador y Director de la Academia Nacional de Música Desde su Fundación Hasta Diciembre de 1887

Table 12 (continued)

Museo Nacional de Colombia	Bogotá	2016	Watercolors by Y. Aliriventz and Auguste Le Moyne, and Interior Santafereno by Ramón Torres Méndez
Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia (Centro de Documentación Musical and Publicaciones Periódicas)	Bogotá	2015, 2016, and 2017	<i>El Gráfico, El Artista, El Bateo, Cromos, Mundo al Día, El Heraldo, El Tiempo, Revista del Conservatorio, El Libro Azul de Colombia, Informe del Ministro de Guerra al Congreso de la República de 1898.</i>
Biblioteca del Banco de la República, Sede Cali	Cali	2015 and 2017	<i>El Ferrocarril, El Relator, El Correo del Cauca.</i>
Biblioteca Universidad del Valle	Cali	2015	<i>El Correo del Cauca, El Correo del Valle.</i>
Archivo Fílmico y Cinematográfico del Valle	Cali	2015 and 2017	Pictures of Cali and Surrounding areas
Biblioteca del Banco de la República, Sede Cartagena	Cartagena de Indias	2016	<i>El Porvenir, Semanario de la Provincia de Cartagena.</i>
Archivo Histórico de Cartagena	Cartagena de Indias	2016	<i>El Porvenir, El Mercurio.</i>
Colección Rizo Pombo	Cartagena de Indias	2016	Records, newspaper Clippings.
Colección Hernán Alberto Cabarcas	Cartagena de Indias	2016	Maruja de León's Album.
Sala de Patrimonio, Biblioteca Luis Echavarría Villegas, Universidad Eafit	Medellín	2015, 2016, and 2017	<i>El Bateo, La Lira Antioqueña, El Montañés, La Miscelánea, La Voz de Antioquia, Revista Musical, La Miscelánea, Echeverría's binder's volumen, Libro Mayor de Contabilidad de Ricardo Botero, Manual de Urbanidad y Buenas Maneras: Para Uso de la Juventud de Ambos sexos, Tratado Teórico Elemental para la Enseñanza de los Instrumentos de Cobre.</i>

Table 12 (continued)

Biblioteca Pública Piloto (Sala Antioquia and Archivo de Imágenes)	Medellín	2015, 2016 and 2017	<i>Cómo Obtener el Mayor Provecho Posible de su Victrola, La Organización, Pictures by Melitón Rodríguez and Gabriel Carvajal, Directorio de Medellín en 1909, Player-piano paper rolls.</i>
Fundación Universitaria Bellas Artes	Medellín	2015	<i>Progreso</i>
Colección Sergio Quiróz	Medellín	2015	Records by the Victor Talking Machine Co. and Columbia Records.
Archivo Histórico de Antioquia	Medellín	2015 and 2016	<i>Gaceta Departamental</i>
Archivo Histórico de Medellín	Medellín	2015 and 2016	Correspondence and oficial publications by the Council of Medellín and Medellín Municipality.
Colección Carlos A. Echeverri-Arias	Medellín	2015 and 2016	<i>El Bateo, The Voice of the Victor</i> (Latin American Edition, and records
Colección Musicológica Sebastián Mejía	Medellín	2015 and 2016	<i>Revista Sábado, Teoría de la Música de Vicente Vargas de la Rosa, Julia Bravo's binder's volumen.</i>
Biblioteca Universidad de Antioquia (Sala Antioquia)	Medellín	2016 and 2017	<i>El Bateo, El Cascabel, Revista Musical.</i>
Archivo Histórico del Cauca	Popayán	2015	<i>El Correo del Cauca, Ideas Sobre las Instituciones Militares para Colombia en su Nueva Organización</i>

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