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Antagonism, Europhilia, and Identity: Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Politics of National Music in Early Twentieth-Century Colombia

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Antagonism, Europhilia, and Identity: Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Politics of  
National Music in Early Twentieth-Century Colombia

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Daniel Fernando Castro Pantoja

September 2018

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Leonora Saavedra, Chairperson

Dr. Walter Clark

Dr. Jonathan Ritter

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The Dissertation of Daniel Fernando Castro Pantoja is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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*Para mi madre y amiga, Nancy Pantoja Cifuentes.*

*Para Luz Mery Loaiza (1948–2016), el mundo va a extrañar tu arte, tu luz brillante, y tu ser irreverente.*

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Antagonism, Europhilia, and Identity: Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Politics of National Music in Early Twentieth-Century Colombia

by

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University of California, Riverside, September 2018  
Dr. Leonora Saavedra, Chairperson

Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880–1971), a student of Vincent d'Indy and founder of the Colombian National Music Conservatory, occupies an ambivalent place in Colombian music history. Many of his contemporaries regarded him as Colombia's foremost composer, while others accused him of being an anti-nationalist, an elitist polemicist, and a Europhile. Most recently, Uribe Holguín has also emerged as the embodiment of coloniality: a cultural actor who stifled the development of local, subaltern musical practices by imposing a European-based educational model.

This dissertation examines Uribe Holguín's polemic persona as a site of antagonism from which national narratives were, and continue to be, crafted in opposition to a Europeanizing elite. I pursue this by studying the symbolic construction of an enemy, whose presence in national narratives haunts the process of identity formation itself, preventing identity from being ever fully constituted within any social space. Uribe Holguín's putative

anti-nationalism thus presents itself as a locus for the analysis of nation-building strategies in a postcolonial place like Colombia. I contend that Uribe Holguín's figure in Colombian historiography operates as a reinscription of what I call a *discourse of permanent national prolepsis*; that is, a discourse that permanently places forward in time the moment in which the nation will finally constitute itself. I suggest that we can trace this temporal discourse as a particular ontology of *Colombianidad* ("Colombianness"), which has been dispersed across multiple cultural practices, including music. Throughout this dissertation, I point to the elision between this ontological register of Colombianidad and an epistemological register in which such processes of identity formation have been historicized into musical epistemologies that conceive of art music as distinct from folkloric and popular musics. In this light, I also examine: (1) how Uribe Holguín himself responded to the historicization of his figure as an anti-nationalist foreignizer through his music and literary work; (2) the role of bi-partisan politics in national identity formation processes in early twentieth-century Colombia; and (3) the convergence of Europhilia and orientalism in the construction of an indigenous imaginary by non-indigenous, *mestizo* (racially-mixed) intellectuals.

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## INTRODUCTION

Lunita consentida colgada del cielo  
como un farolito que puso mi Dios,  
para que alumbrara las noches calladas  
de este pueblo viejo de mi corazón.

Pueblito de mis cuitas, de casas pequeñas,  
por tus calles tranquilas corrió mi juventud;  
por ti aprendí a querer por la primera vez  
y nunca me enseñaste lo que es la ingratitud.

Hoy que vuelvo a tus lares trayendo mis cantares  
y con el alma enferma de tanto padecer  
quiero pueblito viejo morirme aquí, en tu suelo,  
bajo la luz del cielo que un día me vió nacer.

(Darling little moon hanging from the sky  
like a little lamp that my God put up there,  
to light the silent nights  
of this old town of my heart.

Little town of my sorrows, of tiny houses,  
through your calm streets my youth ran;  
for you I learned to love for the first time  
and you never taught me what ingratitude was.

Today, I return to you bringing my songs  
and my sick soul from suffering so much  
I want little town to die here, on your soil,  
under the light of the sky that once saw me be born.)

—José A. Morales, “Pueblito Viejo”

Throughout my childhood, my father—a middle-class *Bogotano*,<sup>1</sup> amateur singer,  
electronic engineer, and avid consumer of “*música colombiana*”<sup>2</sup>—had me sing along to

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<sup>1</sup> Denonym that denotes a man born in Bogotá, Colombia (Colombia’s capital city).

<sup>2</sup> The term *música colombiana* (“Colombian Music”), as Egberto Bermúdez explains, refers to a canon of Colombian repertoire comprised mostly of local Andean rhythms (although at times including “foreign” styles like the fox-trot or the bolero) such as *bambucos*, *pasillos*, and *danzas*, and which was popularized by the

“Pueblito Viejo,” a waltz written by the composer and *tiplista*<sup>3</sup> José A. Morales (1910–1978) and popularized in the mid-1950s by the Colombian duo Garzón y Collazos.<sup>4</sup> Through “Pueblito Viejo,” my father instilled in me a particular sense of nationhood: an affective bond that, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will refer to as *Colombianidad* (“Colombianness”).<sup>5</sup> “Pueblito Viejo” constitutes one of my earliest exposures to the workings of the powerful intersection between music and nationhood. Ever since, whenever I listen to or sing the bucolic-inspired lines of this tune, in which Morales interweaves the idea of an old provincial town with that of the nation, a strong sensation of national belonging overcomes my own awareness of the ideological underpinnings of music nationalism in Colombia—the subject of this dissertation. Indeed, affect and habit<sup>6</sup>

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radio and phonographic industries well into the 1950s. However, this term is generally understood to exclude musics that hail from non-Andean regions, such as *porros*, *gaitas*, *merengues*, and *cumbias*, among others. See Egberto Bermúdez, “From Colombian ‘National’ Song to ‘Colombian Song’: 1860-1960,” *Lied Und Populäre Kultur / Song and Popular Culture* 53 (2008): 167–261.

<sup>3</sup> A *tiplista* is a musician who plays the tiple, a four-course metal string guitar made popular in the Colombian Andes and a symbol of Colombian identity. See Egberto Bermúdez, *Los instrumentos musicales en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1985), 92; David Puerta Zuluaga, *Los caminos del tiple* (Bogotá: Ed. AMP Damel, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> For more information on “Pueblito Viejo” see Bermúdez, 251.

<sup>5</sup> Following Santiago Castro-Gómez and Eduardo Restrepo, who use a Foucauldian framework, I understand *Colombianidad* here as a set of dispositifs that are historically located and heterogeneous, and which state elites to normalize and unify the already heterogeneous population as “national,” and by extension, as “Colombian.” However, as Castro-Gómez and Restrepo suggest, these dispositifs were not simply accepted but were simultaneously contended and modified by its diverse inhabitants, forming a number of internal differences and identities. These internal differences and identities, the authors suggest, should be understood as particular political units, identities, and differences that result from the shape that the interplay between a global modernity and coloniality took in Colombia. Santiago Castro-Gómez and Eduardo Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad: formaciones discursivas y tecnologías de gobierno en los siglos XIX y XX* (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2008), 11–36; For a study on Foucault’s dispositif, see Matti Peltonen, “From Discourse to ‘Dispositif’: Michel Foucault’s Two Histories,” *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 30, no. 2 (2004): 205–19.

<sup>6</sup> Here I am alluding to Brian Massumi’s work on the politics of affect. Massumi calls for a study of the political dimensions of the well-known proto-political Spinozian formula that defines affect as the capacity of bodies “to affect and to be affected.” This leads Massumi to assert the following about affect’s role in ideological analysis: “The reigning rationality must be transmitted, but occulted, hidden, distorted. To do this, it must pass through another medium: it must be translated onto an affective register... This is most efficiently done by weaving ways of feeling and acting that are in consonance with the power structure of society into the habitual fabric of everyday life, where they are working unexamined. Ideology works best

appear to outdo consent<sup>7</sup>—what Jon Beasley-Murray calls a *post-hegemonic* scenario—complementing and, at times, exceeding the work done by ideology in securing a social order.<sup>8</sup> Put differently, this opening vignette serves as a testament to the power of nationalism, which, to echo Benedict Anderson, emerges as a particular historical and cultural artefact of “emotional legitimacy.”<sup>9</sup>

However, in this dissertation, I do not focus on José A. Morales, nor on Garzón y Collazos, nor on the myriad Andean Colombian composers and performers who fall under the umbrella term of “música colombiana”<sup>10</sup> Rather, the center of this dissertation is composer, conductor, educator, violinist, and fervent polemicist Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880–1971). Uribe Holguín is a figure that appears in Colombian music research as an antithesis to Colombian national sentiment, or as an irredeemable foreignizer who stood in

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when its structure of ideas is lived—acted out in the everyday, without being thought out (as in Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’).” Brian Massumi, *Politics of Affect* (Cambridge: Polity, 2016), 86.

<sup>7</sup> Ideology and consent are key elements in what the Antonio Gramsci in his famous prison notebooks calls hegemony, a notion that denotes the ways in which the state maintains its dominance. Gramsci posited that the state maintains its power by winning the consent of the social and economic elites through ideology. Whenever the state fails to win consent, Gramsci observed, it tends to resort to coercion. See Antonio Gramsci, *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 189–221.

<sup>8</sup> See Jon Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London; New York: Verso, 2006), 4. Moreover, following Brian Massumi’s contention that “emotion is the most intense expression of [affective] capture,” Beasley-Murray argues that this capture, this fixation of affective representation founds sovereignty. In other words, if nationalism is a particular ideology of emotional legitimacy, said emotion is a result of exploitation of affect as a way of conjuring state power through its capture as “life potential.” Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony*, 128–29.

<sup>10</sup> For a comprehensive study of Colombian song Oscar Hernández Salgar, *Los mitos de la música nacional: poder y emoción en las músicas populares colombianas 1930-1960* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2014); Carolina Santamaría-Delgado, “Tango’s Reterritorialization in Medellín: Gardel’s Myth and the Construction of a ‘Tanguero’ Local Identity,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92, *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 92, No. 3/4, Latin American Music (Fall - Winter, 2009), pp. 177-209. Bermúdez, “From Colombian ‘National’ Song to ‘Colombian Song’: 1860-1960.”

the way of national music development.<sup>11</sup> In more recent accounts, furthermore, he has emerged as the embodiment of internal colonization, despite—or perhaps because of—his involvement in the institutional development of music education in Colombia.

Uribe Holguín’s antagonistic persona in narratives of early-twentieth century Colombian music will serve as a guiding point throughout this dissertation to examine the formation of national identity through music in a postcolonial place such as Colombia. Hence, I rely on a single formulation that I draw from the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe: namely, that group identity is predicated upon the antagonizing of an element into an enemy (understood here *not* as an identifiable and concrete enemy but as a symbolic adversary, a product of the constant negotiation between the Self and the Other), whose absence comes back to haunt the process of identity formation itself.<sup>12</sup> This ultimately prevents such an identity from being ever fully fixed or fully constituted within any social space. Paradoxically, however, the haunting and return of this exclusion (or rather, the “presence” of its absence and/or the act of its negation) allows for productive and/or dynamic rearticulations of such identity to continuously take place: a process that speaks to how that which we call identity is none other than the play of differential units (i.e., identity

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<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, like many of the conservative upper-class subjects of the time, Uribe Holguín was a devoted Catholic and self-declared patriot.

<sup>12</sup> For consistency purposes, I will be using the term “element” in the same way as Laclau and Mouffe use it to denote a difference that is not discursively articulated. Laclau and Mouffe employ this term to understand other terms such as articulation and discourse, which they define as follows: “*articulation* [is] any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse*.” Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London; New York: Verso, 2014), 91.

is relational) and not the representation or expression of an a priori essence, nor an essence itself.<sup>13</sup>

By adopting Laclau and Mouffe's notion of *antagonism* (discussed in chapter 1) as a category of analysis, I study how the narrative of national identity formation during the early twentieth century in Colombian music historiography depends upon a reductive account (because it responds to a dichotomization of the social space) of the confrontation of a particular group identity (Colombian popular, folkloric, and traditional musicians) against a social enemy (Uribe Holguín). It is for this reason, as I will show in the pages to follow, that the rearticulation of the antagonistic relation in Colombian historiography between Colombian identity and Uribe Holguín has maintained his figure in the fringes of the nation's musical script as an inescapable yet inaudible presence in Colombian aurality.<sup>14</sup>

In this dissertation, I thus posit that Uribe Holguín's antagonistic figure in Colombian music historiography operates as a re-inscription of what I am calling here a

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<sup>13</sup> On Laclau and Mouffe's category of antagonism, see Laclau and Mouffe, 79–131; Ricardo Camargo, "Rethinking the Political: A Genealogy of the 'Antagonism' in Carl Schmitt through the Lens of Laclau-Mouffe-Žižek," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 13, no. 1 (2013): 161–88; Matthias Fritsch, "Antagonism and Democratic Citizenship (Schmitt, Mouffe, Derrida)," *Research in Phenomenology* 38, no. 2 (2008): 174–97; Tony Fisher and Eve Katsouraki, eds., *Performing Antagonism: Theatre, Performance & Radical Democracy*, Performance Philosophy (London: Springer Science and Business Media : Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Massimo Modonesi, *Subalternity, Antagonism, Autonomy: Constructing the Political Subject*, Reading Gramsci (London: Pluto Press, 2014), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucr/Doc?id=10804927>; Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*, 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Uribe Holguín's presence in Colombian listening and performance practices has been almost imperceptible due largely in part to his unpopularity. To say the least, his work was and is largely unknown to both international and national audiences. However, I understand aurality here, following the work of Ana María Ochoa-Gautier on the constitution of a sonic modernity in nineteenth-century Colombia, as an excess of the acoustic that is dispersed across several sites of inscription and multiple textualities, including the literary, the disciplinary, and the ethnographic. In this sense, the traces of Uribe Holguín's putative anti-nationalism in national music have been indexed into other audible forms such as popular music, folkloric music, traditional music, whether such forms continue to be defined against or contaminated by his aesthetic philosophy. On the concept of aurality in the Colombian context see Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: listening and knowledge in nineteenth-century Colombia*, 2014.

discourse of *permanent national prolepsis*, a discourse that—just as in Zenon’s paradox, where Achilles is never able to catch the tortoise who is ahead of him—permanently places forward in time the moment in which a nation will be able to fully constitute itself.<sup>15</sup> Ana María Ochoa Gautier sees this discourse of permanent postponement of a “proper” expression of the nation as a foundational political void of the Colombian nation, created in part by the constant threat and reality of civil war during the late nineteenth-century.<sup>16</sup> Violence and internal war (between political elites, classes, races, and regions) in Colombia have resulted in a weak state, in feeble attempts at modernization, and in failed attempts at developing a dynamic national capital, all of which have inhibited national formation.<sup>17</sup> However, it is not my intention to question whether in Latin America (with the exception perhaps of Mexico and Brazil) nation-building has been a failed project or not.<sup>18</sup> Rather, I

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<sup>15</sup> See Nick Huggett, “Zeno’s Paradoxes,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2017 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/paradox-zeno/>.

<sup>16</sup> For a study on how this discourse appears in studies of popular song in Colombia during the late nineteenth century, see Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 88–91.

<sup>17</sup> Miguel Angel Centeno, for example, argues that in the absence of large, international wars, Latin American countries have lacked the identification of a clear and identifiable external enemy against which to mold their identity. The institutional capacity of the Latin American states to fight external wars was thus limited, and has resulted in weak states. This leads Centeno to conclude that to understand, “the forms of political legitimacy that developed in Latin America [one has] to keep in mind the fundamental misfit between formal organizational power (as expressed in the state) and the underlying social forms of authority that commanded more immediate loyalty.” Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2002), 171; See, “Making the Nation” in Centeno, 167–216; On wars and nationalism, see Andreas Wimmer, *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Much of the literature on nationalism has focused on the emergence of nationalism as tied to processes of industrialization, modernization, and print capitalism. In his most recent book, Andreas Wimmer argues that the success of nation-building depends on: (1) the ability of political elites to reach across regional and ethnic divides, building alliances that foster nation building and political integration; (2) how these elites institutionalize such alliances (i.e., patronage systems vs voluntary organizations); (3) the capacity of the state to provide public goods across all regions of a country; and (4) how actors communicate with each other when negotiating political alliances (e.g., through a shared language). Furthermore, Wimmer observes that successful nation-building is tied to the legacy of state power built before the emergence of national configurations. In this sense, state centralization and efficient bureaucratic infrastructure (i.e., an

am interested in framing national postponement as a particular ontology of Colombianidad, dispersed across multiple cultural practices that are inherently political, including literature, the visual arts, and music. Uribe Holguín, in this sense, stands in music historiographical narratives as a subject whose presence has been key in formulating a prolepsis of the nation that “is always yet to make its appearance, an impossibility (violent) futurity of the past.”<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, I also employ Laclau and Mouffe’s framework to analyze Uribe Holguín’s cultural production. I interpret his work, both musical and literary, by looking at the ways he responded to (and also contributed towards the creation of) his antagonistic persona in Colombian music historiography. This is possible because in early twentieth-century Colombia, the consolidation of music criticism and music historiography as institutionalized practices occurred around the same time, informing each other, and at times making it difficult to discern them as separate practices. Uribe Holguín was then answering not only to local music criticism, but to the way his life and work was beginning to be historicized. This led him to write and publish his own autobiography in 1941 as well as to narrate his alienation from Colombia’s social milieu in works like his symphonic poem *Coriolano* Op. 97 (1955), which he based on the story of the Roman General, Coriolanus, who was exiled by his own compatriots.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, because Uribe Holguín’s career was

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infrastructure that facilitates public goods across regions) play a big part in national formation. The emergence of civil war, in this view, is a symptom of the failure of nation-building and not the cause. See Andreas Wimmer, *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together While Others Fall Apart*, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 90.

<sup>20</sup> For an analysis of Uribe Holguín’s *Coriolano*, see Camilo Vaughan, “Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971)” (Universidad Nacional de Colombia - Sede Bogotá, 2015), 62–75, <http://www.bdigital.unal.edu.co/51147/>.

not confined to national borders (he studied in France and had close ties to both the Pan-Americanism and *Americanismo musical* movements of the first half of the twentieth century), I also analyze the ways his artistic output responded to other antagonistic relations (defined below), especially ones located in the tension music particularism and music universalism (see chapter 2), between cosmopolitanism and cultural nationalism (see chapter 3), and *Indigenismo* and Europhilia (chapters 5 and 6). In investigating these antagonistic relations, I will mainly deal with two registers:

- 1) A hermeneutical (and ultimately, an ontological) register that details how subjects from the global cultural periphery such as Uribe Holguín used music—that is, as a symbolic object defined a priori—as a means of identity formation and identification.<sup>21</sup>
- 2) A historiographical register that sheds light on the elision between an ontological process such as the formation of national identity through antagonistic practices and the ways such processes of identity formation have been historicized into musical epistemologies that inform analyses of music in

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<sup>21</sup> I understand musical hermeneutics, following Lawrence Kramer, as a practice that is directly connected to musical meaning. Kramer writes: “if musical devices are really bearers of meaning, then every aspect of music is potentially available for interpretation. Meaning diffuses itself throughout its conveyances. Although no musical detail is bound to become hermeneutically active—any individual interpretation is both selective and certain to encounter, indeed to produce, things that remain opaque to it—no detail is exempt from the possibility. On the second point, if cultural or other mediations really link musical and verbal forms (among others), then music is not subordinated to the verbal just because the interpreter must perform use words. Meaning belongs to the potential for mediation itself, that is, to communicative or expressive processes that can be realized in more than one medium. It makes no difference whether the starting point is ‘inside’ or ‘outside’ music; the interpretation does not locate meaning as a recoverable substance within the work, musical or otherwise, but as an activity or disposition within a cultural field.” On the topic of hermeneutics and music history, see Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 11–28.



Latin America (e.g., art music vs folkloric/popular music; local musics vs. foreign musics; cosmopolitan vs. vernacular musics).

My interest in studying Uribe Holguín's antagonistic role in Colombian historiography is indebted in part to the work of Ana María Ochoa Gautier, particularly her recent account of the epistemologies and ontologies of the acoustic in nineteenth-century Colombian philological and musicological practices. By studying how the acoustic is dispersed into the written, Ochoa Gautier puts into question the notion of the *lettered elite*, a prevalent concept in Latin American critiques of modernity, first articulated by Ángel Rama in his book *The Lettered City*. Rama's main contention revolves around the idea that it was the primacy of the written word in the racial and class formations of Latin American nation-states that assured the hegemony of the *criollo* elites in such nation-states.<sup>22</sup> Ochoa Gautier argues that such a critique, however, reproduces a modern temporality that she labels, following Julio Ramos, a "fonocentrism of the subaltern," one that "highlights the oral/aural bodily knowledge as a particular knowledge of the subaltern opposed to the ocularcentrism of the elite."<sup>23</sup> This re-inscription of alterity, furthermore, brings about a type of Cartesian dichotomy that maps the body onto the subaltern and the mind onto the elite.<sup>24</sup> As Ochoa Gautier writes: "In the name of recognizing the other, [this fonocentrism]

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<sup>22</sup> Criollos were the descendants of the American-born Spaniards, who led the independence movements of the early nineteenth-century.

<sup>23</sup> Ochoa Gautier explains that such fonocentrism takes two forms: "[1] a celebration of the acoustic that limits the expression of sonic difference to the body and the voice, and [2] a difficulty of recognizing a dense history of the sonorous and audiovisual as a field that has generated multiple modes of action, thought, and, critical theorization, except when it is posited as a contrasting othering." Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 17.

<sup>24</sup> I understand subalternity here as the name given not only to marginalized collectives and/or individual subjectivities, but following both Gayatri Spivak and Gareth Williams, as also a "site within any social field (be it regional, national, or postnational) at which the very relation between hegemony and hegemony's exclusions—its constitutive outsides, in other words—interrupts the natural(ized) logics and representations that underlie hegemony's ability to reproduce itself in institutional and epistemological

ends up historically using the same method the moderns created to incorporate alterity into its guise, and in the name of decolonizing, it actually recolonizes.”<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, in this dissertation I draw upon the theoretical work of musicologist Leonora Saavedra, who has argued that “nationalist art is defined not as that which expresses the national essence, but rather as that which effectively contributes to create the nation. Its style or its relationship, real or not, to folklore or to ‘the people’ is irrelevant.”<sup>26</sup> This dissertation, it is my hope, will provide a better understanding of the workings of music nationalism during the early twentieth century in a postcolonial place like Colombia. Most importantly, it will show how nationalism, even in decolonial frameworks and transnational

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terms... [Subalternity] constitutes the possibility of, and yet promises to destabilize, hegemony’s often neocolonial expansion of its universalizing logics.” On subalternity and Latin America, see Gareth Williams, *The Other Side of the Popular: Neoliberalism and Subalternity in Latin America* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2002), 11.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid; For instance, because Uribe Holguín’s presence—especially when he is seen as a subject responsible for excluding subaltern practices from the national conservatory and thus accountable for a precarious, weak, and non-inclusive national identity—continues to haunt, contaminate, and disrupt the idea of a unified identity, the antagonism that is constitutive of said national identity fuels yet another recurrent trope in larger Colombian historiographical practices: that of national fragmentation. In other words, because antagonism is understood as national fragmentation, and, *mutatis mutandis*, as a symptom of underdevelopment or as a step to overcome in order to achieve full inclusivity of subaltern or excluded groups and practices, the nation-state continues to show itself as *the* path for attaining popular sovereignty and legitimacy within a global context. The idea of a disintegrated nation shows up in many historical texts that attempt to reconstruct a history of the Colombian nation-state. See for instance Frank Safford, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society / Palacios, Marco.*, Latin American Histories; Variation: Latin American Histories. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); David Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993).

<sup>26</sup> Leonora Saavedra, “El nuevo pasado mexicano: estrategias de representación en Atzimba de Ricardo Castro,” *Resonancias Resonancias: Revista de investigación musical* 18, no. 35 (2014): 79. Saavedra’s work builds on the scholarship of social scientists such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Anthony D. Smith, and Miroslav Hroch. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism / Brevilly, John.*; 1946-, *New Perspectives on the Past*; Cornell Paperbacks; Variation: *New Perspectives on the Past* (Basil Blackwell Publisher); Cornell Paperbacks. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2 edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Reissue edition (Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Anthony D Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford [u.a.: Oxford University Press, 2009); Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000).

and postnational spheres, continues to haunt us today despite constant prognoses that herald the nation-state's weakening and its inevitable demise.<sup>27</sup>

Below, I provide a short biographical narrative of Uribe Holguín's life and artistic career, which considering his close relation to state-funded national institutions, I situate this narrative in the political history of the Colombian nation-state.

### **Guillermo Uribe Holguín: A Brief Biographical Sketch**

Born in 1880, Guillermo Uribe Holguín, a modernist composer with Conservative political leanings and a devout Catholic, is unavoidably the child of a period known in Colombian history as *La Regeneración*, an era that owes its name to the administration of long-serving President Rafael Núñez.<sup>28</sup> The term *La Regeneración* comes from Núñez's political program, which consisted of a radical reform of the policies of the Federalist Colombian Constitution of 1863, and whose restructuring Núñez encapsulated in the motto: "Regeneration or Catastrophe!"<sup>29</sup> Along with the Núñez administration, the

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<sup>27</sup>Arjun Appadurai perhaps most famously posited a definite weakening of the nation-state. See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 1 edition (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

<sup>28</sup>As his record of baptism shows, a few months after Uribe Holguín's birth in the city of Bogotá, his parents, Mercedes Holguín and Tomás Guillermo Uribe, gave him the name of José Guillermo Lázaro Uribe Holguín. Uribe Holguín was the fifth out of six children (Beatriz, Miguel, Elvira, Dominga, Guillermo, and Enrique) from Mercedes's second marriage. Personal communication with Camilo Vaughan, great-grandson of Guillermo Uribe Holguín and Lucía Vaughan Uribe, granddaughter of Guillermo Uribe Holguín; Matilde Jurado, mother of Camilo Vaughan, seems to recall that Mercedes Holguín had been married before to a doctor, though I have not been able to confirm this fact. Uribe Holguín's baptism record can be located at the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín housed in the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias, located in Bogotá, Colombia. In the baptism record, it is indicated that he was born on March 7<sup>th</sup> and not March 17. However, Uribe Holguín would often use the latter date, which I take as the correct date for his birth; For a genealogy of Uribe Holguín's family compiled by the historian José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, see folder MSS 734, Sala de Libros Raros y Manuscritos, Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango (Bogotá, Colombia).

<sup>29</sup>Núñez's motto derives from his 1878 political campaign, where he uttered the words: "Regeneración administrativa fundamental o catástrofe" ("Fundamental administrative regeneration or catastrophe").

ascendancy of the radical-federal-secular Liberalism of the mid-to-late nineteenth century came to a screeching halt, giving way to a centralist, Catholic, and Conservative-led state configuration.<sup>30</sup> As a result of Núñez's reforms, especially his push for state centralization, enduring symbols of the nation began to be adopted in Colombia such as the coat of arms, the national anthem (whose verses were written by none other than Núñez himself), and the Constitution of 1886, which remained in effect up to 1991.<sup>31</sup>

It is during this period when we begin to observe a nascent nationalist movement brought about by state centralization as well as modest infrastructural changes.<sup>32</sup> Such an infrastructural transformation allowed the members of the Colombian nation to disseminate symbolic content as well as to begin to imagine themselves as belonging to the same community.<sup>33</sup> It is also during La Regeneración, when the Colombian state started to become invested in collecting and constructing a comprehensive representation of the nation's cultural and ethnic groups, including indigenous and afro-descendant groups.<sup>34</sup> David Bushnell notes, however, that these material changes and representational practices

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While Núñez was elected four times as President, because of his precarious health conditions, he did not govern much of his third term nor his fourth term. Carlos Holguín Mallarino ruled as president from 1888 to 1892, replacing Núñez. See "The Regeneration and Its Aftermath: A Positivist-Conservative Reaction (1885–1904)" in Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 101–40.

<sup>30</sup> For a study on the failure of the *Regeneración* as a political project due to the extreme heterogeneity of the Colombian nation, see María del Pilar Melgarejo Acosta, in "Trazando las huellas del lenguaje político de La Regeneración: la nación colombiana y el problema de su heterogeneidad excepcional," in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad*, 278–307.

<sup>31</sup> Safford, *Colombia*, 239.

<sup>32</sup> These changes included the completion of the first railroad into Bogotá (although only a mere 40 kilometers long), the creation of the first official National Bank as well as the appearance of other minor innovations such as Bogotá's first telephones and electric lighting. Furthermore, as Andreas Wimmer argues, nationalism—as a principle of political legitimization of the nation-state—arises in part as an effect of increasing state centralization and military mobilization. Wimmer, *Waves of War*, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>34</sup> This is particularly evident in the institutional practices of the Museo Nacional. See Amada Carolina Pérez Benavides, *Nosotros y los otros: las representaciones de la nación y sus habitantes, Colombia, 1880-1910*, 2015.

affected primarily the imagination of the wealthy inhabitants of urban areas in Colombia, leaving the majority of the population unmoved—a testament to the weakness of the Colombian state of the late nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> From this standpoint, nevertheless, as a member of the Conservative elite, one with close ties to the state, Uribe Holguín's relation to cultural nationalism (whether antagonistic or not) seems in retrospect inevitable.<sup>36</sup>

In his autobiography, Uribe Holguín recounts that he showed an affinity for music at a very young age. This motivated his mother Mercedes to hire a piano and a violin teacher to instruct him privately, which was a practice common among the members of the upper class in the nineteenth century and early-twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, the young Uribe Holguín was not a disciplined student. At age eleven, nevertheless, Uribe Holguín entered the Academia Nacional de Música, Colombia's first and only official musical

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<sup>35</sup> Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 147.

<sup>36</sup> His mother, for instance, who was originally from the South Western city of Santiago de Cali, was related to the Conservative politician Manuel María Mallarino—Vice President and active chief executive of the Republic of the New Granada (1855–1857)—who was her great uncle. The Republic of the New Granada (“República de la Nueva Granada”) was formed after the collapse of General Simón Bolívar's regime in 1830. As it is well-known, Bolívar led the independence movement against the Spanish. After gaining independence from Spain in 1819, Bolívar founded the Republic of Colombia (also known as the *Gran Colombia*; “The Great Colombia”) on the territory formerly known as the Viceroyalty of el Nuevo Reino de Granada, which included regions known now as Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama, and parts of Peru. Mallarino's nephews, Jorge Holguín Mallarino and Carlos Holguín Mallarino, also served as Presidents of Colombia. The latter was acting president from 1888 to 1892, replacing Núñez; and the former was designated as acting President on two separate occasions after his predecessors stepped down of their posts (June 1909–August 1909; 1921–1922). Similarly, Uribe Holguín's father, who was born in Bogotá, was a lawyer, businessperson, and a member of Congress elected through the Conservative party. For an account on the Republic of the New Granada, see “The Formation of New Granada as a Polity, 1831–1845” in Frank Safford, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society / Palacios, Marco.*, Latin American Histories (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 132–57.

<sup>37</sup> See Egberto Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá: 1538 - 1938 Buch Buch* (S.l.: Fundación de Música, 2000), 176–81.

institution at the time, which Jorge W. Price (1853–1953) founded in 1882 under the sponsorship of the Núñez administration.<sup>38</sup>

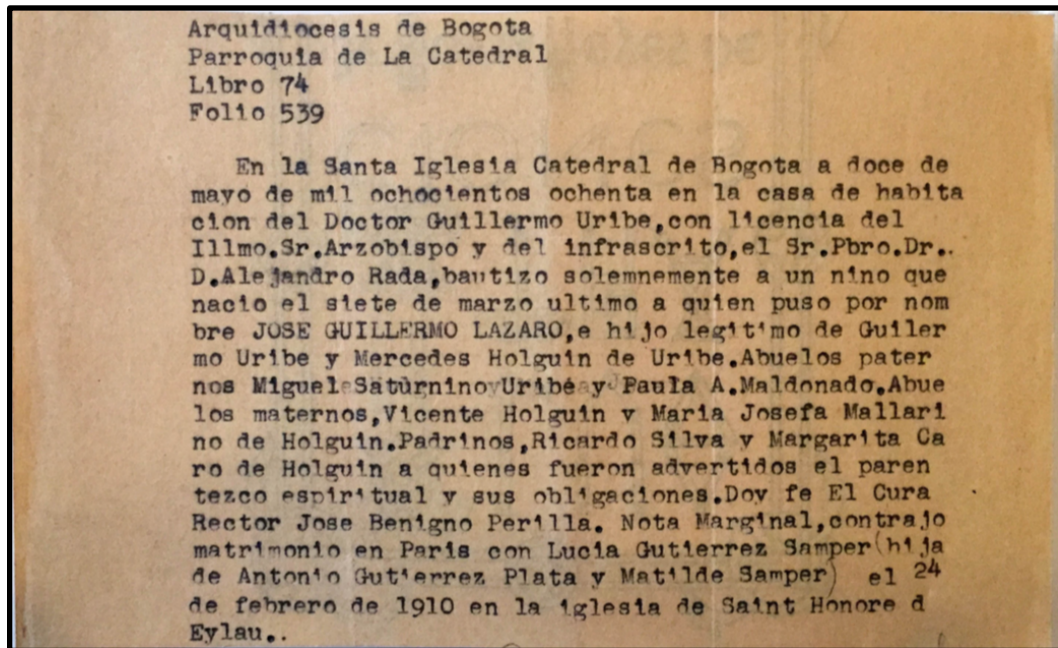


Figure A. 1. Uribe Holguín's Baptism Record. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

At the Academia Nacional, Uribe Holguín first studied under Santos Cifuentes (1870–1932), a middle-class composer and musicologist who had also pursued his music studies at that same institution. Cifuentes is known for first articulating the idea of *Americanismo Musical*, a pancontinental music alliance organized from the South (Santos wrote about it while residing in Argentina), and which German musicologist Francisco Curt Lange (1903–1997) later institutionalized.<sup>39</sup> Uribe Holguín was also a student of the opera

<sup>38</sup> Musicologist Ellie Anne Duque notes, however, that such sponsorship was rather feeble. For an account on the Academia Nacional de la Música, see Ellie Anne Duque in Bermúdez et al., 136–40.

<sup>39</sup> In 1910, Santos Cifuentes competed with Uribe Holguín for the position of director of the music conservatory. Uribe Holguín was selected to lead Colombia's prime musical institution, forcing Cifuentes to

composer Augusto Azzali (1853–1907), an Italian musician who had first arrived in Colombia in 1890 as part of the opera company Zenardo-Lambardi;<sup>40</sup> and of Ricardo Figueroa (dates unknown), a violinist from a recognized family of musicians in Bogotá, who taught Uribe Holguín to play the violin.<sup>41</sup>

Uribe Holguín’s ability on this instrument was such that at age fifteen, he was hired by the Academia Nacional as a substitute violin teacher due to a shortage of full-time teachers brought about by the series of armed rebellions by Liberals (1885 and 1895) against the Núñez administration.<sup>42</sup> During this time as well, although outside of the walls of the Academia Nacional, Uribe Holguín studied under composer and violinist Narciso Garay (1876–1953), a musician born in Panamá and musically educated in Cartagena and Paris. Garay settled in Bogotá in the 1890s, and then moved to Europe to further his studies at the Schola Cantorum and at the Brussels Conservatoire. He also studied with Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924) during this time. Following Panamá’s secession from Colombia in 1903, Garay then took up a position as Director of the Escuela Nacional de Música in Panamá.<sup>43</sup>

The separation of Panamá was a direct result of Núñez’s Conservative administration, triggered in part by an economic crisis and by the alienation of Liberal

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move to the city of Cartagena to open his own music institution, which was a franchise of another musical institution at the time, the Academia Beethoven. Cifuentes would then relocate to Buenos Aires, where his career was overshadowed by Argentine composers such as Alberto Williams and Julián Aguirre. See Egberto Bermúdez, “Santos Cifuentes (1870–1932): La Profesión Musical En Colombia En Las Dos Primeras Décadas Del Siglo XX,” ed. Rubén Sierra Mejía (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Facultad de Ciencias Humanas. Departamento de Filosofía., 2018), 203–55.

<sup>40</sup> Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá*, 94.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 171.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 139.

<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, in a letter, dated May 20, 1909, Garay tells Uribe Holguín that that he was unaware that both of them were in Paris in 1908. Garay, who, like Uribe Holguín went on to study at the Schola Cantorum, confesses to Uribe Holguín that he never completed his studies at the Schola since the Colombian government had ceased to finance his studies there because of Panama’s separation from

politicians, who felt left out by the Núñez government.<sup>44</sup> After almost two decades of Conservative rule, one of the deadliest civil wars in Colombian history known as the War of the Thousand Days (1899–1902) broke out.<sup>45</sup> This battle over the control of the state between Liberals and Conservatives, David Bushnell tells us, resulted in an estimated hundred thousand deaths (about 2.5 percent of all Colombians).<sup>46</sup>

The Liberal party lost the war, while the Conservative party maintained and extended its political control over the state for another thirty years: this is why the period from 1880 to 1930 is commonly referred to in Colombian political history as the *Hegemonía*

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Colombia. He asks Uribe Holguín to lend him his class notes taken at the Schola Cantorum so that he could complete Vincent d'Indy's compositional course on his own. Garay's letters to Uribe Holguín contain fascinating details about the European music educational model of the turn-of-the-twentieth century and how subjects from the cultural periphery such as Uribe Holguín and Garay experienced it. Similarly, in these letters we can clearly see how the independence of Panamá from Colombia (and with it US–Latin American relations) affected the lives and artistic careers of musicians during this time. Furthermore, because both composers were the heads of the prime musical institution in their respective countries, their correspondence evinces the institutional developments of both nations in a comparative way. As a matter of fact, they would often advise each other on financial matters and institutional strategies concerning the state of public music education in both countries and in Latin America at large. While it is not my intention to explore this here, Garay's letters to Uribe Holguín, as well as Uribe Holguín's class notes taken during d'Indy compositional course are housed in the Uribe Holguín collection (Archivo Uribe Holguín MSS 722), at the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia.

<sup>44</sup> Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 149.

<sup>45</sup> In regard to the civil war, in his autobiography, Uribe Holguín tells us that during this time after he completed his *Bachillerato* (High School), he enrolled in the School of Engineering, as his father, Don Guillermo, although not opposed to his son's inclination for the musical arts, did not approve of his becoming a professional musician. Ironically, he did not complete his engineering studies, as he was forced to retire due to health complications, as he recounts. After a period of rest, which included a trip to Valle del Cauca, Uribe Holguín started working as a cashier at the Banco de Colombia. Promptly, Uribe Holguín started displaying a growing entrepreneurial spirit, which would come to represent a material reality in his future endeavors, and therefore, an instrumental capacity that would prove fruitful in the construction of a national music scene a couple of decades later. This entrepreneurial spirit led to the consolidation of a business society with two friends, which set in motion a series of unfortunate events. He first relocated to Tunja, Boyacá, to venture into what proved to be a failed business attempt at building a cigar factory. Uribe Holguín then traveled to the distant lands of Santander, where he faced the hardships of the mountains, while escaping the dangers of the Thousand Days War. This venture proved somewhat successful, but ended miserably when he lost money at yet another unfruitful business enterprise in the Llanos de San Martín, in the region of Meta. I have, nonetheless, been unable to confirm any of these facts.

<sup>46</sup> Bushnell tell us that this statistic is repeated from one text to another, without anybody knowing where it came from. The total of deaths was probably too high, yet still significant. Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 151.



*Conservadora* (“Conservative Hegemony”). The instability of the Colombian nation-state during the War of the Thousand days also led to the loss of Panama and the Panama Canal in 1903, largely due to the intervention of the United States.<sup>47</sup> This event strengthened discourses of national unity. Bushnell writes:

In a longer view, however, the loss of Panama became one more step in the slow and painful emergence of a Colombian national identity. It made what was left of Colombia a little more homogenous, and it gave Colombians an external target that most of them, at least, could agree to react against. Above all, together with the War of Thousand Days that it so closely followed, it acted as a wholesome shock to the nation’s political class, demonstrating the need to rise above traditional partisanship and work together for a while on the unfinished business of nation building.<sup>48</sup>

During the War of the Thousand Days, the Academia Nacional closed. This would prove a felicitous opportunity for Uribe Holguín (although he had already resigned from his post at the Academia Nacional), who moved to New York City in 1903 in search of new horizons. Although he resided there for only a year, it is in New York City, as Uribe Holguín himself recounts, where he was first exposed to a “real” orchestra, having attended a performance of *Parsifal* as well as a concert by the Boston Symphony conducted by Richard Strauss.<sup>49</sup> In 1904, Uribe Holguín returned to Bogotá.<sup>50</sup>

After the end of the War of the Thousand Days, General Rafael Reyes—a military commander who fought on the side of the Conservatives during the civil wars of 1885 and

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<sup>47</sup> On the loss of Panama and the Thousand Days’ War, see Bushnell, 148–54.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>49</sup> I explore the significance of this trip in chapter 3. See Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*. (Bogotá: Librería Voluntad, s.a., 1941), 43–48.

<sup>50</sup> In his autobiography, Uribe Holguín writes that he made his way back to Bogotá from New York city via Mexico City, where he allegedly saw the celebration built around Porfirio Diaz’s inauguration of his last presidential term. Uribe Holguín expresses his admiration for the industrial progress of the Mexican capital. He then took a boat from Veracruz, to Habana, and back to the Colombian coast, from which he took a steam boat back to Bogotá across the Magdalena River. Uribe Holguín, 48.

1895—took office. Far from an all-encompassing Conservative rule, Reyes believed that Colombia's modernization (he was after all a key figure in Colombia's introduction to the locomotive age), would only materialize through interparty collaboration.<sup>51</sup> During this period, which began with Reyes's rule and lasted until 1930, Colombia enjoyed "the longest period of internal political stability of its independent history."<sup>52</sup> This period of peaceful bipartisan competition, also known in Colombian historiography as *Convivialismo* ("Conviviality"), was accompanied by the expansion of the coffee industry in Colombia, which set records in terms of economic growth.<sup>53</sup>

In June of 1907, Uribe Holguín moved to France, along with his sister and mother. His father had passed away two months before.<sup>54</sup> Once in Paris, Uribe Holguín was admitted to the Schola Cantorum, directed at the time by Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931). Given d'Indy's well-known ultra-conservatism and Catholic devotion, it is no surprise that Uribe Holguín would gravitate towards the Schola Cantorum and not the Paris Conservatoire, the Schola's rival school and a secular institution.<sup>55</sup> As the correspondence

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<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the Reyes administration is regarded as a "mild dictatorship," as Bushnell calls it, for Reyes started to execute his policies without Congress, especially after he convened a national assembly in 1905. This granted him executive powers to the extent that he was able to extend his presidential term from the normative six years to ten years. Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 158.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed account on Colombia's coffee industry during this time, see Safford, *Colombia*, 266–96; For a comprehensive economic history of the expansion of the coffee industry in Colombia see William Paul McGreevey, Luz Andrea Piñeros López, and Haroldo Calvo Stevenson, *Historia económica de Colombia, 1845-1930*, 2015, 239–390.

<sup>54</sup> We know Uribe Holguín got to Paris in June because in a letter dated June 28, 1907 to Pedrell, where Uribe Holguín mentions to Pedrell that he had just arrived there. The letter is written in the official paper of The American Hotel in Paris, where Uribe Holguín was staying with his family while they found a more permanent residence. See Uribe Holguín to Pedrell, June 28, 1907. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Secció de Música Correspondència del Fons Felip Pedrell.

<sup>55</sup> For a brilliant analysis of d'Indy reputation during the turn-of-the century Paris, see Jann Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the Problem of a Composer's Reputation," *19th-Century Music* 30, no. 3 (March 1, 2007): 230–56, <https://doi.org/10.1525/ncm.2007.30.3.230>.

between the Catalanian composer and musicologist Felip Pedrell and Uribe Holguín shows, it was Pedrell (a Catholic himself) who convinced Uribe Holguín to study at the Schola.<sup>56</sup> Pedrell even wrote a letter introducing Uribe Holguín to d'Indy himself which, as Uribe Holguín reported back, d'Indy received with enthusiasm.<sup>57</sup>

At the Schola Cantorum, Uribe Holguín was placed in the advanced violin level, taught by Armand Parent (1860–1934), and was assigned to d'Indy's composition class.

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<sup>56</sup> Uribe Holguín to Pedrell, October 9, 1907. Pedrell developed a liking for Uribe Holguín after Pedrell got a hold of an article that Uribe Holguín published in a Colombian journal in which he reviewed the score of Pedrell's opera *Los Pirineos* (See correspondence, Pedrell to Uribe Holguín, dated January 1907). Pedrell was so grateful and impressed by Uribe Holguín's analysis that he became quite invested in Uribe Holguín's career. Uribe Holguín had written about Pedrell's piece because, according to Uribe Holguín, "a certain pride of blood [had] moved [him] to write about the work of a Latino of race." ("Cierta orgullo de sangre me ha movido a escribir sobre la obra de un latino de raza.") Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Los Pirineos, de Felipe Pedrell," *Trofeos*, 1906, 111). In this article, Uribe Holguín appealed to the idea of *latinidad* or *latinité*, a geo-cultural idea constructed in opposition to Anglo-Saxon races during the nineteenth century, and which eventually gave its form to the idea of a Latin America at large. Uribe Holguín resorted to this supranational racial formation on multiple occasions as a strategy to promote his work and to gain access to circles that would otherwise be close to him, having been born in Latin America. Pedrell often talks about their shared *latinidad* in their correspondence. Uribe Holguín's article on Trofeos and Pedrell's letters to Uribe Holguín constitute some of the few explicit racial markers surrounding Uribe Holguín's figure. Besides references to being Latin American or Colombian, Uribe Holguín only identified as Latino. However, his works after the 1930s, especially his opera *Furatena* deal explicitly with *mestizaje* (a process of biological and cultural mixture predominant in Latin American state discourses from 1920s onwards), which I take in this dissertation to be a form of self-identification. Pedrell's letters to Uribe Holguín are kept in the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia (MSS 772, Carpeta No. 7 Folios 44-45. Uribe Holguín's letters to Pedrell are housed at the Biblioteca de Catalunya [Spain], Secció de Música Correspondència del Fons Felip Pedrell, M 964/1491; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Los Pirineos, de Felipe Pedrell," Pedrell's letters to Uribe Holguín are housed in the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia [MSS 772, Carpeta No. 7 Folios 44-45. Uribe Holguín's letters to Pedrell are kept at the Biblioteca de Catalunya [Spain], Secció de Música Correspondència del Fons Felip Pedrell, M 964/1491. The Revista Trofeos can be found at the Centro de Documentación Musical of the Biblioteca Nacional in Bogotá, Colombia. Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Los Pirineos, de Felipe Pedrell," 111; On the opposition between *Latinité* and the Saxon races and how it influenced Colombian intellectual and artistic thought during the first decades of the twentieth century, see Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Latinos y sajones: identidad nacional y periodismo en los años veinte*. (Colombia: Fundacion Universidad Central, Departamento de Investigaciones, 2009).

<sup>57</sup> In the correspondence between Uribe Holguín and d'Indy we can observe further how the idea of *latinité* helped Uribe Holguín navigate across national borders. As Leonora Saavedra argues, during the early-twentieth century, members of the French and Spanish aristocracy shared a linguistic and cultural affinity with the Latin American aristocracy such as Uribe Holguín who, like Pedrell and d'Indy, were active participants in the Parisian cultural life of the early twentieth century, and who ascribed to the idea of having French culture at the center of *latinité*. Furthermore, this division became more demarcated during World War I. For instance, in a letter written by Vincent d'Indy in 1916 to Holguín, d'Indy wrote the

With d'Indy, as was customary at the Schola, Uribe Holguín learned plainchant, counterpoint, composition, and a comprehensive history of music that stressed the Schola's educational philosophy, which upheld the notion of "art over skills."<sup>58</sup> Uribe Holguín opted for the *élève titulaire de composition*, a secondary diploma that could be obtained in a span of two to five years, as opposed to the composition diploma, which required six to nine years to complete. In a letter to Pedrell, Uribe Holguín writes that this decision resulted from a change in the policies of the Colombian state, which had begun to cut back on the financial aid of Colombian citizens studying abroad. Paradoxically, such financial restructuring came about during the administration of Uribe Holguín's uncle, Jorge Holguín.<sup>59</sup> As a result, Uribe Holguín finished his studies three years after being admitted to the institution,

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following: "This Germany that has done a lot evil to us, art included, will finally be crushed, and for me, I think that [their end] will be the dawn of a necessary artistic renaissance, because despite what people say, the Teutonic boot left a print on everything, the war will be something healthy, for it will set everything in its place, and our Latin genius, so beautiful and vivacious, and which kept the colossal German beast in the shadows for over 30 years, will remerge in its truth, with its best lights." ("Cette Germanie qui nous a fait tous au mal, art compris, va enfin être écrasé, et je pense, pour moi ce sera l'aurore d'une bonne renaissance artistique, car, il n'ya pas a dire, la botte teutonnie on ait son empreinte partout...La guerre aura été un chose très salutaire, con elle va remettre chaque chose en place, et notre génie latine, si beau et si vivace...va réapparaître...dans la bonne lumière.") D'Indy to Uribe Holguín, July 18, 1916. D'indy letters to Uribe Holguín are housed at the Archivo Uribe Holguín in the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia [MSS 772].

<sup>58</sup> Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the Problem of a Composer's Reputation," 246; For a detailed overview of the the Schola Cantorum's educational model, see Pasler, 245–56.

<sup>59</sup> Uribe Holguín to Pedrell, July 24, 1909. Biblioteca de Catalunya [Spain], Secció de Música Correspondència del Fons Felip Pedrell, M 964/1491.

while simultaneously studying in Brussels with the violinists César Thomson (1857–1931) and Émile Chaumont (1878-1942).<sup>60</sup>

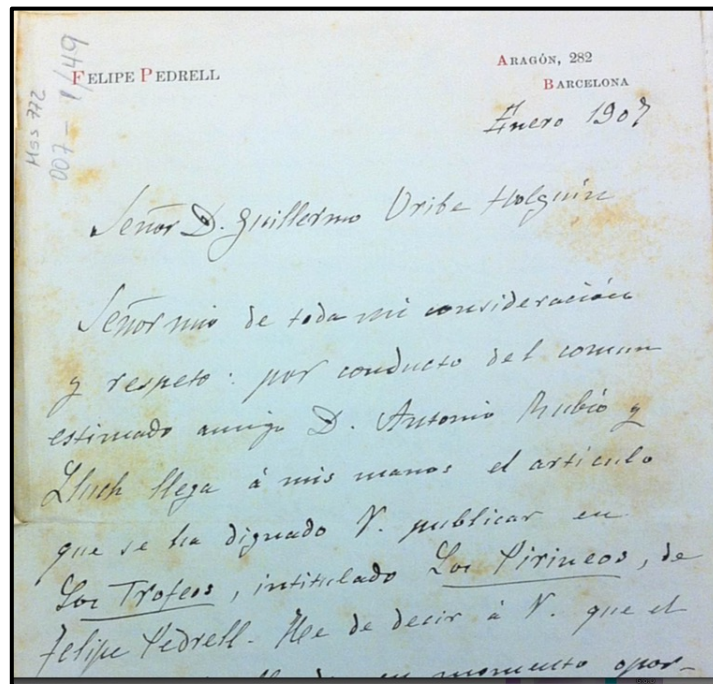


Figure A. 2 Letter from Felipe Pedrell to Uribe Holguín, January 1907. Pedrell thanks Uribe Holguín for reviewing his opera *Los Pirineos* (premiered in 1901).

During his stay in Paris, Uribe Holguín befriended composer Joaquín Turina (1882–1902), who was a fellow student at the Schola. After Uribe Holguín went back to Colombia in 1910, Turina took on the mantle of correspondent for the *Revista Bilbao*, replacing Uribe Holguín. Uribe Holguín had been reporting on the musical life of Paris correspondent for the *Revista Musical de Bilbao* (Spain), ever since Uribe Holguín wrote a

<sup>60</sup> The correspondence between Uribe Holguín and Thomson, Parent, and d'Indy, as well as other important musicians such as Blanche Selva, Emille Chaumont, Joaquín Turina, and Auguste Serieyx, all who resided in Paris at the time is housed in the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia.

review in 1906 of Pedrell's opera *Los Pirineos*. Curiously, as Uribe Holguín recounts, the editors of such journal had first contacted him thinking he was Basque.<sup>61</sup>

In 1909, Uribe Holguín also participated in an agitated debate in the press between the followers of Vincent d'Indy and Claude Debussy (1862–1918). Uribe Holguín held the spotlight for a short moment when he refuted French critics Emile Vuillermoz (1878–1960) and Jean Marnold (1859–1935), who had started a campaign against both d'Indy and the Schola Cantorum.<sup>62</sup> Uribe Holguín's articles, which were published in newspapers and magazines like the *Mercure de France*, *Le Courier Musical* and *L'Occident*, earned him the respect of his colleagues and teachers, particularly of composer Auguste Sérieyx (1885–1949), whose autographed portrait we can see below.<sup>63</sup> This polemic in the press, has brought the

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<sup>61</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 66.

<sup>62</sup> See Michel Duchesneau, "Maurice Ravel et La Société Musicale Indépendante: 'Projet Mirifique de Concerts Scandaleux,'" *Revue de Musicologie* 80, no. 2 (1994): 251–81, <https://doi.org/10.2307/947056>.

<sup>63</sup> Concerning this polemic, the correspondence between Uribe Holguín and the *Mercure de France*, the Conservatoire, *L'Occident*, *Le Monde Musical*, and *le Courier Musical* can be found in the Archivo Uribe Holguín at the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia.

most attention, albeit meager, outside of Colombia that is, to the figure of Uribe Holguín in music scholarship.<sup>64</sup>

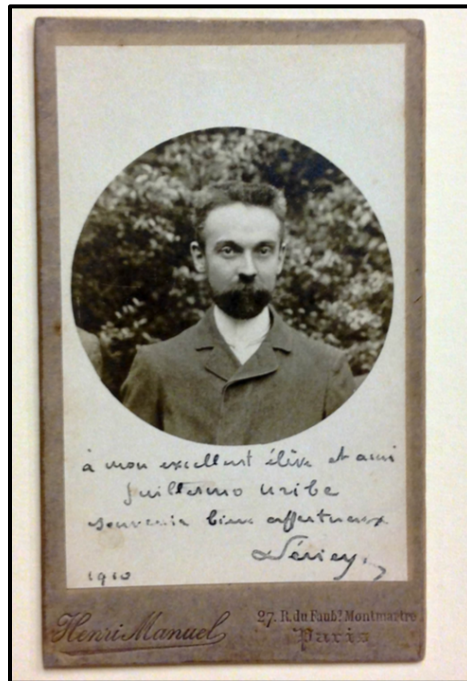


Figure A. 3 Auguste Sérieyx's portrait dedicated to Uribe Holguín. Archivo Uribe Holguín. Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango. Bogotá, Colombia

Uribe Holguín's compositions written during his studies at the Schola Cantorum were generally well-received in the Parisian scene of the first decade of the twentieth century. Worthy of note is his first attempt at a sonata for piano and violin, his Violin Sonata Op. 7, which Uribe Holguín composed as a class assignment during his first year and which he dedicated to Chaumont. As Uribe Holguín tells us, this sonata earned him a favorable attention among the critics after its first public performance at the Schola on June

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<sup>64</sup> All the way from Panamá, Garay sent his congratulations to Uribe Holguín, deeming his intervention in the French press both "spiritual and brave." Garay to Uribe Hoguín, October 3, 1909. Interestingly, because Uribe Holguín was residing in Brussels at the time of the polemic in the press, in her article on d'Indy, Pasler believes that Uribe Holguín, who she calls by the last name "Urbie," was a Belgian correspondent. Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the Problem of a Composer's Reputation," 232.

15, 1909.<sup>65</sup> It was then performed by pianist Blanche Selva (1884–1942) and violinist Firmin Touche (1875–1957). Uribe Holguín also mentions it was played at the Société National de Musique, performed by renowned Spanish pianist Ricardo Viñes (1875–1943) and

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<sup>65</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 71.



violinist Gabriel Wuillaume (1873–?).<sup>66</sup> This sonata was later edited and printed by the publishing house Alphonse Leduc, becoming his first publication.<sup>67</sup>

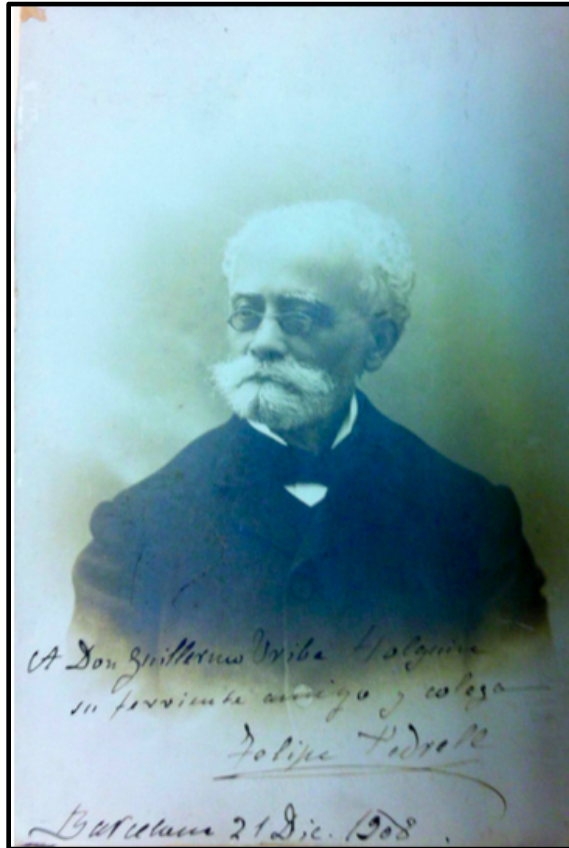


Figure A.4 Portrait of Felipe Pedrell dedicated to Uribe Holguín. Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, Bogotá, Colombia.

In Paris, Uribe Holguín met then-to-be spouse, Lucía Gutiérrez Samper (1887–1925), a young pianist born in Paris to Colombian parents. Gutiérrez Samper was a very accomplished musician, having studied under Mamontel, Viñes, and Selva.<sup>68</sup> The wedding

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<sup>66</sup> While I have not been able to confirm this fact, in a letter written by Joaquín Turina to Uribe Holguín, Turina recalls the sonata, which he heard— Turina asserts—before Uribe Holguín got married. Turina to Uribe Holguín, March 25, 1933. Archivo Uribe Holguín, Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, MS 772.

<sup>67</sup> Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Sonate pour violon et piano, Op. 7* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1910).

<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, Lucia collaborated with Uribe Holguín on multiple occasions. They had four children: Lucia, Ricardo, Germán, and Elvira. Lucia Gutierrez Samper died in 1925 from pneumonia (personal

took place on February 24th, 1910. Uribe Holguín and Gutiérrez Samper asked both d'Indy and Pedrell be the best men at the event. While d'Indy participated in the event, Pedrell was not able to attend and was replaced by the Colombian minister in France, Juan Evangelista Manrique (1861–1914).

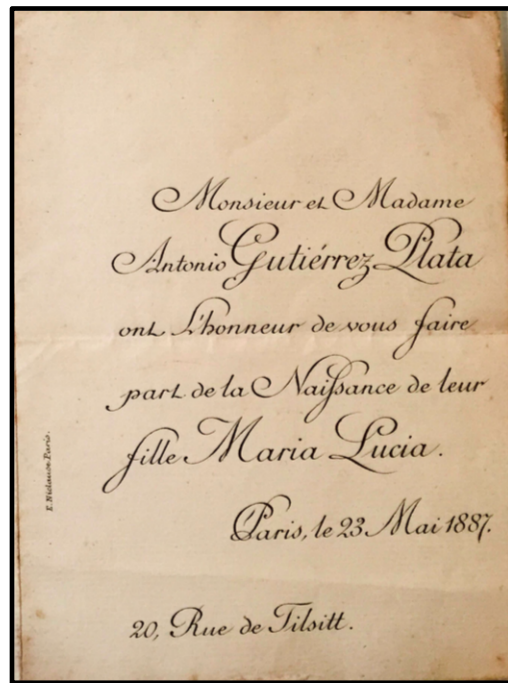


Figure A.5. Lucía Gutiérrez Samper’s Birth Certificate. Archivo Uribe Holguín. Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango.

On May 1910, the couple returned to Bogotá after Pedrell had persuaded Uribe Holguín to return to his homeland so that Uribe Holguín could contribute to the development of music education there.<sup>69</sup> A month later, Uribe Holguín’s mother passed

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communication with Lucia Uribe, granddaughter of Lucia Gutierrez). Although Lucia Gutierrez Samper was a central figure of the early twentieth-century Colombian musical scene, there are not many accounts of her life. One of the few, and perhaps the most comprehensive one was written by Uribe Holguín himself in his autobiography. See Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 59–62. Similarly, at the Uribe Holguín Archive at the Biblioteca a Luis Angel Arango, there are a number of letters written to Lucia from musicians like Pedrell and Blanche Selva.

<sup>69</sup> In a letter to Pedrell written in Paris, Uribe Holguín tells him that he will follow his advice to go back to Colombia and “work there for true art” (“Haré lo que ud me aconseja: irme a mi país y trabajar allí por el

away.<sup>70</sup> Upon his return to the Colombian capital, Uribe Holguín was offered the position of director of the Academia Nacional de la Música. He accepted the position on October 20, 1910. One of the first policies he proposed to the government was to change the status of the academy to that of a conservatory. He established a stricter admission exam, and started a journal, which he called the *Revista del Conservatorio*. Lacking funding and a wide readership, the *Revista del Conservatorio* only ran for about a year (December 1910–November 1911).

Uribe Holguín's nomination as Director of the conservatory was not well received among all, inspiring a number of debates in the press between Uribe Holguín and other musicians who wanted the position. Uribe Holguín's candidacy was put into question, especially by former director and founder of the Academia Nacional, Jorge Price. What is more, one of these polemics involved Uribe Holguín himself and former director of the Academia, pianist Honorio Alarcón (1859–1920), whose nomination for director Uribe Holguín had supported in 1905 before leaving for Europe.<sup>71</sup>

Between 1910 and 1919, Uribe Holguín's administration revolved around institutional and infrastructural developments. As director, Uribe Holguín was able to get

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verdadero arte.”) He also details his plans to create a conservatory. He also tells Pedrell that he will reclaim the musical tradition of the “Madre Patria” (referring to Spain) as Colombian patrimony and develop it further. Uribe Holguín to Pedrell, November 30, 1909. Biblioteca de Catalunya [Spain], Secció de Música Correspondència del Fons Felip Pedrell, M 964/1491.

<sup>70</sup> Uribe Holguín to Pedrell, August 31, 1910.

<sup>71</sup> Because Alarcón studied in Leipzig, he advocated for an educational model based on the German model as opposed to the Schola Cantorum-inspired model proposed by Uribe Holguín. While Alarcón and Uribe Holguín were seen as enemies in the public sphere, such discontent ceased when Uribe Holguín's son Germán, married the daughter of Honorio Alarcón. While I do not intend to explore these contentions here, the Honorio Alarcón Archive at the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá holds the press clippings concerning the disputes between Uribe Holguín and Alarcón as well as a debate concerning Alarcón's credentials to run the Academia, whose critique was launched by Jorge Price. I thank Juan Fernando Velásquez for sharing his own archival work concerning this matter with me. On the debates surrounding

the Ministry of Public Instruction (the conservatory worked under this Ministry) to renovate the national conservatory building, expand the music library, purchase and import instruments from Europe, hire professors and instructors, and revived the orchestra that he had once founded.<sup>72</sup> The classes offered by the national conservatory during this time included: theory and rhythm, harmony, composition, orchestration, voice, piano, violin, viola, cello, double bass, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, horn, and trombone.<sup>73</sup> Under his direction, the orchestra performed repertoire never heard in Colombia before. The list of pieces performed by conservatory orchestra under Uribe Holguín's baton

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the music education models of the early twentieth century in Colombia, see Luis Gabriel Mesa Martínez, *Hacia una reconstrucción del concepto "músico profesional" en Colombia: antecedentes de la educación musical e institucionalización de la musicología*, Tesis doctoral; ([Granada] Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, 2014), 129–45; On the practice of institutional “importation” in Colombia during the late-nineteenth century (which established the basis of debate between Alarcón and Uribe Holguín), see Frédéric Martínez and Marco Palacios, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita La referencia a Europa en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900* (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 2014), 474–531.

<sup>72</sup> For example, in the 1918 annual report of the conservatory's educational achievements for the Ministry of Public Instruction (dated December 20, 1917), Uribe Holguín mentions that the conservatory had at that moment over two hundred students, out of which twenty-one of them were on a scholarship. He painstakingly lists all the pieces played by the orchestra during the 1917-18 academic year, as well as all the new scores (15 total) purchased by the library, and a list of students who took a final exam on their instruments and their final grades. Such a list includes the names of the members who made up each of the juries, as well as the names of students accepted into the conservatory. Most interestingly, in this report, Uribe Holguín suggests a number of reforms that he believes would improve the state of music education at the time. Among many reforms, Uribe Holguín suggested the Ministry of Public instruction to: 1) increase the meager budget for the conservatory; 2) replace or expand the conservatory building, which needed a concert hall; 3) teach the conservatory students more than one language, since the few methods in Spanish Uribe Holguín regards as rudimentary given the “decadence of art in Spain”; 4) turn the conservatory into a boarding school so that students receive a comprehensive music instruction; 5) support the careers of successful students so that they do not abandon “a serious study of music” for a “popular artistic glory and some money”; 6) to teach singing in all public schools; 6) to bring four foreign professors who excelled in their instruments for a period of two years; and 7) to allow members of the conservatory to be part of the board of directors of the Teatro Colón. Finally, Uribe Holguín also expresses his desire—if the Ministry approves for a larger budget—to create new classes such as Gregorian chant, keyboard, and harp. See Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, Conservatorio Nacional de Música, Expediente 1131. Folios 73-95. Bogotá, Colombia

<sup>73</sup> See June 10, 1918. Expediente 1804. Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, Conservatorio Nacional de Música, Bogotá, Colombia

included works by composers such as Debussy, Fauré, Turina, Wagner, Duparc, Rimsky-Korsavok, Franck, and d'Indy, among others.<sup>74</sup>

His responsibilities were not limited only to the institutional development of the national conservatory. He oversaw, for instance, the musical activities of military bands and the musical activities of religious services in Bogotá. During the early teens, Uribe Holguín even implemented a major reform to the band system, which led to the creation of the Banda Nacional, a national civic band whose founding, as Juan Fernando Velásquez,

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<sup>74</sup> In his autobiography, Uribe Holguín provides a list of the works performed under his baton Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 271–79.

suggests was indicative of the increasing demilitarization of Colombia after the War of the Thousand Days.<sup>75</sup>

Bogotá, Octubre 20 de 1910

Señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública  
C. L. C.

He recibido la muy atenta nota de ese Ministerio, n.º 2234, de la Sección 12, fecha el 18 de los corrientes, en que se dice V. comunicarme que, por Decreto n.º 219 de esa fecha, el Poder Ejecutivo tiene a bien nombrarme Director del Conservatorio Nacional de Música.

En respuesta, manifiesto a V. que acepto tan honrosa designación y me ocupo al despacho de V. a tomar posesión del cargo.

Presento a V. y por su digno contacto, al Excelentísimo Señor Presidente de la República, el testimonio de mi más profundo agradecimiento por la distinción que se me ha hecho con dicho nombramiento.

Leyo del Señor Ministro muy att. y D. D.  
Guillermo Uribe Holguín

Figure A.6. Letter from Uribe Holguín to the Minister of Public Instruction, October 20, 1910. Uribe Holguín accepts the position as Director of the National Conservatory of Music. Archivo General de la Nación. Ministerio de Instrucción Pública. Bogotá, Colombia.

Towards the end of the teens, Colombian politics began to shift. With the presidency of Conservative politician, Marco Fidel Suárez (1918–1921), who was a fervent

<sup>75</sup> For the reform proposed by Uribe Holguín, “Memorando, “September 12, 1910. Ministerio de Educación Pública. Archivo General de la Nación. See Juan Fernando Velásquez, “From the Plaza to the Parque: Transformations of Urban Public Spaces, Disciplining, and Cultures of Listening and Sound in Colombian Cities (1886–1930),” *Latin American Music Review* 38, no. 2 (December 19, 2017): 150–84.

admirer of Abraham Lincoln, Colombian foreign policy focused on strengthening political and economic ties with the United States.<sup>76</sup> Suárez termed this policy as “The Doctrine of the Polar Star,” through which he sought to ratify the Urrutia-Thompson treaty with the United States. This treaty resulted in a payment of twenty-five million dollars to Colombia as indemnity for the loss of Panama, bringing about a short period of economic bonanza. The payment was not made, however, until 1923, during the Presidency of Pedro Nel Ospina (1922–1926), whose administration centered on the development of infrastructure, especially of railroads.<sup>77</sup> Despite the centrality of this influx of foreign money in Colombian historiography, as Safford and Palacios write, coffee income during this time was three times the amount of the indemnity, contributing more to the dynamic and expanding economy of this era than the indemnity itself. The textile, oil, and the banana industries were also key economic players during this time. These last two, however, became “enclaves of foreign capital penetration,” as Bushnell notes, which fueled anti-foreign sentiment and expressions of hyperbolic patriotism.<sup>78</sup>

With an expanding economy, the Colombian state increased its capacity to intervene in national matters, casting its shadow over a larger territory. However, because the Conservative state focused more on developing the private sector, social conflict surfaced when workers began to ask for better salaries and better working conditions once

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<sup>76</sup> Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 164; On this time period, also see Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Tejidos oníricos: movilidad, capitalismo y biopolítica en Bogotá, 1910-1930* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2009).

<sup>77</sup> During this time period as well, the first commercial airline came into service—the first one in the Americas (later renamed Avianca). Avianca is the oldest commercial airline in the Americas and second oldest in the world, as Bushnell notes. On Ospina and the modernization of Colombia during this time, see Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 165–66.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, 176.

the modernization of Colombia's infrastructure was afoot.<sup>79</sup> As Catalina Muñoz details, with the increased mobilization of the working classes, the Conservative regime grew weaker, giving rise once again to political agitation. Indeed, while the Conservative party struggled to maintain its hegemony despite the help of the Catholic church, a number of labor strikes began to loosen the Conservative party's grip on national politics.<sup>80</sup> After almost fifty years of continuous rule, the political domination of the Conservative party finally came to end with the Great Depression, when Colombian exports experienced a sharp decline. During this era, as Muñoz recounts, Liberals also renounced to *convivialista* politics, and began to publicly denounce the Conservative regime. These public political contentions were held in places like cafés, but most regularly, in the press.<sup>81</sup>

As a strong believer in the Catholic faith and a musician with filial ties to the Conservative party, Uribe Holguín was not impervious to political controversy. And what is more, Uribe Holguín was eager to participate in it. In his autobiography, for instance, Uribe Holguín tells us that upon his return from Europe, the state decided to close the conservatory due to financial constraints<sup>82</sup>—a decision that he took as a personal attack against his administration launched by his detractors.<sup>83</sup> This triggered a heated debate that

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<sup>79</sup> See Muñoz, Catalina, "To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946" (University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 12–13, <https://search.proquest.com/dissertations/docview/304976063/abstract/D5F0BB0FA37347B9PQ/4?accountid=14521>; Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 167–68; Safford, *Colombia*, 274–75.

<sup>80</sup> This political agitation reached new heights after the great banana workers' strike of 1928 took place, which resulted in the death of around sixty to seventy-five people in the hands of the state. Gabriel García Márquez wrote about this massacre in *Cien Años de Soledad*. Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 180.

<sup>81</sup> Muñoz, Catalina, "To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946," 13.

<sup>82</sup> José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*. (Bogotá: Plaza & Janes, 1980), 155.

<sup>83</sup> Uribe Holguín reacted in such a way because composer and historian, Gustavo Escobar Larrazábal, published an article in the press, where he denounced that the conservatory had been suspended as a result of the political maneuvering of musicians who did not belong to the conservatory and who were jealous of



was made public in the press.<sup>84</sup> Interestingly enough, in his autobiography, Uribe Holguín mentions that he was able to persuade government officials to reopen the conservatory by submitting a document that listed the names of masons that studied in the institution.<sup>85</sup> Most importantly, this dispute, revived a long-running debate about the emergence of a national music style.

The first part of this debate had taken place between 1916 and 1918, when music critic Gustavo Santos (1892–1967), a fellow Scholista who had initially been a supporter of Uribe Holguín, agitated the scene by positing the impossibility of a national style based on local musics in an article entitled “De la Música en Colombia.”<sup>86</sup> Santos proposed instead that a Colombian national style should solely be based on Spanish folklore, which would embrace Colombia's "true" heritage. He also critiqued Uribe Holguín's decision to foment a rather forced musical development in the conservatory, which he believed to be alien (perhaps due to its French and not Spanish connection) to the national spirit. Santos's family, it should be noted, owned and run the Liberal newspaper, *El Tiempo*. His brother

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the institution. “Hablan los alumnos del Conservatorio Nacional de Música,” *El Nuevo Tiempo*, Bogotá, 22 de febrero de 1922, p. 3.; On Larrazábal, see José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, Biblioteca popular de cultura colombiana, Historia; (Bogotá, [Imprenta nacional], 1945), 216–17.

<sup>84</sup> In his autobiography, Uribe Holguín writes that the students of the conservatory argued that said decision was a belligerent action, resulting from the jealousy of musicians who did not belong to the conservatory. As a result, they publicly challenged those who defied them, in what seems to be a fairly amusing contest in which the victors would claim control over the national scene. The challenge would consist of a series of contests in which the students of the conservatory would compete against their detractors in several disciplines that would range from instrumental performance to historical and analytical proficiency. Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 123.

<sup>85</sup> While this is the only mention that Uribe Holguín makes to the masons, in the late 1950s Uribe Holguín became a Rosicrucian “Commandeur du Temple.” Housed in the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín, there is a letter by the “Ordre de la Rose et de la Croix de la Nouvelle Jerusalem,” which grants this title to him. However, I have not any more evidence. It is still uncertain if he was a part of masonic society in the 1920s. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombia de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Correspondencia.

<sup>86</sup> I expand on this article in chapter 5. Gustavo Santos, “De la Música en Colombia,” *Textos Sobre Música y Folklore: Boletín de La Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia, 1942-66/1969-71 No. 29 T. I*, 1978, 292–203.

Eduardo Santos (1888–1974), served as President of the Colombian Republic between 1938 and 1942 and directed this newspaper for over twenty-five years.<sup>87</sup>

The controversy continued in 1923 after Emilio Murillo Chapull (1880–1942), a composer who established himself as the leader of the national popular music scene, condemned Uribe Holguín's ideas on national music in the press. This critique came about after Uribe Holguín had given a public conference held in August of that same year on national music (largely based on the Santos's 1916 article), which Murillo Chapull saw as a personal attack against his music. He accused Uribe Holguín of being a sarcastic polemicist with arrogant airs of superiority and a dogmatic stance (see chapters 3 and 4).

Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture mainly focused on what he considered to be the distinction between national and popular music. For him, national music existed throughout the country, embodied in the composers born on Colombian soil. Style, however, according to Uribe Holguín, was not a determinant for categorizing a music as national or not. Popular music, on the other hand, would consist of traits from which the composers could draw as sources of inspiration.<sup>88</sup> Many musicians, including Murillo Chapull, took Uribe Holguín's assertions as an anti-nationalist declaration that denied the existence of national music. The debate grew to the point that even the press carried out a nation-wide poll on the subject of national music, which declared that national music did in fact exist in Colombia.<sup>89</sup> However, in 1924, Uribe Holguín temporarily stopped

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<sup>87</sup> On the Santos administration, see Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 192–96.

<sup>88</sup> I expand on this lecture throughout the dissertation, so I will refrain from discussing it here further.

<sup>89</sup> Martha Enna Rodríguez Melo, *Sinfonía del terruño de Guillermo Uribe Holguín: la obra y sus contextos*, Colección Prometeo; Variation: Colección Prometeo (Bogotá, Colombia) (Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Departamento de Historia, 2009), 109.

partaking in the debate generated by the press, and decided to put an end to it by participating in a national contest with his second symphony, *Del Terruño*. He submitted it under the pseudonym of R.V. Stolzing, winning first prize. The premiere of this piece—the first in its class in Colombia—determines a crucial moment in the emergence of a national symphonic style in Colombia. Uribe Holguín walked out triumphantly, establishing himself as the leading composer of his time.<sup>90</sup>

Following this unprecedented success, Uribe Holguín began to incorporate particularist national traits, which he had rejected until that time, deeming them as unworthy of his attention (see chapter 2). A series of Colombian nationalistic pieces written by Uribe Holguín would ensue. For example, he based his symphonic poem *Bochica* (1939), his opera *Furatena* (1943), and his orchestral work *Ceremonia Indígena* (1955), on indigenous mythology, all of which I discuss in chapters 5 and 6. Additionally, he explored the rhythmic complexity found in Colombian dances like the *pasillo* and *bambuco* in his celebrated *300 Trozos en el Sentimiento Popular* (1939) for solo piano, and in his orchestral works like *Tres Danzas* (1926; revised 1940) and the *Tres Ballets Criollos* (1945).

In 1930, he hired the young pianist and composer Antonio María Valencia (1902–1952) as a professor at the conservatory. Valencia had just returned from Paris after completing his studies at the Schola Cantorum. Students and professors who opposed Uribe Holguín’s educational policies saw in Valencia a promising leader who would be in a position to generate change. In fact, Valencia (as Uribe Holguín had done in the past) sought to improve the conditions of the conservatory and submitted a listed of reforms that

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<sup>90</sup> See Rodríguez Melo, *Sinfonía del terruño de Guillermo Uribe Holguín*.

he saw as necessary, although as I discuss in the conclusion and in chapter 4, this was rather the result of bipartisan politics.<sup>91</sup> The main point of divergence between Uribe Holguín and Valencia had to do more with what they both considered to be the appropriate organization for the conservatory in order to produce quality musicians. Uribe Holguín, on the one hand, advocated for a more flexible, individual-oriented structure tailored to each student's needs and pace. Valencia, on the other hand, adhered to a stricter pedagogical view, with a set number of courses and requirements, responding to the growing demand for a larger, more modern institution. Valencia also insisted that the Colombian state ought to become invested in the active study and recollection of folkloric and popular musics.<sup>92</sup> Such ideological confrontations generated an irreconcilable animosity between these two leading Colombian composers, which led Valencia to move back to Cali, his hometown, where he founded the *Conservatorio Antonio María Valencia*.<sup>93</sup> Uribe Holguín took this as a personal offense, as he had initially seen Valencia as a collaborator and not an adversary.

In 1929, the Conservative party was divided between two of their presidential candidates: Alfredo Vázquez Cobo (1869–1941) and Guillermo Valencia (1873–1943). The latter was a recognized poet and a close friend of Uribe Holguín.<sup>94</sup> As Muñoz recounts,

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<sup>91</sup> On Valencia's critiques of the conservatory, see Mesa Martínez, *Hacia una reconstrucción del concepto "músico profesional" en Colombia*, 181–85.

<sup>92</sup> Catalina Muñoz discusses this contention through the cultural politics of the República Liberal, see Catalina Muñoz, "'A Mission of Enormous Transcendence': The Cultural Politics of Music during Colombia's Liberal Republic, 1930-1946," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 77–105, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-2390613>.

<sup>93</sup> See Mario Gómez-Vignes, *Imagen y obra de Antonio María Valencia* (Cali: Corporación para la Cultura, 1991).

<sup>94</sup> In 1899, Valencia even dedicated a poem entitled "Anarkos" to Uribe Holguín, which fifty years later, as an homage to Valencia, Uribe Holguín used as a basis for an orchestral piece that would accompany the recitation of the poem. The work's premiere took place over the Colombian radio waves, in a special transmission put together by the Radiodifusora Nacional. A decade later, the Raquel Ercole ballet, Colombia's first contemporary ballet company, hired the Argentine dancer Roberto Trinchero to

throughout the *Hegemonía Conservadora*, it was the archbishop of Bogotá who would choose the presidential candidate in the event that party members were divided between two nominees, but he proved indecisive.<sup>95</sup> The Liberal party took advantage of this divide, and, through popular support, elected Enrique Olaya Herrera (1880–1937) as President of the Colombian Republic. Olaya Herrera was a moderate Liberal who had been working as the Colombian minister to Washington. Olaya Herrera's election inaugurated a period in Colombian historiography known as the *República Liberal*, an era between 1930 and 1946 when the Liberal party ruled without pause. Interestingly, in 1930, Uribe Holguín, along with María Valencia, offered a concert in honor of Olaya Herrera, perhaps owing to Olaya Herrera's moderate Liberalism or to the long-standing "convivialista" politics that Uribe Holguín had grown accustomed to.<sup>96</sup> Worthy of note as well is the fact that Murillo Chapull, an open advocate of Liberalism himself, rewrote one of his tunes, "El Guatecano," to serve as a campaign song for Olaya Herrera.<sup>97</sup>

This atmosphere of civility would soon change drastically with the populist-reformist administration of Alfonso López Pumarejo (1934-1938). López inaugurated a period in Colombian history when the Colombian state began to actively institutionalize the notion of "el pueblo" (the people) through a number of state-funded cultural initiatives

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choreograph Uribe Holguín's *Anarkos*. The ballet was then premiered at the Congress's celebration of Colombian independence at the Teatro Colón in July of 1961.

<sup>95</sup> Muñoz, Catalina, "To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946," 13–14.

<sup>96</sup> Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 181–85.

<sup>97</sup> Hernández Salgar, *Los mitos de la música nacional*, 84–87. The rivalry between Murillo Chapull and Uribe Holguín in the public sphere was such that both figures have been historicized as antithetical to each other, a subject that I explore in chapter 4.

such as travelling schools, whose purpose was to bring culture to the so-called “uneducated” masses in remote areas and small villages.<sup>98</sup>

**RADIODIFUSORA NACIONAL** 12

*Hoy Sábado a las 6:30 p. m.*

# ANARKOS

**HOMENAJE A GUILLERMO VALENCIA**  
en el 6º aniversario de su muerte.

★

I. — Palabras de Rafael Maya.  
II. — MONTAJE RADIOFONICO DE “ANARKOS”. Música de GUILLERMO URIBE HOLGUIN. Guión de BERNARDO ROMERO LOZANO — ORQUESTA SINFONICA NACIONAL — Solistas y Coros del GRUPO TEATRAL DE LA RADIODIFUSORA NACIONAL.

★

La transmisión será hecha por todas las emisoras, en el primer Sistema Nacional de Radio, organizado por la Asociación Nacional de Radiodifusión.

La musicalización del célebre poema “Anarkos”, de Guillermo Valencia, que se estrenará hoy, ha sido compuesta especialmente por el insigne maestro, don GUILLERMO URIBE HOLGUIN

Figure A.7. Advertisement for the premiere of *Anarkos* (1949), a piece written by Uribe Holguín as an homage to Valencia. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>98</sup> I expand on the República Liberal at length in subsequent chapters.

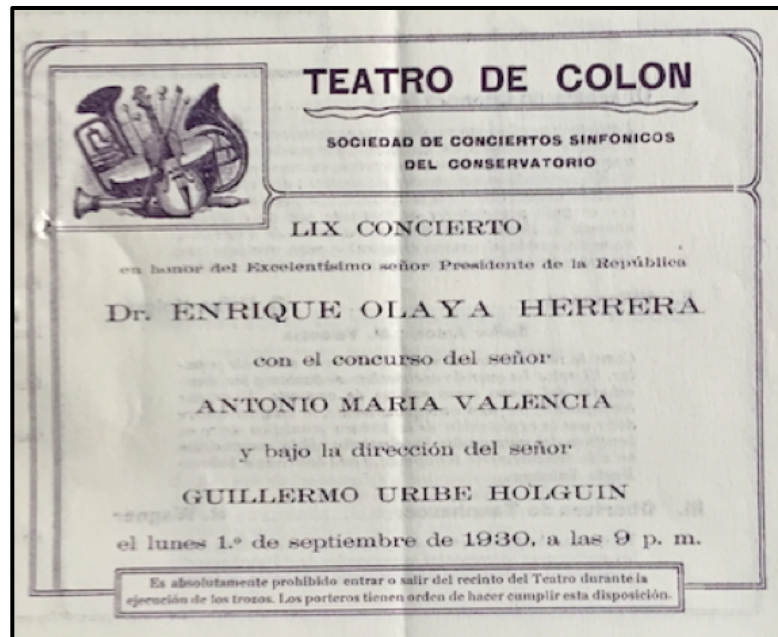


Figure A.8. Program of a recital given by Valencia and Uribe Holguín in honor of Olaya Herrera at the Teatro Colón. September 1, 1930. Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, Conservatorio Nacional de Música

During the República Liberal, Uribe Holguín's ties to the government grew weaker. In addition, his problematic reputation, which was widely-known at the time, had him on the ropes, especially after composer Valencia's public critique of Uribe Holguín's administration in 1932.<sup>99</sup> Valencia's negative appraisal of the conservatory's policies prompted a larger backlash against Uribe Holguín in the press in the early 1930s (see chapter 4). In 1930, Santos became the director of the Ministry of Education's

<sup>99</sup> Antonio María Valencia. Folder Conservatorios de Música, 305a. Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá, Colombia.

administrative unit, the *Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes*. This led, ultimately, to Uribe Holguín's resignation as the head of Colombian music education in 1935.<sup>100</sup>

Uribe Holguín withdrew from the national scene, hurt and full of resentment, which functioned as catalysts for the production of his autobiography, *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, published in 1941 (see chapter 3).<sup>101</sup> Curiously, in his autobiography, Uribe Holguín mentions that following his departure from the Conservatory, he retreated to the countryside to become a coffee farmer, while devoting the rest of his life to composing.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, as I explore in chapter 3, he did not cultivate coffee but was rather an absentee landowner. He did not remain separated from Colombian music institutions for too long either, as I detail below.

Following Uribe Holguín's twenty-five-year run as director of the conservatory ended, Santos took over the institution temporarily in 1935 and then handed it to Valencia, who resigned only one year later. In 1936, Santos, now absolved from his anti-nationalist associations, organized the first Congress of National Music, a space dedicated to discussing the role of music in the Colombian nation. In line with the reformist cultural politics of the *República Liberal*, the congress aimed to develop strategies to employ music as a tool for social change at a state level. As Fernando Gil Araque recounts, this congress sought to “democratize the participation of the different regions in the construction of national

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<sup>100</sup> See Mesa Martínez, 20-21.

<sup>101</sup> It is important to note that his retirement did not go unnoticed. That same year he was awarded the *Cruz de Boyacá*, Colombia's highest honor granted to a civilian. Emilio Murillo Chapull was awarded the same medal during the same ceremony. In addition, he was awarded the *Medalla Cívica del General Santander*, named honorary director of the *Orquesta Sinfónica*, and honorary professor of the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*, which had integrated the conservatory as part of its institution. As well, he had been given the distinction of knight of the *Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur* in France.

<sup>102</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 269–70.



music.”<sup>103</sup> The congress even included a panel that aimed to develop strategies to defend local expressions against foreignizing genres that were “invading” the country from the United States. Santos invited Uribe Holguín to attend the congress but the composer did not show up to the event.<sup>104</sup>

During this time period, the Conservatory also ceased to be an autonomous institution and became part of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Additionally, the *Sociedad de Conciertos Sinfónicos del Conservatorio* (a conservatory orchestra directed by Uribe Holguín until that time) became the Orquesta Nacional de Colombia. The Orquesta Nacional was handed to Colombian conductor Guillermo Espinosa (1905–1990), who would later become the head of the music division of the Organization of the American States in Washington D.C. Espinosa was a key figure in the promotion and dissemination of Latin American art music in the continent. He collaborated with Uribe Holguín during the 1940s and 1950s (see chapter 5).

Following the administrations of Santos and Valencia, pianist Lucía Vásquez Carrizosa (?–1986) led the conservatory during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Whereas in his autobiography, which, as I explore in chapter 3, Uribe Holguín used to criticize the administrations that followed his tenure at the conservatory (especially Santos’s management), he did not condemn Vásquez Carrizosa, but instead praised her leadership:

Ms. Lucía Vásquez Carrizosa, a most distinguished lady in our society, was appointed Director of the National Conservatory of Music, which is proof of our advances in matters of feminism. Even though it is not very probable that the example will be followed in other places, if in the case that it was ever followed, it would be up to the Board of Directors of our University to claim the patent of our

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<sup>103</sup> Fernando Gil Araque, “Congresos Nacionales de la Música, 1936-1937” *Colombia, Música Cultura Y Pensamiento* 1 (2006): 13 - 34

<sup>104</sup> Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, 210.

invention. It is a unique case in the history of music, that of a woman is the head of a National Conservatory, which, upon noting it, is not my intention to critique it. God knows if women will finally come to, in many of the activities hitherto monopolized by men, replace us with [efficacy].<sup>105</sup>

During Vasquez Carrizosa's tenure, the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes, then under the purview of Santos, organized the first Ibero-American Music Festival, in which Uribe Holguín participated as a guest conductor (see chapter 6).<sup>106</sup> During the festival, he became acquainted with the work of other Latin American composers such Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), Domingo Santa Cruz (1899–1987), Armando Carvajal (1893–1972), among others. He also befriended pianist Nicolas Slonimsky (1894–1995), who performed and conducted some of Uribe Holguín's works during the festival and thereafter. Slonimsky travelled to Bogotá on said occasion to represent both the United States and the Pan-American Union.<sup>107</sup> Years later, he wrote about Uribe Holguín in his 1945 book, *Music of Latin America*, praising the composer.<sup>108</sup> Because of this friendship, during the 1940s and

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<sup>105</sup> “Se nombró como Director del Conservatorio Nacional de Música a la señorita Lucía Vásquez Carrizosa, dama de lo más distinguido en nuestra sociedad, dando como eso una prueba de nuestros avances en materia de feminismo. Aún cuando no es muy probable que el ejemplo se siga en otras partes, si por si acaso alguna vez se siguiera, tocaría al Consejo directivo de nuestra Universidad reclamar con tiempo la patente de invención. Es un caso único en la historia de la música, el de una mujer a la cabeza de un Conservatorio Nacional, lo cual, al notarlo no es mi ánimo hacer una crítica. Sabe Dios si las mujeres vengán por fin, en muchas de las actividades hasta ahora monopolizadas por los hombres, a reemplazarnos con ventaja.” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Vida de Un Músico Colombiano*, 1941, 221.

<sup>106</sup> See Francisco Curt Lange and Instituto de Estudios Superiores (Montevideo, Uruguay). Sección de Investigaciones Musicales., *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música. 1938* (Bogotá: Litografía Colombia; New York City: Foreign and International Book Co., 1938).

<sup>107</sup> The correspondence between Uribe Holguín and Slonimsky is housed in the Nicolas Slonimsky Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Box 268.

<sup>108</sup> Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America*, 1st Edition edition (Thomas Y. Crowell company, 1945).

1950s, Uribe Holguín partook in the Pan-Americanist enterprise, although marginally so compared to some of his Latin American counterparts.<sup>109</sup>

Indeed, Uribe Holguín’s work was seldom performed outside of Colombia and only two of his scores were published in the United States. The first of these, his *Tres Preludios* (1939) was edited by Slonimsky himself and published by The New Music Society of California. This publication came as a result of the Ibero-American Music Festival, which hosted a composition prize, judged by both Espinosa and Slonimsky. Chilean composer Armando Carvajal took first prize and Uribe Holguín was awarded second place. Both of their works were published the subsequent year. Espinosa mediated the second of these

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<sup>109</sup> On the Pan-American Union and music Alyson Marie Payne, *The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain: A Critical Examination of Ibero-American Musical Relations in the Context of Cold War Politics* (Ann Arbor MI: Proquest, 2013); Carol A Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Carol A. Hess, “Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 1 (April 1, 2013): 191–250, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2013.66.1.191>.

publications, Uribe Holguín's *Ceremonia Indígena*, which was printed by the Pan-American Union in 1959.<sup>110</sup>

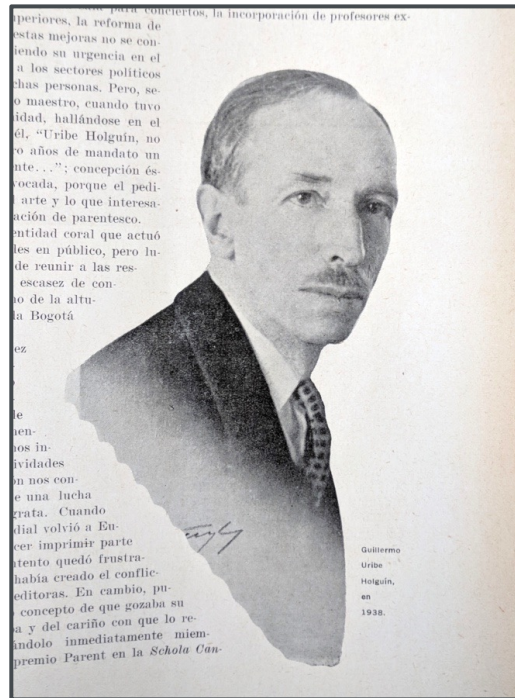


Figure A.9. Photograph of Guillermo Uribe Holguín circa 1938 in the *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*, edited by Francisco Curt Lange.

The end of the República Liberal during the late 1940s came about as a result of intra-party divisions as well as the growing popularity of presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán (1903–1948), a member of the Liberal party who offered himself as a candidate for the Liberal party during the 1946 elections, but whose nomination was ultimately rejected by party members.<sup>111</sup> The Liberals' candidate, Gabriel Turbay (1901–1947), ended up losing the election to Mariano Ospina Pérez (1891–1976), the grandson

<sup>110</sup> In chapter 5, I focus on the publication history of *Ceremonia Indígena*.

<sup>111</sup> Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, 196–200.

of a previous Conservative president and “a mild-manned millionaire long active in the coffee industry...with an engineering degree from Louisiana State University,” as Bushnell describes him.<sup>112</sup>

Fearful of another period of Conservatory hegemony, the Liberal party associated themselves with Gaitán, despite him being disliked by most of its members because of his anti-establishment and populist ideals. Gaitán, however, as Bushnell notes, rarely talked about socialism and was not a Marxist. Rather, as Herbert Braun writes, he was more of a “petit-bourgeois reformist.”<sup>113</sup> In April of 1948, Gaitán—whose most likely would have been elected as President of Colombia— was fatally shot while he was giving a public speech. Gaitán’s murder remains to this day unsolved, fueling a number of conspiracy theories to emerge. At the time, for instance, the CIA linked his murder to international communist activity, while local authorities suspected the Conservative party (see chapter 5). Gaitán’s death caused mass rioting, which destroyed the city of Bogotá. Historians have dubbed this episode as *El Bogotazo*.<sup>114</sup> His assassination was also representative of an outburst of bipartisan violence throughout the whole nation that had been increasing since 1946, a time period known in Colombia as *La Violencia* (The Violence), which claimed more than 200,000 lives.<sup>115</sup>

Owing to his privileged upbringing, Uribe Holguín remained shielded from this outburst of violence, and his career continued to blossom.<sup>116</sup> Despite Uribe Holguín’s self-

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>113</sup> Herbet Braun in Bushnell, 198.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 202.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 205.

<sup>116</sup> Indeed, despite being from Bogotá, I have not found a single reference to Gaitán nor to *El Bogotazo* in Uribe Holguín’s writings.

imposed artistic exile to “Usatama,” his coffee hacienda, he remained an active participant in the institutional development of Colombian music education. In 1943, for instance, he led the conservatory yet again, although this time as Interim Director, until he was succeeded by pianist Lucía Pérez (dates unknown) in 1944.<sup>117</sup> What is more, following the end of World War II, along with composer José Roza Contreras (1894–1976), then director of the Colombian National Band, he travelled to Europe to recruit musicians for the Orquesta Sinfónica de Colombia and for the National Band in 1947.<sup>118</sup> Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Uribe Holguín also collaborated with the Orquesta Sinfónica, especially after Estonian conductor Olav Roots (1910–1974) became its director, replacing Colombian conductor and composer Jaime León (1921–2015), who had left for the United States to work with the American Ballet Theatre as Assistant Director in 1955.<sup>119</sup> Under Roots’s baton, the Orquesta Sinfónica premiered a number of Uribe Holguín’s symphonies (he wrote a total of eleven symphonies in his career), and also featured him as a guest conductor.<sup>120</sup> Finally, during this era, Uribe Holguín also attended the 1954 Festival of Latin American music held in Caracas, which as Alyson Payne notes, was shaped by US-

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<sup>117</sup> Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, 215.

<sup>118</sup> Graciella Castillo, “Músicos Para la Sinfónica” (publication date and place unknown). Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa.

<sup>119</sup> On Jaime León, see Patricia Caicedo Serrano, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and Facultad de Geografía e Historia., *La canción artística latinoamericana identidad nacional, “performance practice” y los mundos del arte / Eli Rodríguez, Victoria, 1945-; dir.*, 2013; Patricia Caicedo, *La Canción artística en América Latina antología crítica y guía interpretativa para cantantes* (Barcelona: Tritó, 2005).

<sup>120</sup> Roots conducted the premiere of Uribe Holguín’s Symphony no. 5 on October 26, 1956; Symphony no. 6 on April 5 of 1957; Symphony no. 7 on July 19 of 1957; Symphony no. 8 on July of 1958; Symphony no. 9 on March 18 of 1960. See Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Programas.

Latin American cultural politics during the early Cold War (see chapter 5 and conclusion).<sup>121</sup>

In 1962, Uribe Holguín ceased to compose after a cataract surgery went wrong, leaving him blind. Uribe Holguín died nine years later Bogotá on June 26, 1971 at the age of 91. Despite his extensive catalog, his work remains to the day unknown to national and international audiences. Yet, his polemic persona remains more alive than ever, as I hope to show in this dissertation. To say the least, Uribe Holguín occupies a rather ambivalent space in Colombian music history, marked by profound ambiguities that are not easily dissected, and which served have served musical actors (historians, composers, performers, folklorists, critics, etc) to articulate a discourse of national prolepsis. This ambivalent place in the Colombian imaginary occupied by Uribe Holguín is perhaps best exemplified in the pellucid prose of music critic Otto de Greiff (1903–1995). Indeed, in a text written to commemorate the centenary of Uribe Holguín’s birth, de Greiff masterfully synthesized his reception and legacy in the Colombian imaginary as follows:

As a very dear son of the 'Schola Cantorum of Vincent d'Indy,' Guillermo Uribe Holguín showed in much of his initial production the influence of Franck, that the Old Seraphic Father had irradiated upon his disciples, Chausson, Duparc, and d'Indy himself and many others: that amorous pleasure in a sensual chromaticism, in half-sonorous tones and in deliberate evasive expression, as to not to fall into vulgar sentimentality, nor to rely on the easy melodic phrase nor on harmonic poverty. He acted as an affirmative rebel against folklore, although folklore, we feel deeply and clearly, is very meaningful, and genuine and respectable. But it was

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<sup>121</sup> Payne, *The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain*, 110–11.

maestro Uribe Holguín who connected our country to the music of the spheres, and hence today's homage to such a glorious Colombian.<sup>122</sup>

### **Structure of the Dissertation**

In chapter 1, I lay out the theoretical framework of this dissertation. I particularly discuss Laclau and Mouffe's concept of antagonism, which I explore in relation to the discourse of national prolepsis that I introduced in the pages above. Chapter 2 details how the relation between what I call *peripheral music particularism* and *peripheral music universalism* conforms to an antagonistic relation à la Laclau and Mouffe. I pursue this by surveying a curious practice among Colombian musicians (composers and folklorists alike) of the early twentieth-century inaugurated by Uribe Holguín in his 1923 lecture, where he posited that Colombian popular music rhythms could be heard in the work of European composers of the past such as Beethoven and Schubert.

In chapter 3, I explore how the category of antagonism can help us read Uribe Holguín's autobiography not as an authoritative source from which we can narrate his life events, as it has been done in the past, but by attending to the antagonisms that he draws in said text. Chapter 4 demonstrates how historiographical practices surrounding Uribe Holguín's career and work, were, and continue to be, shaped by an antagonistic relation

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<sup>122</sup> "Como hijo muy dilecto de la 'Schola Cantorum de Vincent d'Indy,' Guillermo Uribe Holguín mostró en buena parte de su producción inicial la influencia de Franck, que el Viejo Padre Seráfico había irradiado a sus discípulos, a Chausson, a Duparc, al propio d'Indy y tantos otros: ese amoroso complacerse en un cromatismo sensual, en medias tintas sonoras y en una expresión evasiva, deliberadamente empeñada en no caer en la sensiblería ramplona, ni en la frase melódica fácil ni en la pobreza armónica. Actuó como rebelde afirmativo frente al folclor, aunque este tiene su sentido, y muy claro—en nuestro sentir—y genuino y respectable. Pero fue el maestro Uribe Holguín quien comunicó a nuestro país con la música de las esferas, y de ahí el homenaje de hoy a tan glorioso Colombiano." Otto de Greiff, "Centenario de Uribe Holguín," *El Espectador*, March 17, 1980. Ilse de Greiff private collection.



between a perceived national identity that was internalized as a musical Other (as a negation of the Western Self best expressed through what came to be known as folk and popular musics) and Uribe Holguín's persona as the embodiment of "Europeanness" and art music. Based on Ochoa Gautier's notion of the modern aural public sphere, I examine the elision made between the ontological operation described in chapter 1 and the epistemologies involved in the politics of music localism, which I trace in this dissertation by resorting to Bruno Latour's critique of modernity (modified by Bauman and Briggs, and Ochoa Gautier).

In chapter 5, I argue that the historiographical tropes explained in chapter 4, which have framed Uribe Holguín as an irredeemable Europhile, have blinded us from studying his active involvement in artistic moments that emphasized particularist logics such as *indigenismo*, a Pan-Latin American movement that sought to revindicate the place of indigeneity in national narratives. In this chapter, I detail Colombian racial politics, drawing parallels between predominant intellectual discourses during the early twentieth-century such as *indigenismo* and eugenics. Finally, in chapter 6, I explore the way the epistemological paradigm described in chapter 4 finds its parallel in strategies of place-making through which *mestizo* (mixed-race) intellectuals constructed indigenous identity. To achieve this, I analyze Uribe Holguín's symphonic poem *Bochica*, drawing connections between the orientalization of indigeneity in his symphonic poem and state practices of place-making and race-making during the República Liberal.

## CHAPTER 1

### Of Hegemony and Antagonism: National Fragmentation and Music in Early-Twentieth-Century Colombia

In *Agonistics*, Chantal Mouffe argues that what she calls *politics*, the “ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions that seeks to establish a certain order and to organize human coexistence,” are always affected by *the political*, an ineradicable dimension of potentially conflicting conditions.<sup>123</sup> Mouffe frames the relation between these two notions in such a way in order to foreground the role of the *agon* (“struggle”) in constructing the social—what she otherwise calls an “antagonistic dimension of the social.”<sup>124</sup> In Mouffe’s work, this antagonistic dimension appears as central to political thought, insofar as the

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<sup>123</sup> Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*, 2013, 2; Mouffe develops this idea by drawing from the work of Carl Schmitt who argued that political actions can be reduced to a political distinction between friend and enemy. For a study on the way Schmitt’s notion of the political and how it was adopted, modified, and contended by Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, and Slavoj Žižek, see Ricardo Camargo, “Rethinking the Political: A Genealogy of the ‘Antagonism’ in Carl Schmitt through the Lens of Laclau-Mouffe-Žižek,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 13, no. 1 (2013): 161–88.

<sup>124</sup> In *Performing Antagonism*, Tony Fisher explains that in the ancient Athenian public sphere, the notion of the *agon* (an adversarial contest) played a constitutive role in the *demos* to assure a good government of the *polis*. Fisher goes on to recount how in the Greek symposium, public performances of conflict were always held in the open, making the public sphere into an inherently agonistic space that was understood as promoting an ethic of adversarial participation. This conception of the *demos*, however, it should be noted, excluded subjects who were not considered citizens such as resident foreigners, women, children, and slaves. Similarly, it is important to denote that in Athenian culture, the distinction between participant and spectator was blurred. This is also evinced in the theatre stage itself, which was not separate from the audience. Furthermore, Fisher argues that the staging of these displays of rivalry (generally a demonstration of “masculine prowess”), shows how Athenian culture was committed to the idea that the social, the cultural, and the political were to be permeated by such displays. Participating in adversarial contentions did not constitute a practice whose was to eliminate political enemies that could get in the way of a harmonious community. Instead, such confrontation was a process of sublimation of political relations between adversaries into the social, cultural, and juridical. Fisher points, for example, to Olympiodorus’s commentary of Plato’s *First Alcibiades* in which “catharsis induced by trial of tragic drama, as intended by Aristotle, is grasped precisely as an agonistic trial: one must experience ‘the conflict of opposites,’ one must learn that to ‘cure an evil’ one must employ ‘evil’—for only in this way the spectator learn to mitigate its effects, and be led to a sense of ‘due proportion.’” (11). See Tony Fisher, “Performance and the Tragic Politics of the Agon,” in Tony Fisher and Eve Katsouraki, eds., *Performing Antagonism: Theatre, Performance & Radical Democracy, Performance Philosophy* (London: Springer Science and Business Media : Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1–24.

political is understood as a place in which struggle and dissent take center stage in socio-political experiences.<sup>125</sup> For both Mouffe and Laclau, recognizing how antagonism operates within social formations represents a key component in the formulation of a radical and plural democracy, through which collective action can be directed towards challenging relations of subordination.<sup>126</sup> In this light, Mouffe writes:

I contend that it is only when we acknowledge “the political” in its antagonistic dimension that we pose the central question for democratic politics. This question, *pace* liberal theorists, is not how to negotiate a compromise among competing interests, nor is it how to reach a ‘rational’, i.e., fully inclusive, consensus without any exclusion. Despite what many liberals want to believe, the specificity of democratic politics is not the overcoming of the we/they opposition, but the different way in which it is established. The prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions or to relegate them to the private sphere in order to establish a rational consensus in the public sphere. Rather, it is to ‘sublimate’ those passions by mobilizing them towards democratic designs, by creative collective forms of identification around democratic objectives.<sup>127</sup>

In this chapter, I introduce Laclau and Mouffe’s concept of antagonism, which I use as the main theoretical framework to study Uribe Holguín’s place in the Colombian imaginary as well as his cultural production. First, I explore Laclau and Mouffe’s notion of antagonism in relation to the Colombia’s perceived national fragmentation. Second, I discuss how antagonism, as a category of analysis, can serve us to explore how music and

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<sup>125</sup> For a genealogy of the term see Fisher and Katsouraki, 1–23; Camargo, “Rethinking the Political,” 2013; Fritsch, “Antagonism and Democratic Citizenship (Schmitt, Mouffe, Derrida),” 2008.

<sup>126</sup> Laclau and Mouffe argue for the construction of a *radical and plural democracy* that tackles issues of recognition and redistribution, in which the aim is “to create a chain of equivalence among the various democratic struggles against different forms of subordination.” Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, xviii.

<sup>127</sup> Mouffe, *Agonistics*, 9.

musical meaning operates within the hegemonic making of a national identity. Finally, I briefly detail Slavoj Žižek's Lacanian-inspired reading of Laclau and Mouffe's work.

### **Antagonistic Relations**

In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, Laclau and Mouffe posit that an antagonistic relation is one that is not correlative to an objective relation such as a real opposition between two objects (A – B), nor is it a contradiction at a purely conceptual level (A – “not A”). Rather, an antagonistic relation is a discursive articulation of contingency (the relation between A and B is constructed as one in which B prevents A from constituting itself fully). By making this distinction between an antagonism, a contradiction, and an opposition, Laclau and Mouffe postulate an alternative to Lucio Colletti's Kantian-derived critique of Marxism's predominant contention that an antagonism is equivalent to a contradiction, and which Colletti attempted to reframe as a real opposition.<sup>128</sup>

Indeed, as Laclau and Mouffe show, in both a contradiction and a real opposition the objects (i.e., A or B) that enter into these types of relations are already fully constituted prior to their pairing. Thus, both a contradiction and an opposition conform to what they call an *objective relation*: a determinable and definable relation that is intelligible because the objects in such relation *already are*.<sup>129</sup> On the other hand, in an antagonism, the relation between both entities is one of precarious objectification.<sup>130</sup> An antagonism is therefore a

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<sup>128</sup> Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 108–13.

<sup>129</sup> Egberto Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá: 1538 - 1938 Buch Buch* (S.l.: Fundación de Música, 2000), 139.

<sup>130</sup> The issue at stake, Laclau and Mouffe contend, is that sociological and historical literature generally explain the conditions from which antagonisms arise (e.g., this event provoked this reaction and so on), but

representation of a relation that arises “not from full totalities, but from the impossibility of [their] constitution [as totalities].”<sup>131</sup> As we shall see, this idea of objective precariousness has enormous implications when we attempt to explain how an identity is formed, if we are to assume that an identity does not derive from an essence or structure. In this light, Laclau and Mouffe write: “Insofar as there is antagonism, I cannot be a full presence for myself. But nor is the force that antagonizes me such a presence: its objective being is a symbol of my non-being and, in this way, it is overflowed by a plurality of meanings which prevent its being fixed as full positivity.”<sup>132</sup>

If one applies this operation to a socio-political analysis, an antagonistic relation corresponds to the representation of the failure of a particular group to become a fully inclusive unit, one that is constructed without any form of exclusion nor dissent.<sup>133</sup> The history of the Colombian nation has been narrated through a similar premise. In Colombian historiography, the failure of the nation to actively include and represent *all* of its subjects (an impossible task, of course) has been interpreted by scholars, for example, as a symptom of Colombia’s dissimilar topography. This spatial fragmentation is thus often taken to be a primary cause for Colombia’s marked social division and economic inequality. For instance, in the introduction to their widely-read *Colombia: Fragmented land, Divided Society*, Franco Safford and Marco Palacios write:

Colombia’s history has been shaped by its spatial fragmentation, which has found expression in economic atomization and cultural differentiation. The country’s

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do not seem to apprehend its specificity and function, jumping too quickly from “explanation to an appeal for our common sense or experience to complete the meaning of the text.” Laclau and Mouffe, 110.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Laclau and Mouffe’s aim is to show that through contingency the political becomes a key component in the structuration of the social. Ibid, xii.

historically most populated areas have been divided by its three mountain ranges, in each of which are embedded many small valleys. The historical dispersion of much of the population in isolated mountain pockets long delayed the development of transportation and the formation of an integrated national market. It also fostered the development of particularized local and regional cultures. Politically, this dispersion has manifested itself in regional antagonism and local rivalries, expressed in the nineteenth century in civil war and in at least part of the twentieth century in intercommunity violence.<sup>134</sup>

For the sake of clarity, I am not implying that Colombian history has not been shaped by highly asymmetrical power relations that have attenuated economic growth and created profound social differences. As it will become apparent, an antagonism, for Laclau and Mouffe, is the result of power relations. In fact, as Laclau argued in his later works, social relations and identities are always relations of power.<sup>135</sup> I find it imperative to acknowledge, nonetheless, that “it is only in contrast to a discourse of unity, that an ensemble of elements appears as fragmented or dispersed.”<sup>136</sup> However paradoxical it may appear, it is precisely because the idea of fragmentation correlates to the idea of the failure of the social to become a totality that the signification of a presumed social totality—in this case the nation—is possible in the first place (I develop this idea below). Historian David Bushnell arrives to a similar conclusion.<sup>137</sup> Towards the end of the following passage, Bushnell hints at the idea

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<sup>134</sup> Safford, *Colombia*, ix.

<sup>135</sup> Laclau writes: “To study the conditions of existence of a given social identity, then, is to study the power mechanisms making it possible.” Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London: Verso, 2010), 32.

<sup>136</sup> Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 82.

<sup>137</sup> In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, Laclau and Mouffe, in the first instance, question the idea of a Hegelian totality, which assumes that a whole exists prior to its parts. These parts then are none other than the reflection of the inner essence of this whole—an essence that is dynamic and contradictory, and which unfolds dialectically, giving expression to its parts. Laclau and Mouffe, in the second instance, are also critical of the Cartesian totality, in which the configuration of different fragments results in a totality—an atomistic approach to understanding the social. To avoid these two understandings of totality, Laclau and Mouffe build their argument on Louis Althusser’s notion of overdetermination through which Althusser posited the idea of a totality that is decentered (even though he also contended that such totality was determined at the last instance by a structure such as the economy): neither are the fragments derivations of a whole nor the fragments do they constitute the totality, but instead, the whole and the fragments

of how fragmentation—as a constitutive element of the nation—has informed the identity of Colombians:

The problem of Colombia's image as a nation is compounded by ambivalent characteristics of the Colombians themselves. Quite apart from their tendency in recent years to take the lead in underscoring negative aspects of the national panorama, they continue to exhibit major differences along the lines of class, region, and in some cases ethnicity. It is thus a common place to say (with Colombians often saying first and loudest) that the country lacks a true national identity or a proper spirit of nationalism at least as compared to most of its Latin American neighbors. Indeed, hyperbolic nationalism is not common in Colombia and the national character, if such a thing can be said to exist, is a composite of sometimes contradictory traits. However, both the *costeño* (or denizen of the Caribbean coast) and the *cachaco* (from Bogotá or more generally the Andean interior), who profess to have nothing in common, make much the same complaints about the country's society and institutions, and do so within a common frame of reference.<sup>138</sup>

Furthermore, in terms of identity formation, Laclau and Mouffe tell us that the limits of an identity (i.e., its failure to fully constitute itself) are signaled by the practice of antagonizing the "Other" (through the discursive construction of an enemy), given that the Other, by definition, is that which is excluded from such identity but from which the Self is constructed against. This is the reason why, at first glance, Laclau and Mouffe's antagonism seems to suggest that it is an already-constituted external enemy (e.g., colonialism, imperialism, or even topography, as Safford and Palacios argue) who prevents

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constitute one another. In this sense, any totality is overdetermined, for there is no single theory or material reality that can capture or explain the causality of an essence or existence. Stephen Cullenberg defines it overdetermination as: "a theory of existence that states that nothing exists in and of itself, prior to and independent from everything else, and therefore all aspects of society exist only as a result of the constitution (mutual determination) of all of society's aspects." Stephen Cullenberg, "Overdetermination, Totality, and Institutions: A Genealogy of a Marxist Institutional Economics," *Journal of Economic Issues* 33, no. 4 (1999): 8121; For Laclau's critique on Althusser's "determination at the last instance," see Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 83–91; For a discussion on the idea of totality in Marxist thought, see Cullenberg, Stephen Cullenberg, "Overdetermination, Totality, and Institutions: A Genealogy of a Marxist Institutional Economics," *Journal of Economic Issues* 33, no. 4 (1999): 801–15."

<sup>138</sup> Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, viii.

a particular group from constituting itself fully. Or why, for instance, in response to a fictive universal (and European) culture, there is an expectation that without European presence, national culture could have developed organically and fully bloomed into its own self-determined potential. Put differently, cultural actors within the logic of cultural nationalism express this antagonism as an interruption of the nation to establish itself, culturally or otherwise.<sup>139</sup> However, rather than what is expressed by such antagonism (i.e., what such discourse says or who the enemy is), the importance of an antagonism is that it *shows* the structural impossibility of such identity to be fixed. “[In an antagonism] it is not [an] identity which is expressed, but the impossibility of its constitution,” writes Laclau.<sup>140</sup>

Nevertheless, Laclau and Mouffe first conceived of the category of antagonism in a much broader framework. Because Laclau and Mouffe call the terrain in which this process of signification happens a *discourse* and the articulations that constitute the elements of discourse *objectivity*, they go on to define the category of antagonism as the discursive inscription of “the experience of the limit of all objectivity.”<sup>141</sup> Antagonism, in this sense, is a representation of the limits of a system of signification of the social. To understand this,

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<sup>139</sup> I understand cultural nationalism as defined by Thomas Turino: "Cultural nationalism is the semiotic work of using expressive practices and forms to fashion the concrete emblems that stand for and create the 'nation', that distinguish one nation from another, and most importantly, that serve as the basis for socializing citizens to inculcate national sentiment. In all nation-states and aspiring nation-states, cultural nationalism is an on-going process. Cultural nationalism is not a celebratory or entertainment-oriented frill attached to serious political work; it is one of the essential pillars upon which the entire nationalist edifice stands. Music, dance, visual arts, political speech, and a broad variety of other expressive cultural practices, in turn, are at the center of cultural nationalist projects." Thomas Turino, "Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 24, no. 2 (October 1, 2003): 175, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3598738>.

<sup>140</sup> Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, 18.

<sup>141</sup> Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London: Verso, 2007), 68.



let us return to *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, where Laclau and Mouffe first introduced antagonism as a theoretical category.

### **Antagonism and Hegemony**

In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, Laclau and Mouffe used antagonism to describe a process of signification that they labelled hegemony: an operation in which “one difference, without ceasing to be a particular difference assumes the representation of an incommensurable totality.”<sup>142</sup> In other words, hegemony denotes the social and political processes and strategies by which a collective identity attempts to dominate the political sphere: how a group identity is not only constructed but comes to represent and speak for a whole.

Indeed, by developing their concept of hegemony, Laclau and Mouffe aimed to show how a unified social and political alliance (i.e., a social totality) can be articulated (meaning “jointed”) to challenge a dominant and oppressive power when the subjects within that alliance-to-be are fundamentally different and respond to a plurality of struggles.<sup>143</sup> This is further explained if one understands Laclau and Mouffe’s hegemony as a concept that leaves behind the centrality of class in classical Marxism by building on Antonio Gramsci’s own notion of hegemony,<sup>144</sup> on the one hand, and on Jacques Derrida’s

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid, 70.

<sup>143</sup> Hegemony denotes, in short, a process of articulation. Laclau and Mouffe define it as, “any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice.” Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 91.

<sup>144</sup> Before Gramsci, the concept of hegemony was used (especially by Lenin) to denote the process from which an inter-class alliance could be formed, while still positing that historical change would reside on the working class. Later, Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony arises as a critique of economicism—one in which social classes and culture derived from the structure (the economic base determines culture)—

concept of *différance*, on the other.<sup>145</sup> Hegemony, put differently, should be understood as a model in which the idea of the formation of a historical bloc a priori is rejected from social and political analysis.<sup>146</sup> Laclau and Mouffe thus do not assume a transcendental subject, a pre-constituted identity, nor an identity that derives from a structure or essence. Rather, they favor an understanding of group identity in which the play between differences take a constitutive role in the formation of such identity.

Against this backdrop, I find it important to note as well that Laclau and Mouffe reject the reduction of differential relations to linguistics. Instead, they emphasize how these differential relations “pierce the entire material density of the multifarious institutions, rituals and practices through which a discursive formation is structured.”<sup>147</sup> This

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attempting instead to signal the way both structure and superstructure (politics and culture) constitute each other; both of which are cemented together, through the work of ideology, to form a “historical bloc.” However, while Gramscian hegemony attempted to explain the formation of and dominance of said historical blocs not by looking at political subjects through class but as complex ‘collective wills,’ as Laclau and Mouffe point out, Gramsci ultimately fails to overcome class essentialism. They write: “Gramsci’s thought appears suspended around a basic ambiguity concerning the status of the working class which finally leads it to a contradictory position. On the one hand, the political centrality of the working class has a historical, contingent character: it requires the class to come out of itself, to transform its own identity by articulating to it a plurality of struggle and democratic alliances. On the other hand, it would seem that this articulatory role is assigned to it by the economic base.” Laclau and Mouffe, 60; For a comprehensive survey of the notion of hegemony in Marxist thought, see Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 37–78. Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 37–78; See also Gramsci, *The Gramsci Reader*, 189–221.

<sup>145</sup> In very simple terms, for Laclau and Mouffe, Derrida’s *différance* denotes a process by which meaning can never be fixed and therefore the system of signification becomes a quasi-system, “for its structurality consists in nothing other than its use.” For a critique of how Laclau and Mouffe employ Derrida’s *différance*, see Fritsch, “Antagonism and Democratic Citizenship (Schmitt, Mouffe, Derrida),” 2008, 181–85.

<sup>146</sup> Antonio Gramsci defines a historical bloc as an alliance that expresses a historical congruence between material forces, institutions and ideologies. Gramsci explains it in the following way: “Structures and superstructures form an historical bloc that is to say the complex, contradictory and discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production. From this, one can conclude: that only a totalitarian system of ideologies gives a rational refraction of the contradiction of the structure and represents the existence of the objective conditions for the revolutionising of praxis. If a social group is formed which is one hundred per cent homogeneous on the level of ideology, this means that the premises exist one hundred per cent for this revolutionising: that is that the ‘rational’ is actively and actually real. This reasoning is based on the necessary reciprocity between structure and superstructure: a reciprocity which is nothing other than the real dialectical process.” Gramsci, *The Gramsci Reader*, 192.

<sup>147</sup> Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 95.

clarification is key for the study of music, for it shows how a relational totality (what Laclau and Mouffe call a *discourse*) is embodied and dispersed into multiple practices, material realities, and symbolic constructions including the aural, the visual, the oral, and the written. This dispersion helps us also understand how music can produce meaning. After all, as Lawrence Kramer explains:

Musical meaning is understood as a communicative action and therefore embedded in a continuous texture of psychological, social, and cultural relations. Music—and in this it is no different from more explicitly semantic modes such as narration and visual depiction—means not primarily by what it says but by the way it models the symbolization of experience. (*Symbolization* here is an umbrella term covering both discourse and fantasy; communicative action, as opposed to the traditional sender-receiver model of communication, assumes the existence of interpretive transformations at every post in a general circulation of signs and meanings.) Musical meaning is understood, both in practice and in analytical reflection, not by translating music as a virtual utterance or depiction, but by grasping the dynamic relations between musical experience and its contexts.<sup>148</sup>

Given the absence of a transcendental subject and of a defined structure that gives expression to an identity, Laclau and Mouffe abandon the notion of society as a sutured and ordered whole, which is why they argue that society is not a valid object of discourse for “there is no single underlying principle fixing—and hence constituting—the whole field of differences.”<sup>149</sup> Rather, they posit that the social field (or for that matter, a signifying system) is paradoxically sustained by the absence of a center. The social is none other than

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<sup>148</sup> Kramer, *Musical Meaning*, 7.

<sup>149</sup> Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 97.

an infinite movement of differential elements—a relational totality. But if this is the case, how is signification even possible?

In the first instance, Laclau and Mouffe contend that the representation of a presumed totality (one that does not have a center) is made possible by the construction of a signifier without a signified (i.e., a sign that does not have any particular content so that it can represent all particulars), which Laclau would later call an *empty signifier*.<sup>150</sup> As a matter of fact, in *Emancipation(s)*, Laclau explains that an empty signifier can only emerge “if there is a structural impossibility in signification as such, and only if this impossibility can signify itself as an interruption (subversion, distortion, etcetera) of the structure of the sign.”<sup>151</sup> This is important because the signification of the interruption of the structure of the sign (i.e., when the process by which a signified is attached to a signifier is interrupted) only reveals itself through a structural paradox in which “what constitutes the condition of possibility of a signifying system—its limits—is also what constitutes its condition of impossibility—a blockage of the continuous expansion of the process of signification.”<sup>152</sup>

To explain such a structural paradox, Laclau and Mouffe posit that the interruption (or the limits) of the signification process shows itself when social actors discursively construct a subversion of the sign; that is, when a particular signified is made to represent a totality. If these limits were able to be signified directly, then they would be internal to the process of signification, and thus, would not constitute a limit at all. This subversion is articulated when a particular signified is split into two: on the one hand, the signified is

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<sup>150</sup> Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, First Edition edition (London: Verso, 2007), 36–46.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

made to assume the role of representing the entirety of the signifying system, emptying its content when it becomes attached to a particular signifier, while on the other, such signified still retains its differential content despite its subversion.<sup>153</sup>

A national identity follows this same process. Cultural actors construct a national identity so that it represents a totality (a nation), but since such representation cannot express a content that encapsulates all the differences within the nation (i.e., an aggregate of the radical heterogeneity of the social, racial, sexual, ethnic, linguistic, and other differences), what follows is that said cultural actors choose one difference to represent the nation. The signifier *national music*, for example, remains ambiguous, for it is empty and can be occupied by signifieds (i.e., Andean music until 1940s, and then cumbia, and so forth). The symbolization of this totality (i.e., the nation) is therefore a structural impossibility, albeit possible through the subversion of such a sign.

The difference that cultural actors choose to represent the system, it should be emphasized once more, results from the power asymmetries of the social. And as Laclau notes, this process relies largely on affective registers that go well beyond purely representational practices, but which he sees nonetheless as integral to the signifying

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<sup>153</sup> Laclau is, however, careful to distinguish between the signification of such interruption and polysemy (when one sign comes to mean different things). He also warns against conflating this interruption with the ambiguity of a sign. In this regard, he argues: "Some pseudo answers can be discarded quite quickly. One would be to argue that the same signifier can be attached to different signifieds in different contexts (as a result of the arbitrariness of the sign). But it is clear that, in that case, the signifier would not be *empty* but *equivocal*: the function of signification in each context would be fully realised. A second possibility is that the signifier is not *equivocal* but *ambiguous*: that either an overdetermination or an underdetermination of signifieds prevents it from being fully fixed. Yet this floating of the signifier still does not make it an empty one. Although the floating takes us one step towards the proper answer to our problem, the terms of the latter are still avoided. We do not have to deal with an excess or deficiency of signification, but with the precise theoretical possibility of something which points, from within the process of signification, to the discursive presence of its own limits." Ibid, 36.

process.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, because a national identity is never fully constituted nor fixed, this makes national identification also irreducible to identity: subjects might identify with identities other than a national identity, be they regional, linguistic, continental, etc.

We can find this process of identification, for example, in the constructions of the umbrella category of "música colombiana" that I alluded to in the first pages of the introduction. During the first half of the twentieth century, música colombiana came to represent Colombian musical practices as a whole, but its aesthetic form could not possibly reflect *all* styles of music produced within the Colombian nation at that time (i.e., it was not an aggregate of local musical styles nor a potpourri of musical practices), favoring instead the aesthetic preferences of the Colombian Andean region, where the center of power (Bogotá) is located. Along these lines, Peter Wade, in his influential study on music and blackness in Colombia, shows the process by which a signified is split into two (although he does not refer to it in those terms). In regard to the formation of Colombian musical identity, Wade locates Colombia's nationalist project of cultural unity in the tension between discourses of cultural homogeneity vis-à-vis heterogeneity:

So far, I have been moving toward a view of nationalism and national identity in which homogeneity and heterogeneity are seen as two sides of the nationalist coin, rather than facing each other across a nationalist divide; in which cultural elements from a wide variety of sources, "traditional" and "modern," "foreign" and "national"—all ambivalent terms—can be recombined and resignified, *without their meaning being exhausted or fixed by simplistic oppositions between elite and masses*, but without this implying that they are totally autonomous from basic power inequalities and hegemonic value hierarchies or from nationalist projects guided by elites; and in

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<sup>154</sup> Ernesto Laclau, "Glimpsing the Future," in Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart, *Laclau: A Critical Reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).

which the heterogeneity of national cultures is located in a transnational frame with all that implies for the fragmentation of imagined communities.<sup>155</sup>

Thus, just as Laclau and Mouffe's split signified, Wade argues that the difference that comes to represent a totality is at the same able to retain its particularity. To support this claim, Wade also points out to the fact that the meaning of the cultural elements that came to form a typology of musical practices during the twentieth century in Colombia was never exhausted nor fixed despite its constant resignifications; Wade tells us:

Thus, music from the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia could be resignified as a national music by relocating it in relation to other elements rather than by simply obliterating its former meanings. *Its blackness did not disappear*, but was diluted stylistically; meanwhile, other, "blacker," musics which were not as popular commercially remained to signify "true" blackness.<sup>156</sup>

Contrary to Laclau and Mouffe, however, in Wade's account, fragmentation appears as an effect of cultural forces like transnationalism, and not as a constitutive element of the signification of a totality, although at times Wade seems to hint at fragmentation as constitutive of the nation: "indeed, it makes sense to say that the nation, as the symptom of the ethnography of the contemporary in modern culture, is radically fragmented; it is an unstable conjuncture of parts of interlocking transnational cultural diasporas."<sup>157</sup> Let us, however, recall that just as nationalism creates the nation, and not the other way around, as Ernest Gellner has perhaps more notoriously shown, fragmentation

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<sup>155</sup> Peter Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation: Musica Tropical in Colombia*, 1 edition (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2000), 14. Italics are mine.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 13. Italics are mine.

is *sine qua non* for identity to be articulated, despite what the narration of said fragmentation appears to indicate.<sup>158</sup>

Furthermore, to explain how signification is possible within a relational totality, in the second instance, Laclau and Mouffe adapt Lacan's concept of *points de capiton* to elucidate the process by which differences are partially fixed (they call these *nodal points*), as to allow for signification within an otherwise ceaseless movement of differences.<sup>159</sup> These partial fixations occur by the temporal cancelation or dissolution of such differences, which form *a chain of equivalence*. These differences are, in other words, articulated by subjects into an "equivalential" relation—into an *identity* so to speak. For such differences to *form a chain of equivalence*, however, they need to give up their purely differential character as to "determine the content of that 'identical something' present in the various terms of the equivalence."<sup>160</sup> Because no two differences are alike (otherwise they would cease to be a difference) as to form a bond on their own, subjects need to find a commonality to something external. This process of identification creates a bond (i.e., an articulation) that can generate an antagonistic frontier in which the equivalential bond is generated vis-à-vis an excluded difference: the commonality is found in their common rejection of a difference.

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<sup>158</sup> See Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* / Breuilly, *John*,; 1946-, 56.

<sup>159</sup> See Eve Katsouraki, "Epilogue: The 'Trojan Horse'—Or, from Antagonism to the Politics of Resilience," in Fisher and Katsouraki, *Performing Antagonism*.

<sup>160</sup> In order to construct a framework in which subjects are not fully constituted (a pre-discursive subject if you will), Laclau and Mouffe used the term subject to refer to the subject-positions (or subjects before subjectification) within a discursive structure that is always open and not fixed. After all, as Laclau and Mouffe write "subjects cannot therefore, be the origin of social relations—not even in the limited sense of being endowed with powers that render an experience possible—as 'all' experience depends on precise discursive conditions of possibility." Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 101; For a discussion on the category of "subject," see pages 101–108.



This excluded difference is then discursively antagonized as an enemy that poses as a threat to the identity formed against it.<sup>161</sup>

Hence, it is because the formation identity requires an exclusion that Laclau and Mouffe posit that the social is constructed around a constitutive lack. This is why subjects can never constitute themselves fully nor fix their identities. This lack is, in other words, what allows the social to be non-fixed and open to constant rearticulation. In this light, it bears repeating that the very condition of possibility of the formation of political identities is at the same time the condition of impossibility of a society to constitute a social totality.<sup>162</sup>

Nevertheless, the differences that enter in an equivalential articulation are never erased completely, for if the construction of the enemy weakens, the differential content is kept, prompting the construction of a new enemy, or at times, a discursive reconstruction of a previous antagonist, as is the case of Uribe Holguín's changing persona in Colombian music historiography (i.e., an anti-nationalist, a foreignizer, etc.). As Mouffe proposes in *Agonistics*, this relation does not have to be antagonistic, but does have a strong tendency to be so. Mouffe writes:

This does not mean, of course, that such a relation [a “we/they” relation] is by necessity antagonistic. Indeed, many us/them relations are merely a question of recognizing differences. But it means that there is always the possibility that this ‘us/them’ relation might become one of friend/enemy. This happens when the others, who up to now were considered as simply different, start to be perceived as putting into question *our* identity and threatening our existence. From that moment

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<sup>161</sup> Certain authors, however, have highlighted that Laclau and Mouffe's political framework in which exclusions are necessarily antagonistic should be presented instead as a possibility, albeit a very present possibility. Otherwise, we would grant a privileged ontological status to antagonism (i.e., a community is constituted through an exclusion and thus, it is *always* politicized as an antagonism), and thus, it would defeat its own anti-essentialist claims). See Allan Dreyer Hansen, “Laclau and Mouffe and the Ontology of Radical Negativity,” *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 15, no. 3 (September 2, 2014): 283–95, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2014.973895>; Matthias Fritsch, “Antagonism and Democratic Citizenship (Schmitt, Mouffe, Derrida),” *Research in Phenomenology* 38, no. 2 (2008): 174–97.

<sup>162</sup> Mouffe, *Agonistics*, 5.

on, as Carl Schmitt has pointed out, any form of us/them relation—be it religious, ethnic, or economic—becomes the locus of an antagonism.

This is also supported by the fact that if one of the particularities within the equivalential chain ceases to exist, the grounds for the equivalential relation disappear as well. In other words, there is no need at any given moment for an identity to be constructed. Rather, what we encounter is a practice that derives from power—an act of exclusion that is expressed as a political identity.

Another example that evinces this form of articulation based on exclusionary practices occurs when a chain of equivalence is extended. The larger a chain of equivalence becomes, the less concrete the differences that form it are able to retain their particularity. This is the case with populism, or when a particular *plebs* (i.e., a particular underprivileged group) becomes the *populus* (i.e., the body of all citizens). In populist articulation, because the equivalential chain constitutes the elusive and deliberately ambiguous concept of “the people” by finding a common identity in opposition to the oligarchy, the enemy ceases to be circumstantial and acquires a more global dimension.<sup>163</sup> This is not to say that the enemy is expressed in more abstract terms; on the contrary, what this suggests is that both “the people” and the “elite” enter into an antagonistic relationship that requires constant rearticulation. Conversely, in communitarian space where the chain of equivalence is not as large all differences are considered to be important within that supposed totality. This, in other words, is the aim of a plural and radical democracy: a communitarian space

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<sup>163</sup> For a comprehensive and multi-disciplinary study of the term “the people,” see Alain Badiou and Jody Gladding, *What Is a People?*, 2016.

articulated by the logic of difference and not equivalence. This is why Laclau contends that the social reveals itself as “nothing but the locus of this irreducible tension [between difference and equivalence].”<sup>164</sup>

Let me apply this to a different situation. In *On Populist Reason*, Ernesto Laclau suggests using “social demands” (replacing difference) as the minimal unit for the analysis of populism’s articulatory process. For instance, in a given democratic postcolonial country, there exists a plurality of separate struggles, which inform the experience of each subject-position in a unique embodied way (e.g., the experience of an indigenous heterosexual woman will be different from the experience of a mixed-raced homosexual man and so on). Each subject-position (whose identity is never entirely fixed) will therefore have a particular demand to make, responding to their own differential position (a nodal point) under, say, the inefficient administration of such a country by a weak state.

The demands made by these subject-positions arise, of course, from unmet needs. The accumulation of multiple demands will require the state to tackle these demands one by one. If, however, the state fails to fulfill each of these demands (i.e., it fails to absorb them in a differential way), an equivalential chain will be formed against the state. As such, an internal antagonistic frontier between two camps *could* be formed—that is, between the subjects whose demands were unsatisfied and the elites who run the state.

Now, if the state happens to fulfill some of the demands that had entered this equivalential relation, the equivalential chain will be weakened, and the identity constructed in opposition of the state will begin to dissipate. Let us assume, however, that

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<sup>164</sup> Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 80.

the antagonizing of this internal frontier between the subject-positions whose demands are unmet and the state elites is successful. Through the equivalential chain, these subject-positions begin to constitute a broader social subjectivity. Laclau locates this subjectivity as the beginning of the constitution of “the people” as a potential historical actor (i.e., the *plebs* begins to appear as the *populus*). This allows different subject-positions to identify with the notion of “the people,” over say, for instance, an identity such as *woman* or *peasant*.

However, as more demands begin to accrue, the identity that has come to represent a presumed totality (the people) has to remain empty and intentionally vague as to accommodate for more demands to enter the chain, which will allow for a wider identification with said identity. Because we are dealing with a relation of contingency, the discursive construction of the enemy has to be continuously reconstructed and made even more ambiguous to maintain this chain. It bears repeating that the particularity or demand that comes to signify the totality is privileged over the others precisely because the social (the tension between equivalence and difference) is *not* a sum-zero of differences; on the contrary, because the social is an uneven terrain, not every struggle is equally capable of signifying a whole, or establishing a hegemonic relationship; Laclau writes:

...these uneven structural locations, some of which represent points of high concentration of power, are themselves the result of processes, which logics of difference and logics of equivalence overdetermine each other. It is not a question of denying the historical effectivity of the logic of differential structural locations but,

rather, of denying to them, as a whole, the character of an infrastructure which would determine, out of itself, the laws of movement of a society.<sup>165</sup>

To summarize, the process of identity formation (by means of equivalential articulation) can be constituted through a dichotomization of the social in which certain differences are demarcated as an “Other” (albeit partially fixed), which come to represent said identity’s “exterior.” This exterior creates a collective identity (“we” or the “Self”) that requires as the very condition of its existence the construction—by ways of exclusion—of a difference (“they” or the “Other”). As it may be apparent already, both Self and Other are not fixed identities but partial fixations of meaning. In this light, as Laclau argues in *On Populist Reason*, the Other—as an “exterior”—should rather be understood as an “internal exterior.” Or rather, its exclusion constitutes an “inclusive exclusion” (Mouffe prefers this term in *Agonistics*) in which the parties that enter the antagonistic relation are always in a precarious and contingent relation.

Laclau and Mouffe’s hegemony, of course, is a model that reduces the social to identity politics, an identity politics that begin at the level of civil society,<sup>166</sup> but which ignores other politics that might be at play.<sup>167</sup> Given that scholars have by and large inscribed Uribe Holguín’s presence into the Colombian imaginary within the realm of identity politics, I believe Laclau and Mouffe’s antagonistic model will allow us,

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<sup>165</sup> Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, 43.

<sup>166</sup> See Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, xiii.

<sup>167</sup> Critics of Laclau’s paradigm have, for instance, pointed to how his theory of hegemony (in which antagonism first shows up as a concept), Laclau and Mouffe evade the question of the role of the state. Beasley-Murray writes: “In Laclau, this evasion is possible in part thanks to this conflation of the difference between linguistic and nonlinguistic elements of what he declares is an all-embracing “discourse.” Substituting hegemony for politics and silent about institutional power, the theory of hegemony effectively becomes an antipolitics. Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony*, 41.

nonetheless, to examine the elision between the ontological and the epistemological that I described in the section above. In other words, the category of antagonism allows me to show how historiographical practices participate in the discursive construction of the nation as a presumed totality as well as how actors such as Uribe Holguín construct their identity in dialogue with said practices. In terms of using the category of antagonism as a way to describe identity formation processes—and which I employ as a method to analyze Uribe Holguín’s position in the Colombian imaginary throughout this dissertation—Laclau writes:

The same possibility-impossibility dialectic constituting the social ‘totality’ also constitutes the identity of social actors. The crucial question, then, is not who the social agents are, but the extent to which they manage to constitute themselves. The analysis must therefore begin with the explicit ‘objective’ identities of the social agents—those making up their ‘fullness’—and then go on to emphasize the dislocations adulterating that fullness. Secondly, it must refer to both the identities and dislocations operating with those explicit objective identities, and to the contingency of their respective conditions of existence.<sup>168</sup>

What is important to consider, as Laclau, Slavoj Žižek, and Judith Butler write in the introduction to their book *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality*, is that “incompleteness is essential to the project of hegemony itself. No social movement can, in fact, enjoy its status as an open-ended, democratic political articulation without presuming and operationalizing the negativity at the heart of identity.”<sup>169</sup> Negativity, in this case, is the Hegelian correlative to the constitutive lack mentioned above. Thus, Laclau and Mouffe’s *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* is often seen as a path-breaking achievement in social theory

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<sup>168</sup> Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, 36.

<sup>169</sup> Judith Butler et al., *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: [Contemporary Dialogues on the Left]* (London: Verso, 2011), 2.

precisely because they were able to show how a positivization of negativity within a social space could be possible, taking into account how such space is formed by means of power and exclusions. In the section below, I discuss how Žižek proposes to use antagonism to analyze the social through a Lacanian lens.

### **Antagonism and Desire**

In *Interrogating the Real*, Žižek argues that to grasp the radical potential of *antagonism* one needs to read it by inverting its meaning: it is not an external enemy that prevents an identity to achieve complete determination, but it is identity itself that is already blocked. Žižek understands this incompleteness as homologous to Jacques Lacan's notion of Real, which Žižek defines as an "inherent limitation...of the Symbolic fully to 'become itself'."<sup>170</sup> The political antagonizing of an identity and the discursive confrontation with such antagonist therefore corresponds to the way subjects attempt to cover up what they deem to be the failure to achieve identity with themselves.<sup>171</sup> For Žižek, Laclau and Mouffe's

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<sup>170</sup> Slavoj Žižek, "Class Struggle or Postmodernism? Yes, please!" in Butler et al., *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality*, 120. In Lacan's work, the human subject is constructed through three registers: The Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real). I capitalize these registers here to differentiate them from other definitions of these terms. Contrary to Lacan's Imaginary (a sphere of identification and images, which, in broad terms, is tied to consciousness and self-awareness), the Symbolic for Lacan denotes a register/sphere akin to language, which encompasses a set of "inter-subjective and trans-subjective contexts" that mediated by speaking subjects to generate social links. See Bert Olivier, "Lacan and Critical Musicology / Lacan i Kritička Muzikologija," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 36, no. 1 (2005): 135–58.

<sup>171</sup> Let us remember that Lacan argued that the human subject first developed a sense of the self during their childhood, when the child starts recognizing his own mirror image as an image of "one self." The subject that arises from such a process is the result of the Imaginary register, one that precedes the process of subject formation through language (the Symbolic register). Lacan's framework owes, in this sense, to structural linguistics, which posits that it is through language (Saussure's *langue*), through which social bonds are articulated. For Lacan, nevertheless, the process of identification during the mirror stage is one of misrecognition and thus constitutes a fictional construct that lays the foundation for a trajectory laden with processes of alienation, prompting new ways of identification and trauma. Therefore, the subject that emerges during the mirror stage will never coincide with the subject that emerges through a symbolic register, which is why identity can never come to fully identify with itself. For Žižek, then the Subject stands

concept of antagonism demonstrates how Lacan's Real can be symbolized, despite the fact that such representation constitutes an impossibility. Indeed, like antagonism, the Real denotes a representation of a pre-political gap of the Self that precedes the encounter with the Symbolic.<sup>172</sup> In this light, Žižek writes:

What is at stake in pure antagonism is no longer the fact that – as in an antagonistic fight with an external adversary—all the positivity, all the consistency of our position lies in the negation of the adversary's position and vice versa; what is at stake is the fact that the negativity of the other which is preventing me from achieving my full identity with myself is just an externalization of my own auto-negativity, of my self-hindering.<sup>173</sup>

Thus for Žižek the externalization of the impossibility of identity to be completely determined—this “self-hindering”—also reveals the fact that “before being caught in identification, in symbolic (mis)recognition, the subject is trapped by the Other through a paradoxical object-cause of desire.”<sup>174</sup> Building on Lacan's work, Žižek's use of the Other here (with a capital O) stands not as an imagined otherness as in the figure of “the Oriental”

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not as constituted subject but as a symbolization of the limit of subjectivization. This is similar to the way an antagonism for Laclau and Mouffe corresponds to the discursive inscription of the limit of the social to constitute itself. In this light, Žižek writes: “In this precise sense, the subject is beyond or before subjectivization: subjectivization designates the movement through which the subject integrates what is given them into the universe of meaning – this integration always ultimately fails, there is a certain leftover which cannot be integrated into the symbolic universe, an object which resists subjectivization, and the subject is precisely correlative to this object. In other words, the subject is correlative to its own limit, to the element which cannot be subjectivized, it is the name of the void which cannot be filled out with subjectivization: the subject is the point of failure of subjectivization.” Slavoj Žižek, *Interrogating the Real* (London [u.a.: Bloomsbury, 2013), 308.

<sup>172</sup> This is why Lacanian theory (including Laclau and Mouffe's antagonism) can also be considered post-structuralist, as it is built around the idea of a “quasi-transcendental” structure, one in which the ‘condition of the possibility and the impossibility’ of something else.” Lacan quoted in Olivier. See Bert Olivier, “Lacan and Critical Musicology,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 36, no. 1 (2005): 135–58. 139.

<sup>173</sup> Žižek and Butler, *Interrogating the Real*, 305.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, 309; The Other here stands not as an Other cultural actor (a fully constituted subject) but as a misconstruction of Imaginary others and Symbolic Others in the form of “socially recognised, language-symbolised demands.” Adrian Johnston, “Repetition and Difference: Žižek, Deleuze and Lacanian Drives,” in *Lacan and Deleuze, A Disjunctive Synthesis* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 189, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1g04zt9.15>.



(Lacan denotes with a lower-case o).<sup>175</sup> Rather, the Other denotes the Real dimension of Otherness: an undeterminable, radical other. In his version of the Oedipus complex, Lacan maps the Real Other onto the maternal figure (i.e., the “(m)Other”), who in a libidinal economy (i.e., how the economy is charged with passions and vice versa), “becomes the forever unattainable ‘Sovereign Good,’ the fixed vanishing point of all desiring.”<sup>176</sup> In Lacan’s view, this desire of the Other arises when a mother raises a child to articulate their needs through specific manners that conform to the Symbolic order of a someone else (“a discourse of the Other”). Through this disciplining, the child learns to speak “the discourse of the Other,” as to be recognized by their parents and feel loved. Thus, throughout the rest of their lives, this discourse of the Other will exert decisive effects (whether consciously or not) on the person’s libidinal economy.<sup>177</sup>

It is in this sense that any subject is a desiring subject. Desire, for Lacan (and by extension, for Žižek), does not denote a so-called “conscious want.” Instead, desire is a representation of a chasm between a subject’s “need,” a sort of pre-discursive natural physical imperative that is located within the register of the Real (e.g., thirst or hunger), and the expression of such a need as a “demand” (i.e., when a need is expressed in a linguistic form).<sup>178</sup> A demand, however, always carries with it (symbolically, that is) more

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<sup>175</sup> See Adrian Johnston, “Jacques Lacan,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2016 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2016), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/lacan/>.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> This is not say that Lacan argues that everything is determined through language. On the contrary, what desire brings to the table is the process of articulation of an embodied need into a symbolic form. Olivier writes: "One may ask why desire can't be expressed or embodied in language. If I understand Lacan correctly here, it is because language, or the unconscious structured like a language, the 'discourse of the Other,' lacks being in the same sense that the subject, as soon as he or she enters language, lacks being. For

than what the “need,” given that for a subject to express such a need, they necessarily borrow from a Symbolic order that exceeds such a need. There is then, always a void left by the “overwriting of bodily needs by the signifiers of demands.”<sup>179</sup> This void is why desire, according to Lacan, operates as a metonymy (a substitution of one word for another).

Furthermore, as Olivier explains, desire is a relation “of being to lack,” one in which “no word adequately captures this lack because of its being removed, as symbol, from the fullness craved by the subject.”<sup>180</sup> Desire is thus something that is hidden from a human subject, repressed and only manifested in mumblings, gaps, or slips.<sup>181</sup> Paradoxically, it is yet through language (i.e., through the Symbolic order) by which a subject expresses their desire.<sup>182</sup> Žižek believes that to avoid the traumatic kernel of unfulfilled desire, the subject constructs a *fantasy*: an “imaginary scenario [whose] function is to provide a kind of positive support filling out the subject’s constitutive void.”<sup>183</sup> Most importantly for our purposes, when subjects begin to identify themselves with ideologies, this fantasy becomes a *social*

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the subject to acquire language is tantamount to losing the fullness of its being as (ineffable, 'organic' body), which is why Lacan refers to this entry into the symbolic as 'fading' or aphanisis." Olivier, 149.

<sup>179</sup> Johnston, “Repetition and Difference,” 191.

<sup>180</sup> Olivier, 150.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, 148.

<sup>182</sup> A desire, in this sense, is intervened by both the Real and the Symbolic, which is why for Lacan the desiring subject is “barred.” As Adrian Johnston explains: “Such a subject is 'barre'... alienated from its natural needs and derailed onto the tracks of non-natural desire doomed never to reach enjoyable destinations.” Johnston, “Jacques Lacan.”

<sup>183</sup> While it is not my intent to explore Žižek’s Lacanian-inspired notion of fantasy further here, I find important to add that Žižek sees that in a social fantasy, the desire to fill out the void in identity formation, is masked by the fullness of enjoyment such as racist enjoyment. See Žižek a *Interrogating the Real*, 308–14.

*fantasy*: “a necessary counterpart to the concept of antagonism, a scenario filling out the voids of social structure, masking its constitute antagonism.”<sup>184</sup>

Finally, Laclau and Mouffe’s category of antagonism, acting as a discursive inscription of a constitutive lack that dislocates the subject, serves Žižek to think the political beyond a purely ontological register.<sup>185</sup> Therefore, in the first instance, if we employ Žižek’s understanding of antagonism we must acknowledge that identity formation, as detailed in the sections above, is first an articulation of differential units. The process of identification, however, is informed by an internal “self-blockage,” which prompts a cultural actor to assume different subject-positions (i.e., to construct and identify with different identities) as way to mask a constitutive void and avoid trauma. In the second instance, because the process of identification responds to both “internal” (e.g., a need) and “external” circumstances (e.g., a social demand), a subject will attempt to fulfill the gap generated in the moment of articulating the need as a demand. However, because of this gap the actor experiences a desire that can never be satisfied and which is then articulated as a social fantasy.

To conclude, by understanding the discursive constructions of antagonisms as a practice of identity formation, in this dissertation, rather than carrying on with an accusatory exercise against Uribe Holguín’s foreignizing reforms—as it has been done in the past—or on the contrary, crafting a vindication to absolve Uribe Holguín’s foreignizing sins, I find it more productive to approach this case study by exploring the various

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<sup>184</sup> Žižek and Butler, 309.

<sup>185</sup> Ricardo Camargo, “Rethinking the Political: A Genealogy of the ‘Antagonism’ in Carl Schmitt through the Lens of Laclau-Mouffe-Žižek,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 13, no. 1 (2013): 179, <https://doi.org/10.14321/crnewcentrevi.13.1.0161>.

antagonisms constructed around Uribe Holguín's persona in relation to the discourses of modernity that have informed both his (self)defense and critique. In this dissertation, I thus explore how these antagonisms played out in nationalist strategies and discourses, and by extension, how these antagonisms have informed and constituted the epistemological operations involved in the construction of a typology of national musics.

I am also interested in the ways current historiographical practices present Latin America art music composers as Europeanizing subjects. I set out to address the curious reduction that maps what scholars call “art music” onto European culture—a topic that continues to be understudied in music research accounts that deal with postcolonial formations. While folklore and popular musics have both spun their own subfields within (ethno)musicological discourses looking to complicate, study, and problematize popular music and folklore, the term “art music,” and the musical practices associated with it, continue to be largely unchallenged.<sup>186</sup> I find it imperative then to question why art music in Latin America continues to be necessarily marked as intrinsically European. This transitive operation, I argue parallels what Dipesh Chakrabarty has called *historicism*, the “idea that to understand anything it has to be seen both as a unity and in its historical development [...], a “first in Europe, then elsewhere” structure of global historical time.”<sup>187</sup> In the next chapter, I tackle the politics of music localism through which the indexing of art music as necessarily European can be evinced with clarity, yet still problematized.

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<sup>186</sup> One of the books to tackle this categorization is Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of “folk Music” and “Art Music”*: *Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>187</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6.

## CHAPTER 2

### In Search for the (Anti-)National: Between the Particular and the Universal

Si el bambuco es de Alemania  
O es de los griegos nuestro turmequé  
Morales Pino es turco,  
Julio Flórez danés;  
Quevedo Zeta, Murillo,  
Valencia el pianista  
de China han de ser  
Asunción Silva, hebreo  
Y Uribe Holguín, francés

(If the *bambuco* is from Germany  
or our turmequé is Greek  
then Morales Pino is a turk  
Julio Flórez a Dane  
Quevedo Zeta, Murillo,  
And Valencia the pianist  
from China have to be  
Asunción Silva, Hebrew  
And Uribe Holguín, French)

Jorge Añez, “Si la Mar Fuera de Tinta” (1949)<sup>188</sup>

“For [Colombian critics], a piece that does not fit into the mold described as national, is a foreign and intrusive work, undeserving of praise,”<sup>189</sup> said Guillermo Uribe Holguín in front of an audience of conservatory-trained musicians, critics, and dilettantes

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<sup>188</sup> “Si la Mar Fuera de Tinta” is a *bambuco* (i.e., a localized, triple-meter rhythm and genre popular in the Colombian Andes), written by Jorge Añez. It was recorded by his duo Briceño y Añez in New York City (Brunswick records). Lyrics quoted in Jorge Añez and Enrique Otero d’Costa, *Canciones y recuerdos: conceptos acerca del origen del bambuco y de nuestros instrumentos típicos y sobre la evolución de la canción colombiana a través de sus más afortunados compositores e intérpretes* (Bogotá: s.n.]: 1951), 43.

<sup>189</sup> “Para ellos obra que no entre en el molde calificado de nacional, es obra extranjera y advenediza, indigna de buena acogida.” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 2.

on August 3, 1923 at the national conservatory in Bogotá.<sup>190</sup> To put an end to the “propaganda in favor of national art... [preferred] by some critics over any other form of [musical] production,”<sup>191</sup> on that Friday evening in August of 1923, Uribe Holguín discussed what he considered to be the main issues affecting the Colombian music scene when composers and critics adhered to a particularist notion (defined below) of “national music.” But by contending that the idea that Colombian national music should *not* gain its value and identity solely on the basis of its particularity, Uribe Holguín articulated a prevalent notion still present in Colombian music scholarship: the apparent irreducibility and antithetical relation between universality and particularity in discourses of music nationalism.

In this chapter, I argue that in Colombian music scholarship and criticism throughout the twentieth century, the term “music nationalism” has come to occupy the place of what I broadly define as *musical particularism*,<sup>192</sup> a relational discourse that emphasizes the role of music in constructing a national or regional identity as *difference*<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> This lecture was the inaugural talk of a series of colloquia sponsored by the *Sociedad de Alumnos del Conservatorio*, an association of students at the national conservatory. See “Variaciones sin Tema” *Revista Musical* 1, no. 1 (August 16, 1923), 12.

<sup>191</sup> “Ha venido acentuándose cada vez más en estos últimos tiempos, la propaganda en favor del arte nacional. Es casi una moda hoy abogar por él, ateniéndose algunos críticos a toda otra forma de producción.” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” *Revista Musical* 1, no. 1 (August 16, 1923): 2.

<sup>192</sup> I define particularism in this way so that it is operative within the context of cultural nationalism. In doing so, I draw from Ernesto Laclau’s contention that particularism is an *essentially relational concept*. He explains: “something is particular in relation to other particularities and the ensemble of them presupposes a social totality within which they are constituted. So, if it is the very notion of a social totality that is in question, the notion of ‘particular’ identities is equally threatened. Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(S)*, First Edition (London: Verso, 2007), 13.

<sup>193</sup> I use this term following Olivia Bloechl and Melanie Lowe, who define differential identity broadly as a “particular understanding of a self, another person, or a group that is formulated relative to others.” They argue that viewing identity as difference should be understood through the ways a temporal and contingent identity is produced through appeals to linguistic, psychological, social, and historical constructs. Olivia

vis-à-vis a global identity that is articulated through an appeal to *sameness*<sup>194</sup> in music. Taking this into consideration, I show how Uribe Holguín's reception as a Europeanizing (or foreignizing) composer stems from criticisms that have paid attention to either the effects of such musical particularism, or to effects of a *peripheral musical universalism*. I understand the latter as a discourse in which music actors from the cultural periphery aim to construct a national identity through an appeal to a universal and global musical sameness, but who ultimately fail to do so, for such discourse is caught in the idea of a fictive universal (see section below). However, as I will argue in chapter 4, scholars have failed to acknowledge how these discourses of musical particularism and musical universalism in the cultural periphery are not simply antithetical discourses, but conform instead to what Laclau and Mouffe call an *antagonism*. That is, a discursive articulation of particularity that is predicated upon the construction of universality as that which prevents such particularity from defining itself fully.<sup>195</sup> In addition, within this narrative trope, I contend that scholars have mapped Uribe Holguín almost unanimously to the discourse of musical universalism,

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Bloechl and Melanie Lowe, "Introduction: Rethinking Difference," in Olivia Ashley Bloechl, Melanie Diane Lowe, and Jeffrey Kallberg, *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, 2015, 5.

<sup>194</sup> In other words, sameness is how identity is constructed by appealing to discourses that regard musics across cultures through their common characteristics and not through the cultural particularities that distinguish them from the rest. On the subject of sameness and music, see Kofi Agawu, "The Invention of 'African Rhythm,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 3 (1995): 380–95, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3519832>; Bloechl, Lowe, and Kallberg, *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*; Veit Erlmann, "Resisting Sameness: À Propos Kofi Agawu's Representing African Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 26, no. 2 (2004): 291–304; Carol A Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11.

<sup>195</sup> I discuss the concept of antagonism and hegemony at length in the first chapter of this dissertation.

despite the fact that Uribe Holguín also resorted to particularist discourses throughout his career.<sup>196</sup>

Against this backdrop, I argue that Uribe Holguín's anti-particularist discourse evinces what Siskind deems a Latin American *cosmopolitan desire*. That is, a desire that "attempt[s] to undo the antagonistic structures ... around the notions of cultural difference that Latin American cosmopolitan [authors] perceive to be the source of their marginality."<sup>197</sup> Uribe Holguín's critics themselves acknowledged this form of cosmopolitan subjectivity in the composer's work. Composer and music critic Luis de Zulategui (1909–1977), in what has to be one of the most interesting descriptions of Uribe Holguín, wrote of Uribe Holguín's music style in the following way: "As a good product of the tropics [himself], musical barriers do not exist for [Uribe Holguín]. Melodically, he is a 'diabolus in musica' raised to the nth degree. Harmonically, [his music] is ultrapolytonal. Contrapuntally, he is a creator of species."<sup>198</sup>

For clarity's sake, I understand cosmopolitanism here as a discourse and practice that intentionally attempts to leave behind territorialized imaginations of identity.<sup>199</sup> The

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<sup>196</sup> At times, nonetheless, scholars have identified a contradiction between Uribe Holguín's universalizing discourse and his "nationalist" (read particularist) work (i.e., contrary to his 1923 lecture, where he rejects popular and folkloric music, his musical output features localized rhythms and melodies).

<sup>197</sup> Mariano Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires: Global Modernity and World Literature in Latin America*, 2014, 6.

<sup>198</sup> "Como buen producto del trópico, para él no existen barreras musicales. Melódicamente es un 'diabolus in musica' elevado a la enésima potencia. Armónicamente, ultrapolytonal. Contrapuntísticamente, creador de especies." Luis de Zulategui, "Maestro Guillermo Uribe Holguín," *Coleta Gloria de Fabricato*. Date Unknown. Folio de Prensa. Fundación Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Bogotá, Colombia.

<sup>199</sup> On Cosmopolitanisms, see Judy Breckenridge et al., *Cosmopolitanism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta, *Cosmopolitanisms* (New York: New York University Press, 2018); On nationalist cosmopolitanism in Colombia during the nineteenth century, see Martínez and Palacios, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita La referencia a Europa en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900*; On cosmopolitanism and music in Latin America, see Cristina Magaldi, "Cosmopolitanism and World Music in Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 92, no. 3–4 (2009): 3–4; Marc Gidal, "Contemporary 'Latin American' Composers of Art Music in the United States:



motivations behind such attempts vary from cultural actor to cultural actor, whose cosmopolitanisms are informed by the particularities of the place and historical circumstances from which they speak. In this light, Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta argue that the term cosmopolitanism has always been plural, displaying a mixture of two impulses: “The negative impulse asserts detachment from one’s place of origin or residence, a refusal of the jurisdiction of local authorities, a stepping outside of the conventions, prejudices, obligations. The positive impulse asserts membership in some larger, stronger, or more compelling collective.”<sup>200</sup> Any type of cosmopolitanist expression or practice conforms to a synthesis of these positive and negative impulses.<sup>201</sup> Uribe Holguín’s cosmopolitan subjectivity during the 1920s, that is, his desire to belong to a so-called universal narrative by appealing to sameness, is revealed through what he perceived to be as signifiers of a universal music modernity at the time and which he was eager to use in his work (angular melodies, harmonic stasis, polyrhythms, ostinato, dissonance, restrained “emotionality” etc.).<sup>202</sup> Let us be reminded that Uribe Holguín was an active participant in the construction of such a modernity while residing in Europe during the teens, so these elements were not foreign to him. These stylistic traits were a form of cultural capital that

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Cosmopolitans Navigating Multiculturalism and Universalism,” *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 31, no. 1 (2010): 40–78; Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 1 (April 1, 2015): 99–150.

<sup>200</sup> Robbins and Lemos Horta, *Cosmopolitanisms*, 2.

<sup>201</sup> In studying cosmopolitanist expressions, we should consider, for example, how cultural actors who have been subject to forced displacements and dispossession resort to cosmopolitan discourses and practices to participate and rearticulate new identities beyond specific geographical places. In this light, I do not see cosmopolitanism as an exclusively elitist practice, but consider other forms of cosmopolitanism, including “cosmopolitanisms from below,” as Silviano Santiago argues elsewhere. see Silviano Santiago, “The Cosmopolitanism of the Poor,” in Robbins and Lemos Horta, 21–39.

<sup>202</sup> For a study of how these modernist signifiers were modified, adapted, and contended in early twentieth-century México, see Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style.”

his position as member of the upper classes allowed him to acquire during his travels, and which he sought to legitimize in Colombia as director of National Conservatory.<sup>203</sup>

Upon his return to Colombia in 1910, however, Uribe Holguín's modernist aesthetic preferences were at odds with the cultural capital that was becoming legitimized in Colombia at the time: namely, what came to be known as Colombian popular music (later called "música colombiana," as I discussed in the introduction), a salon dance-music genre based on local rhythms that to his dismay other musicians constructed in opposition to the compositional aesthetic he had learned at the Schola Cantorum and which had closer ties to the United States' cultural industry. Composer Emilio Murillo Chapull, for instance, had recorded a number of these salon pieces with Columbia records in New York in 1910.<sup>204</sup> And what is more, during the 1910s, Columbia and RCA Victor established a blossoming market for this music through networks of musicians and representative. As Carolina Santamaría Delgado puts it, these records "sold like hot cakes in the local market."<sup>205</sup> However, not all of the characteristics of such a genre were to be discarded, as they could be readily adapted to fit a modernist aesthetic, especially ones concerning rhythm and structural repetition. What he criticized then, were the stylistic and discursive signifiers that he deemed as unfit to construct a national identity that could operate within the unfolding of his own imaginary of artistic progress—one located in the

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<sup>203</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, Richard Nice, and Tony Bennett, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 2015, xxiv–xxx.

<sup>204</sup> For more information on Murillo Chapull, see Ellie Anne Duque, "En Busca Del Alma Nacional: Emilio Murillo Chapull (1880-1942)," *Ensayos. Historia y Teoría Del Arte* 0, no. 6 (January 1, 2000): 168–82; Octavio Marulanda, *Emilio Murillo, o, El Arquetipo Musical de Una Época*, 1989.

<sup>205</sup> Carolina Santamaría Delgado, "The Bambuco and Hybrid Knowledges," in Javier F León and Helena Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader: Views from the South*, 2016, 202.

tension between particularism and universalism and which was informed by his position as a composer from the cultural periphery.

I thus propose to (re)locate Uribe Holguín's cultural production in the tension between discourses of particularism and universalism, both of which operate within the context of what Ana María Ochoa Gautier calls a *politics of belonging*. These are a politics "in which musical genres (traditional or popular) are deployed in order to articulate a) ties to place, b) communicative and communal ideals of spontaneity and affect that have been historically associated to an aesthetics of orality, and c) an ascribed sense of deeply felt identification."<sup>206</sup> Such politics operate in turn within the making of an aural public sphere. The aural, according to Ochoa Gautier, is constituted by practices of sonic localism, which recontextualize sounds (and music), through which social actors seek, on the one hand, to "provincialize sounds in order to ascribe them a place in the modern ecumene," and on the other, "to either enact or disrupt such practices [of recontextualization]."<sup>207</sup>

Paying close attention to how cultural actors constantly arbitrate and shift their position in relation to these politics of belonging within Colombian nationalist movements allows us as well to understand how music and discourses about music in early-twentieth century Colombia operate within hegemonic articulations of identity. As discussed in chapter 1, following Laclau and Mouffé the construction of hegemony involves a process by which a differential element (a music genre) comes to embody a totality (national music). This process, however, requires a constant antagonizing of an element, from which an

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<sup>206</sup> Ana María Ochoa-Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America," *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (November 1, 2006): 805.

<sup>207</sup> I expand on these two practices at length in chapter 4. Ochoa-Gautier, 803.

identity can be constructed by forming an equivalential bond against said antagonized element (an enemy that poses a threat against said identity). In this sense, these actors resort to music's discursive and non-discursive affective dimensions, so that their own cultural capital can be legitimized to the point that it comes to occupy the place of the national, representing the national collective as a whole. This comes about, however, through an active antagonizing of different music styles against which one can affirm one's own cultural difference, be it by framing these other musical styles as cultural impositions from Europe, or in Uribe Holguín's view, as what he saw as a provincial music style that did not showcase "proper technique," as I discuss below.

### **Of Sameness and Dislocation: Beethovenian *bambucos* and Schubertian *pasillos***

To understand how these politics of belonging operate in relation to cosmopolitan imaginaries, let us return to Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture, in which he challenged his detractors—whom he bitingly referred to as the "*leaders* of music nationalism."<sup>208</sup> Uribe Holguín dismissed his critics' belief in the existence of a type of popular music that was exclusively "Colombian" and could be readily identified as such. To support this contention, he set to debunk, among other things, the notion that Colombian popular music had its origins in pre-Columbian musical expressions (see chapter 5). Rather, he posited that the origins of Colombian popular music were to be found in Spain, even

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<sup>208</sup> Uribe Holguín uses the English word "leaders" as a qualifier, and not its Spanish correlative "líderes," most likely meant as a critique of their involvement with the phonographic industry of the United States, such as in the case of composer Emilio Murillo Chapull. I explore this rivalry in depth later in this chapter.

though he thought of these local popular music expressions as rudimentary degenerations of Spanish folklore, ones that were in need of sublimation, if they were to be granted any artistic value.<sup>209</sup>

By doing this, Uribe Holguín, was in other words, discursively dislocating the music produced by his detractors: he aimed to disrupt the affective ties to place articulated by composers like Emilio Murillo Chapull by positing that the origins of their music style lay somewhere outside of Colombian territory (a process of place-making, as I discuss in chapter 6). Indeed, Murillo Chapull, for instance—a detractor of Uribe Holguín and composer that became representative of the emerging industrial middle-class during the early twentieth-century (see below)—strategically framed himself during this time as an artist with ties to the Colombian soil by highlighting his indigenous heritage, despite being a mestizo (mixed-race), non-indigenous individual.<sup>210</sup> As Ochoa Gautier discusses, the construction of national identity in a place like Colombia, where colonial social and cultural hierarchies were being recasted to fit a unified (mestizo/a) identity, was largely predicated upon a discursive articulation that tied such an identity to the national territory. This is particularly heightened, especially when such identity responds to “a crisis of the

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<sup>209</sup> In her book *Representing the Good Neighbor*, Carol Hess explains that music critics in the United States used the term sublimation during the first half of the twentieth century as a hemispheric way to “resist” nationalism and embrace sameness. She recounts that the term was borrowed from chemistry, originally denoting the process of the change of a solid directly to vapor and from vapor from solid, and from the work of Sigmund Freud, to denote a process in which the production of art was the result of the way libidinal energies were transformed by artists into non-sexual aims and objects of higher social value. See Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*, 5.

<sup>210</sup> Murillo, for instance, in a letter in response to Uribe Holguín’s lecture, called himself a “Chibcha laborer.” The Chibchas were understood at the time as being a pre-Hispanic indigenous culture that resided in the area surrounding Bogotá, Colombia’s capital city. Emilio Murillo, “La Musica Nacional y Emilio Murillo,” *El Tiempo* August 9, 1923. In chapters 5 and 6, I explore how indigenous ethnic identity was constructed by *mestizo/a* Colombian elites as defined not through cultural nor phenotypical markers but through the notion of collective landholding.

genealogical model of the nation [through which the articulation of one's identity shifted] from a 'right of blood' to one primarily defined by a 'right of soil.'"<sup>211</sup> In this light, Porqueres i Gené writes that "land becomes a mediator between those who existed in the past and those who currently live on it."<sup>212</sup> At the crux of this issue lies then an anxiety to define the musical identity of Colombia, whose ontological status as a new nation was still uncertain (are the cultural origins of Colombia Indigenous or European?), prompting questions about the origins of the musics performed in Colombian urban places like Bogotá that paralleled discourses of race-making.<sup>213</sup>

Most interestingly, in order to disrupt his detractors' politics of belonging, Uribe Holguín went as far as citing instances where he had identified similarities (i.e., an appeal to sameness) between localized music rhythms set in triple meter found in the Colombian Andes with European art music of the past. He pointed, for example, to the presence of the *pasillo* rhythm, a rhythm generally associated in Colombia with the waltz,<sup>214</sup> in the third movement of Beethoven's String Quartet No. 8 in E minor, Op. 59 No. 2 (see figures 2.1 and 2.2).<sup>215</sup> He also identified the *bambuco* (see below),<sup>216</sup> in the scherzo of Alexander

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<sup>211</sup> Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 100.

<sup>212</sup> Porqueres i Gené (2002), quoted in Ochoa Gautier, 100.

<sup>213</sup> I explore the relation between race-making and place-making at length in chapter 6.

<sup>214</sup> See Harry C Davidson, *Diccionario folklórico de Colombia; música, instrumentos y danzas*, (Bogotá: Banco de la República, Departamento de Tall. Gráf., 1970), Vol. III, 40-64.

<sup>215</sup> Uribe Holguín, "La Música Nacional," 3.

<sup>216</sup> On the *bambuco* and its complicated history in Colombian music scholarship, see Carlos (Author) Miñana Blasco, *Entre el folklore y la etnomusicología: 60 años de estudios sobre la música tradicional en Colombia*. (Bogotá: Dimension Educativa, Ministerio de Cultura., n.d.); Carolina Santamaría Delgado, "Bambuco, Tango and Bolero: Music, Identity, and Class Struggles in Medellín, Colombia, 1930–1953" (University of Pittsburgh, 2006),

<http://search.proquest.com/dissertations/docview/305247492/abstract/9FCFBD7CBC394CADPQ/2>; Ana María Ochoa Gautier, "Tradicion, genero y nacion en el bambuco.," *A Contratiempo: Musica y Danza (Bogota)*, no. 09 (1997): 34–44; Carolina Santamaría Delgado, *El bambuco, los saberes mestizos y la academia: un análisis histórico de la persistencia de la colonialidad en los estudios musicales latinoamericanos*, 2007; John Varney and

Borodin’s String Quartet No.2 in D Major and in Berlioz’s “Serenade de Mephistopheles” from *La Damnation de Faust*. While a variation of rhythm of the *pasillo* can easily be identified in the bass line of Beethoven’s quartet (see below), the *bambuco*’s characteristic rhythm, however, warrants further explanation.



Figure 2.1 Allegretto from Beethoven’s String Quartet No. 8, Op. 59 No.2 (mm. 12-15). Edited by Garth Kenedy and Geoff Pawlicki (IMSLP:Creative Commons Attribution 3.0)

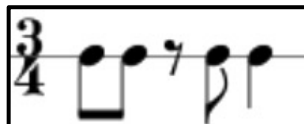


Figure 2.2 The *Pasillo*’s Characteristic Rhythm.

Indeed, the *bambuco*, as Carolina Santamaría Delgado explains, is a musical genre that prior to the nineteenth century was likely an oral tradition that originated in the musical practices of African and indigenous communities in the Colombian Southwest.<sup>217</sup>

Griffith University Queensland Conservatorium, “Colombian Bambuco: The Evolution of a National Music Style” 1999.

<sup>217</sup> Carolina Santamaría Delgado, “The Bambuco and Hybrid Knowledges,” in León and Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader*, 198–201.

As Santamaría notes as well, we do not have documentary evidence on it prior to this era.<sup>218</sup> The *bambuco* became a popular genre of salon dance music during the late nineteenth century, performed either on the piano or on string ensembles called *estudiantinas* that featured instruments like the *tiple*, a plucked chordophone with twelve metallic strings common in ensembles that perform Andean musics. Its popularity was such that intellectuals during this time period constructed it into a symbol of the nation, some linking it even to the independence battles.<sup>219</sup>

Moreover, Santamaría Delgado recounts that in the process of becoming a national symbol, the *bambuco*'s ethnic origins became a heated site of debate. Intellectuals during the nineteenth century, for instance, posited that its origins could be traced to the musical practices of black slaves, while others contended that it had ties to indigenous or Spanish music. It is worth noting here, that in 1906 in the *El Nuevo Tiempo* newspaper, Uribe Holguín ascribed to the notion that the *bambuco* showcased an African heritage—and thus, posed its origins elsewhere. Drawing from the idea that the *bambuco* had its origins in Africa given its linguistic resemblance to the West African word *bambouk* (an idea first proposed by the writer Jorge Isaacs in his 1867 romantic novel *María*); he wrote: "It is quite probable

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> John Varney, "An Introduction to the Colombian 'Bambuco,'" *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 22, no. 2 (2001): 128.



that both the name and the music and even the dance were brought from Africa; and much more, our *bambuco* is from [the region of] Cauca, where the black race is abundant."<sup>220</sup>

In addition to its ambiguous origins, the *bambuco*'s characteristic rhythm also proved cumbersome for the articulation of a national identity, given that composers were unable to transcribe it with ease (unlike the *pasillo*). While the *bambuco*, as Santamaría explains, showcases the use of sesquialtera (a constant alternation between a 3/4 meter and 6/8 meter), its melodic and harmonic stresses rarely coincide. If noted in a 3/4 meter, vocal accents do not fall on the first beat of the measure (figure 2.3.); and if notated in 6/8, the melodic stress falls on the first beat of the measure, but the bass (which imitates the accompaniment on the guitar) lands after the strong beat, which gives it a sensation of rhythmic unevenness (figure 2.4.). In 1943, to solve this issue—one which remains a hot topic of debate to the day—de Zulategui invited musicians to participate in survey whose aim was to finally standardize a way to notate the *bambuco*, but such an attempt ultimately failed, as Santamaría Delgado notes.<sup>221</sup> Following Manuel Bernal, Santamaría Delgado concludes from this that there is no correct way to transcribe the *bambuco*: some sound better in 3/4 and others better in 6/8. As I show below, Uribe Holguín circumvented this issue, taking advantage of this rhythmic ambiguity to craft a modernist take on this genre. Indeed, in his *bambucos*, Uribe Holguín generally layers melodic lines that are both in 3/4 and 6/8

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<sup>220</sup> I return to this contention later in this chapter. I also discuss Colombia's racial topography in chapter 5; "Bien probable fuera que tanto el nombre como la música y aun la misma danza, fueran traídos de Africa, tanto más que nuestro bambuco es proviente del Cauca, donde la raza negra es abundante." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "La música nacional," *El Nuevo Tiempo*, 11 January 1906; It is not my intention to examine the standardization of the *bambuco* as a genre and rhythm, nor am I interested in finding its "true" origins or favoring one interpretation or the other, no matter how ridiculous it might appear to us now. Rather, I introduce this here to examine strategies that use the *bambuco* to articulate a sense of belonging and national identification vis-à-vis the construction of a national space elsewhere.

<sup>221</sup> Santamaría Delgado in León and Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader*, 206.

meters, creating multiple pulse layers and polyrhythms, whose accentuation alternates constantly. He signals this by using in a 3/4 6/8 polymeter as a time signature in works where he showcases the *bambuco* rhythm (see section below).



Figure 2.3. “Las Cuatro Preguntas” (bambuco) by Pedro Morales Pino (3/4).  
Transcription by Carolina Santamaría Delgado.<sup>222</sup>



Figure 2.4. “Las Cuatro Preguntas” (bambuco) by Pedro Morales Pino (6/8).  
Transcription by Carolina Santamaría Delgado.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>222</sup> Santamaría Delgado, *El bambuco, los saberes mestizos y la academia*, 2007, 14.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid*, 15.



Figure 2.5. “Sérénade de Méphistopheles” from Berlioz’s *La Damnation de Faust*, H111. Arrangement for piano by Jean Pfeiffer Georges, published ca. 1878 in Paris by Richaud.<sup>224</sup>

Uribe Holguín appealed to sameness by asserting that the *bambuco* and the *pasillo* could be heard in European music did not go unnoticed, becoming a musicological trope in Colombian scholarship even well into the 1970s. Colombian folklorist Harry C. Davidson, in his gargantuan, three-volume compendium on Colombian folklore published in 1970, for instance, cites his correspondence with music critic and polymath Otto de Greiff (1905–1995), where both of them discuss the validity of these claims.<sup>225</sup> De Greiff recounts that while Uribe Holguín had recognized the *pasillo* in the scherzo in Beethoven’s String Quartet Op. 59 No 2, for de Greiff it sounded more like a *bambuco*. This brings de Greiff to question the perceived boundaries between the *bambuco* and the *pasillo*, and to support this, he even argues that Modest Mussorgsky used a “*pasillo-bambuco*” in his opera *Boris Godunov*.<sup>226</sup>

Davidson also mentions that folklorist Emirto de Lima, author of one of the first musicological works dedicated to “folk” musics in Colombia—especially musics from the Northern coast—cites a Hungarian Dance by Johannes Brahms, which according to de

<sup>224</sup> Santamaría Delgado, 15.

<sup>225</sup> Davidson, *Diccionario folklórico de Colombia; música, instrumentos y danzas*, Tomo III, 44.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

Lima resembles a *pasillo*.<sup>227</sup> And in this light, de Lima also contended that one of Anton Dvorak's Slavonic dances was nothing less than a "quasi-*pasillo*." Similarly, Daniel Zamudio, who in 1936 gave one of the first lectures on Colombian musical folklore in the nation, posited that Schubert employed a *pasillo* rhythm in the first movement of his "Unfinished Symphony," and that Isaac Albéniz also used this rhythm in the "Minuetto del Gallo" from his Sonata No.5, Op. 82.<sup>228</sup> De Greiff, however, disagrees with Zamudio's assessment of Albéniz's recourse to the *pasillo*, but validates the presence of such a rhythm in Schubert's "Unfinished Symphony," arguing that the rhythm introduced after the first seven measures in the violins could be indeed considered a very slow *pasillo*.

Davidson comments as well that folklorist Gonzalo Hernández had affirmed to have found the *pasillo* in the works of Chopin as well as in a Tchaikovsky string quartet. Since Hernández does not provide precise opus numbers for the works cited, both Davidson and de Greiff doubt the validity of Hernández's claims. They both contend, for instance, that Hernández might have been referring to the scherzo in Tchaikovsky's Quartet No.2, Op. 22, in F major, but ultimately dismiss his claim. They write:

As for Tschaikowski's [sic] quartet, [Hernández might be referring to] the No. 2 in F Major, Op. 22. On the cover of the disc this is mentioned: 'The scherzo is a simple piece of a dance type whose charm consists in the unexpected contrast between the rhythms of 6/8 and 9/8. 'Actually, [to us] it did not sound as much as a *pasillo* and only by stretching [our imagination] this similarity could be accepted.'<sup>229</sup>

Finally, to tie the bow, Davidson and de Greiff end their exercise by adding to the list a *pasillo* that they found in the sixth variation of César Franck's "Symphonic

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<sup>227</sup> Emirto de Lima, *Folklore colombiano*. (Barranquilla, Colombia: [Lit. Barranquilla], 1942).

<sup>228</sup> Daniel Zamudio G, *El folklore musical en Colombia* ([Bogotá], 1938).

<sup>229</sup> "En cuanto al cuarteto de Tschaikowski [sic], puede tratarse del No. 2 en Fa Mayor, Op. 22. En la cubierta del disco se comenta: 'El scherzo es una pieza simple de tipo de danza cuyo encanto consiste en el

Variations.”<sup>230</sup> Uribe Holguín, nevertheless, later admitted that this was a deliberate strategy to push his detractors to the edge and ridicule them.<sup>231</sup> Otto de Greiff also comments on this in an article that he wrote in celebration of Uribe Holguín’s “first eighty years,” as de Greiff wittily dubbed the occasion.<sup>232</sup> De Greiff tells us: "Uribe Holguín still recalls a much-talked-about lecture that he gave about seven decades ago, in which he wittily fooled musically-educated people, by making them listen to airs with *bambuco* rhythms or *pasillos* that turned out to be examples of universal music."<sup>233</sup>

Returning to Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture, to resolve this conundrum of defining Colombian national music solely on the basis of its origins, Uribe Holguín suggested using the term “national music” exclusively on the virtue of *who* writes it and not through the stylistic traits chosen by a composer in a given work (i.e., if a composer is born in Colombia then their music can be labelled as Colombian national music). He did this, however, by granting primacy to the structural procedures of music composition, arguing that the stylistic characteristics of “national music” ought to be dictated by “art itself”: “Let us write then music with a universal or a national [read particular] character, [whether] we use our own motifs or borrow ones [from “the people”], but let us write music that has the

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inesperado contraste entre los ritmos de 6/8 y 9/8.’ En realidad, no nos ha sonado mucho como pasillo y solo extremando un poco las cosas podría aceptarse la similitud." Harry C Davidson, *Diccionario folklórico de Colombia; música, instrumentos y danzas*, (Bogotá: Banco de la República, Departamento de Tall. Gráf., 1970), 38.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, 49.

<sup>231</sup> Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Nacionalismo en la Música,” *El Espectador*, August 8, 1965. Patronato de Artes y Ciencias Colombiano, Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín, Bogota, Colombia. Folio Prensa.

<sup>232</sup> Otto de Greiff, “80 años de Uribe Holguín,” in *Textos Sobre Música y Folklore: Boletín de La Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia, f-66/1969-71. 1978.No. 29 T. I*, 1978, 57.

<sup>233</sup> “Todavía recuerda Uribe Holguín una sonada conferencia que dictó hace cosa de siete lustros, en la que tomó donosamente del pelo a personas musicalmente doctas, al hacerles oír aires con ritmos de bambucos o pasillos que a la postre resultaron ser ejemplos de la música universal.” Ibid, 55.

conditions required by art itself.”<sup>234</sup> As scholars have noted, of course, the affirmation of the autonomy of music is intimately connected to the way nineteenth-century German philosophers and music theorists conceptualized European cultural particularity as its own organic and self-directed entity and thus, by no means a stance free of ideology.<sup>235</sup> Uribe Holguín’s call to remove signifiers of national particularity if dictated by the standards of “art itself” is no other than a symptom of the way European-derived music values became hegemonic in the cultural periphery (i.e., European particularity became unmarked when it embodied the idea of “art itself”). Nevertheless, while ultimately falling prey to this Eurocentric trap, it is worth noting that Uribe Holguín attempts to leave the floor open so that both “popular” or “universal” styles can occupy the space of the national—an openness that operates in the tension between musical particularism and universalism.

Finally, and to end on a high note—or so he thought—Uribe Holguín articulated a discourse of proleptic temporality, recognizing that Colombian music could eventually bloom into its full potential given the right circumstances. By doing this, Uribe Holguín anxiously imagined a national space free of the signifiers that he recognized as the sources of his own peripheral marginality vis-à-vis a modernity that he believed to be taking elsewhere (i.e., in France and later in the United States). This is, in other words, conforms to cosmopolitan desire, as detailed by Mariano Siskind above. What is more, Uribe Holguín proposed that it was through the refinement of technique via a proper and modern musical

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<sup>234</sup> “Escribámos, pues, con temas propios o ajenos, música de carácter universal o nacional, pero música que tenga las condiciones por el arte requeridas.” Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 5.

<sup>235</sup> Ruth A. Solie, “The Living Work: Organicism and Musical Analysis,” *19th-Century Music* 4, no. 2 (1980): 147–56, <https://doi.org/10.2307/746712>; Leonora Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music*, 2001.

education system would assure that this cosmopolitan nationalist space could finally emerge. We should note here, following Bourdieu, that the appeal to technique (or formal refinement) as a measurement of the quality of a work of art is directly tied to the construction of the notion of taste, a “practical affirmation of an inevitable difference,” through which upper classes have traditionally legitimized their own cultural capital.<sup>236</sup> Nevertheless, by resorting to a cosmopolitan discourse, Uribe Holguín was not arguing against nationalism, but instead attempting to construct a national identity based on a juxtaposition of particular and universal values: “The day when the Colombian musical genius has all the positive means from which to manifest itself, that day will be the day when we can boast of having a national music of real value, whether or not [such music is] inspired by popular themes that we can [call our own].”<sup>237</sup>

### **From an Event to an Author-Function: Universalizing Uribe Holguín**

More than a moment of closure as he had hoped, through his 1923 lecture Uribe Holguín inadvertently created what Michel Foucault calls an *event*. For Foucault, an event is “not the historical action itself but rather the reversal in power relations or shift in discourse created by it,” as Tamara Levitz reminds us.<sup>238</sup> And to bring to the fore yet another Foucauldian term, because of this lecture, Uribe Holguín also became an *author-*

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<sup>236</sup> Bourdieu, Nice, and Bennett, *Distinction*, 49.

<sup>237</sup> “El día que tenga Colombia una pléyade de compositores con instrucción sólida, el día que el genio musical colombiano tenga todos los positivos medios de manifestarse, ese día si podremos ufanarnos de tener una música nacional de real valor, esté o no inspirada en los temas populares que podamos poseer.” See Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” *Revista Musical*, August 16, 1923, 5.; Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>238</sup> Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Persephone*, 1 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 21.

*function*—that is, an author who comes to represent a discourse through “our way of handling texts,”<sup>239</sup> and not because such texts are a truthful dimension that speaks of the author’s original intentions or thought (i.e., Foucault’s point is to show the constructed nature of the author-figure and how an author is rather the function of discourse). Foucault writes:

Nevertheless, these aspects of an individual, which we designate as an author (or which comprise an individual as an author) are projections, in terms always more or less psychological, of our way of handling texts: in the comparisons we make, the traits we extract as pertinent, the continuities we assign, or the exclusions we practice. In addition, all these operations vary according to the period and the form of discourse concerned.<sup>240</sup>

Foucault’s concepts of *event* and *author-function* can help us explain why, in the first place, this particular lecture became a springboard from which Uribe Holguín’s detractors were quick to launch acerbic critiques against his works, opinions, and public persona. They accomplished this by using his own vocabulary and concepts against him as a strategy to legitimize their own political and aesthetic agendas (an event in Foucault’s sense).<sup>241</sup> Uribe Holguín himself was aware of this: “It didn’t take too long for an article to show up,

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<sup>239</sup> Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 3.

<sup>240</sup> Michel Foucault quoted in Wilson, 350.

<sup>241</sup> Jaime Cortés Polanía calls this event a “leitmotiv” in Colombian music criticism of the early-twentieth century. Jaime Cortés Polanía, *La música nacional y popular colombiana en la colección Mundo al día (1924-1938)* ([Bogotá]: Historia y Teoría del Arte y la Arquitectura, Programa de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Sede Santafé de Bogotá, Facultad de Artes, 2004), 58.



which in order to praise our popular music, it was argued that Beethoven had written a *pasillo*. But who could be so foolish to imagine that the great master ever heard a *pasillo*?”<sup>242</sup>

However, because of the reiterative reference to his 1923 lecture in music criticism, this event seeped into the first historiographical texts where Uribe Holguín is introduced as part of the history of Colombian music. Music scholars and historians, in other words, turned this event into a narrative trope. In this sense, criticism and historiography overlapped, which is why Uribe Holguín constantly reacted against the way his work and persona were being critiqued in the press and in historical texts. This lecture then has become *the* source for (re)inscribing Uribe Holguín into the history of Colombian music, leading in most cases to associating his figure, time after time, with the idea of “foreignness” (an author-function). Thus, depending on the theoretical lens from which scholars, critics, and historians have written about Colombian music, they have constructed Uribe Holguín’s persona as either (allowing for some overlap) an elitist composer of Europeanizing tendencies, an anti-nationalist, a modernizer, or, more recently, the embodiment of coloniality. To grasp this scenario, let us look briefly at how Uribe Holguín’s lecture transitioned from being an event (in the Foucauldian sense) into a source from which

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<sup>242</sup> “No tardó en aparecer un escrito en el que, para alabar nuestra música popular, se decía que Beethoven había escrito un *pasillo*. ¿Podrá haber un tonto que se imagine al gran maestro oyendo alguna vez un *pasillo*?” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Nacionalismo en la Música,” *El Espectador*, August 8, 1965. Patronato de Artes y Ciencias Colombiano, Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín, Bogota, Colombia. Folio Prensa.

to construct Uribe Holguín's persona as an author-function of the so-called foreignization of local musics. In chapter 4, I explore the idea of author-function further.

The first to respond to Uribe Holguín's lecture was Murillo Chapull, who at the time was known in Colombia as the "Apostol of National Music."<sup>243</sup> Indeed, on August 9, Murillo Chapull published a letter in the press that he had written three days after Uribe Holguín's lecture to the owner and main editor of the prominent Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo*, the Liberal journalist and later President of the Colombian Republic, Eduardo Santos (1888–1974). In this letter, Murillo Chapull expresses to Santos that "the Director of the Conservatory is denying the existence of national music... [by arguing that] what appears to be national music is no other than a degeneration of Spanish dances."<sup>244</sup> As such, Murillo Chapull urges Santos to take quick action against Uribe Holguín and promote in the press the creation of a national school of music that, unlike Uribe Holguín's educational model, would be based on Colombianidad ("nuestra nacionalidad"; "our nationality"). The bulk of the letter, most interestingly, consists of a diatribe against the tenets proposed by Uribe Holguín in his lecture, but which Murillo Chapull pursues by flipping Uribe Holguín's own discourse—an exaggeration of it, of course—against him.<sup>245</sup> Murillo Chapull does this to show how Uribe Holguín's ideas would inevitably lead

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<sup>243</sup> Duque, "En Busca Del Alma Nacional."

<sup>244</sup> "Dice el señor Director que lo que aparece como música nacional no es otra cosa que una degeneración de las danzas españolas." Emilio Murillo to Eduardo Santos, "La Música Nacional y Emilio Murillo," *El Tiempo*, August 9, 1923.

<sup>245</sup> Murillo writes: "Let us tackle this issue through a merely patriotic approach, and based on the same unappealable affirmations made by the Director, allow me to bring your attention to the following assessments." ("Démosle un carácter meramente patriótico a la cuestión, y fundándonos en las mismas afirmaciones inapelables del señor Director, permíteme distraer tu atención en las siguientes apreciaciones.") Emilio Murillo to Eduardo Santos, "La Música Nacional y Emilio Murillo."

Colombian musicians to “tear [national music] apart from the popular heart.”<sup>246</sup> In this light, Murillo Chapull poses the following question to Santos: “Ask our compatriots what they feel in foreign countries when they listen to a Colombian song being played, however primitive and monotonous it may be. If national music did not exist, we would have to invent it. For it is through its influence that the multitudes [march] to victory or sacrifice.”<sup>247</sup> Here, Murillo Chapull weaves the idea nation to passion, a turn to “‘common feelings,’ [in order to mobilize] ‘modern desire.’”<sup>248</sup> He, in other words, recasts the negative stereotypes around popular music constructed by Uribe Holguín as a patriotic allure.

We can also evince how this event operates in the criticism of Uribe Holguín’s music written around this time. In 1926, Uribe Holguín composed his *Tres Danzas*, a short orchestral work (each movement representing a Colombian dance), through which Uribe Holguín presents his take on three localized triple-meter rhythms (*joropo*<sup>249</sup>, *pasillo*, and *bambuco*, respectively), organized in a fast-slow-fast sequence.<sup>250</sup> While Uribe Holguín’s allusion to these rhythms would have been readily associated by local audiences to the

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<sup>246</sup> “Arrancarla del corazón popular es tan vesánico intento cómo aquello que tuviera un bogotano de querer sacar a los cuarenta mil antioqueños que hoy gozan del clima bogotano, de una sola plumada.” Emilio Murillo to Eduardo Santos (signed August 7, 1923), “La Música Nacional y Emilio Murillo.”

<sup>247</sup> “...preguntad lo que sienten nuestros compatriotas en países extranjeros cuando se escucha el modular de un canto colombiano, por más primitivo y monótono que éste se halle. Si no existiera la música nacional, habría que inventarla. Al influjo de ella van las multitudes a la victoria o al sacrificio.” Emilio Murillo to Eduardo Santos (signed August 7, 1923), “La Música Nacional y Emilio Murillo.”

<sup>248</sup> Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 100.

<sup>249</sup> The *joropo* is a genre music that is also present in Venezuela. At the time, it was thought be of Andalusian origins brought to Colombia by missionaries during the conquest. It is a fast genre of music set in a 3/4 meter, generally performed in the region of the *Llanos Orientales*, in the Colombian East plains. Davidson, *Diccionario folklórico de Colombia; música, instrumentos y danzas*, 317–22.

<sup>250</sup> Uribe Holguín completed this work in his hacienda, *Usatama*, on December 11 of 1926 and conducted its premiere in May of 1927; he later revised the work in January of 1940 for it be performed in the 1940 season of the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, directed at the time by the Colombian conductor Guillermo Espinosa. Only the 1940 manuscript survives, and be found at the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive housed in the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias in Bogotá, Colombia.

notion of Colombianidad (I define this term in the preface), Uribe Holguín does not add to his title the adjective “*nacionales*” nor “*Colombianas*,” that would be expected of a symphonic piece like this, and thus, unmarks them to avoid such categorization—a decision that evinces a cosmopolitan desire so to speak.

In any case, while the *Tres Danzas* as a whole do not have single unifying melodic motif or theme nor do they borrow from a popular melody; they do, however, showcase some stylistic characteristics that became the locus of criticism, as I explain below. However, let us first review some of these stylistic traits. First, typical of Uribe Holguín early treatment of folklorized genres during this time, as Martha Enna Rodríguez Melo shows in her study of Uribe Holguín’s *Sinfonía del Terruño* (1924), is the use of short melodic motifs as a unifying structural procedure.<sup>251</sup> Indeed, in all three movements of the *Tres Danzas*, but particularly in the “Joropo,” Uribe Holguín first introduces a theme after a short homophonic passage. Instead of developing the theme, he either reorchestrates and explores it through timbre (rehearsal 1 and 2), or liquidates said motif (rehearsal 3) throughout the piece, creating the effect of a sonic bricolage. Second, in all three movements, Uribe Holguín resorts to harmonic stasis, avoiding modulating to other keys, while still maintain a tonal center, which he colors by using melodic octatonic scales built on the dominant (half-whole).<sup>252</sup> He achieves a similar effect through the use of dissonant chromatic motion, which is particularly evident in the third movement. Finally, in the outer, faster movements, Uribe Holguín uses a 3/4 6/8 polymeter, through which he layers

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<sup>251</sup> Rodríguez Melo, *Sinfonía del terruño de Guillermo Uribe Holguín*, 70.

<sup>252</sup> See, for instance, the opening measures of the “Joropo” and the “Bambuco,” where the layering of this octatonic collections (both build on A minor) create polychords. I thank Adam Rosado for guiding me through this analysis.

the asymmetrical melodic and harmonic stresses that characterize the *bambuco*, but which Uribe Holguín also applies to his treatment of the *joropo*. For instance, in the main theme of the “Joropo,” the melody contours the following metric accentuation: 6/8— 3/4— 3/4—6/8. Meanwhile, the accompaniment in the strings showcases a more traditional sesquialtera, by constantly alternating between 6/8 and 3/4 meters. By doing this, Uribe Holguín “modernizes” these genres by exploiting its rhythmic ambiguity, creating a multilayered texture, which in Western cultures had been deemed as primitive and devoid of taste.<sup>253</sup> Uribe Holguín’s treatment of Colombian rhythms, however, did not meet the approval of Colombian audiences, who deem it too difficult and devoid of a national soul, as I detail below.

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<sup>253</sup> Saavedra sees this process as a form of “strategic otherness” through which composers in cultural periphery like Carlos Chávez negotiated difference in a transnational setting. Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style,” April 1, 2015. I also explore this strategic otherness in chapter 5 and 6 to discuss Uribe Holguín’s indigenous-inspired work.

Figure 2.6. Main Theme of “Joropo” from *Tres Danzas* (mm.13-16).

Indeed, a few days after its premiere, in the pages of the *Revista Mundo al Día*,<sup>254</sup> a magazine associated with the Liberal party,<sup>255</sup> music critic Rafael Mariño Pinto published a trenchant critique of Guillermo Uribe Holguín’s “Tres Danzas”.<sup>256</sup> Mariño Pinto, just as

<sup>254</sup> For a comprehensive study of music in the Mundo al Día magazine, see Cortés Polanía, *La música nacional y popular colombiana en la colección Mundo al día (1924-1938)*.

<sup>255</sup> It is a well-known fact, nonetheless, that Uribe Holguín had close ties with the Conservative Party. His uncle, the conservative politician and military officer, Jorge Holguín Mallarino (1848–1918), held public office as Interim President in 1909, and then again from 1921-1921. Even Uribe Holguín himself writes about his ties to the Mallarino family in his autobiography. Further, Uribe Holguín also mentions that he is related to the famous member of the conservative party, Manuel María Mallarino (1808–1872), acting president of the Republic of New Granada (a republic consisting of present-day Colombia, Panama, and smaller portions of Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, and others) from 1855–1857. Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*. (Bogotá: Librería Voluntad, S.A., 1941), 21–25.

<sup>256</sup> Jaime Cortés Polanía, in his book on the polemics on national music in the *Revista Mundo al Día*, however, asserts that Mariño Pinto’s article in the Mundo al Día was a critique of Uribe Holguín’s *Tres Ballets Criollos Op. 78*. The ballets, however, were not written until 1945. While Mariño Pinto does not name the piece, given the date of publication of his critique, it is safe to assume to he was referring to the “Tres Danzas.” We also know from program notes from the premiere of the 1940 version on April 12, 1940 that the premiere of 1926 version was conducted by Uribe Holguín himself in May of 1927. I have not been able to precise the exact day of its premiere, however. Program notes in Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango,

Santos had done, took Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture and made it into an event, transforming it into an aesthetic discourse from which to craft his critique of Uribe Holguín's work. Mariño Pinto writes:

Take as an [analytical framework] a principle that we do not hesitate to describe as prejudiced and false, such as Guillermo Uribe Holguín's claims that truly national airs barely reach the category of simple rhythms devoid of all beauty due to a complete lack of melodic interest that could [elevate] them; a theory that [Uribe Holguín] sustained in a lecture... Mr. Guillermo Uribe Holguín has seen fit to showcase at the Teatro de Colón, on Friday night, three [musical] attempts at adapting some of these rhythms in the manner of orchestral toys, which turned out to be more than such, if this word [i.e., the orchestral toys], in the present case, wanted to be accepted as applicable to certain productions [that make use] of the playful character given to them by authors such as the immortal Haydn.<sup>257</sup> But what can be assured without the slightest hint of passion is that the aforementioned works of Mr. Uribe, because of the theory that we have alluded to, *do not have the Colombian flavor that should be in them*, because, of course: if the author only resorts to simple rhythms that are worthless, and that were, according to him, known by great composers like Beethoven; and if he does not use Colombian themes because he does not feel them, because he does not know them, how can he imprint in his music a national character?<sup>258</sup>

Along the same lines, composer Jesús Bermúdez Silva (1884–1970), basing his critique on Uribe Holguín's lecture, deemed Uribe Holguín a *técnico extranjero* (a foreign

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Colección Guillermo Uribe Holguín, Carpeta 23, Mss 722, Folio 1. See Cortés Polanía, *La música nacional y popular colombiana en la colección Mundo al día (1924-1938)*, 59.

<sup>257</sup> I believe that Mariño Pinto compares the "Tres Danzas" to Franz Joseph Haydn's "Toy Symphony," (also attributed to Leopold Mozart; the authorship of the piece still remains a subject of debate) because of its form and duration, given that the "Toy Symphony" is a playful and short three-movement piece. However, Uribe Holguín's piece does not use toys as in the "Toy Symphony," nor does it emulate Haydn's early style, though the orchestration used by Uribe Holguín such as triangles and tambourines might give the impression of a toy-like atmosphere. See "Haydn, (Franz). Joséph | Grove Music," accessed March 25, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044593>.

<sup>258</sup> "Tomando como base un principio que no vacilamos en calificar de desjuiciado y falso, en cuya virtud se pretende sostener que los aires verdaderamente nacionales apenas alcanzan la categoría de simples ritmos previstos de toda belleza por carencia complete de interés melódico que pudiera inspirarlos; fundados en esta teoría, sustentada en una conferencia, pero con el deseo la buena intención de interpretar la opinión general sobre el particular, el señor Guillermo Uribe Holguín ha tenido a bien exhibir en el Teatro de Colón, en la noche del Viernes, tres ensayos de adaptación de algunos de estos ritmos a modo de juguetes de orquesta, que resultaron más que tales, si es que a este vocablo, en el presente caso, a querido darse la acepción aplicable a ciertas producciones de autores como el inmortal Haydn, por la índole juguetona que

technician), “since he has studied in Paris and has foreignized our *joropos*, our *pasillos*, and our *bambucos*, destroying their racial physiognomy.”<sup>259</sup> In this light, Bermúdez Silva had the following to say about Uribe Holguín’s “Tres Danzas”:

...and this is where we can better appreciate the absolute lack of compositional elements, [and] gaps in the orchestration: [Uribe Holguín] starts with [popular] rhythms but blurs them; with the same orchestration he makes them confusing and they become *joropos*, *pasillos*, and *bambucos* from foreign countries.<sup>260</sup>

For Bermúdez then, Uribe Holguín’s use of a non-canonical treatment of the melodic and harmonic material (liquidation, timbral exploration, etc.) as well as the polyrhythmic texture evinced in such a piece (“a blurring of these rhythms”), dislocates their essence, making them foreign.

Some critics, nonetheless, questioned Uribe Holguín’s characterization in national narratives as an anti-nationalist composer, while using Uribe Holguín’s ideas to justify their own antiparticularist stance. In 1960, for example, de Greiff pressed the readers of the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo* to reassess the enduring anti-nationalist accusations made time after time by critics like Mariño Pinto against Uribe Holguín. “Uribe Holguín has

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las caracteriza. Mas lo que sí puede asegurarse sin el más leve asomo de apasionamiento, es que las aludidas obras del señor Uribe, por razón de la teoría aquella de que hemos hecho mérito, no tienen el sabor colombiano que debía haber en ellas, porque claro está: si el autor no se vale más sino de simples ritmos que no valen nada, y que por grandes compositores, como Beethoven, según su concepto, eran ya conocidos; y si no emplea los temas colombianos porque no los siente, porque no los conoce, como es posible que pretenda imprimirles carácter nacional?” Rafael Mariño Pinto, “Los Conciertos Sinfónicos: Los Aires Nacionales de Uribe Holguín,” *Revista Mundo al Día*, May 17, 1927. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>259</sup> “No estamos de acuerdo en cuanto a que se traigan técnicos extranjeros para que vengan a enseñarnos a conocer música nacional, porque casi podríamos llamar técnico extranjero al Director del Conservatorio, ya que ha estudiado en París y ha extranjerizado nuestros joropos, nuestros pasillos, y nuestros bambucos, destruyendo su fisonomía racial.” Jesús Bermúdez Silva, “Es deficiente la instrucción musical en el conservatorio,” *Revista Mundo al Día*, June 7, 1927. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>260</sup> “y es aquí en donde podemos apreciar mejor la carencia absoluta de elementos de composición, los vacíos en la orquestación: inicia ritmos pero los emborrona; con la misma orquestación los hace confusos y vienen a resultar unos joropos, pasillos, y bambucos de países extranjeros.” Jesús Bermúdez Silva, “Es deficiente la instrucción musical en el conservatorio.”



never believed in national music,” writes de Greiff, to which he added that “national music in Colombia...does not differ too much, in terms of tradition, to the music of neighboring countries who were politically born under the same unit.”<sup>261</sup> Praising Uribe Holguín’s “ceaselessly youthful skepticism” against reductive notions of music nationalism, de Greiff goes on to explain that Uribe Holguín’s branding as an *extranjero*—a “foreignizer”—came instead from the composer’s political struggles against a “phalanx of guileless troubadours who insisted on maintaining that the music labelled ‘wrongly and demagogically as national music’ was an endless succession of dances and sentimental songs.”<sup>262</sup>

Against this backdrop, I understand the strategic shifting between universalist and particularist stances as contentions between cultural actors who attempt to supersede each other in the public sphere in terms of status within the larger context of antagonistic identitarian struggles of the nation-state. This is relevant for it is through the performance of this contention itself that cultural actors articulate their identity. After all, as Judith Butler has argued, it is precisely through “reiterative and citational practices by which discourse produces the effects that it names”— what she calls performativity, so to speak.<sup>263</sup> The contention between Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull is a prime example of this

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<sup>261</sup> “Uribe Holguín no ha creído nunca en la música nacional de Colombia, un país que por una parte en casi nada se diferencia, en cuanto a tradición, de los países vecinos nacidos políticamente de la misma unidad.” Otto de Greiff, “80 Años de Uribe Holguín,” in *Textos Sobre Música y Folklore: Boletín de La Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia, 1942-66/1969-71. No. 29 T. I*, 1978, 55.

<sup>262</sup> “El caso de Uribe Holguín sería patético si él no disfrutara de un *escepticismo permanente juvenil* en cuanto a las cosas de su tierra... la falange de ingenuos trovadores empeñados en sostener que la música ‘erronea y demagógicamente llamada nacional’ no debía ser sino una interminable sucesión de danzas y canciones sentimentales, emprovecida derivación del viejo acervo español, en la forma de melodías pobres acompañadas de una pobre armonía.” Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Judith Butler quoted in Michael R. Glass and Reuben Rose-Redwood, *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space* (London, United Kingdom: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 43.

struggle.<sup>264</sup> Thus, the act of delegitimizing their adversaries in the press by resorting to particularist or universalist stances, I argue, operates as a public performance of *antagonism*.<sup>265</sup> This is, it bears repeating, the subjectivization of a dislocation in identity formation processes, which is discursively expressed as a constitutive relation between an identity articulated in opposition to a difference, and a difference that puts into question such identity by preventing it from fully realizing itself. The performance of such antagonism in the public sphere is indicative of the contingency of national identity formation, which cultural actors need to be constantly rearticulating through diverse political strategies. There are no identities formed a priori who battle against each other for hegemony in the representation of the nation-state, but it is the continuous performance of such a battle that constructs that identity. What we observe then is the process of hegemony in the making: how one differential unit (i.e., a popular music style such as the *bambuco*) comes to represent a totality, albeit an empty one, for it cannot ever represent all musics within a nation. Below, based on the work of Saavedra and Siskind, I outline a

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<sup>264</sup> Uribe Holguín engaged in other public contentions in the Colombian press. The first one in 1910 with pianist and composer Honorio Alarcón regarding the conservatory. Carolina Santamaría also offers a detailed account of a public debate held in the press between composer Gonzalo Vidal and Emilio Murillo. Carolina Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros: hábitos de escucha de la música popular en Medellín, 1930-1950* (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2014), 71–126.

<sup>265</sup> Reuben Rose-Redwood and Michael R. Glass, “Geographies of Performativity,” in Glass and Rose-Redwood, *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space*, 26–99.

model from which we can analyze the tension between particularist and universalist projects of the nation.

### **Toward a Methodology for Analyzing the Relation between Universalism and Particularism in Discourses of Music Nationalism in the Periphery**

“I propose that the products of nationalism can be assessed by the ideological, political, and social task they perform, regardless of their artistic style,” Leonora Saavedra stresses in her analysis of *Atzimba* (1899–1900), an opera by Mexican composer Ricardo Castro (1864–1907), adding that such an approach “results in fruitful and subtle approaches that accept the presence of stylistic and ideological contradictions and ambivalences that are, in fact, very rich in meaning.”<sup>266</sup> Indeed, in “El Nuevo Pasado Mexicano,” Leonora Saavedra shows how that which we can label as “nationalist culture” should *not* be so termed simply because cultural artifacts such as operas or literary works showcase the cultural particularities encountered within the territorial limits of a nation, or let alone, because they express a national essence. Rather, drawing on the work of scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Miroslav Hroch,<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>266</sup>“Así, propongo que los productos del nacionalismo pueden aquilatarse por la tarea ideológica, política y social que realizan, independientemente de su estilo artístico. Esto da por resultado acercamientos fructíferos y sutiles que aceptan la presencia de contradicciones y ambivalencias estilísticas e ideológicas que son, de hecho, muy ricas en significado.” Saavedra, “El nuevo pasado mexicano,” 81.

<sup>267</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition*, Revised edition (London; New York: Verso, 2006); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism / Breuilly, John*,; 1946-, *New Perspectives on the Past; Cornell Paperbacks; Variation: New Perspectives on the Past* (Basil Blackwell Publisher); Cornell Paperbacks. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2 edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Reissue edition (Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000).

Saavedra reframes such labels to identify cultural artifacts that engender a nation where there was not one in the first place.<sup>268</sup> This method allows Saavedra to interrogate the cultural work enacted by *Atzimba* in creating the Mexican nation, veering away from the work of scholars who had ascribed the opera as belonging more to a European *milieu* than a Mexican one because of its “Frenchified” style. In doing so, Saavedra demonstrates how the role of culture in nationalist movements is not restricted to the task of constructing a national identity through the constant creation, resignification, and dissemination of cultural artifacts such as sounds, images, and symbols, which allow the future members of a nation to recognize other subjects as co-nationals through a symbolic and cultural commonality. Instead, she proposes that cultural nationalism *also* “consists in projecting into an international system of nations the image of a constituted nation and therefore, a sovereign one.”<sup>269</sup>

Thus, even music styles that are *not* indexical of the folklorized and popular musics that have at a given moment signified the nation (i.e., they are indexical of the nation *precisely* because of the work of cultural nationalism) can also engender a nation, including styles that are deemed anti-nationalist or “foreign.” Analyzing nationalist (and anti-nationalist) cultural discourses and music styles requires multiple focal points that simultaneously hone in on (1) how cultural actors create and negotiate discourses to legitimize national identitarian formations so “that ethnic boundaries do not cut across

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<sup>268</sup> Saavedra, “El nuevo pasado mexicano,” 80.

<sup>269</sup> “Crear una identidad nacional entre los futuros integrantes de la nación es sólo uno de los dos objetivos del nacionalismo. El otro consiste en proyectar ante el sistema internacional de naciones la imagen de una nación constituida como tal y por lo tanto soberana.” Leonora Saavedra, “El nuevo pasado mexicano: estrategias de representación en *Atzimba* de Ricardo Castro,” *Resonancias Resonancias: Revista de investigación musical* 18, no. 35 (2014): 79–100.

political ones within the territorial boundaries of a given nation-state,"<sup>270</sup> and (2) how these actors strategically incorporate symbols and discourses from a transnational system of representation charged with asymmetrical relationships of power. The latter usually mediated under the enduring and far-reaching shadow of coloniality.

Taking Saavedra's model into consideration, unlike previous analyses,<sup>271</sup> and based on Mariano Siskind's analysis of Latin American literary production in relation to the notion of a world literature,<sup>272</sup> I propose to read universalist discourses common among Latin American composers, such as their desire to inscribe themselves into a fictive universal (read European) canon, not as a form of knowledge that is to be superseded, but as a discourse that can never be resolved dialectically vis-à-vis musical particularism (i.e., through transculturation).<sup>273</sup> I argue then that the tension between these discourses drove

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<sup>270</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1.

<sup>271</sup> A salient example is Egberto Bermúdez, "Un Siglo de Música en Colombia: ¿Entre Nacionalismo Y Universalismo?" *Revista Credencial*, September 20, 2016, <http://www.revistacredencial.com/credencial/historia/temas/un-siglo-de-musica-en-colombia-entre-nacionalismo-y-universalismo>.

<sup>272</sup> World literature, according to Siskind, is a "constellation of discourses that invoke a world of literatures, imprecisely defined by a vague and abstract notion of universality, so welcoming to marginal cultures that Latin American writers see it as a blank screen for the projection of their modern hopes." Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 104.

<sup>273</sup> Transculturation, in short, is a term coined by Fernando Ortiz in 1940 to denote the transitive process from one culture to another, including the loss and displacement implicit in such transaction. This model has allowed scholars to account for the extreme heterogeneity of Latin American culture, including the formation of hybrid forms (i.e., the product of the mixture of European and indigenous expressions). I discuss transculturation in depth in chapter 3, in which I consider the implications of this view in the construction of music epistemologies in Colombian scholarship, where Uribe Holguín appears as anti-transculturator. Nonetheless, as Gareth Williams argues, transculturation within Latin American intellectual discourses has functioned as a top-down Latin American intellectual desire that generates the fictive idea of popular integration into the state and not, as it has been largely used by scholars, as a bottom-up integration of the subaltern into the national-capitalist enterprise. Furthermore, I contend that it has reified hybridity as a discourse that legitimizes identitarian formations of difference, in which hybridity has come to stand for the cultural particularity of Latin America vis-à-vis other regions, especially Europe. See Gareth Williams, *The Other Side of the Popular: Neoliberalism and Subalternity in Latin America* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2002), 25; Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 119; Diana Taylor, "Transculturing Transculturation," *Performing Arts Journal* 13, no. 2 (1991): 91.

peripheral composers like Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull to assume radically opposed positions, at times even juxtaposing them, throughout their career.<sup>274</sup> This allows us to understand appeals to musical universalism and particularism in their political potential, for we can retrieve the agency lost in analyses that view the recourse to universalism from the cultural periphery as a strictly imitative process. In this regard, Siskind recommends thinking of the “foreign” of Latin American identity as a “horizon of futurity for a modernizing aesthetic agency,” or as an Other “whose foreignness stands for the outside exterior of particularistic identity, at a moment when that identity bears the marks of isolation and exclusion from the order of modernity.”<sup>275</sup>

The failure to understand both of these discourses as strategies to navigate both national and transnational systems of representations creates an analytical model in which foreign musics and local musics appear as distinct and pure prior to their contact (I discuss the implications of this epistemological paradigm in chapter 4). And by the same token, the identities of the actors who create, perform, and come to represent such musics as fully constituted too. This runs the risk of obscuring the role of culture in the creation of the nation for it presupposes the existence of fully formed subjectivities and identities that inhabit an already constructed nation-state. Additionally, it can lead to equating subalternity to authenticity and stasis (i.e., particularity resides in “the people” and in

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<sup>274</sup> I take this idea from Siskind’s critique of scholarly analyses that view Latin American modernism as an alternative form of aesthetic modernity, best exemplified by Ángel Rama’s concept of narrative transculturation, and which poses as a reconciliation between the universality of modern aesthetic techniques with the popular particularities of the region, but whose ideological orientation ends up defining Latin American modernism through “its contribution to the realization of national-popular imaginaries that cultural-political leadership can help translate into actual social transformations.” Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 120.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid*, 123.

“unmodern” rurality) and foreignness to elitism and mobility (i.e., foreign musics travel freely through aristocratic circles and are a product of urbanism and modernization).

Furthermore, by acknowledging the tension between discourses of musical particularism and universalism, we can shift our attention to the ways musical actors—including Uribe Holguín—strategically antagonized at times the idea of “foreignness” to construct an internal, particularist identity. Similarly, we can explain why these actors resorted to discourses of universalism to construct a nationalist-particularistic identity. This differs substantially from analyses in which “the foreign” is narrated as that which obstructs the local from blooming into its full potential. This, of course, applies as well to discourses that posit that particularism has gotten in the way of construction of a music modernity.<sup>276</sup>

### **“Si la Mar Fuera de Tinta, el bambuco sería de Alemania”**

Thinking through the antagonistic relation between discourses of universalism and particularism, we can explore how these actors, in their attempts to categorize localized musics, analyzed their traits through a particularist and/or universalist lens. This, I believe, is one of the reasons why these categorizations (i.e., classical music vs. popular music) often overlap. I consider this a better approach than assuming that these actors were wrong or refused to acknowledge the difference between popular music and academic music, as some scholars argued in the not-so-recent past.<sup>277</sup> Studying this tension also opens up the

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<sup>276</sup> Duque argues that the contentions between popular musicians and academic musicians slowed down the development of academic music composition in Colombia. Ellie Anne Duque in Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá*, 141.

<sup>277</sup> Duque, for instance, explains that Colombian audiences had difficulty recognizing the differences between “academic” music and popular music. She concludes that Colombian audiences were confused because they were unfamiliar with the European canon, and so they could not accept that a composition by

panorama for acknowledging universalist strategies pursued by music actors such as folklorists who have been generally tied to a particularist position. Journalists who have chronicled popular musics are also an example of this.

For instance, in 1951, musician and music researcher Jorge Añez (1892–1952), published his book *Canciones y Recuerdos*. In this book, he provides a comprehensive historical narrative of popular music in Colombia since the nineteenth century through which he legitimizes the idea that national music was inherently defined by popular and folkloric musics. To affirm that the *bambuco* was exclusively Colombian, Añez thus sets to refute a number of theories that placed its origins elsewhere. He does so, however, through a discourse fraught with contradictions and ambivalence that is clearly caught in the tension between universalism and particularism.

In the first instance, Añez denies the African origins of the bambuco, contesting a theory once supported by Uribe Holguín. Añez himself mentions this in his text, and he even cites Uribe Holguín's 1906 article in *El Nuevo Tiempo*, where Uribe Holguín sustains that the bambuco is indeed African.<sup>278</sup> He dismisses the African origins theory on the basis that the bambucos that he had encountered in the Andean region did not conform to what he deems as the lascivious, primitive, and rhythmic characteristics that make up black music. It is worth mentioning that Añez was not the only folklorist to make such a

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Emilio Murillo would not be categorized as “classical.” She also contends that this “confusion between aesthetics” is precisely the reason why the rivalry between Uribe Holguín and Murillo began in the first place. Along similar lines, Carolina Santamaría argues that the conflict between Murillo and Uribe Holguín “originated in the fact that performers of traditional Andean genres were not willing to recognize any differentiation between these two particular practices.” See Ellie Anne Duque in Egberto Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá: 1538 - 1938 Buch Buch* (S.l.: Fundación de Música, 2000), 141; Carolina Santamaría in Javier F León and Helena Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader: Views from the South*, 2016, 213.

<sup>278</sup> Añez and Otero d'Costa, *Canciones y recuerdos*, 27.



claim. As other scholars have pointed out, the de-Africanization of the bambuco, prevalent even into the 1980s, is symptomatic of the perennial racism in Colombian society as a result of the colony. Non-black intellectuals, in other words, make the bambuco into an acceptable symbol of the nation by whitening it so that blackness would be kept in the lower strata of the Colombian social ladder. Referring to this figure of the *criollo* during the colony (Spanish individuals born in the American continent), Ochoa Gautier calls this process of erasure of blackness the “*criolización*” of the bambuco.<sup>279</sup> Nonetheless, Uribe Holguín—the epitome of coloniality, Eurocentrism and musical whitening in music narratives—had in fact supported the idea of the bambuco’s African origins earlier in his career. He then moved, however, the birthplace of the bambuco to Spain, and then ever further North to Germany and even Russia (I explore the notion of spatial dislocation in chapter 5 through an analysis of Uribe Holguín’s symphonic poem *Bochica*).

Añez also contested the theory that the origins of the *bambuco* were to be found in the music of European masters. He found this theory so ludicrous that he even wrote a bambuco, entitled “Si la mar fuera de tinta” (“If the sea was made of ink”)—whose lyrics serve as an epigraph to this chapter—published in 1949, mocking this theory, which started with Uribe Holguín’s lecture but was later resuscitated by other composers such as Antonio María Valencia (1902–1952), sparking new controversies.<sup>280</sup> In the lyrics to Añez’s *bambuco-*

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<sup>279</sup> A number of scholars have explored this. See Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 65; Oscar Hernández Salgar, “Colonialidad y Poscolonialidad Musical En Colombia,” *Latin American Music Review* 28, no. 2 (2007): 242–70; Ochoa Gautier, “Tradicion, genero y nacion en el bambuco.”

<sup>280</sup> See Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 68–70.

*canción* (a bambuco sung at two or three voices), Añez begins by proposing a series of hypothetical conditionals to seduce a woman (“If the sea was made of ink; and all of the beaches of paper; I would write you a love letter...”). In the last verse, Añez satirizes the idea of a Beethovenian-derived *bambuco*, turning to a conditional clause (“If the *bambuco* is from Germany”), whose consequence affirms the Colombianidad of recognized Colombian composers such as Antonio María Valencia, Emilio Murillo Chapull, Pedro Morales, and Uribe Holguín. Añez also implicates the famous Colombian modernist poet José Asunción Silva, whose poems Uribe Holguín regularly featured in his music, including his overtly nationalist ode to the liberator Simón Bolívar, *Homenaje a Bolívar*, Op. 106 (1958).

Moreover, in *Canciones y Recuerdas*, Añez saw the need to counter Uribe Holguín’s idea, one that had been adopted by other scholars and composers, but this time on a historical basis.<sup>281</sup> To do this, Añez moved the date of the emergence of the bambuco back in time, mentioning that there are records of the bambuco existing in Colombian territory as far back as 1686, eighty four years before Beethoven’s birth.<sup>282</sup> Thus, for Añez, it is not that the bambuco derives from European practices, but that these *genios* (“geniuses”), as he called them, were rather inspired by the greatness of Colombian rhythms. However, as part

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<sup>281</sup> In the first edition of his book on the history of Colombian music, José Ignacio Perdomo expands on the list of Colombian rhythms found in European works. In addition to the ones given by Uribe Holguín, he cites the following: Brahms’s Symphony No 4 (Allegro), Concerto No. 2 for Piano and Orchestra Variations of a theme by Pagannini; Dvorak’s Quintet Op. 61 (3rd movement); Milhaud’s Cotillon; Tchaikovsky’s Concerto No.1 for Piano and Orchestra in Bb minor (3rd movement); and Schubert’s Sonata in D# major. José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, Biblioteca popular de cultura colombiana Historia; (Bogotá, [Imprenta nacional], 1945), 240.

<sup>282</sup> Carlos Miñana located the first reliable document where the name bambuco appears to 1819. Carlos Miñana Blasco, “Los caminos del bambuco en el siglo XIX.,” *A Contratiempo: Música y Danza (Bogotá)*, no. 09 (1997): 8; Añez and Otero d’Costa, *Canciones y recuerdos*, 44.

of his narrative of the bambuco, he not only includes a short biographical description of Uribe Holguín but also posits the following<sup>283</sup>:

Although the production of our great musicians is copious and varied [in style], in my humble opinion in Colombia the score that we have been waiting for anxiously has not yet been written: that great symphonic production in which our people can appreciate, in a clear, precise, [and] diaphanous way, the beauty and originality of our popular rhythms; that piece written with the difficult ease with which the Listz, the Korsakovs or the De Fallas have exploited to the maximum—and by everyone's understanding—the popular music of Europe, a composition that with these characteristics would undoubtedly save our national borders so that [our music] can be then incorporated, without a doubt, into the repertoire of the great European and American orchestras, a work that would almost certainly become a reality when the Colombian government stimulates our composers in due form.<sup>284</sup>

Thus, Añez first reverses Uribe Holguín's discourse (a universalist one) to legitimize his own particularist argument (an event). At the same time, however, by positing that Colombian rhythms like the bambuco were introduced into the European canon and indeed appropriated by European composers, Añez resorts to a universalizing strategy from which to articulate a politics of belonging (“to save our national borders so that [our music] can be then incorporated into the repertoire”). But by the same token, Añez is also inserting

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<sup>283</sup> Although I do not expand on this, it is important to note that historiographical practices in Colombia during the mid-twentieth centuries were almost exclusively centered around the history of musicians and composers. In his analysis of Colombian music historiography, Ospina Romero draws from the work of Egberto Bermudez to criticize historiographical practices that present a linear history of music by equating the history of music to the history of musicians. Sergio Ospina Romero, “Los estudios sobre la historia de la música en Colombia en la primera mitad del siglo XX: de la narrativa anecdótica al análisis interdisciplinario,” *achsc Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 40, no. 1 (2013): 314; Egberto Bermúdez, “Historia de la música vs. Historia de los músicos,” *Revista de la Universidad Nacional (1944 - 1992)* 1, no. 3 (July 1, 1985): 5–17.

<sup>284</sup> “No obstante que la producción de nuestros grandes músicos es copiosa y variada, en mi humilde opinión en Colombia todavía no se ha escrito la partitura que ha tiempo estamos esperando con ansiedad: esa grandiosa producción sinfónica en que nuestro pueblo pueda apreciar, en forma nítida, precisa, diáfana, la belleza y originalidad de sus ritmos populares; esa pieza escrito con la difícil facilidad con que los Listz, los Korsakovs o los De Fallas han explotado hasta el maximum—y por comprensión de todos—la música popular de diversos pueblos europeos, composición que con estas características indudablemente salvaría las fronteras patrias para luego incorporarse definitivamente en el repertorio de las grandes orquestas europeas y americanas, obra que casi seguramente sería una realidad cuando el Gobierno colombiano estimulase a nuestros compositores en la debida forma.” Añez and Otero d’Costa, *Canciones y recuerdos*, 300.

Colombianidad into the "*world*" (in Siskind's use of the term), and thus, deliberately attempts to contaminate the universal (European) archive, while still consenting to the hegemonic making of this universal globality. Finally, by admitting that there had not been a work written by any Colombian composer capable of sublimating Colombian particularity into a universal form so diaphanous and clear that it would be worthy of being performed by European and American orchestras, Añez also articulated a "cosmopolitan desire"—just as Uribe Holguín uttered in the conclusion to his 1923 lecture.

Perhaps the most colorful example of this form of discursive reversal comes from journalist José I. Pinilla Aguilar's 1980 book *Cultores de la Música Colombiana*. In his recollection of Colombian musicians and musics, Pinilla Aguilar expands on Añez's universalist strategy by bringing the German scientist and traveler Alexander Von Humboldt into the picture. Given that Humboldt had travelled to Colombia in 1801, Pinilla Aguilar writes:

The wise German Alexander of Humboldt—and he was wise for a reason—in the trip he made to our lands, he learned a melody set in the rhythm of the *bambuco* and when he went back to his country, he taught it to his countryman Beethoven who emptied it onto the pentagram, eliciting the comments that we all know. It is worth noting that Humboldt was born in 1769 and died in 1869. Both came to the world 130 years after the bambuco was already popular in Colombia.<sup>285</sup>

Noteworthy as well, although explored in-depth by ethnomusicologist Carolina Santamaría, is a cartoon drawn by the famous Liberal cartoonist Ricardo Rendón in 1930,

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<sup>285</sup> “El sabio alemán Alejandro de Humboldt—que por algo fue sabio—, en el viaje efectuado a nuestras tierras aprendió una melodía en tiempo de bambuco y de regreso a su país, lo enseñó a su coterráneo Beethoven quien lo vació al pentagrama, suscitando los comentarios que al respecto conocemos. Vale la pena anotar que Humboldt nació en 1769 y murió en 1869. Tanto uno como otro vinieron al mundo 130 años después que el bambuco ya era popular en Colombia; y esa la explicación para que el citado músico

who pokes fun at the idea that Beethoven had once heard a bambuco.<sup>286</sup> In this cartoon, Rendón depicts Beethoven playing a tiple and singing a popular bambuco written by Alejandro Willis entitled “Tiplecito de mi Vida.” Rendón sets Beethoven against a background where the Greek statue of the Discobolus of Myron is shown throwing a disk. The readers of the newspaper would have also recognized the mountains that Rendón draws in the back, which correspond to the mountains of Monserrate and Guadalupe, two local landmarks of the city of Bogotá. Moreover, Rendón titles his cartoon “Escena Chibcha,” (chibcha scene), named after a local indigenous culture. By this, he was alluding to yet another theory that came about in 1930 that posited that the *turmequé*, a local sport that involves throwing a metallic disk onto a wooden frame filled with clay and exploding gunpowder targets, had its origins in ancient Greece and not in Chibcha culture as it was generally thought.

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haya escrito nuestro bello ritmo.” José I Pinilla Aguilar, *Cultores de la música colombiana* (Bogotá, D.E., Colombia: Ediciones J.I.P., 1980), 14, <http://books.google.com/books?id=vqlaAAAAMAAJ>.

<sup>286</sup> Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 69.



Figure 2.7. Cartoon of Beethoven Playing a Tiple and Singing a Bambuco. Ricardo Rincón, “Escena Chibcha.”<sup>287</sup>

In what remains of this chapter, I reconsider this scenario through Laclau’s analysis of the hegemonic relation between the universal and the particular in his book *Emancipation(s)*.<sup>288</sup> I then offer a close reading of Uribe Holguín’s 1923 lecture through a combination of Laclau’s definition of the universal, as the “symbol of a missing fullness,”<sup>289</sup> and Siskind and Saavedra’s model to analyze the relation between cosmopolitan and nationalist expressions, as I outlined above.

### **The Universal and the Particular: a Laclauan Perspective**

As Mariano Siskind details, it was Immanuel Kant in “Idea of a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose” who actualized the notion of freedom in relation to a “global

<sup>287</sup> Taken from the “Complemento Gráfico” in Hernán Restrepo Duque and Luis Uribe Bueno, *A mi cánteme un bambuco* (Medellín: Ediciones Autores Antioqueños, 1986).

<sup>288</sup> Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid*, 28.

totality of rights and moral legality.”<sup>290</sup> Steering away from abstract notions of a shared moral commonality among all humanity, Kant imagined a world-republic where the project of modernity and the idea of a totality of freedom could be realized through concrete global modern institutions and practices. To do so, however, he assumed a universality of reason in order to articulate such a concrete notion.<sup>291</sup> Because of this assumed universality, Kant’s cosmopolitan imaginary presents an issue for the study of Latin American culture. Indeed, while Kant has “provid[ed] an epistemological structure for the economic, political, and military discourses of globalization that surround us today,”<sup>292</sup> his locus of enunciation, as a European philosopher, is intimately entangled with the hegemonic universalization of European particularity and European imperialism.

If we are to talk about universalism in the Latin American context then, we also have to acknowledge that at least since the eighteenth century, as many scholars have argued, European nations constructed their identity through the fictive universalization of their own particularity.<sup>293</sup> “European imperialist expansion had to be presented in terms of a universal civilizing function, modernization and so forth,” so writes Laclau.<sup>294</sup> Indeed, the idea of a universal modernity became a tool for European intellectuals to naturalize (1) European colonial expansion, (2) the formation of a modern capitalist world-system, and

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<sup>290</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 25.

<sup>291</sup> Frederick Rauscher, “Kant’s Social and Political Philosophy,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Spring 2017 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/kant-social-political/>.

<sup>292</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 26.

<sup>293</sup> For a concise exploration of this topic see the articles by Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Eduardo Mendieta, and Ramón Gosfoguel in Mabel Moraña, *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, Latin America Otherwise; Variation: Latin America Otherwise (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 181–334.

<sup>294</sup> Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(S)*, 25.

(3) the conceptualization of a Western global design that produced a hierarchy that privileged Western knowledge and cosmology over non-Western knowledge.<sup>295</sup> The latter, as Grosfoguel shows, became institutionalized in Latin American thought and notions of the self through a colonial matrix.<sup>296</sup>

However, in *Emancipation(s)*, Laclau posits that the ontological privileging of universalism as a pretension of European particularity—that is, the notion that universality has to be *necessarily* embodied by a historical idea of what European particularity *has been made to be* during the making of a global modernity since the Enlightenment—does not entail that as scholars we have to resort to the opposite of universalism as a lens from which to narrate postcolonial histories. Uribe Holguín’s fluctuating position on music nationalism is an example of this. Siskind arrives at a similar conclusion in his analysis of Latin American cosmopolitanist imaginations, pointing to the contingency and “constructedness” of the idea of universal literature, what he calls “world literature.” Siskind writes: “World literature—when activated *with a cosmopolitan purpose as deseo de mundo*, or world-desire, desire for the world—could reveal the contingent sutures of cultural forms susceptible to being inscribed *out there*, in the world, against the immediacy of meaning as a function of the local, whether national or regional.”<sup>297</sup> But how can we move away from

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<sup>295</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, “Eurocentrism and Its Avatars: The Dilemmas of Social Science,” *Sociological Bulletin* 46, no. 1 (1997): 21–39.

<sup>296</sup> Grosfoguel also lists other elements that derive from this global design, which, following Anibal Quijano, he coins as the coloniality of power, including multiple hierarchical orders that position European/Euro-American subjectivities over everything else: “the coloniality of power [is] the entanglement of multiple and heterogeneous hierarchies (‘heterarchies’) of sexual, political, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic, and racial forms of domination and exploitation where the racial/ethnic hierarchy of the European/non-European divide transversally reconfigures all other global power structures.” Ramón Grosfoguel, “World-Systems Analysis in the Context of Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 29, no. 2 (2006): 172.

<sup>297</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 27.



the idea that a universal is necessarily a cultural preserve of European expansionism, and move towards understanding appeals to music universalism as more than “an instance of the periphery’s cultural subordination to the core”<sup>298</sup>? Do we have to do away with universalism? Moreover, is the universal a fixed category that is impervious to rearticulation? Laclau’s work on universalism provides us with an alternative.

In the first instance, particularism, for Laclau, or rather, the assertion of a “pure particular” that can circumvent any claims to universality—that is, the idea of an isolated self-determination within a political space— is “a self-defeating enterprise.”<sup>299</sup> Laclau explains that because all identity is relational, the notion of self-determination rests on a paradox, for “it presupposes not only the presence of all the other identities but also the total ground which constitutes the differences as differences.”<sup>300</sup> In this sense, the recourse to discourses of self-determination is caught up in a logic of equivalence and not in the logic of just pure difference. There is, in other words, an underlying appeal to universality within particularist claims to self-determination.

Moreover, an appeal to pure particularism also disregards how identities are formed through relations of power, eliminating the historical circumstances that gave rise to the antagonistic relations that allowed for a group identity to be articulated in the first place.

Laclau writes:

I cannot assert a differential identity without distinguishing it from a context, and, in the process of making the distinction, I am asserting the context at the same time. And the opposite is also true: I cannot destroy a context without destroying at the same time the identity of the particular subject who carries out the destruction. It is

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<sup>298</sup> Siskind, 33.

<sup>299</sup> Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, 26.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, 27.

a very well-known historical fact that an oppositionist force whose identity is constructed within a certain system of power is ambiguous *vis-a-vis* that system, because the latter is what prevents the constitution of the identity and it is, at the same time, its condition of existence.<sup>301</sup>

Thus, for Laclau, there is no particular unit that is purely devoid of a universal, nor there is a universal totality that is not affected by the idea of particularity. So how is Laclau's critique any different from the denunciation of a "false universal" or of a "false particular"?

The strength of Laclau's critique of classical universalism and pure particularism lies in the fact that for him, the relation between a universal and a particular resembles the process of hegemonic articulation that he had developed with Chantal Mouffe.<sup>302</sup> Taking this into consideration, both the universal and the particular, while irreducible to each other, are not incommensurable, but respond to specific historical, political articulations. This means that there is no universal that is determined a priori by some essence or shared internal human values. And because there is no transcendental substance nor subject, the universal and the particular always have to be constantly rearticulated by political actors. Since there is no system that can determine these identities in advance, Linda M.G. Zerilli explains that:

The very fact that commonalities must be *articulated* through the interplay of diverse political struggles—rather than discovered and then merely followed, as one follows a rule—means, first, that no group or social actor

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>302</sup> See the first chapter of this dissertation.

can claim to represent the totality and, second, that there can be no fixing of the final meaning of universality (especially not through rationality).<sup>303</sup>

Thus, according to Laclau, to move away from Western Eurocentrism, what he calls a “systematic decentering of the West,”<sup>304</sup> we have to disclose how particular actors actualize the universal at a different moment. That is, how “different groups, instead, compete between themselves to temporarily give their particularisms a function of universal representation.”<sup>305</sup> Therefore, because the universal cannot be ultimately fixed (i.e., there is no symbol capable of representing all particulars), it follows that it lacks any content. A universal, Laclau asserts, is thus the “symbol of a missing fullness.”<sup>306</sup>

By understanding the universal as the symbol of a missing fullness, the universal then does not have to embody European particularity, but rather its presence is the symbolization of a constant strategy of representation in which different particularities are in a constant struggle to embody the universal—to become hegemonic.<sup>307</sup> If we are to understand the universal as a symbol within identitarian struggles, the universal comes to occupy, in other terms, the constitutive lack in identity formation that I describe in the first chapter of this dissertation. By the same token, every particular is affected by a universal in the moment when a particular (an identity) attempts to fully constitute itself as an autonomous unit. The particular, however, is never able to achieve this, precisely because the emptiness of the universal prevents it from happening—creating a symbolic dislocation. In this light, Siskind understands the construction of a universal in Latin American literary

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<sup>303</sup> Linda M. G. Zerilli, “This Universalism Which is Not One,” in Critchley and Marchart, *Laclau*, 96.

<sup>304</sup> Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, 34.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>307</sup> See “Why do Empty Signifiers Matter to Politics?” in Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*.

modernism as part of a process of cultural identification, in which “in the case of cosmopolitan intellectuals dislocated by the symbolic order of nationalism, the universal [may] appear as the negation of the local and the particular.”<sup>308</sup>

An understanding of the relation between a universal and a particular as one of contingency liberates the idea of universality from being occupied solely by European particularity, for “the claim of the universal is not made by a subject that precedes that claim; rather the claim itself is the articulation of a political identity in a public space.”<sup>309</sup> Furthermore, this explains why actors on the cultural periphery such as Ricardo Castro or Guillermo Uribe Holguín would resort to universalism as a discourse to represent themselves in a public space, for they understood that the claim to universalism itself could be articulated by them too.

This is not to say that Uribe Holguín was not caught up in the logic of coloniality and Eurocentrism. Rather, what I am interested in revealing here is that Uribe Holguín’s claims to universality are indicators of the making of a global modernity. His failure to embody the universal, in other words, is symptomatic of the asymmetry of the global field. What it tells us as well is that the relation between a core (Europe) and its periphery (Latin America) is not only one of cultural imposition and cultural appropriation by the core, but also one in which we can observe an active agency on the part of peripheral cultures in the making of the core’s identity. After all, core-periphery relations, as Mariano Siskind argues,

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<sup>308</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 9.

<sup>309</sup> Linda M.G. Zerilli, “This Universalism which is not One,” Critchley and Marchart, *Laclau*, 105.

are “culturally mediated by [a] hegemonic production of consent in the margins of globalization.”<sup>310</sup>

To conclude, while seemingly “replicating” music values from the core (Europe) into the periphery (Colombia), Uribe Holguín dislocates them. By placing the *bambuco* in Europe, Uribe Holguín, particularized the universal and universalized a particular, rendering these hierarchies inoperable, albeit temporarily. What’s more, his detractors and critics seem to have picked up on that. After all, while Uribe Holguín’s attempts at making his own particularity into a universal were ultimately a failure—precisely because as a Latin American composer, his locus of enunciation comes from the cultural periphery (i.e., what the universal was not at that particular moment)—what the discourses of these dislocated imaginaries do reveal, nonetheless, is that such discourses also “widen the margins of cultural and political agency and illuminate new meanings by reinscribing particularities in larger, transcultural networks of signification.”<sup>311</sup>

In the next chapter, I will show how this antagonism between the development of localized musics that have been associated with particularist projects and Uribe Holguín’s universalizing persona appear in historiographical texts. In these narratives, the figure of Murillo Chapull appears as the representation of particularism in national music narratives, even though scholars have on multiple occasions criticized Murillo Chapull’s overtly nationalist stance.

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<sup>310</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 32.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*

### CHAPTER 3

#### ***Vida de un Músico Colombiano: Antagonism, Cosmopolitanism, and Autobiography***

In November of 1940, five years after resigning as director of the National Conservatory of Music, Guillermo Uribe Holguín completed the manuscript of his autobiography, *Vida de un Músico Colombiano* (Life of a Colombian Musician), a mandatory reference in Colombian music historiography since its publication in 1941.<sup>312</sup> As its title inevitably suggests, *Vida de un Músico Colombiano* constitutes a double inscription: that of the nation's musical history, in which Uribe Holguín held the reins of the prime music institution in Colombia for twenty-five years, on the one hand; and of Uribe Holguín's own artistic career and personal life, on the other. In the opening lines of *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, Uribe Holguín makes this double inscription painstakingly clear, describing the reminiscences on his artistic and personal life as a “double biography”:

My life has been linked to the life of national art music in such a way that to write about one I have been forced to write about the other one as well. Mine will be of no interest other than for such close ties; on the other hand, the life of the music of our land will be [of interest] to everyone who loves art and wishes its prosperity in Colombia.

In writing this double biography, I have principally set out to show to our country my performance during the long period in which I held the reins of the National Conservatory of Music. Maliciously, thick veils were spread out, so that my performance should be ignored, or only partially known, distorting it with the purpose of justifying certain novelties that were brought about as a result of my

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<sup>312</sup> To cite a few: Eliana Duque, *Guillermo Uribe Holguín y sus 300 trozos in el sentimiento popular* (Bogotá: Ediciones del centenario de Guillermo Uribe Holguín, 1980); Hernández Salgar, *Los mitos de la música nacional*; Hernández Salgar, “Colonialidad y Poscolonialidad Musical En Colombia”; Carolina Santamaría Delgado, *El bambuco, los saberes mestizos y la academia: un análisis histórico de la persistencia de la colonialidad en los estudios musicales latinoamericanos*, 2007; Bermúdez, “From Colombian ‘National’ Song to ‘Colombian Song’: 1860-1960”; Vaughan, “Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971).”

separation from the Conservatory and which have clearly disturbed our artistic progress.<sup>313</sup>

Taking into consideration this synecdochical relation between Colombia's musical life and himself in *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, in this chapter I examine the ways Uribe Holguín, through autobiographical writing, "presented [himself] to others as a way of placing himself in dialogue with the nation he sought to comprehend."<sup>314</sup> In particular, I direct my attention to the antagonisms that Uribe Holguín articulates between himself and the Colombian nation in his autobiography, and how he perceives his own Colombianidad as an obstacle to his own success within an imaginary of progress that is inherently tied to a global aural modernity. Indeed, at the heart of *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, I argue, lies what Mariano Siskind calls "the cosmopolitan agency" of the stereotypical Latin American cosmopolitan intellectual: a distinctively male writer whose subjectivity derives from both

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<sup>313</sup> "Mi vida ha sido de tal modo vinculada a la del arte musical patrio, que para escribir la una me he visto obligado a escribir también gran parte de la otra. La mía no tendrá más interés sino el que le da esa estrecha union; en cambio la de la música en nuestro suelo lo tendrá para todo el que ame el arte y desee su prosperidad en Colombia. Al redactar esta doble biografía, principalmente me he propuesto imponer al país de mi actuación durante el largo período en que tuve las riendas del Conservatorio Nacional de Música. Maliciosamente se extendieron espesos velos pora[sic] que dicha actuación fuese igonarada, o conocida parcialente, desvirtuándola con el fin de hacer valer insólitas novedades llevadas a efecto a raíz de mi separación del Conservatorio y que manifiestamente han perturbado nuestro progreso artístico." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "La Música Nacional," *Revista Música*, 1(1), Santafé de Bogotá, 1923: 11. Hereinafter, all translations are mine unless noted otherwise. In the spirit of transparency, I will also provide in the footnotes the text in its original language. Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*. (Bogotá: Librería Voluntad, s.a., 1941).

<sup>314</sup> This is not unique to Uribe Holguín's text. The most representative autobiography of this particular "knot between individual destiny and national destiny," as Franco notes, is Domingo Sarmiento's *Recuerdos de la Provincia* (1850). Sergio R. Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America: Folds of the Self* / Ascherl, Andrew; Translator., Ascherl, Andrew, *Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*. (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2017), 2.

his “marginal position of enunciation and from the certainty that this position has excluded him from the global unfolding of a modernity.”<sup>315</sup>

Furthermore, I contend that *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*—as a primary source<sup>316</sup>—stands as a form of cosmopolitan subjectivity through which we can observe “the social and ontological folds through which [Uribe Holguín] becomes who he is.”<sup>317</sup> Recognizing that autobiographical writing functions as an expression that highlights a cultural actor’s metamorphosis and variation as it unfolds diachronically, as Sergio Franco argues, “dislodge[s] [in turn] the notion of a stable subject.”<sup>318</sup> Through an autobiography we can therefore study the construction of a “topology of the self” through the constant negotiations of a cultural actor’s process of identification at particular historical moments in relation to distinct categories that constitute the modern Self, be they race, gender, sexuality, political affiliation, or nationality.<sup>319</sup>

In what ensues, I first draw from Franco’s work to provide a theoretical basis from which we can read Uribe Holguín’s autobiography.<sup>320</sup> Secondly, I explain how *Vida de un Músico Colombiano* responds to antagonistic logics. Finally, I provide a brief analysis of a

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<sup>315</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 9.

<sup>316</sup> Uribe Holguín’s autobiography has served more as a secondary source from which to recount his life.

<sup>317</sup> Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, xi.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>320</sup> Although cautioning against a strictly structural reading of the text, Franco distinguishes autobiography from memoir and diary, albeit there might be texts, as he notes, that participate in all of these modalities. Indeed, while all three modalities bring together a subject, narrator, and protagonist, in a diary, for instance, the author gives an account of daily life through a temporal closeness and immediacy and thus, emphasizes “transformation rather than being.” A memoir, although closer to an autobiography, refers to a type didactic and essayistic modality that aims to recuperate a history through testimonies or chronicles. Unlike autobiographies, however, memoirs are generally written by individuals who do not seek literary recognition. Finally, an autobiography makes use of an autodiegetic narrator such as Uribe Holguín, “who participates in the diegesis as protagonist or dramatic linchpin,” and not simply a narrator who forms part of the plot (as in a memoir). *Ibid.*, xvi–xviii.



public debate in the press held between Uribe Holguín and composer Emilio Murillo Chapull in the 1920s, which will be central to the rest of this dissertation. I use the categories of antagonism, Siskind's cosmopolitan desire (see chapter 2), and Laclau's definition of the universal as a symbol of a missing fullness to analyze this public debate.

### **Uribe Holguín and Autobiographical Writing**

In his book *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, Franco suggests reading autobiographies according to three major considerations. First, whoever writes an autobiography is bound to what Franco calls *subjectivized time*; that is, a narratological device in which the recollection of a subject's own life will always be insufficient for such recollection is inevitably tied to the degradation of memory. Such recollection, furthermore, is tied in turn to a temporal mediation between, on the one hand, the author and the author's past and, on the other, the author and a future reader. Second, because of subjectivized time, the author of an autobiography "imposes a trajectory on a life, converting into a destiny."<sup>321</sup> Third, narration itself requires a selective discarding of events that is informed by cultural and political "paradigms of memory and forgetting."<sup>322</sup> Consequently, even if we can support and verify an author's claims in their autobiography through archival research (the recollection of a person's private events for the most part, however, resists this approach), the value and relevance of an autobiography should not simply rely on the veracity of such a narrative. On the contrary, Franco argues that we

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<sup>321</sup> Franco, 14. I discuss the difference between agonistic and antagonistic in a section below.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, xi–xx.

should assess an autobiography not so much around the expectation of truth but in what Gilles Deleuze calls the "power of the false": a "decenter[ing] [of] the distinction between the same and the similar, between the copy and the model."<sup>323</sup>

Taking this decentering of the expectation of truth into consideration, we must also recognize that while the author of an autobiography engages in a disciplined exercise of self-examination, albeit informed by cultural and political contexts, such an author also employs rhetorical strategies to obtain the reader's empathy or complicity. This form of self-referential narrativization and examination at the same time opens up the possibility of the author's self-deception, further complicating the distinction between truth (model) and deception (copy). To understand Franco's considerations for reading an autobiography described above, let us first examine chapter V of *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, which Uribe Holguín devotes to his trip to the United States in 1903.<sup>324</sup>

Uribe Holguín frames his stay in the US-American Northeast (he tells us that he first arrived in New Jersey and then settled in New York City) as a decisive moment in his musical career. Uribe Holguín uses his visit to the United States to foreshadow his future aesthetic choices, marking a clear artistic path for him (in other words, converting a trajectory into destiny). Indeed, in this chapter, Uribe Holguín first mentions that during his stay in the United States he became particularly attracted to the symphonic poems of Richard Strauss, which he heard performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall, conducted by none other than Strauss himself.<sup>325</sup> He also recounts that in

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<sup>323</sup> Ibid, xvi.

<sup>324</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 43–48.

<sup>325</sup> Strauss did indeed conduct the Boston Symphony at Carnegie Hall in March 1904. However, I have not been able to place Uribe Holguín in Strauss's concert. On Thursday, February 17, 1904 the Boston

New York City he attended a performance of Wagner's *Parsifal*.<sup>326</sup> While Uribe Holguín's reference to Strauss and Wagner might at first glance not appear to be out of the ordinary, Uribe Holguín begins to weave both of these performances into an organic and inevitable aesthetic journey, crafting a narrative of "personal triumph that contrasts with the fundamental failure of the nation and its institutions."<sup>327</sup> This narrative of self-redemption vis-à-vis the nation is a representative trait of autobiographical writing in Latin America, as I explore below.<sup>328</sup>

In chapter VI, Uribe Holguín's artistic trajectory begins to become increasingly clear, when we learn that upon his return to Colombia, Uribe Holguín joined the Academia Nacional as a professor of violin, solfège, and harmony. Even though the Academia had recently been revived from the ashes left by the War of the Thousand Days, the financial support received from the Reyes administration was precarious and insufficient to keep it open. This prompted the members of the Academia to create an orchestra, which was handed to Uribe Holguín and which would serve as the main act in a concert meant to show the value of the Academia to Colombian society at large, but most importantly, to President Reyes himself. For this concert, Uribe Holguín details how he composed a short

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Symphony performed Strauss's "Don Quixote" along with a piece by Smetana, Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 and interestingly, César Franck's symphonic poem "The Wild Huntsman," which Uribe Holguín surprisingly does not mention in his narrative. In this concert, however, Wilherm Gericke conducted the Boston Symphony and not Strauss. On March 3<sup>rd</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, Carnegie did hold a concert of Richard Strauss but in conjunction with The Wetzler Symphony Orchestra, although I have not found information about the pieces performed on this occasion. Furthermore, on March 1<sup>st</sup>, Strauss performed some of his works on the piano with soprano Paulhine de Ahna. See "Boston Symphony Orchestra Concert Program, Trip Series, Season 23 (1903-1904), Philadelphia Academy of Music, Wednesday Concert 4, Seq. 3," accessed April 30, 2018, <https://cdm15982.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/PROG/id/83838>.

<sup>326</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 47.

<sup>327</sup> Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, 19.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid*, 19.

work for mixed chorus and orchestra, which he titled *Victimae Paschali*, Op. 5 (dated September 2 1905), after a text in Latin commonly used on Easter Sunday. The performance took place not in Easter, but in December at the Teatro Colón in 1906.



Figure 3.1. *Victimae Paschali* Op. 5 (1905). Manuscript. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

Reyes was so pleased with the premiere of Uribe Holguín’s *Victimae Paschali*, Uribe Holguín recounts, that he decided to keep the Academia open and send Uribe Holguín to further his studies in Europe.<sup>329</sup> In chapter VII, we find out that it was also *Victimae Paschali*

<sup>329</sup> "The concert was splendidly successful and our purpose of not letting the Academy die, victim of the economy, was fulfilled. There was a real wave of sympathy for the Institute, both in the official region and in society as a whole and I believe that General Reyes' idea of sending me to Europe to complement my artistic education I owe to that concert" ("Espléndido éxito tuvo el concierto y se cumplió nuestro propósito de no dejar morir la Academia, víctima de las economías. Se produjo una verdadera ola de simpatía por el Instituto, tanto en la región oficial como en la sociedad entera y creo deberle a ese concierto la idea del

that earned Uribe Holguín a spot in d'Indy's composition class. And this is where the big reveal happens: Uribe Holguín details how d'Indy, upon glancing over just the first page of *Victimae Paschali*, immediately recognized Strauss's imprint on Uribe Holguín's work: "*on voit bien que vous avez beaucoup travaillé Strauss,*" expressed d'Indy to Uribe Holguín. According to Uribe Holguín, d'Indy's observation left him perplexed. Uribe Holguín then confesses to us, by way of a quick flashback, that following Strauss's concert at Carnegie Hall, he had purchased a number of pocket-sized scores of Strauss's music, which he studied with careful attention.<sup>330</sup> As Uribe Holguín writes, it was Strauss's music who ultimately revealed to Uribe Holguín how "the modern orchestra [had] a palette of colors that are very distinct from the ones that the classics could have used."<sup>331</sup> Through Strauss, Uribe Holguín had become a modernist composer: a neatly-packed projection of aesthetic coherence in his life, free of potential ambiguities and contradictions in the narration of his own ideological and artistic identity to others.

Furthermore, we must also consider the fact that Uribe Holguín highlights the symphonic poem over other musical forms in his description of Strauss's concert. This is important given that around the time that Uribe Holguín began to write *Vida de un Colombiano*, as I explore in chapter 4 and 5 of this dissertation, he also began to compose his first symphonic poems. Whether conscious of this rhetorical strategy or not, Uribe Holguín

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general Reyes de enviarme a Europa a que complementara mi educación artística"). Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 55.

<sup>330</sup> This has prompted the analysis of Uribe Holguín's modernism in relation to Strauss's aesthetic. Vaughan, "Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971)," 69–75.

<sup>331</sup> "...y me había dado cuenta de que la orquesta moderna es una paleta de colores muy distintos de los que pudieron usar los clásicos, después de escuchar las obras de Ricardo Strauss en Nueva York, había comprado algunas de sus partituras, en edición de bolsillo, y en esas partituras había buscado la enseñanza que no me daban los textos sobre la materia." Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 63.

used his autobiography as a way to promote and justify his aesthetic choices.<sup>332</sup> Following Franco, this is none other than a desire for recognition through a mediation between the author and a future reader.<sup>333</sup>

Furthermore, I believe that Uribe Holguín's reference to Wagner in chapter V is not accidental: since d'Indy and Franck were the flagbearers of Wagnerism in France, it would only be natural that Uribe Holguín, as a student of d'Indy, would see himself as heir to the Franckian legacy in Colombia.<sup>334</sup> As a matter of fact, Uribe Holguín eventually became the spokesperson for both Franckism and d'Indyism in the press—and for all things French in the Colombian music scene for that matter—despite the fact that other composers such as María Valencia (a fellow Scholista) or Carlos Posada Amador (1908–1993) had studied in Paris as well. For d'Indy's birth centenary, for instance, Uribe Holguín wrote about his long-standing friendship with d'Indy in the press, and as proof, he even made public some of their correspondence (see figure 2.2). In 1930, Uribe Holguín along with Valencia went as far as organizing a Franck Festival in the Colombian capital. The festival, as music critic Otto de Greiff reports, was poorly attended. De Greiff deemed the

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<sup>332</sup> Camilo Vaughan's master's thesis explores Uribe Holguín's symphonic poems at length, see Vaughan, "Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971)."

<sup>333</sup> On public recognition and autobiography, see Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, 8–10.

<sup>334</sup> As a matter of fact, most musicological analyses of Uribe Holguín's music take as a departure point the compositional procedures that been linked to Franckism, especially that of the cyclic sonata, a four-movement cyclic formal design. For examples, see Martha Enna Rodríguez Melo, *Sinfonía del terruño de Guillermo Uribe Holguín: la obra y sus contextos*, Colección Prometeo; Variation: Colección Prometeo (Bogotá, Colombia) (Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Departamento de Historia, 2009), 40–43; Vaughan, "Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971)," 32–34.

program “too difficult” for Colombian audiences to digest, even though he praised the effort of the organizers.<sup>335</sup>

As I explained in the introduction of this dissertation, Uribe Holguín also defended d’Indy’s educational philosophy on multiple occasions in both the French and Colombian press. The former against devotees of Debussy, who positioned d’Indy as a figure diametrically opposed to Debussy. The latter when Uribe Holguín took over the National Music Conservatory, proposing to shape the Colombian conservatory after the Schola.<sup>336</sup> Later in 1932, Uribe Holguín’s “d’Indyst”-inspired educational model faced harsher critiques, this time coming from the quill of none other than Valencia, a Scholista himself, who became d’Indy’s student largely due to Uribe Holguín’s help.<sup>337</sup> As I explore in the conclusion of this dissertation, Valencia’s critique eventually led to Uribe Holguín’s separation from the conservatory in 1935.

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<sup>335</sup> Otto de Greiff, “El festival Franck en el Colón,” *El Gráfico No. 974*, April 1930. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>336</sup> For a study of how these educational models were adapted in Colombia, see Luis Gabriel Mesa Martínez, *Hacia una reconstrucción del concepto “músico profesional” en Colombia: antecedentes de la educación musical e institucionalización de la musicología*, Tesis doctoral; ([Granada] Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, 2014), 180–88.

<sup>337</sup> See Mario Gómez-Vignes, *Imagen y obra de Antonio María Valencia* (Cali: Corporación para la Cultura, 1991).

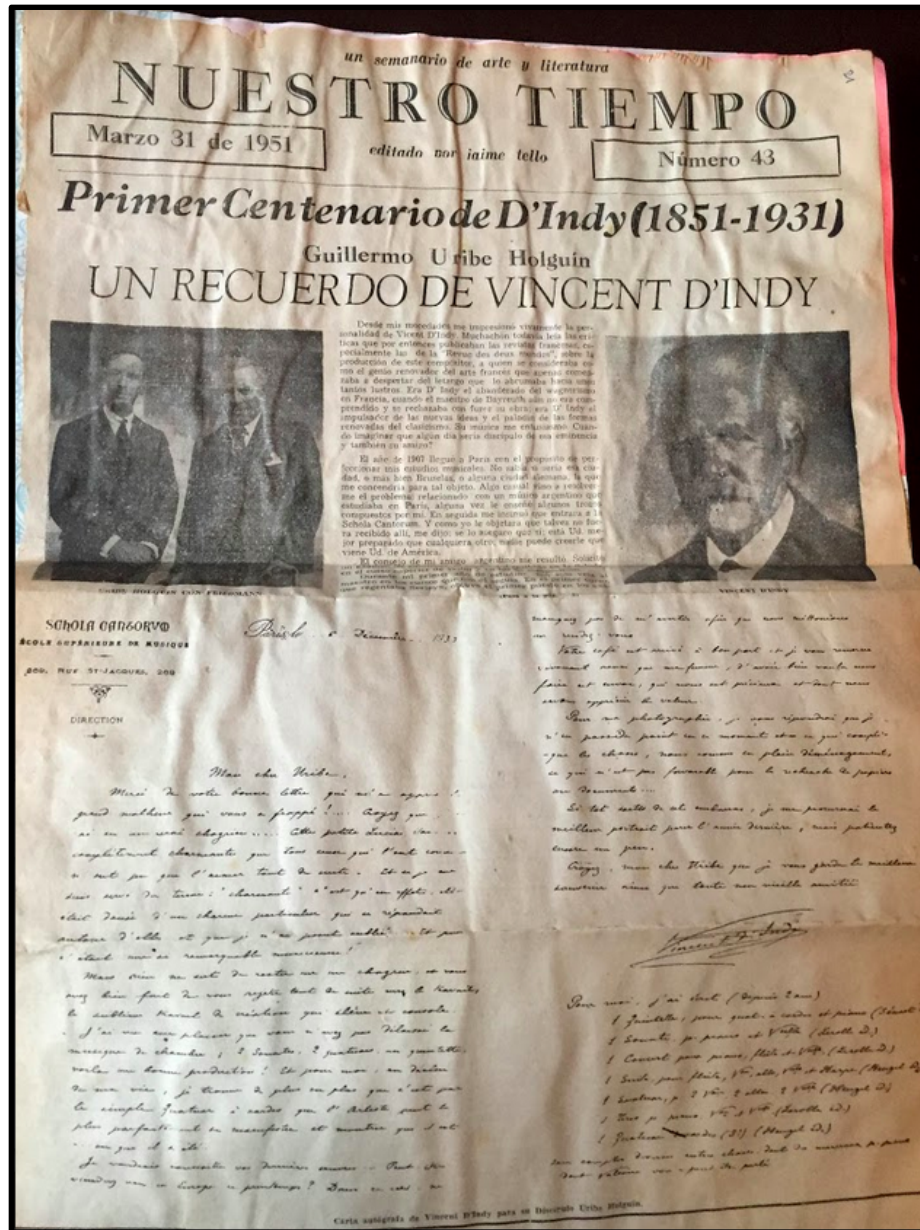


Figure 3.2. “Un Recuerdo de Vincent d’Indy,” by Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Published in *Nuestro Tiempo* on March 31, 1951, along with a letter written by d’Indy to Uribe Holguín. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.



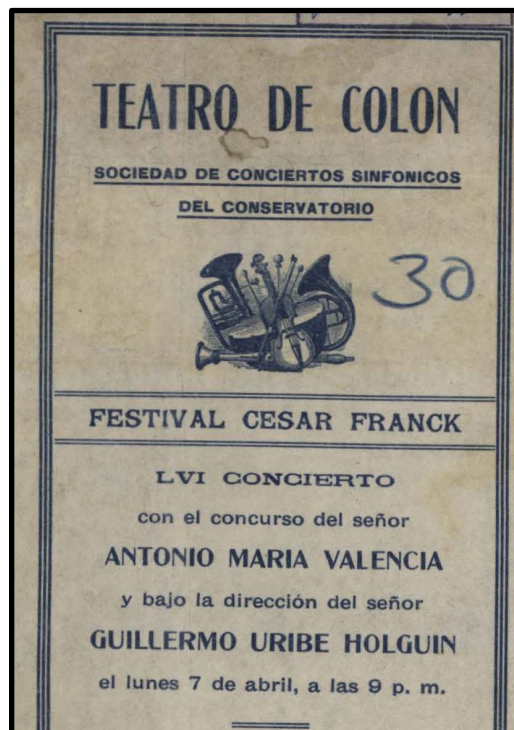


Figure 3.3. Advertisement for the Franck Festival held at the Teatro Colón in April of 1930. Centro de Documentación Musical. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

Moreover, around the time that Uribe Holguín had begun to draft his autobiography, he was simultaneously working on what he considered to be his magnum opus: his opera *Furatena* Op. 76, which he announces towards the end of *Vida de un Música Colombiano*.<sup>338</sup> Uribe Holguín not only labelled *Furatena* a “*drama lírico*” (“lyrical drama”)—a name that perhaps resembles Wagner’s “music drama,” as opposed to an opera— but in a truly Wagnerian fashion he wrote both the libretto and the music, hoping to “become a

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<sup>338</sup> Uribe Holguín completed *Furatena* on the same year when his autobiography came out. However, *Furatena* has never been staged nor performed in its entirety. Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 262.

Wagner” himself, as he told some of his friends.<sup>339</sup> Uribe Holguín also commented in the press that he was a member of the Wagnerian Society of Buenos Aires.<sup>340</sup>

While I do not intend to explore the impact of Wagnerism in Colombia here, it is worth noting that Uribe Holguín’s association with Wagnerism and d’Indy faced a backlash in the Colombian scene after World War II. Uribe Holguín was deemed an anti-Semite in 1950 when critic Enrique Millán published an interview of Uribe Holguín, in which both of them, in comparing the work of Mendelssohn and Schumann, had concluded, based on what d’Indy had postulated once that “Jews do not have the sufficient musical sensibility as it is made to believe.”<sup>341</sup> Uribe Holguín’s devotion to d’Indy’s figure and to Wagnerism had his back against the ropes: he was forced to write an apologetic letter to the press, which was published in *El Espectador* under the title of “Antisemitismo Musical.” In such article, in what appears as a conciliatory gesture (yet still overtly anti-Semitic but representative of Colombian nationalism at the time),<sup>342</sup> Uribe Holguín clarified that while he maintained d’Indy’s postulate that “the Jew has not been a creator but an assimilator,” he believed still

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<sup>339</sup> “Hice participates de mi entusiasmo por convertirme en un Wagner, a mis amigos poetas.” “Op. de Uribe Holguín: El Conservatorio Nal. Cumple 50 Años,” *Vida Cultural*, October 16, 1961. Folio Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. I expand on *Furatena* in chapter 4.

<sup>340</sup> See, Leonor Carrasquilla, “Los 80 Años de Uribe Holguín,” *El Tiempo* (Date Unknown). Folio Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>341</sup> “Haciendo un paralelo entre dos compositores alemanes, se ha llegado a establecer que los judíos no tienen la suficiente sensibilidad musical que se quiere hacer creer.” Enrique Millán, “Guillermo Uribe Holguín: Símbolo de una Generación,” *El Espectador*, January 3, 1950. Folio de Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>342</sup> I explore this issue in chapter 4.

that there were many performers and conductors belonging to the “*raza de Israel*” (the Israeli race), who were magnificent musicians, worthy of praise.<sup>343</sup>

Uribe Holguín also recounts that while residing in New York he made a living by performing with several dance orchestras, as well as arranging “light” pieces that used popular forms of the time such as two-steps, waltzes, and marches, all of which were well-received by the editors (he never gives us the editors’ name, making it difficult to trace and confirm this fact). Contrary to these editors’ resolve, Uribe Holguín tells us that he never claimed authorship for those pieces, which he explains derives from being shy and humble. And here perhaps lies one of the most extraordinary claims made by Uribe Holguín in *Vida de un Músico Colombia*, indicating the possibility of self-deception: during his stay, the composer tells us, he was asked to arrange the overture to Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* for banjo. Uribe Holguín confesses that he had never seen or heard a banjo in his life, but that nevertheless he completed this arrangement in one night: a “true” mark of his genius and an event that has been repeated *ad nauseum* in biographical accounts. Having understood some of the particularities of autobiographical writing, let us now proceed with the way an autobiography operates as an articulation of antagonism.

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<sup>343</sup> “El judío no ha sido creador sino asimilador.” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Antisemitismo Musical,” *El Espectador* (January 1950; date unavailable). Folio Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.



Figure 3.4 “Antisemitismo Musical” by Uribe Holguín, *El Espectador* (undated). Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

### **Antagonism and Autobiography**

In 1939, as a response to an article published by the German musicologist Francisco Curt Lange in 1938 (see chapter 4), Uribe Holguín wrote him a letter, criticizing Curt Lange’s assertion that Uribe Holguín had left the conservatory in 1935 because he had received harsh critics by his colleagues. Uribe Holguín writes:

I do have, however, to make a couple of rectifications to your document regarding my performance as Director of the Conservatory. It is very true that writing contemporary history constitutes a very serious issue, for the sources of information

are generally devoid of true impartiality. It won't be long until the date in which the proper occasion to tell the world the truth presents itself to me.<sup>344</sup>

While I have not found an original manuscript or rough draft of Uribe Holguín's autobiography as to ascertain the exact date when he begins to write about his artistic and personal life, Uribe Holguín's letter to Curt Lange could be considered a first moment when he decides to carry out his autobiographical enterprise. Thus, from the outset, demonstrated as well in the opening paragraphs of *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, Uribe Holguín framed his autobiography as a form of intervention in the public sphere (an agonistic practice).<sup>345</sup> He pursues such an intervention through a discourse of self-justification, crafting a redemptive narrative of personal triumph against the failure(s) of the state to transform and modernize Colombia's "backward" musical scene, especially after he was first separated from the nation's prime musical institution in 1935.<sup>346</sup>

This is evinced the narrative structure of the book itself. Whereas Uribe Holguín divides his autobiography into thirty-three short chapters that follow a quasi-diachronic

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<sup>344</sup> "Tengo sí que hacer algunas rectificaciones a su escrito en lo referente a mi actuación como Director del Conservatorio. Es tan cierto que escribir la historia contemporánea constituye un problema bastante serio, por no ser las fuentes de información generalmente desprovistas de imparcialidad verdadera. No tardará mucho tiempo la fecha en que se me presente la ocasión propicia para contar al mundo la verdad de las cosas." Uribe Holguín to Lange, March 20, 1939. Series: 01567, Code: BRUFMGBUCL2.2.S26.1401 Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte, Brasil.

<sup>345</sup> As Franco explains, there are two remote forebears of contemporary autobiography: The Platonic autobiography, and the Greek autobiography based on the Enkomion. The former is a narrative constructed on a "search for true knowledge through different stages of spiritual enlightenment," whose earliest expression is Plato's *The Apology*. The latter corresponds to a "verbal, civic-political act, a funereal eulogy, [or] a commemoration of a person in fervent and laudatory terms before the agora." Uribe Holguín's *Vida de un Músico Colombiano* belongs without a doubt to the latter category. Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, xii.

<sup>346</sup> Even further, Franco suggests that because autobiographies in Latin America appeared as instruments of social self-representation in which their authors aimed to be recognized and known in the public sphere, and thus, autobiography can be interpreted as a textual modality of "true democratization"; that is, as a way to recognize one's own social existence and value in relation to other individuals and larger collectives such as a national community. See Franco, 9.

recollection of his life, the narrative itself is split into two. The first half of *Vida de un Músico Colombiano* is a discourse of self-justification leading up to the events of 1935, while the second half serves him to criticize subsequent administrations. Most importantly, these administrations, were under the purview of Gustavo Santos, whose role in the nation's artistic development, Uribe Holguín condemns the most.<sup>347</sup> Uribe Holguín even marks this narrative break by positing that the conservatory “truly died” once he left.<sup>348</sup>

Indeed, as I explore in subsequent chapters, during the *República Liberal*, Santos played an important role in the development of a number of state-wide cultural policies, which institutionalized the notion of “the people,” and of the “popular” and “folkloric” in Colombia. It was also during the *República Liberal*, when Uribe Holguín's tenure at the conservatory came to an end, which coincides with the moment that he first begins to be inscribed into Colombian music history. This is why, I believe Uribe Holguín resorts to autobiographical writing to intervene in the public sphere condemning the reformist cultural politics of the *República Liberal*, which came to embody the nation-state itself during this time period.<sup>349</sup> For instance, when commenting on the *escuelas ambulantes*, travelling schools that were deployed during the *República Liberal* to bring “culture” to rural towns as a tool of social integration, Uribe Holguín writes: “It is not with artificial and disingenuous propaganda, such as the one of taking the arts on trucks to [rural] towns,

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<sup>347</sup> In chapter XXXI, he even provides a financial analysis of Santos's initiative to found new conservatories in cities other than Bogotá, deeming it untenable and doomed to failure. Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 257–60.

<sup>348</sup> “Before the Conservatory died, because it truly died...” (“Antes de morir el Conservatorio, por que en verdad murió..”) Uribe Holguín, 186.

<sup>349</sup> On the democratization of culture and education during the time period, including the *República Liberal*'s travelling schools, see Muñoz, Catalina, “To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946,” 79–129.

through which [artistic] progress is achieved. Instead, those who ought to be [music's] natural priests should be the ones to look for [artistic progress] through rigorous study."<sup>350</sup>

Moreover, Uribe Holguín frames his autobiography as a form of public intervention and assessment of self-worth clear not only in its opening lines ("I have principally set out to show to our country my performance during the long period in which I held the reins of the National Conservatory of Music"), but in the penultimate chapter, where Uribe Holguín completes the narration of his life in a diachronic way.<sup>351</sup> Uribe Holguín writes:

In these two years [1939 and 1940], which close the curtains of these chronicles of my life, I was awarded new honors, which I appreciate and am grateful for, and which make me presume that the current Government recognizes my artistic work. First, I was appointed Honorary Director of the National Symphony Orchestra and later honorary Professor of the University: two titles that speak of my double role as an educator, in the classroom, and as head of the orchestra. And also the Executive honored me with the "*Medalla cívica del General Santander*" given on the centenary of such eminent national man, and which was granted to a group of distinguished citizens.<sup>352</sup>

Thus, while he begins the recollection of his life with a condemnation of Colombia's atavistic musical practices, materialized during the República Liberal, Uribe Holguín's denouement serves him to assess his own worth by appealing paradoxically to the nation itself as the ultimate juror. Such a scenario reveals a deeper antagonistic structure in Uribe

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<sup>350</sup> "No es con propagandas artificiales e inverosímiles, como la de llevar el artes sobre camiones a los poblados, como se consigue el adelanto, sino buscándolo por medio de estudios serios de quienes deben ser sus naturales sacerdotes." Uribe Holguín, *Vida de Un Músico Colombiano*, 260.

<sup>351</sup> As I describe below, the last chapter serves a different purpose.

<sup>352</sup> "En estos dos años [1939 y 1940] que cierran el telón de estos crónicas de mi vida, fui objeto de nuevos honores que sé apreciar y agradecer, y que me hacen presumir ser reconocido por el Gobierno actual mi labor artística. Primero se me nombró Director honorario de la Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional y más tarde Profesor honorario de la Universidad, dos títulos que hablan de mi doble función como educador, ya en las aulas, ya a la cabeza de la orquesta. Y también el Ejecutivo honróme con la "*Medalla cívica del General Santander*" que, con motivo del centenario del eminente hombre nacional, se concedió a un grupo de distinguidos ciudadanos." Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 266.

Holguín's process of self-identification: that which threatens his Self (the nation-state and his position as composer of the cultural periphery) to fully constitute itself is what paradoxically constitutes his identity.

However, one should note that Uribe Holguín's will to intervene in the public sphere through autobiographical writing is not unique to his case. As Franco explains, despite the fact that the practice of autobiographical writing was not foreign to Latin American subjects.<sup>353</sup> Rather, it was with the emergence of bourgeois individualism<sup>354</sup> that Latin American autobiography started to clearly distinguish itself, for example, from autobiography in the United States, which tended instead to "operate as a self-help manual, perhaps owing to the fact that it originates in an environment where there is greater social mobility."<sup>355</sup>

In contrast to these "self-help manuals," the protagonists/narrators/authors in Latin American autobiographies—especially of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—frequently offer their readers a glimpse into the "differential specificity of marginal renderings of the world vis-à-vis the worlds devised in metropolitan locations."<sup>356</sup> The narratives of Latin American autobiographies veer then towards a diegesis whose objective is to show the perceived "backwardness" of the medium in which their

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<sup>353</sup> Autobiographical writing in Latin American can be understood as belonging to a long-standing tradition of Latin American catharsis, hailing back even to the *Comentarios Reales* (1609) by Inca Garcilaso de La Vega. See Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, 1–24.

<sup>354</sup> Franco notes that individualism arose as an effect of an increasing capitalist modernization, which allowed artists and authors to divorce themselves from tradition and its institutions but which simultaneously alienated them from their social milieu, prompting them to perform a type of self-examination. See Franco, 1–23.

<sup>355</sup> Franco, 19.

<sup>356</sup> Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 18.



protagonists have to grow and develop.”<sup>357</sup> This is evident in *Vida de un Musico Colombiano*, when Uribe Holguín narrates what he perceives to be the reasons for the failure of the nation’s musical progress: (1) the national dissemination of “vulgar and ridiculous”<sup>358</sup> music (i.e., popular music from the emerging phonographic industry), and (2) the precarious material conditions that inhibited a “proper” development of a local modern and modernist scene despite his own efforts.<sup>359</sup> In this sense, his attack against popular music, as I explore below, stems from Uribe Holguín’s cosmopolitan agency, which reveals an attempt at leaving behind him nationalist signifiers that appear to him as potential sources of self-marginalization within a global music modernity.

Uribe Holguín’s diegesis of individual redemption vis-à-vis the perceived atavistic national space where his life unfolded also explains perhaps why in the concluding paragraph of his autobiography, after two hundred and sixty pages or so, Uribe Holguín interrupts his diachronic narration and returns to his visit to Europe in 1920, when he was reunited with Vincent d’Indy. In a rather austere section that Uribe Holguín labels simply as “*Conclusión*,” he recounts telling the French composer that he had become a coffee farmer.<sup>360</sup> “Maitre, je suis devenu un planteur de café”, said Holguín to d’Indy, to which

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<sup>357</sup> Franco, *Autobiographical Writing in Latin America*, 19.

<sup>358</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de Un Músico Colombiano*, 164.

<sup>359</sup> Uribe Holguín describes the building where the conservatory was first located as a “old colonial house almost in ruins, with brick floors and without higienic conditions whatsoever.”// “El local del Conservatorio no podía ser enos apropiado a su objecto: una vieja casa colonial casi en ruinas, con pisos de ladrillo y sin condiciones higiénicas ningunas.” Ibid, 85.

<sup>360</sup> However, in an interview with Uribe Holguín’s granddaughter and prominent Colombian anthropologist, Maria Victoria Uribe—who lived with Uribe Holguín for a number of years—told me that Uribe Holguín’s hacienda did not produce coffee whatsoever, using the term “*terrateniendo ausentista*” (absent landowner) to describe Uribe Holguín’s relation to agricultural activities. I believe then that Uribe Holguín mentions coffee as a way to portray himself as closer to Colombianidad in the public sphere. Further, as Maria Victoria unveiled to me, Uribe Holguín made a living after retiring from the conservatory by selling and urbanizing land in what is now an upper-class neighborhood located on the

d'Indy replied, "Vous êtes fou, c'est pas possible" (You are crazy, that can't be possible).<sup>361</sup> Disclosing his subject position, Uribe Holguín goes on to explain that d'Indy's incredulity (that a composer could be both a "cultivator of art and coffee") stemmed from his unawareness of the "impossibility, in these young [Latin American] nations, of dedicating oneself exclusively to artistic endeavors."<sup>362</sup>

Therefore, central to *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, is the constitutive relation between Uribe Holguín's artistic and educational achievements and the very context that produced and informed his life and work, and which, according to him, ultimately led to his rather precarious position in both the national and Latin American canon despite his massive catalog of works.<sup>363</sup> As Uribe Holguín once wrote to the founder and director of

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Cerros Orientales ("oriental mountains") of Bogotá known today as Rosales. This fact can also be corroborated in his correspondence with German musicologist Francisco Curt Lange. Uribe Holguín writes: "Sometimes I think that the best thing for me would be to be left alone given the monastic life that I now live, dedicated to planting crops in the countryside and selling the plots of land in my urbanization. My musical life must be reduced to composing for no other purpose than to decongest my brain." ("A veces pienso que lo mejor para mi sería que me dejaran solo en mi vida monástica que llevo, entregado a hacer cultivos de campo y a vender lotes en mi urbanización. Mi vida musical debe reducirse a seguir produciendo sin más objeto que el de descongestionar mi cerebro"). Moreover, his allusion to coffee in Colombia probably owes to the fact that during the early twentieth century, coffee had become a national symbol that acquired "a quasi-religious and mythical status in the central Colombian coffee-growing regions especially during its initial period of widespread international presence in the 1920s and 1930s, when coffee exports trebled from one million sacks in 1910 to three million in 1930." See Egberto Bermúdez, "From Colombian 'national' Song to 'Colombian Song' 1860-1960," *Lied Und Populäre Kultur / Song and Popular Culture* 53 (2008): 179. See Correspondence Uribe Holguín –Lange, February 20, 1941. Series: 01567, Code: BRUFMGBUCL2.2.S26.1401 Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte, Brasil.

<sup>361</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de Un Músico Colombiano*, 268.

<sup>362</sup> "No podía concebir el ilustre compositor que un músico como yo pudiese aunar actividades tan opuestas como la del cultivo del arte y el del café al propio tiempo, y me vi obligado a explicarle la imposibilidad en estos países jóvenes, de dedicarse uno a labores artísticas exclusivamente." *Ibid*, 268.

<sup>363</sup> Uribe Holguín catalogued his own works by opus number; his last piece being a work for harpsichord entitled "Para el Clavicembalo," Op. 121 No. 1 (1962). As his granddaughter Maria Victoria Uribe confirmed to me in an interview in 2016, because of a cataract surgery gone wrong, Uribe Holguín stopped composing after 1962. His catalog of works include very broadly: one requiem, one opera, seven sonatas and two suites for violin and piano, ten string quartets, two quintets (quartet +piano), fifteen pieces for choir in different formats (most of them for choir and orchestra), two piano concertos, two violin concertos, one concerto for viola, one concerto for cello, one concerto for harpsichord, twelve orchestral pieces, over twenty symphonic pieces (some of the programmatic), eleven symphonies, and more than four hundred

the *Instituto Interamericano de Musicología*, German-born Uruguayan musicologist Francisco Curt Lange in 1941<sup>364</sup>:

If, unfortunately, we cannot [get to publish my scores], let us wait for the [Second World} War to end, that is, if it ever comes to an end: let's wait and see if by then, if I am alive and have the energy, I can start with the task of saving my enormous production, or at least a part of it, from the moths and usury of time. If I do not succeed, I will have to accept that my work will eventually perish like everything else does after all. A composer in these [Latin American] countries is like a flower in the sand, devoid of all water.<sup>365</sup>

Colombia's arid grounds, in this case, stand both as a will to intervene in the public sphere as well as a discourse of self-justification and catharsis in the light of the failure of the Colombian nation-state to provide the necessary goods for Colombian musicians to achieve universal recognition. Uribe Holguín shows this as well by constantly describing the poor infrastructure that inhibited his upbringing as a proficient musician in Colombia. In his autobiography, for instance, he describes the building where the conservatory was first located, as an "old colonial house almost in ruins, with brick floors and without hygienic conditions whatsoever."<sup>366</sup> He also deems his teachers at the Academia Nacional as incompetent dilettanti, whose overtly patriotic ideology inhibited the progress of the

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small pieces for piano, including his *300 Trozos en el Sentimiento Popular* (300 Pieces written in the Popular Sentiment).

<sup>364</sup> See Gerard Behague "Lange, Francisco [Franz] Curt | Grove Music," accessed December 21, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000015974>.

<sup>365</sup> "Si por desgracia no podemos llegar a nada, esperemos el fin de la Guerra, si es que esta llega algún día a tener fin: esperemos a ver si para entonces, si vivo y tengo energías, emprendo en la tarea de ver de salvar mi enorme producción, o siquiera una parte de la misma, de la polilla y de la usura del tiempo. Si no lo logro, tendré que conformarme con que perezca, como todo al fin y al cabo. El compositor en estos países es como flor en la arena desprovista de toda agua." Correspondence Uribe Holguín – Lange, February 20, 1941. Series: 01567, Code: BRUFMGBUCL2.2.S26.1401 Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte, Brasil.

<sup>366</sup> "El local del Conservatorio no podía ser menos apropiado a su objeto: una vieja casa colonial casi en ruinas, con pisos de ladrillo y sin condiciones higiénicas ningunas." Uribe Holguín, 85.

musical scene while he a student there: “The Academia became a hermetically closed tower, inaccessible to any artist from outside, which produced an [artistic] stagnation that caused its ruin.”<sup>367</sup> However, it was only when he travelled first to the United States and then to Europe, when his career began fully blossom, but which stagnated upon his return to Colombia: “Understand the impression that I suffered when I returned to the country, with the artistic backwardness that I found, the same as before my departure, but which made it more obvious compared to what I had just experienced.”<sup>368</sup>

*Vida de un Música Colombiano* operates, put differently, as a form that allows Uribe Holguín to make an accusation against his adversaries—among them the nation-state itself—yet ones that are constitutive of his own identity. These adversarial contentions show us that Uribe Holguín’s identity does not derive from a structure or essence. On the contrary, they demonstrate how he needs to re-articulate such contentions at different moments throughout his lifetime in order to engage in a constant process of identification, which requires him to mediate the particular (Colombia’s marginality) with the universal (Euro-American progress). Indeed, as I argued in the Introduction to this dissertation, social antagonisms show us (more than tell us) how the social remains open to articulation. In other words, the constitutive lack present in identity formation, represented as a relationship of contingency (i.e., an antagonism), is what allows for the social to exist in the

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<sup>367</sup> “La Academia vino a convertirse en una torre herméticamente cerrada, inaccesible a todo artista de afuera, lo que produjo el estancamiento que le ocasionó la ruina.” Uribe Holguín, 28.

<sup>368</sup> “Compréndese la impresión que sufrí al volver al país, con el atraso artístico que encontré, el mismo que antes de mi partida, pero que lo hacía más patente la comparación con lo que acababa de conocer.” Uribe Holguín, 48.

first place. After all, as Ricardo Camargo writes, the “condition of possibility of the constitution of the social [lies] in the condition of impossibility of its definitive closure.”<sup>369</sup>

Below, I discuss Guillermo Uribe Holguín’s 1923 lecture, which I analyze by (1) comparing his lecture and drawing similarities to Emilio Murillo Chapull’s nationalist project; (2) by situating within a Latin American cosmopolitan subjectivity; and (3) by reading Uribe Holguín’s lecture within the context of autobiographical writing. After all, in *Vida de un Músico Colombiano*, Uribe Holguín inserted a transcript of 1923 lecture, which had been previously published in the first volume of the *Revista Musical* on August 16, 1923.

### **Of Universal Desires: Uribe Holguín’s “La Música Nacional” and Murillo’s *Criollismo***

In August of 1923, as I discussed in chapter 1, Uribe Holguín gave a public lecture, where he denied that the possibility that any genre of music in Colombia could represent the nation as a whole. If we translate this statement into Laclauan terminology, we can assert that Uribe Holguín in his lecture, posited that the term “national music” was nothing more than the symbol of a missing fullness—a type of empty signifier whose function is to represent a whole. Moreover, Uribe Holguín explained that the issue surrounding the categorization of national music stemmed from a conflation of the idea of the “national” with the idea of the “popular” in music.

Popular music, according to him, was a type of music that belonged to *el pueblo* (“the people”). No one could claim authorship over it for “no one knows where it sprouts from,

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<sup>369</sup> Camargo, “Rethinking the Political,” 2013, 164.

but [it] is immediately assimilated by the great mass.”<sup>370</sup> Despite its anonymity, for Uribe Holguín popular music in Colombia and elsewhere exhibited discernable melodic and rhythmic traits that composers could *eventually* exploit in their work.<sup>371</sup> “The popular” was therefore a shared substance among all people—a universalist conception of a term that is now understood to lean more towards the particularist pole.<sup>372</sup> Uribe Holguín saw the musical features of popular music, nonetheless, as rudimentary and deficient<sup>373</sup> and in need of sublimation if a composer intended to use them.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> “Estudiemos ahora qué es la música popular: Se denomina así la que es la música del pueblo; la que le es peculiar. Música casi siempre anónima, que brota no se sabe de dónde, y al punto es asimilada por la gran masa.” Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 3.

<sup>371</sup> The term “popular music” in Latin American scholarship, I should clarify, unlike its usage in US-American scholarship, does not refer to music that is necessarily mass-mediated nor part of a music industry. Rather, it is a muddy concept that referred first to a type of music that had an undisputed association to the idea of “*el pueblo*,” but whose usage in academia and in the field far exceeds such definition. Scholars have defined “popular music” by using instead a number of descriptors (which often overlap) such as local, traditional, lowbrow, national, transnational, postnational, and mass-mediated musics. To avoid this categorical trap, Juan Pablo González, for instance, prefers to use the term “urban popular music” to refer to a music that is “mass-mediated, a mass-cultural phenomenon, and an agent of modernization.” Furthermore, in chapter 3, I argue that this categorical overdetermination is also a product of the interaction between epistemologies of purification and hybridization. For a study of popular musicology in Latin America see, Juan Pablo González, “Popular Musicology in Latin America: Synthesis of Its Accomplishments, Problems, and Challenges,” in Javier F León and Helena Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader: Views from the South*, 2016, 121–45.

<sup>372</sup> Matthew Gelbart shows how the term “popular music” before the emergence of the cultural industry of the twentieth-century, stood not as a way to represent the separation of the populace from the elite, but rather as a universal, shared common material found at all levels of humanity and in all nations. Gelbart, *The Invention of “folk Music” and “Art Music,”* 256–77.

<sup>373</sup> Scholars like Hernández Salgar have interpreted this valuation as tied to discourses of scientificism and coloniality in Colombia. As well, they have pointed out that Uribe Holguín’s disdain for popular mestizo practices comes from a racial and epistemic hierarchy that rejects music that is non-white. See Hernández Salgar, “Colonialidad y Poscolonialidad Musical En Colombia”; Carolina Santamaría Delgado, *El bambuco, los saberes mestizos y la academia: un análisis histórico de la persistencia de la colonialidad en los estudios musicales latinoamericanos*, 2007; Juan Sebastián Ochoa Escobar, “Un análisis de los supuestos que subyacen a la educación musical universitaria en Colombia,” *Cuadernos de Música, Artes Visuales y Artes Escénicas* 11, no. 1 (2016): 1–31.

<sup>374</sup> “Más el artista debe sublimarlo y darle un ser que le permita tratarlo en forma artística y durable.” (“The artist must sublimate it and give a being that will allow it to be treated in an artistic and durable way”). Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 3.

Uribe Holguín insisted that despite stylistic differences evinced in popular musics across the globe, all musics followed a similar evolutionary path, regardless of origin. According to him, music grew and developed akin to the way a tree's branches spring from its trunk. Thus, whereas music at first showcased universal characteristics (a common trunk), one that was common among all nations, with time, a nation's cultural production begins to acquire distinctive traits—ones that are especially colored by race— although he admitted during this initial phase it was difficult to pinpoint what this characteristic color really entailed.<sup>375</sup>

As proof of the stylistic ambiguity that for him was characteristic of popular music, Uribe Holguín mentions that the form and dance-like rhythmic cadences of music genres belonging to the Flemish, French, Italian, Spanish, and German traditions of the early sixteenth century not only overlapped, but were hard to tell apart (although he admits that some characteristic traits could be somewhat discerned). For Uribe Holguín, popular music began to show nationalistic colors only through a temporal process that is directly proportional to the age of the nation: the older the nation, the more defined its characteristics become. In this sense, Colombian popular music would eventually gain a “true” particularity; it was simply a matter of time. By doing this, Uribe Holguín

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<sup>375</sup> I will expand on the relation between race and music in Colombia vis-à-vis Europhilia in the following chapter. For a compelling study of the debates of race during the 1920s in Colombia, see Catalina Muñoz Rojas, *Los problemas de la raza en Colombia: más allá del problema racial: el determinismo geográfico y las “dolencias sociales,”* Colección Memoria viva del bicentenario; Variation: Colección Memoria viva del bicentenario. (Bogotá, D.C. [Colombia]: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2011).

articulated, in other words, a discourse of national prolepsis (I discuss this in the introduction).

This section warrants further explanation. Uribe Holguín's appeal to biological organicism as a metaphor to explain musical variation, while commonplace in current Western music history, has to be understood as having its roots in eighteenth and nineteenth century European music theory and criticism as well as to the institutionalization of such discourse in the field of musicology at large.<sup>376</sup> Because of the pervasiveness of the notion that human history and society could be explained in "organic terms," the analogy between a living organism and music became a trope among European music theorists. As Ruth A. Solie tells us, music theorists like Heinrich Schenker and Rudolf Reti believed in an autonomous vital force that animated musical development itself. This idea allowed these theorists to tie the discourse of organicism to the notion of the romantic (European) genius. In their view, it was through the composer that this immanent life force could emanate. The composer therefore acted as a vessel through which a vital force that permeates all organic life would come to fruition. The composer's role was not of a maker, but more of a guide. The perception of music as a vital force had interesting results in the conception of the romantic genius, for it created the idea that a genius was an organic individual—a given ability that could not be developed—who can serve as a vessel for this

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<sup>376</sup> See Solie, "The Living Work."



immanent life force. This separated true artistry from dilettantism because only a true genius could formulate and derive the forms given to him or her by “art itself.”<sup>377</sup>

In peripheral cultures, nevertheless, the relation between universalism, organicism, and the teleological development of music has to be deconstructed further. For example, as Leonora Saavedra suggests, while Mexican composers and historians of the twentieth century embraced the notion of a linear development of music over time, they did it through a narrative in which Mexican music finally began to occupy a place within the narrative of universal music, although late in its development compared to its European counterparts.<sup>378</sup> This holds particularly true after the Mexican Revolution (1910–1921) for the Revolution, as these historians explained, showed them their true national essence. However, Saavedra argues that despite embracing the idea that an inevitable development of music will eventually take place in every nation (ultimately producing a Mexican Bach or Mozart), Mexican composers and historians began to craft their entry into this linear development of music through *difference*. Their admission to the universality, paradoxically, would be through what makes Mexican music not universal.<sup>379</sup> Mexican music actors, in this sense, juxtaposed a particularist with a universalist strategy, or what Richard Taruskin calls the “double bind” of peripheral composers. That is, a position where “[w]ithout the

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<sup>377</sup> Solie uses the term “midwife” to describe this. Solie, 155.

<sup>378</sup> See Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*, 6–11.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

native costume, a ‘peripheral’ composer would never achieve even secondary canonical rank, but with it [they] could never achieve more.”<sup>380</sup>

Even further, one could posit that by inserting their particularity into the empty space occupied by the European particular, these Mexican scholars and historians exposed the hegemonic articulation of the universal canon—one constructed by European theorists like Schenker or Reti through their recourse to autonomy. If we recognize this attempt by peripheral actors of unfixing the meaning of the universal and thus, of dislocating its symbolic order (temporarily, that is), we can also acknowledge its potential emancipatory effects, for its ambiguity shows how the relation “between particularity and universality is an essentially unstable one.”<sup>381</sup> After all, as Laclau asserts: “If politics is the ensemble of the decisions taken in an undecidable terrain—that is, a terrain in which power is constitutive—then the social can consist only in the sedimented forms of a power that has blurred the traces of its own contingency.”<sup>382</sup> This allows us to understand canonical musical values as social constructions that can indeed be reconfigured and reformulated from a different perspective. These values, as I argued in chapter 1, do not have to be abandoned all together.

I thus read Uribe Holguín’s appeal to organicism as mediation between canonical musical values disguised as universality and the subversion of such values, in which rather than replicating European knowledge, Uribe Holguín’s assertion that Colombian music can eventually become universal represents a form of “tampering with the European

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<sup>380</sup> Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism,” *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

<sup>381</sup> Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, 14.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid*, 103.

archive.”<sup>383</sup> His cosmopolitan desire denotes a temporal inversion of the power structure that simultaneously shows the constructedness of such a universal. This is why, as I explain below, Uribe Holguín highlights the similarities and contradictions in European nationalist styles, rather than accepting wholesale the idea of a European universal.

Indeed, in his lecture, Uribe Holguín argued that the term “national music” ought to be used only to signify the music written by the composers born within the territorial limits of a particular nation. This meant that a music’s medium (e.g., a symphonic piece, a work written for guitar and voice, or a piano piece), quality (“well-written,” simple, complex, or dreary), or style (highbrow, lowbrow) did not represent a factor in deciding if a piece qualified as national or not.<sup>384</sup> National music, for Uribe Holguín then, was not defined by its particular traits. Rather, for him, this category should encompass a larger selection of works, including his own, who up to that point had not used particularist signifiers of the popular such as the *bambuco* or the *pasillo* rhythm. Even when it came to applying the category of national music to the music produced in “advanced nations,” such

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<sup>383</sup> Silvia Molloy quoted in Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 6.

<sup>384</sup> Uribe Holguín argued that the musical characteristics that defined the musical traditions of a particular nation would fluctuate through time, which is why Uribe Holguín supports his analysis by arguing that other nations’ cultural production and particular aesthetics had become preeminent at different historical moments, becoming weaker or stronger according to each time period. Uribe Holguín also said the following in his lecture: “One day it was Italy who was the world’s master in matters of [music]; Germany held the musical supremacy during the time between Bach and Wagner; and it is France who has received this title of honor during these times, [ever since] the symphonic production of César Franck to [our days]. (“Un día fue Italia el amo del mundo en achaques del arte; Alemania tuvo la supremacía musical de la época que va de Juan Sebastián Bach a Ricardo Wagner; a Francia ha tocado en estos tiempos el título de honor en la producción sinfónica de César Franck para acá.”) For more information on Murillo, see Ellie Anne Duque, “En Busca Del Alma Nacional: Emilio Murillo Chapull (1880-1942),” *Ensayos. Historia y Teoría Del Arte* 0, no. 6 (January 1, 2000): 168–82; Octavio Marulanda, *Emilio Murillo, o, El Arquetipo Musical de Una Época*, 1989.

a category proved cumbersome. In this regard, he had the following to say about opera and its ambiguous and contradictory “nationalist colors”:

Lully [who was born in Italy] gives the French opera its definite being. Gluck does not know if he is more Italian than German, or the most French of all French. Still in modern times, isn't the Russian Rubinstein, or the also Russian Tchaikovsky, the most German of them all? Right now, when national sentiment in art seems to have gained so much ground, do we do not find Spanish music by Rimsky-Korsakov, Russian, by Debussy or Ravel, [both] French?<sup>385</sup>

By highlighting the contradictory and problematic categorization of music as “national” based on its stylistic traits, Uribe Holguín was attempting, I believe, to free himself from having to use music signifiers that he perceived to be marginalizing within a global music modernity. However, because of his position as director of the conservatory at the time Uribe Holguín was also engaging in an agonistic practice meant as form of intervention in the public sphere. And as expected from the mind of an experienced and fervent polemicist, Uribe Holguín was successful in his agonistic enterprise.

As a matter of fact, in a letter to Eduardo Santos published in the *El Tiempo* on August 9, 1923 (only a few days after the lecture took place), Murillo Chapull, his declared adversary in the press, reacted to Uribe Holguín's definition of the national as simply defined by a composer's birth place by exhorting Santos to “promote, in the press, the advancement of a national school, just as the Director of the Conservatory wants to create one and as he wants to call it, but in which the musical motifs we have heard since

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<sup>385</sup>“Un Lully da a la ópera francesa su sér definido. Un Gluck no se sabe por fin si es más italiano que alemán, o el mas francés de todos los franceses. Todavía en los tiempo modernos podrá darse un alemán más alemán que el ruso Rubinstein, o el también ruso Tchaikowsky? Ahora mismo, que el sentimiento nacional en arte parece haber ganado tanto terreno, no encontramos música Española por Rimsky-Korsakov, ruso, por Debussy o Ravel, franceses?” Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 2.

childhood are polished, polished and set to stone, and which, I repeat, have the sympathy of a continent and are linked to our nationality, despite being derived from the Hottentots or the Eskimos (?)”<sup>386</sup> Murillo’s allusions to the “Hottentots and Eskimos” here, who he most likely understood through a primitivist lens, were a direct attack against Uribe Holguín’s organicist language, although Uribe Holguín never mentions these communities in his lecture.<sup>387</sup>

In any case, it is worth noting that Uribe Holguín’s lecture did not occur in a vacuum, but was rather a reaction to a series of discussions around the nationalist movement of the 1920s, brought about, as I explore below, by an imaginary of modernization that took place among the emerging industrial middle-class. Indeed, leading the other side of this Colombian debate on defining what the “national” entailed in the category of national music, were musicians associated with the artistic movement known as *criollismo*, such as composers Jesús Bermúdez Silva, Guillermo Quevedo Zornosa (1886–1963), and Emilio Murillo Chapull himself, the unspoken head of the flock.<sup>388</sup> Murillo

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<sup>386</sup> “Promuéve tú, en la prensa, el fomento de una escuela nacional, tal como el señor Director del Conservatorio la quiera fundar y como él la quiera llamar, pero en la cual se depuren, se pulan, se lapiden los motivos musicales que hemos oído desde niños, y los cuales, repito, tienen la simpatía de un continente y están vinculados a nuestra nacionalidad, no obstante ser derivados de los Hotentotes o de los Esquimaloides (?)” Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> To clarify, I am using the terms “Hottentots” and “Eskimos,” in the way they were originally referenced in the historical sources. The preferred terms for these groups are Khoikhoi and Inuit, respectively.

<sup>388</sup> *Criollismo* is tied to the word “*criollo*,” a polysemic term generally used in Latin America to designate Spanish Catholics born in American soil. The origins of the term spring from the language that Spanish cattle-owners used to signify “domestication,” and which was first employed in Spanish colonies to refer to African slaves, and then to Europeans born in the American continent. Thus, the semantic field of the term *criollo* first encompassed (1) an external referent (European/African), (2) a double racial component (white or black), and (3) an association with Christianity. Early nineteenth-century *criollo* elites, however, who were faced with the task of creating citizens during the early republics out of the colonial caste system, charged the term *criollo* with notions of autochthony and political sovereignty, making the figure of the *criollo* into a symbol of the newly-formed nations. Unlike other places in Latin America, with the strengthening of *mestizaje* (process of biological and cultural mixture) in Colombia during the early twentieth century, the semantic field of the term *criollo* suffers a displacement, coming to describe a regional cultural

Chapull's opinion carried a great deal of importance in matters of national music in the Colombian public sphere of the early twentieth century, since he had recorded with the United States' own RCA Victor label in 1910.<sup>389</sup>

Ascribing to more of a Herderian line of thought, Murillo posited that national music derived from the essence of the *campesino* ("a person who works the land"), which functioned as an appeal to authenticity by way of the idea that a non-modern, non-urban, and pure Colombian musical essence resided in the countryside.<sup>390</sup> During an interview in 1928, when prompted to tell the readers how to write a *bambuco*, Colombia's undisputed nationalized music genre at the time, Murillo Chapull stated:

[The only requirement for writing a *bambuco* is being] Colombian. Nothing more ... I will swear upon it, if you want... Take a Colombian peasant, a Colombian woman, any Colombian. While the peasant is driving the cattle through the mountains, or steers the oxen that drag the plow [through the land], you will hear him singing without wanting to. And the Colombian woman who blows the fire, or who goes to the fountain, or who waits for the arrival of her suitor, or who cradles the child's crib, will also sing without wanting it. Every Colombian sings, even inwardly. Their songs are not written, nor were they learned from anyone. They are born of one's own heart, of the deepest fibers of the soul, of the very mass that makes the blood.

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project whose aim was to transform the mestizo (understood at the time as a Catholic peasant hailing specifically from the Andes) into an emblem of the national-popular. In this sense, criollo becomes a supra-ethnic term, used more as an adjective that qualifies discourses as regional and autochthonous, and not necessarily as a noun that designates a particular ethnicity (i.e., the white creole) nor the cultural practices connected with said ethnicity. The movement associated with this type of cultural regionalism during the early twentieth-century was referred to as criollismo. See Anne-Marie Losonczy, "El Criollo y el Mestizo: Del Sustantivo al Adjetivo: Categorías de Apariencia y Pertenencia en la Colombia de Ayer y de Hoy," in Marisol de la Cadena, *Formaciones de indianidad: articulaciones raciales, mestizaje y nación en América Latina* ([Colombia]: Envión, 2007), 269–86.

<sup>389</sup> Luis Gabriel Mesa Martínez, "Hacia una Reconstrucción del Concepto de 'Músico Profesional' en Colombia: Antecedentes de la Educación Musicales Institucionalización de la Musicología" (PhD diss., Universidad de Granada, 2013), 133.

<sup>390</sup> Murillo's statement should be considered with respect to the fast modernization that Colombia experienced during the 1920s. In this regard, Historian Carlos Uribe Celis provides the following statistics regarding the movement of rural populations into the urban centers: "The urban population between 1928 and 1938 increases at an annual rate of 6 percent in comparison to the small 1.3 percent that characterizes the period from 1905-1918." [INCLUDE ORIGINAL] See Carlos Uribe Celis, *Los años veinte en Colombia: ideología y cultura* (Bogotá, Colombia: Ediciones Alborada, 1991), 23.

[These songs] are called *bambucos* or *pasillos*. They are the voice of the homeland, the cry of the native soil, the spiritual flag of Colombia.<sup>391</sup>

Regarding the idea of popular music, however, Murillo Chapull and Uribe Holguín surprisingly stood on similar ground, albeit with some discursive differences. Unlike Uribe Holguín, Murillo Chapull saw popular music as an essence of the rural (and by the extension, of indigeneity, as I explore in chapter 5 and 6), but, just as Uribe Holguín, he saw it as a source from which to articulate a cosmopolitan desire. Indeed, both composers share a form of cosmopolitan subjectivity that justified the cultural appropriation of rural musics (the Colombian periphery) into urban centers (a process of both symbolic dislocation and deterritorialization).<sup>392</sup> However, while Uribe Holguín links the role of the musician in such a process as a form of artistry, whose aim was to elevate the status of popular musics (i.e., by sublimating them through “proper technique”); Murillo Chapull, on the other hand, sees the process whereby composers reconfigured rural musics into an urban scenario as akin to processes of industrialization and modernization. “[Popular musics] are diamonds in the rough,” Murillo once stated. “The music technician will come later and

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<sup>391</sup> “Ser colombiano. Nada más...Se lo repetiré con juramento, si lo quiere... Tome usted a un labriego colombiano, a una mujer colombiana, a un colombiano cualquiera. Mientras el labriego conduce la recua por la serranía, o aguija los bueyes que arrastran el arado, le oirá usted que van cantando sin quererlo. Y cantará sin quererlo también la mujer colombiana que atiza el fuego, o que se encamina a la fuente, o que aguarda la llegada del galán, o que mece la cuna del niño. Todo colombiano canta, aunque sea interiormente. No están escritas sus canciones, ni fueron aprendidas de nadie. Nacen del propio corazón, de las fibras más hondas del alma, de la masa misma de la sangre. Se llaman bambucos o pasillos. Son la voz de la patria, el grito del terruño, la bandera espiritual de Colombia.” Emilio Murillo in, “Como se Compone un Bambuco: Entrevista con Emilio Murillo,” *Revista Mundo al Día*, April 28, 1928. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>392</sup> I read this movement of cultural capital from the rural to the urban as tied to practices of deterritorialization sparked by the transition from a primarily agricultural and “pre-capitalist” society like the Colombia of the nineteenth century to a developing industrial capitalism during the early-twentieth century. See Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Tejidos oníricos: movilidad, capitalismo y biopolítica en Bogotá, 1910-1930* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2009), 11–21.

will give artistic form to those songs that are spontaneous songs as well as simple and beautiful ...The *bambuco* comes in scratch paper. We just needed to copy it into the typewriter,” he added.<sup>393</sup>

Murillo’s reference to industrial processes, it is worth noting, derives from his subject-position as a member of the emerging industrial middle-class.<sup>394</sup> As Ellie Anne Duque recounts, during the turn of the twentieth century, Murillo Chapull not only edited and printed his own periodical titled, *La Regeneración*, but he also owned a brewery by the name of *La Rosa Blanca*, both of which he operated from his home in Bogotá. Later, he worked in the Public Relations office of Bavaria, a brewery that to this day remains the largest local brewing company in Colombia. While working for Bavaria, he put his music skills to work, composing two pieces that came to represent the local beer industry. The first of these “industrial pieces,” if you will, was a polka entitled “La Bavaria,” (named after the brewery), and the second, a pasillo, to which he gave the title of “Don Quijote” after a drink produced by Bavaria.<sup>395</sup> Even further, his political and economic ties to the emerging Colombian industry were such that in 1931 proposed to create a “*Día de la Industria Nacional*” (Day of the National Industry), “where Colombian citizens would, for a whole day, consume and buy locally-produced commodities only.”<sup>396</sup> The Liberal-owned *Revista Mundo*

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<sup>393</sup> “Le hablo, naturalmente, de los diamantes en bruto. Vendrá después el técnico musical y dará forma artística a esos temas tan espontáneos como sencillos y hermosos. Es esa una labor de otro orden. El bambuco esta hecho en borrador. Sólo faltaba copiarlo en la máquina.” Ibid.

<sup>394</sup> Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 75.

<sup>395</sup> Duque, “En Busca Del Alma Nacional,” 173.

<sup>396</sup> “El Día de la Industria Nacional: Una Gran Idea de E. Murillo,” *Revista Mundo al Día*, October 26, 231. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.



*al Día*, where he published a lot of his music as well as his acerbic critiques of Uribe Holguín, applauded Murillo Chapull's initiative.<sup>397</sup>

As Santiago Castro-Gómez explains, between 1910 and 1930, the Colombian middle class began to actively participate in Colombia's insertion into the global capitalist economy of the early twentieth-century. With the growth of the international coffee market as well as the introduction of foreign money into the economy (most of which came, ironically, from the United States as compensation for the "loss" of Panama in 1903),<sup>398</sup> Colombia experienced a number of infrastructural changes (the introduction of railroads, streetcars, airports, radio, and automobiles), which in turn affected local consumption practices, favoring a faster circulation of commodities. This shift in consumption practices supported a change in the representational machine of the nation-state. Products and merchandise began to be valued beyond their practical use, or beyond their ties to a nineteenth-century European imaginary, privileging the symbolic capital coming from a more industrialized landscape, in which the United States occupied the highest ladder.<sup>399</sup> In fact, as Castro-Gómez notes about this time period, while urban citizens did experience a change in their daily lives as a result of the processes of urbanization and industrialization

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<sup>397</sup> "El Día de la Industria Nacional: Una Gran Idea de E. Murillo," *Revista Mundo al Día*, October 26, 231. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>398</sup> The payment was not made until 1923, and was received with euphoria among Colombian citizens, who gave it the name of the *danza de los millones* ("The Dance of the Millions"). The payment was made for \$25 million dollars. See *Carlos Uribe Celis, Los años veinte en Colombia: ideología y cultura (Bogotá, Colombia: Ediciones Alborada, 1991)*, 18.

<sup>399</sup> See Castro-Gómez, *Tejidos oníricos*, 193–248.

in the country, ultimately the capitalist infrastructure in cities like Bogotá were petty in comparison to other large cities like New York City.<sup>400</sup>

This leads Castro-Gómez to conclude that in Colombia, the idea of a modern cosmopolis as well as the construction of a modern subjectivity up until the 1930s was not the immediate product of an industrial modernization. Rather, it was the result of an imaginary of progress and modernization that was to come. Young nations like Colombia, just as the United States had done, would eventually transform into a place of movement and fashionable wear. Thus, in Colombia, the machine-like and fast moving imaginary characteristic of an industrial capitalism—one produced through words, images, and signs—predates the material realities of industrial modernization. This is why Castro-Gómez’s main argument revolves around the idea that early-twentieth discourses about urbanism, advertisements, entertainment, hygiene, and progress in Colombia, make up what he calls *tejidos oníricos* (“oneiric fabrics”), an “imaginary world of the commodity-form.”<sup>401</sup>

As a dislocated imaginary, Murillo Chapull’s ties to the industry and references to machine-like devices such as the typewriter are an example of this—ones not too different from the cosmopolitan desires and social fantasies created by Uribe Holguín in his lecture.

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<sup>400</sup> Castro-Gómez says the following: "In Bogotá the transportation networks never worked, the working class did not manage to constitute themselves as a salaried factory class and were not revolutionaries either, the bourgeoisie did not abandon the colonial economy of the hacienda, scientific research was practically non-existent, the majority of the population suffered from a lack of basic public services and the city was a long way from becoming a South American New York." ("En Bogotá las redes de transporte nunca funcionaron, los obreros no lograron constituirse como una clase fabril asalariada y tampoco fueron revolucionarios, la burguesía no abandonó la economía colonial de la hacienda, la investigación científica era prácticamente inexistente, la mayor parte de la población adolecía de servicios básicos y la ciudad distó mucho de consertirse en una Nueva York suramericana.") Castro-Gómez, 16.

<sup>401</sup> "De ahí el título de este libro *Tejidos oníricos*, pues más que a una infraestructura existente, tales discursos hacían referencia al mundo imaginario de la forma-mercancía." Castro-Gómez, 16.

Murillo Chapull's view of popular music is, in other words, the articulation of a *desire* to belong to an increasingly fast world, where the circulation of capital requires such mechanisms but a mechanism that nonetheless operates through the logic of nationalism. Murillo Chapull juxtaposes a particularist discourse (highlighting the beauty of Colombian popular music) with a universalist stance (a desire to incorporate such musics through an imaginary of progress). Contrary to Uribe Holguín's cosmopolitan subjectivity, however, Murillo expressed his desire through a subjectivity whose point of reference was the United States' cultural industry and not European art music.<sup>402</sup>

Given the rivalry between these two composers, it should not come as a surprise that the contention between Murillo Chapull and Uribe Holguín has been framed as a class struggle.<sup>403</sup> Uribe Holguín's figure, after all, is generally tied in Colombian historiography to the Colombian aristocracy. Uribe Holguín, we should be reminded, was a landowner who made a living out of selling and "urbanizing" land plots in the outskirts of Bogotá (now a very rich neighborhood known as "Rosales").<sup>404</sup> His figure has come to represent in music historiography the old Conservative elite of the late nineteenth century, who had turned their backs against a progressive, secular and integrationist project of the nation—one which would eventually materialize in the 1930s, with the election of President Enrique Olaya Herrera. What we observe then is the construction of an antagonistic relationship in

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<sup>402</sup> It is worth recalling, as Turino argues, that during the early twentieth century in Latin America, there was "a symbiotic relationship between the discourse of a more inclusive nationalism and processes of expanding capitalism to new sectors within given states. Both populist nationalists and aspiring capitalists needed the masses to confront the old oligarchies: for political support, as workers, and as consumers." Turino, "Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations," 180.

<sup>403</sup> Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 75.

<sup>404</sup> I talk about Uribe Holguín's financial practices in the first chapter of this dissertation.

the public sphere between these two figures, prompted in part by their adversarial participation in the polemics surrounding the categorization of national music in the press. Uribe Holguín, stands on one side of the ring as a contender for the Conservative and anti-populist aristocracy of Colombian society and the other side is Murillo, representing the Liberal middle-classes.<sup>405</sup>

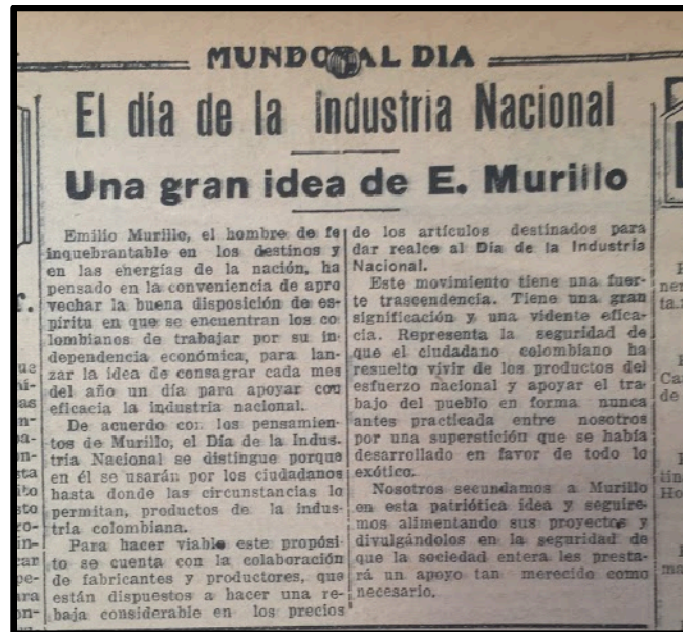


Figure 3.5 “El Día de la Industria Nacional: Una Gran Idea de E. Murillo,” *Revista Mundial al Día*, October 26, 1931. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

Despite this apparent class struggle represented by Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull, in his doctoral dissertation, Juan Fernando Velásquez connects the divide between “artistry” (Uribe Holguín) and “craft” (Murillo Chapull) to the institutionalization of music education, in which, as we know, Uribe Holguín played an important role as the director

<sup>405</sup> I explore this historiographical register in depth in chapter 4.

of the National Conservatory of Music for over twenty-five years.<sup>406</sup> Whereas we could posit this division of musical labor as an inter-class contention for the hegemony of national representation, Velásquez argues that such boundaries paradoxically promoted a blurring of academic repertoires and “vernacular” non-academic musics. In other words, Colombian musicians did not remain confined to their own separate social spheres, but moved from one space into the other and back, actively looking to get a hold of cultural and social capital within the context of the cultural industry of the early-twentieth century in Colombia.<sup>407</sup>

While it is not my intention to explore this subject here (I explore this in chapter 4), I contend that those distinct spheres were not clear to these actors. Rather, I believe that such a division has been the product of historiographical practices that have created these categorizations *a posteriori* so that they fit particular theoretical frameworks and research agendas. I do agree with Velásquez, however, in the fact that these musical actors traversed social spheres with fair ease. Murillo Chapull and Uribe Holguín, for example, attended the same music institution in Bogotá, the *Academia Nacional de Música*, founded in 1882.<sup>408</sup> And even in the pages of the *Revista Musical*, in the same volume that Uribe Holguín’s infamous lecture was first printed, we can find this type of practice. Indeed, towards the end of the volume the editors of the *Revista Musical* published an advertisement promoting

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<sup>406</sup> Santamaría also describes the division between “art” and “craft” in her article on coloniality. See Santamaría Delgado, *El bambuco, los saberes mestizos y la academia*, 2007.

<sup>407</sup> For a more detailed explanation of this mode of transculturation as enacted by the cultural urban elites in Bogotá and other cities, see chapter 4 of Juan Fernando Velasquez Ospina, “(Re)Sounding Cities: Urban Modernization, Listening, and Sounding Cultures in Colombia, 1886-1930” (Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 2018).

<sup>408</sup> The national academy was founded by Jorge Price, son of Enrique (Henry) Price (1819–1863), a British immigrant who had established the Philharmonic Society of Bogotá in 1846 See Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá*, 136–141.

the *Lira Colombiana*, a famous plucked-string ensemble directed by Murillo Chapull's mentor, Pedro Morales Pino (1863–1926).<sup>409</sup> The *Lira Colombiana* was the quintessential “national” ensemble during the turn of the twentieth century, which best exemplified the type of music that Uribe Holguín criticized in his lecture.<sup>410</sup>



Figure 3.6. Advertisements in the *Revista Musical*, August 16, 1923. Centro de Documentación Musical. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

Finally, as I alluded to before, Uribe Holguín decided to reinsert in his autobiography his 1923 lecture, which was first published in the *Revista Musical*. Here, I

<sup>409</sup> Santiago Castro-Gómez observes that during the 1920s, advertising begins to make an impact in Bogotá due to the presence of US industries in Colombia. This included Kodak cameras as well as Remington typewriters. Castro-Gómez argues that the emerging middle class used advertisements as a means to create a desire for modernization, even before modernization processes took place. See Castro-Gómez, *Tejidos oníricos*.

<sup>410</sup> Duque also mentions that Murillo performed during his early years with Morales Pino in a trio alongside the painter-musician, Ricardo Acevedo Bernal (1867–1930). The *Lira Colombiana*'s fame was such that they represented Colombia in the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo in 1901. Duque, “En Busca Del Alma Nacional,” 70.

wish to make a distinction between the two despite the fact Uribe Holguín copies his lecture word-by-word into his autobiography. In the first instance, we should consider that the text in the *Revista Musical* was a transcription of a public lecture that contained musical examples. In the second instance, most importantly, we could contend that while both the *Revista Musical* and Uribe Holguín's autobiography respond to antagonistic logics, the readers of the *Revista Musical* did not understand such transcript within the context of a larger diachronic recollection of events informed by the particularities of subjectivized time such as Uribe Holguín's autobiography. In this sense, while both forms constitute a form of agonistic practice, I contend that in the case of the *Revista Musical*, Uribe Holguín's uses his lecture as a public performance of antagonism. As for the autobiography, though, Uribe Holguín reproduces his 1923 lecture in said text as a retrospective form of self-justification with the objective of gaining the empathy and complicity of his readers. As I explore in chapter 5, Uribe Holguín frames the lecture around a performance of an *indigenista* piece by an unnamed composer. Such a piece, as Uribe Holguín details, was meant to be a musical representation of the indigenous god "Bochica," one which Uribe Holguín used to compose his first symphonic poem and *indigenista* piece in 1939 (during the time that Uribe Holguín was drafting his autobiography), *Bochica Op. 73*. This is a fact that most scholars who quote Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture via his autobiography have thus far ignored.

To conclude, I am thus proposing here to narrate the antagonistic relationship between Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull as a particular performance of the *agon* in the Colombian public sphere, including the idea that the performance of the *agon* was a display of masculinity, albeit in this case a particular Latin American male subjectivity that is

informed by a cosmopolitan desire.<sup>411</sup> Additionally, by understanding autobiographical writing as a form of narration that operates as more than a secondary source, I show how we, as music historians, have to take into consideration the discursive peculiarities of self-narrativization if we are to consider them as primary sources. At the very least, by acknowledging the role of antagonism in the constitution of a national music identity, in this chapter, I attempted to narrate Uribe Holguín's presence in Colombia's narrative in its agonistic dimension— that is, as a public performance of antagonism—while accepting the messiness that comes with understanding the social as an open, differential totality.

In the next chapter, I explore Colombian music historiography through Laclau and Mouffe's populist articulatory logics, in which the narration of Colombian music has been written as a reduction of the social into two camps that continue to be rearticulated and reconfigured, whether it has been narrated as a contention between the elite and the people; the hegemon(s) and the subaltern(s); the internal colonialists and the (neo)colonized; or between anti-nationalists and nationalists/patriots. This holds particularly true after the 1930s, where the Colombian state became invested in developing a very explicit cultural policy that would constitute "the people" as a historical subject.

This era also coincides, and it is by no means accidental, with the time when Uribe Holguín was forced to resign from his position as director of the conservatory, after twenty-five years of leading said institution. Furthermore, it is my contention that because most historical accounts that bring Uribe Holguín into their narrative were written after his

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<sup>411</sup> I do not think this is a wrong assessment by any means. In fact, I am reminded here of Mariano Siskind, who emphasizes the fact that Latin American cosmopolitan intellectual of the early twentieth century is a distinctively male figure. Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 9.



resignation from the national conservatory, including his own autobiography, the practice of Uribe Holguín's persona as an antagonist became institutionalized. Time after time then, his persona has been recast as a different type of antagonist, although there is an overlap at times, responding to distinct theoretical apparatuses and demands.

## CHAPTER 4

### Uribe Holguín as an Anti-Transculturator: From the Ontological to the Epistemological

The rivalry between Emilio Murillo Chapull and Guillermo Uribe Holguín far exceeded the boundaries of public debate, taking on colorful tones that fueled the Colombian imaginary into drawing an antagonistic relation between these two composers. A verse that circulated in the Colombian capital around 1920 (whose author remains unknown) pokes fun at this rivalry:

Murillo el fiel paladín  
Del criollismo musical  
Ha agarrado a Uriviólín  
resuelto a arrancarle al fin algún aire nacional.  
Pero éste, una tempestad wagneriana le modula,  
y, ante tanta terquedad,  
Murillo, ya sin piedad parece que lo estrangula.

Y así de modo rotundo  
proclama que con certeza  
en su criollismo profundo  
Don Emilio a todo el mundo  
le hará perder la cabeza

(Murillo the faithful champion  
Of musical criollismo  
Has seized Uriviólín  
determined to finally draw from him  
a national air.

But [Uriviólín] is modulated by a Wagnerian storm  
and, faced with such stubbornness,  
Murillo now without mercy  
seems to strangle him.

And so in a resounding way  
[Uribe Holguín] proclaims with certainty  
that steeped in his *criollismo*  
Don Emilio will make the whole world  
lose its head.)<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> Uribe Holguín is referred here to as Uriviolin because of his association with the violin. Quoted in Ellie Anne Duque, “En Busca Del Alma Nacional: Emilio Murillo Chapull (1880-1942),” *Ensayos. Historia y Teoría Del Arte* 0, no. 6 (January 1, 2000): 176.

In this chapter, I focus on the practice of historicizing Uribe Holguín’s performative articulations of antagonism in the public sphere (a representation of the failure of Colombian identity to fully constitute itself) as that of a contention between elite and subaltern music actors.<sup>413</sup> I argue that such a historiographical practice has allowed Colombian music scholars to construct and maintain a modern epistemological cycle through which so-called subaltern musics such as popular, folkloric, and traditional music continue to be defined in opposition to art music.<sup>414</sup> As I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, this epistemological separation reifies what Ana María Ochoa Gautier calls the *fonocentrism of the subaltern*, a divide that “highlights the oral/aural bodily knowledge as a particular knowledge of the subaltern opposed to the ocularcentrism of the elite.”<sup>415</sup>

However, by studying how Uribe Holguín strategically shifted his stance in relation to these so-called subaltern musics in order to navigate national and transnational cultural politics, I show that these categories were not fixed. To avoid replicating this epistemological divide, I direct my attention to the categorical play through which cosmopolitan music actors from the cultural periphery, like Uribe Holguín, mediated

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<sup>413</sup> Carolina Santamaría, for example, frames Uribe Holguín position on popular music, best exemplified in his 1923 lecture, as a problem of epistemic accessibility to hybrid knowledges and as “a reaction by the affluent class against the social advancement of the underclass and their music.” Carolina Santamaría, “The Bambuco, Hybrid Knowledges, and the Academy,” in Javier F León and Helena Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader: Views from the South*, 2016, 201.

<sup>414</sup> I use the term art music to denote a canonized body of work that is commonly associated with other categories such as “Western Classical Music,” “erudite music,” and “serious music.” While the term “art music” is ubiquitous in music scholarship, as Matthew Gelbart explains, its definition has rather derived not from what it is, but from what it isn’t. As such, Gelbart recommends studying this categorization through its “specific historical interdependence” with other categories that have served at different historical junctions as a dialectical pairing from which art music is defined against, paying close attention to how such aesthetic categorizations function as socio-political instruments. Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of “folk Music” and “Art Music”: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–13.

<sup>415</sup> Ana María Ochoa Gautier, “Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America,” *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (November 1, 2006): 805.

difference through processes of entextualization and recontextualization of sound. Most importantly, despite being framed as a decolonial critique of modernity, I argue that the practice of historicizing Uribe Holguín's unfavorable opinions on popular and folkloric music as representative of a supposed contention between elite and subaltern music practices nonetheless rearticulates a decisively modern narrative.<sup>416</sup>

### **Between the Private and the Public: Agonistic Practices and National Music**

Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull's disputes in the press were the most direct catalysts for constructing an antagonistic relation between the two in the Colombian imaginary at large. After all, Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture functioned as an agonistic practice, in which, while not explicitly naming Murillo Chapull, Uribe Holguín criticized the aesthetic philosophy of *criollismo*, whose most representative musician was none other than Murillo Chapull himself (see chapter 2). As I recounted in chapter 1, Murillo Chapull responded quickly to Uribe Holguín's accusations only a few days after the latter gave his lecture at the National Conservatory. Murillo Chapull's public rebuttal even beat the

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<sup>416</sup> As it will become apparent below, the narrative in which art music is constructed as an antithesis to the popular and folkloric is decisively modern for the story it tells us is one of an opposition between a particular (i.e., subaltern musics) and a universal (art music). Such an opposition is in turn mapped onto a spatial-temporal divide marked first by colonialism and later by the emergence of the nation-state as a predominant political configuration. This spatial-temporal division is represented by a particular that is *provincial*—a rural, lower class, and indigenous, oral culture—and a fictive universal that is *modern*: an urban, elite, European, and lettered culture. Moreover, as Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs argue, modernity does not necessarily imply a rupture with a pre-modern/pre-colonial past but it is a view of the world that is continuous with such a past because it is mediated through what Bauman and Briggs call *tradition*—that is, a “intertextually constituted continuum of reiterations by which the language of the past survives into the present, the mechanism that bridges the historical juncture represented by the advent of modernity.” Richard Bauman, *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* / Briggs, Charles L., 1953-, *Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language* (Cambridge, England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11.

publication of the lecture's transcript in the press by a couple of days. From then on, Murillo Chapull and other composers and critics continued to use the press as a medium to criticize Uribe Holguín's work and career, especially in the pages of the Liberal-owned journal *Revista Mundo al Día*.<sup>417</sup> This is relevant as Murillo Chapull was an open advocate for the Liberal party. Uribe Holguín, on the other hand, despite his known ties to the Conservative party, commented very little on the political life of Colombia.<sup>418</sup> When he did, however, he stood on the Conservative side of the political spectrum.<sup>419</sup> Because of this relation, their antagonism began to be read within the context of bipartisan struggles in the political life of early twentieth-century Colombia. However, this antagonistic relation was also the result of other events throughout the early twentieth century that took place in both the private and public spheres as well as in the spaces between civil society and the state. Let us look

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<sup>417</sup> See Jaime Cortés Polanía, *La música nacional y popular colombiana en la colección Mundo al día (1924-1938)* (Univ. Nacional de Colombia, 2004).

<sup>418</sup> In an interview in 1961, Uribe Holguín expressed that bipartisan politics were of no interest to him. He also mentioned that he found no difference between the ideology of the Liberal and the Conservative party in Colombia. See Luis David Peña, "Cómo son y Cómo Viven: El Maestro Guillermo Uribe Holguín," in *Lecturas Dominicales*, June 18, 1961. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Similarly, in his autobiography Uribe Holguín criticizes the political contentions during the late nineteenth century, which according to him, "poisoned so many generations, causing constant revolutions that slowed down the country's progress for a long time" ("El único motivo de rencores era la política, ese cancer que envenenó a tantas generaciones, ocasionando las constantes revoluciones que retardaron el progreso del país, por tan largo tiempo.") Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 20.

<sup>419</sup> Against the backdrop of the early Cold War in Colombia, Uribe Holguín commented the following: "Communism is effectively penetrating the country and the people are not aware of it. You can tell that there is a state of demoralization, which has increased crime. As I have said before, I am not a politician. I do not understand politics, nor I am interested in politics, but I find important to note that [this situation] needs an intense action to recuperate the moral foundations that we have lost" ("El comunismo está penetrando efectivamente en el país y el pueblo no se da cuenta. Se nota una desmoralización que ha aumentado considerablemente los índices del delito. Yo, como le he dicho, no soy político, ni entiendo la política, ni me interesa la política, pero anoto que se necesita una acción muy intensa para recuperar los resortes morales que hemos perdido.") See Luis David Peña, "Cómo son y Cómo Viven: El Maestro Guillermo Uribe Holguín," in *Lecturas Dominicales*, June 18, 1961. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa.

then at other moments that have informed this adversarial narrative and which have not received enough attention in Colombian scholarship.

In 1924, for instance, Murillo Chapull requested of the Minister of Public Instruction and Health (then in charge of the National Music Conservatory) that a “music tribunal” be created and presided over by Uribe Holguín. As envisioned by Murillo Chapull, in said tribunal, Uribe Holguín would have been in charge of judging the musical quality of works that showcased a “Colombian national soul,” and which Murillo Chapull would personally handpick.<sup>420</sup> Uribe Holguín, however, never took the bait. Not only did Uribe Holguín refuse to yield to Murillo Chapull’s peculiar request (even after the Minister of Public Instruction had approved of it), but in turn, Uribe Holguín advised the Minister to read up on the first volume of the *Revista Musical* (where the transcript of Uribe Holguín’s 1923 lecture had been published), so that he could learn about national music and not waste more of the Ministry’s time on Murillo Chapull’s initiatives.<sup>421</sup>

Furthermore, during the Liberal administration of President Olaya Herrera a series of political moves in which Murillo Chapull participated led to a number of controversial events that were immortalized in the press. On November 23, 1931, two separate letters—both containing the same body of text and blue typeface—signed by a total of twenty-nine senators (most of them members of the Liberal party) found their way to the offices of the Ministry of Education.<sup>422</sup> In these letters, the senators suggested to the Minister of

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<sup>420</sup> Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Anexo Grupo-2(SAA-II). Fondo Ministerio de Instrucción Pública. Serie Educación Superior: Informes. Caja 10, Carpeta 3, Folio 204.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> I expand on this in the conclusion. See Archivo General de la Nación. Sección Archivo Anexo II. Ministerio de Educación Nacional. Correspondencia, Legajo 174, Carpeta 1, folio 305A, 70-71.

Education that in order to “make national art into an invaluable asset,” composer and pianist Antonio María Valencia, who had recently completed his music studies in Paris at the Schola Cantorum, should be named director of the National Conservatory in replacement of Uribe Holguín.<sup>423</sup>

This “internal” initiative to remove Uribe Holguín from his position as head of the Conservatory became known to the general public, prompting the members of the National Orchestra to raise their voice in opposition. As an act of protest, they informed the press that they would not perform during a concert where Valencia was to appear as a guest conductor if the Ministry decided to carry on with said request.<sup>424</sup> Because the members of the national orchestra almost unanimously sided with Uribe Holguín on this occasion, Valencia was forced to step down. Uribe Holguín and his acolytes remained victorious and in control of the nation’s primary music institution.

A few days later, the offices of the Ministry of National Education and of the Presidency of the Republic received six additional letters signed by hundreds of people, some of them state employees and politicians and some of them not, who insisted that Valencia ought to take the reins of national music education. Among the many names penned in those letters, Murillo Chapull’s signature can be spotted in three separate occasions.<sup>425</sup> This controversy over the control of the conservatory reached its apex in

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<sup>423</sup> Catalina Muñoz has discussed that Valencia's and Uribe Holguín's views on music education were not too different despite scholarship that suggests otherwise. See Catalina Muñoz, “‘A Mission of Enormous Transcendence’: The Cultural Politics of Music during Colombia’s Liberal Republic, 1930-1946,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 77–105, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-2390613>.

<sup>424</sup> See “El Concierto de Rozo Contreras,” *Mundo al Día*, November 30, 1931. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia Archive.

<sup>425</sup> Archivo General de la Nación. Sección Archivo Anexo II. Ministerio de Educación Nacional. Correspondencia, Legajo 174, Carpeta 1, folio 305A, 70-71.

February of 1932, when a dynamite bomb was found in the halls of the national conservatory. While the bomb was later revealed to be fake, a number of conspiracy theories appeared in the press, linking the bomb to the political battle for the control of the conservatory (I expand on this event in the Epilogue).<sup>426</sup> The contention eventually waned, especially after Uribe Holguín resigned as director of the conservatory in 1935.<sup>427</sup>

While this was the record of events in the public sphere, I have been constantly surprised by the imaginative reaches to which this performative articulation of antagonism bled into the private sphere. Although I do not develop this idea further, I find it worth noting that this contention has since colored the private history of the Uribe Holguín family. For instance, as I learned through interviews with several members of Uribe Holguín's family, decades later, Uribe Holguín adopted a monkey, which he named Emilio—presumably after his detractor—and which he kept tied to a pine tree in his backyard. Whether the monkey's name is the product of Uribe Holguín's acerbic humor we will never know (some of his family members seem to think so, but cannot confirm the fact). What they did reveal to me, however, was that the relationship between Uribe Holguín and

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<sup>426</sup> See "Se halló una bomba en el Conservatorio," *Mundo al Día*, February 26, 1932. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia Archive.

<sup>427</sup> Murillo seems to have won the battle in the long run when he was chosen over Uribe Holguín by the Colombian government to represent Colombian music in the 1929 universal exhibition held in Spain. See Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 74.



Emilio the monkey was one of requited affection, unlike the one between Uribe Holguín and Emilio the human.<sup>428</sup>

At this point, one can begin to sketch how the constant debates between Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull in the public sphere (an agonistic practice) could be (re)articulated as antagonistic positions (friend/enemy; us vs them) in Colombian history. It is also worth mentioning that both composers were born in the same year, and that both of their personas were generally described by critics by using religious overtones. Whereas Murillo Chapull was known to the Colombian public as the “Apóstol de la Música Nacional,” Uribe Holguín was sometimes referred to in the press as the “Apostle of Art” (see figure below).<sup>429</sup> Even US-American musicologist Gilbert Chase (1906–1992) referred to Uribe Holguín on one occasion as the “patriarch of Colombian art-music.”<sup>430</sup> Murillo Chapull and Uribe Holguín thus came to embody the opposite sides of the coin: the latter representing a Conservative landholding aristocracy, guilty of Europeanizing and foreignizing local musics, and the former representing the emergent bourgeoisie that sought to revindicate popular, folkloric, and indigenous musics. The discourses they have come to embody are, nevertheless, often times blurred—a fact that only speaks to the way an antagonism operates in the public sphere.

Egberto Bermúdez, for instance, frames the history of twentieth century Colombian music as a contention between universalism and nationalism, where Bermúdez maps Uribe

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<sup>428</sup> However, Guillermo Uribe Holguín’s grand-daughter, María Victoria Uribe, recounts that the “mico Emilio” was particularly aggressive toward women. She showed me a scar, product of a bite mark done by Emilio. She also recounted that the monkey would pee on women but not on men.

<sup>429</sup> Nicolás Bayona Posada, “Cómo se Componen un Bambuco: Entrevista con Emilio Murillo.” *Revista Mundo al Día*, April 28, 1928, 13.

<sup>430</sup> Gilbert Chase, “Creative Trends in Latin American Music-I,” *Tempo*, no. 48 (1958): 32.

Holguín onto the former. Bermúdez introduces Uribe Holguín as a composer whose “universal stance led to a clash with local ‘nationalist’ musicians, creating a divide based on prejudice and ignorance more than on musical arguments.”<sup>431</sup> In his narrative, however, Bermúdez sees the history of Colombian music during the twentieth century as helplessly entrapped by this contention:

In 1910, Murillo had been the first Colombian musician to record in the United States, even before the new orthophonic system had been perfected. [A]nd at the moment when the [Colombian audiences] got to know these recordings (pasillos, bambucos, the national anthem) in Bogotá, Uribe Holguín organized concerts [featuring] music by Fauré, Grieg and Debussy, and a few months later [featuring] Lalo and Wagner, and finally Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov and Mussorgsky... The positions were irreconcilable: on the one hand Murillo and Guillermo Quevedo, [both] xenophobic and determined *to universalize their [own] provincialism*, and on the other hand, Uribe Holguín, who was a better connoisseur of European music, but who was prejudiced and disinterested in local traditions.<sup>432</sup>

Here, Bermúdez inadvertently hints at the antagonistic relation between a universalist and a particularist music project for the nation. Rather than being antithetical to each other, such projects are articulated through a constitutive relation for one always requires the reference to the other. This is precisely why, despite framing the history of Colombian music nationalism as a contention between these two projects, Bermúdez points to how a particular (i.e., Murillo Chapull’s and Quevedo’s “provincialism”) attempts to occupy the

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<sup>431</sup> Egberto Bermúdez, “Toward a History of Colombian Musics,” Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, Marco Palacios, and Ana María Gómez López, *The Colombia Reader History, Culture, Politics*, 2017, 81.

<sup>432</sup> Italics are mine. “En 1910, Murillo había sido el primer músico colombiano en hacer grabaciones en los Estados Unidos, aun antes de perfeccionarse el nuevo sistema ortofónico, y en el momento de conocerse éstas (pasillos, bambucos, el himno nacional) en Bogotá, Uribe Holguín organizaba conciertos con música de Fauré, Grieg y Debussy, unos meses después Lalo y Wagner y por último Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov y Mussorgsky. Las fuerzas quedaban igualadas y la polémica sobre la música nacional se reavivó en la pluma de los intelectuales con el telón de fondo de la Gran Guerra. Las posiciones eran irreconciliables: por un lado Murillo y Guillermo Quevedo, xenófobos y empeñados en universalizar su provincialismo, y por otra parte Uribe Holguín, mejor conocedor de la música europea, pero prejuiciado y desinteresado por la tradición local.” “UN SIGLO DE MÚSICA EN COLOMBIA.”

place of universal (i.e., to universalize their own particularism).<sup>433</sup> However, what happens if we introduce into this narrative moments of twentieth-century Colombian music when Uribe Holguín also appealed to a particularist stance?

### **Particularist and Universalist Knots**

Matters become much more entangled if we consider how Uribe Holguín, in a quasi-schizophrenic manner, changed his mind about the validity of music particularism as an aesthetic discourse. On November 22, 1954, Uribe Holguín told a reporter of the Venezuelan newspaper *El Universal* that he did not believe in national music because “music [was] the best language of emotions, through which we reach all hearts through a language that [was] more universal than Esperanto... because [music]’s highest expressions always have a universal character to them.”<sup>434</sup> Nine years later, however, when he was eighty-five years of age, Uribe Holguín penned a short article entitled “Nacionalismo en la Música,” where he assumed a completely opposing stance. Reacting to the way he continued to be inscribed into the history of Colombian music as an anti-nationalist composer, Uribe Holguín wrote:

How can I be called an enemy of our own rhythms, if I have employed many in my works? The one that is most appealing to me is the rhythm of the *guabina*, which is a modification of the *pasillo*, with two eighth notes on the downbeat instead of a

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<sup>433</sup> By provincialism here, Bermúdez I believe is referring to *criollismo*.

<sup>434</sup> “La música es el mejor lenguaje de los sentimientos, por medio del cual llegamos a todos los corazones, en un idioma más universal que el Esperanto. Por eso yo no creo en la música nacional, ya que sus más altas expresiones tienen siempre un carácter universal.” “La Música es el Mejor Idioma del Sentimiento: Guillermo Uribe Holguín,” *El Universal*, November 22, 1954. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín, Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Bogotá, Colombia. Folio Prensa.

quarter note. I have not found this rhythm in any of the popular musics of our neighboring countries. It is our own, exclusively.

Nowadays, there is a reaction against musical nationalism and in favor of a universal language, but this Esperanto cannot be spoken everywhere, because race, school, and the motherland are important factors in the production of art.<sup>435</sup>

Thus, in “Nacionalismo en la Música,” Uribe Holguín values a localized music style like the *guabina* based on its differential characteristics. Given his almost undisputed association with Europeanism and “foreignness” in Colombian historiography, “Nacionalismo en la Música,” will indubitably create a sense of estrangement and of historical misrecognition, of *méconnaissance*, among scholars invested in studying his life and work.<sup>436</sup> If Uribe Holguín did indeed articulate a particularist cultural politics, how are we then to explain his long-standing association with an anti-folklorist and anti-populist stance? Are we simply to understand “Nacionalismo en la Música” as contradictory or even false, even though in it Uribe Holguín posits the construction of a national identity through *difference* just as Murillo

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<sup>435</sup> “Cómo puede llamárseme enemigo de nuestros ritmos, si los he empleado en muchas obras? El que tiene mas atractivo para mí, es la guabina, que es una modificación del pasillo, con dos corcheas en el primer tiempo, en lugar de una semiminima. No he encontrado este ritmo así modificado, en ninguna música popular de los países hermanos. Es pues nuestro exclusivísimo. Actualmente hay una reacción contra el nacionalismo musical, y en favor de la música como lenguaje universal, pero este Esperanto no podría hablarse en todas partes, porque la raza, la patria, la escuela, son factores decisivos en la producción de arte.” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Nacionalismo en la Música,” *El Espectador*, August 8, 1965. Patronato de Artes y Ciencias Colombiano, Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín, Bogotá, Colombia. Folio Prensa.

<sup>436</sup> Lacan in “The Mirror Stage as a Formative Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience” describes the experience in which a person initially differentiates him or herself as an individual during early childhood after seeing their own image in a mirror and creating a mirror self, which acts as a visual representation of their own idealized self; Lacan calls this process the first mirror-stage. The second stage, which he calls *méconnaissance* (misrecognition), however, happens during a person’s late middle age and older, when the idealized self does not coincide with the body that the person is seeing in the mirror, which threatens and challenges the illusions created during the first stage. *Méconnaissance* leads to both a deconstruction and reconstruction of the self, with the addendum that the self will be aware of this process this time. Further, *Méconnaissance* produces a loss of the familiar that can be traumatic but which can also open up new possibilities of the Self. See Leni Marshall, “Through (with) the Looking Glass: Revisiting Lacan and Woodward in ‘Méconnaissance,’ the Mirror Stage of Old Age,” *Feminist Formations* 24, no. 2 (2012): 52–76.

did? Should we interpret some of Uribe Holguín's texts and music compositions at face value and others not?

Furthermore, as I discussed in chapter 2, because particularism and universalism are not antithetical notions but are rather constructed as an antagonism, we should consider too how this narrative will change if we introduce moments where music actors constructed projects that draw from the tension between particularist and universalist notions. This conundrum becomes particularly evident in a text written by Uribe Holguín that served him later as a basis from which to draft his 1923 lecture: a short article entitled "Triunfaremos," published in 1911 in the journal that he had founded during his first year as director of the conservatory, the *Revista del Conservatorio*.<sup>437</sup>

In this article, Uribe Holguín frames his vision for a successful music education model for Colombia around the notion of forming a "true national school" via the conservatory, that is, the formation of a collective of composers whose aesthetic would be recognizable as Colombian in a transnational setting.<sup>438</sup> To validate the role of the Conservatory in the context of the Colombian nation-state, Uribe Holguín thus implicitly posited that a "true" national music was yet to exist, prompting him to delegitimize claims of Colombianidad in other types of music that fell outside his proposed curriculum. Uribe Holguín wrote: "Because of the effects of bad taste, generally a product of ignorance, false art is propagating [among us] with surprising ease ... We have to clean up the soil and kill

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<sup>437</sup> Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Triunfaremos," *Revista del Conservatorio* 3, [Bogotá: 1911], 33-34. I thank Camilo Vaughan for sharing his documentation on the *Revista del Conservatorio* with me.

<sup>438</sup> "La educación musical del país ha sido el fin para el cual se ha creado nuestro Conservatorio; formar una verdadera escuela nacional y difundir la más sublime de las artes es nuestro objetivo." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Triunfaremos," 33.

the microbe; otherwise the fight will be very long, although [the soil] will never be sterile."<sup>439</sup> As scholars have correctly noted, Uribe Holguín's use of "taste" as a discourse of cultural validation and as marker of class, allows him to legitimize cultural capital accessible to him and not to others by canonizing such capital as "true art." Indeed, as Pierre Bourdieu has argued, the classification and evaluation of elite cultural capital as "art" and other cultural goods as "vulgar" or as belonging to "the people" is one of the main roles that educational institutions have played in contemporary "Western" societies.<sup>440</sup> Uribe Holguín's discourse, however, warrants further examination.

I believe that by legitimizing taste as a mechanism of organizing cultural goods according to social class, Uribe Holguín was also articulating a discourse of national prolepsis, which he achieves by framing bad taste (but not popular music) as that which stands in the way of the nation to emerge (antagonism). For Uribe Holguín, it was *not* that popular music, which he understood here through a Herderian lens and not related to the cultural industry, was a cultural good whose dissemination would slow down the progress of the nation. Rather, popular music (as a "proper" expression for national composers to use in their works) would simply take longer to be refined in a young nation like Colombia. In "Triunfaremos," Uribe Holguín writes:

The possible exploitation of the popular element, in what it has that is exploitable, would be one of the multiple resources that in a not very distant future would be available for those who are dedicated to the study [of music], and who have been

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<sup>439</sup> "Por un efecto de mal gusto, generalmente producto de la ignorancia, el falso arte se propaga con sorprendente facilidad... Hay que sanear el terreno y matar el microbio; de otro modo la lucha será muy larga, aunque jamás esteril." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Triunfaremos," 34.

<sup>440</sup> See Bourdieu, Nice, and Bennett, *Distinction*, 3–89.

soaking in the teachings led by the artistic generations of the past, as to embark on new paths in search of new musical ways and new ways of feeling.<sup>441</sup>

For Uribe Holguín, teaching European music in Colombian institutions posed as an ideal educational and aesthetic model for the Colombian nation largely by virtue of time.<sup>442</sup> This is why in the first issue of the *Revista del Conservatorio* he had suggested to take a “shortcut” by studying the musics of other nations where this process of refinement had already taken place (i.e., France and Germany).<sup>443</sup> Thus, caught in a temporal asymmetry, it is through a universalist stance (his appeal to taste and the European canon) that Uribe Holguín believed a distinctive Colombian artistic sensibility could most swiftly emerge. After all, in “Triunfaremos,” Uribe Holguín was advocating for a *new* aesthetics and for *new* ways of feeling—a mediation of a particularist desire via a universalist rhetoric so to speak. Most importantly, for Uribe Holguín it is through the path of cultural nationalism that he envisioned that a true art will blossom. Despite its atavistic conditions, according to Uribe Holguín, the nation will still remain a fertile ground: a proleptic desire that only comes to show how the nation, through the work of nationalism that is, shows itself as a space capable

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<sup>441</sup> “La posible explotación del elemento popular, en lo que tenga de explotable, sería uno de los múltiples recursos con que podrían contar en un futuro ya no muy lejano, quienes están consagrados con celo al estudio y después de haberse empapado en las enseñanzas que nos han dejado las generaciones artísticas del pasado, emprendan por nuevas sendas en busca de nuevos procedimientos y maneras de sentir.” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Triunfaremos,” 34.

<sup>442</sup> I discuss how the idea of temporality relates to the nation-state in chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>443</sup> “The artistic civilization of today's Europe is the product of a process of refinement of several centuries. We cannot aspire to achieve in a few years a refinement that results from atavistic causes, and whose refinement come from a slow and orderly formation. On the other hand, we have a more rapid and effective means than those from which the Europeans used to reach that goal, because we have just begun our education by using resources that have already gone through a process of experimentation” (“La civilización artística de la Europa actual es el producto de un refinamiento de varios siglos. No podemos aspirar a conseguir en pocos años ese refinamiento resultante de causas atávicas, de una formación lenta y ordenada. En cambio disponemos de medios más rápidos y eficaces de los que se valieron para llegar a ese fin los europeos, porque precisamente comenzamos nuestra educación valiéndonos de recursos ya experimentados”). Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Nuestro Plan,” *Revista del Conservatorio* 1, [Bogotá: 1910], 2.

of mediating the tension between particularism and universalism.<sup>444</sup> Let us now discuss how historiographical practices have mapped Uribe Holguín's persona onto a universalizing stance despite evidence that shows otherwise.



Figure 4.1 Picture of Uribe Holguín conducting the Orquesta del Conservatorio circa 1910. This photograph was published in *Revista Mundo al Día* on November 24, 1931, in the context of the polemics surrounding the protest organized by the members of the orchestra, who were supporting Uribe Holguín.

### **The Cultural Politics of the *República Liberal***

As suggested above, Uribe Holguín's Europeanizing persona in the Colombian imaginary derives from historiographical practices that privilege events in Uribe Holguín's life in which he articulates a universalist stance over events in which he appeals to particularism. Ironically, it was Uribe Holguín himself who inadvertently immortalized this

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<sup>444</sup> I discuss this notion further in chapter 5.



persona in the Colombian public sphere by reproducing a transcript of the lecture that he gave at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* in 1923 in his 1941 autobiography. This brought far more attention to this public speech than when it was published in the *Revista Musical* only a couple of days after it took place under the title of “La Música Nacional.” Whereas the 1923 lecture as it appears in the autobiography is cited profusely in Colombian music scholarship, I have not found a single text penned after 1941 that references the transcript of the lecture in the *Revista Musical*. The reliance on his autobiography as the authoritative source from which to narrate Uribe Holguín’s life is such, notwithstanding an extreme case, that even in a widely-read text on Colombian music composers, Uribe Holguín is thought to have passed away shortly after resigning as director of the conservatory.<sup>445</sup> As I demonstrated in chapter 3, however, his autobiography should not be taken at face value but instead read through idiosyncrasies of autobiographical writing within the larger Latin American context.

The reluctance to engage with archival material other than Uribe Holguín’s autobiography is significant for scholars have ignored how the reformist cultural policy between 1930 and 1946 permeated the historiographical practices of early twentieth-century Colombia.<sup>446</sup> This division of time conforms to what Colombian historians refer to as the República Liberal, a political period from 1930 to 1946, in which the Colombian state, then in the hands of the Liberal party, became heavily invested in institutionalizing

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<sup>445</sup> I am however unsure if the author is referring to 1935 or 1942, for Uribe Holguín formally resigned in 1935, but served as interim director again for a short time in 1942. José I Pinilla Aguilar, *Cultores de la música colombiana* (Bogotá, D.E., Colombia: Ediciones J.I.P., 1980), 399.

<sup>446</sup> See Frank Safford and Marco Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, Latin American Histories (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 266–96.

notions of a national culture that were being constructed at the time in opposition to the idea of a Europeanizing and Conservative elite.<sup>447</sup> This is particularly relevant, since the first texts that inscribe Uribe Holguín into a linear history of music in Colombia were written precisely during this political era, including his own autobiography.<sup>448</sup>

Kicked off by the election of the Liberal party's presidential candidate Enrique Olaya Herrera, the term "República Liberal," most suggestively, highlights a shift in political control from that of the *Hegemonía Conservadora* (1885–1930), the four-decade Conservative rule that immediately preceded it. Palacios and Safford suggest, however, that the term "Hegemonía Conservadora" overemphasizes the close ties between the state, the Catholic church, and the Conservative party, while it obscures fundamental events in the national script such as the loss of Panama in 1903 as well as the integration of the nation's economy to the world market via the popularization of coffee consumption (in which the

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<sup>447</sup> For a detailed studied of the cultural politics of the *República Liberal*, see Catalina Muñoz, "A Mission of Enormous Transcendence': The Cultural Politics of Music during Colombia's Liberal Republic, 1930-1946," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 77–105. Catalina Muñoz, Phd. Diss. "To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946" (University of Pennsylvania, 2009); Renán José Silva, *República liberal, intelectuales y cultura popular*, La Carreta histórica; Variation: Carreta histórica (Medellín: Carreta Editores, 2005); Renán José Silva, *Libros y lecturas durante la república liberal: Colombia, 1930-1946*. (Colombia: Universidad del Valle, 2002); Renán José Silva, *Ondas nacionales: la política cultura de la república liberal y la radiofusora nacional de Colombia*. (Bogotá, D.C.: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relac. Inter, 2000).

<sup>448</sup> It is also important that as Mariano Siskind shows, the emphasis put by Latin American scholars on Latin American differential identity as the most effective path for self-determination and progress (as opposed to a transnational or post-national identity for instance), is directly tied to the intellectual tradition of the late 1960s and 70s throughout Latin America, one which was highly influenced by the "politicization of the literary and academic field following the Cuban Revolution and the boom."<sup>448</sup> In a similar vein, scholars such as Santiago Castro-Gómez, Jon Beasley-Murray, Gareth Williams, and Alberto Moreiras, have tackled how neoliberalism in the academia, the presence of US-based cultural studies in Latin American scholarship, and even the overwhelming influence of Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, have affected the way scholars continue to read Latin American appeals to universalism through a particularist-populist stance See Alberto Moreiras, *The Exhaustion of Difference: The Politics of Latin American Cultural Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Jon Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Crítica de la razón latinoamericana*, Biblioteca universitaria Puvill. Historia y cultura de Hispanoamerica (Barcelona: Puvill Libros, 1996); Williams, *The Other Side of the Popular*.

Unites States served as an umbilical cord).<sup>449</sup> Fundamentally tied to bipartisan politics, this form of periodization becomes problematic when the political life of state elites is transformed into the nation's sole narrative.<sup>450</sup> Despite the excessive emphasis on bipartisanship in Colombian historiography, historians have nevertheless shown that the República Liberal, especially during the first administration of Alfonso López Pumarejo (1934–1938), led, despite the Great Depression of 1929, to a national capitalist modernization, and as such, to what literary scholar Gareth Williams calls the “active integration and institutionalization of the notion of the people.”<sup>451</sup>

Scholars who have studied the cultural politics of the Liberal state during this time period, however, do not agree on whether this type of reformist populism yielded positive results. In her doctoral dissertation on the bambuco, the tango, and the bolero in the city of Medellín between 1930 and 1953, Carolina Santamaría Delgado sees this period as “a turning point in Colombian history due to a significant shift in politics and to the introduction of new technologies in mass communications, such as aviation and radio broadcasting, which stimulated the expansion of the notion of citizenship and increased the working-classes’ political awareness.”<sup>452</sup> Catalina Muñoz, on the other hand, argues that the cultural policies carried out by the Liberals operated as a naturalization of the Liberal state project in which “Liberals essentialized the pueblo (the people) and the popular

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<sup>449</sup> Safford, *Colombia*, 266.

<sup>450</sup> I understand this term following Homi Bhabha's contention to question national narratives as “holistic concepts located within an evolutionary narrative of historical continuity.” See Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1990), 3.

<sup>451</sup> Williams, *The Other Side of the Popular*, 4.

<sup>452</sup> Carolina Santamaría Delgado, “Bambuco, Tango and Bolero: Music, Identity, and Class Struggles in Medellín, Colombia, 1930–1953” (Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 2006), 29.

[portraying] Colombia's grassroots population as the static, timeless repository of the nation's soul. . . ultimately render[ing] subordinate groups childish, passive, without agency, and in need of guidance."<sup>453</sup> To give an idea of the scope of this populist-oriented enterprise, the Colombian Ministry of Education launched an unprecedented variety of cultural programs, including the production of educational cinema and cultural radio; the organization of free lectures, concerts, and book fairs; and even the creation of *escuelas ambulantes*, travelling schools that were dispatched to bring popular culture to villages and towns that did not have permanent cultural institutions.<sup>454</sup>

During this time, Gustavo Santos, a music critic who had studied at the Schola Cantorum and who at the time was acting major of Bogotá as well as National Director of Fine Arts, proposed a number of music initiatives that were representative of this institutionalization of the people as both a political subject and a cultural object. It was also Santos who finally had the political power to drive Uribe Holguín away from the National Conservatory once Santos became the Director of the Ministry of Education's administrative unit, which was in charge of Colombia's cultural management.<sup>455</sup> Between 1935 and 1940, during Santos's second administration (which coincided with the presidency of his brother Eduardo Santos) a number of music institutions, like the national music conservatory and worker's choirs called *orfeones*, were put into service of what Santos

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<sup>453</sup> Muñoz, "A Mission of Enormous Transcendence," 79.

<sup>454</sup> Muñoz, Catalina, "To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946."

<sup>455</sup> Ironically, Uribe Holguín and Santos were close friends and political allies throughout the 1910s. The Santos family also owned the Liberal newspaper *EL Tiempo*. On Gustavo Santos, see Muñoz, Catalina, 57–59.

called “popular education.”<sup>456</sup> This consisted of a number of cultural programs such as popular concerts and arts exhibitions that were to be held in the open, as well as initiatives that fostered the production of popular theatre, dance, and music folklore.

Furthermore, during the República Liberal, the Ministry of Education was not only concerned with disseminating popular culture but also committed to its construction. During these years, the state supported and incorporated the work produced by overlapping networks of intellectuals such as composers, music historians and ethnographers, archeologists and anthropologists, politicians, visual artists, and even Capuchin monks. These intellectuals were invested in collecting, transcribing, recording, and publishing their findings on what they considered to be the popular and folkloric music practices that *could* represent the Colombian nation both at a national and at an international level.<sup>457</sup>

In May of 1937, Gustavo Santos prepared a report on the activities of the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes for the Chamber of Representatives. This document exemplifies well the way Liberal intellectuals envisioned cultural policy during the República Liberal.<sup>458</sup> In this report, Santos stresses how the arts as a whole, but especially music, should operate as tools for social reform and change. He emphasized the importance of bringing both “music and drawing” to primary schools, and particularly to the working class, through what he calls “artistic campaigns” whose objective was to “educate through

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<sup>456</sup> See Archivo General de la Nación. ICAN. Caja 1, Carpeta 4, Correspondencia. Folio 191.

<sup>457</sup> Muñoz, “To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946,” 174.

<sup>458</sup> See Archivo General de la Nación. ICAN. Caja 1, Carpeta 4, Correspondencia. Folios 189-194.

entertainment.”<sup>459</sup> Santos therefore proposed to support the creation of popular festivities, popular theatre, and *murgas* (popular music ensembles). In addition, he suggested that the organization of all concerts and conferences organized by the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes ought to include cities other than Bogotá and that primary education classes should be transmitted over radio waves to cover a larger population. In this report, Santos also recognized the urgency to centralize and control the representation of official symbols of the nation throughout the national territory (e.g., busts of the national leaders, the coat of arms), and emphasized the need to finance and expand archeological research in Colombia.

Santos thus envisioned the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes as a state organ that served a double function: to disseminate popular culture on the one hand, and to centralize it, on the other. As Muñoz argues, the Liberal reformist state of the 1930s, especially between 1934 and 1938, underscored the idea that the arts ought to be connected to a “civilizing” project that would turn the masses into productive, educated, and politically active citizens.”<sup>460</sup> Santos makes this painstakingly clear in a diagram that he includes in his 1937 report (pictured below). Standing at the top is the Dirección Nacional de Bellas, presided over by Santos himself, which controls four main areas: radio, touring national bands (national, state, and municipal), cultural buildings (museums, libraries, public

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<sup>459</sup>“La Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes, debe aprovechar las horas libres del obrero y la familia obrera, para la organización de una campaña artística que eduque, divirtiéndolo.” See Archivo General de la Nación. ICAN. Caja 1, Carpeta 4, Correspondencia, Folio 192.

<sup>460</sup> This also means that the Liberal discourse of culture presupposed that such masses were “backwards, unintelligent, irrational, unprepared for political agency, and thus in need of ‘uplifting’ and transformation.” Muñoz, “To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946,” 41.

gardens, and public monuments), and arts education. The latter is in turn comprised of four sections: the Teatro Colón (including concert programming, the national symphony, and civil art societies), music (the national conservatory, primary schools, orfeones), fine arts (schools and exhibitions), and archeology (cataloguing, museums, archeological parks, public exhibitions). In this diagram, both the areas of music and fine arts are put in the service of Santos's "Educación Popular." What is more, the results yielded by this cultural model were to be published in a journal edited by the Dirección de Bellas Artes. This is why Muñoz argues that cultural management during the *República Liberal* was more than just the way that Liberal rulers administered cultural institutions and intellectual management. For Muñoz, cultural management during this time period "was [also] about the control of the construction of meaning, including the meaning of sensitive and deeply political issues like the nation, its historical heritage, and citizenship."<sup>461</sup>

Finally, it was during this time when Liberal state elites began to institutionalize a typology of music genres that could receive the branding of "national." In this light, Santos and his collaborators at the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes classified music into three categories: (1) classical or "good music," which denoted music performed for an elite audience that was thought to be imported; (2) *música popular*, which referred to what Liberals envisioned to be "a traditional, noncommercial, folkloric music, including genres like *bambuco*, *pasillo*, *joropo*, and *torbellino*;" and (3) *música de moda*, a category that indexed music genres first produced abroad that were commercially popularized in Colombia such as the

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<sup>461</sup> Ibid, 37.

tango or the fox-trot.<sup>462</sup> This categorization, nevertheless, proved troublesome for the Liberal national project .

In 1942, the Ministry of Education carried out the National Folkloric Survey, a massive survey (and the first of its kind in scope) in which the state asked schoolteachers in a number of cities and rural areas about a number of aspects of community, including the way people in each of their communities dressed and cooked. It also enquired about their medical, religious, and music practices, among others. Interestingly, as Muñoz notes, while the survey sought to find so-called authentic and autochthonous cultural practices, the results shows that these cultural practices, even in small towns, were more “regionally and internationally integrated than the cultural managers in Bogotá had presumed or would have liked.”<sup>463</sup> This disconnect between a perceived idealized nation and the results of the survey is significant, as Muñoz argues, for it was through inclusion and transformation of the masses into productive, rational, and educated subjects through which the Liberals sought to propel modernization in Colombia.<sup>464</sup>

Thus, if the cultural landscape of the masses did not constitute a repository of untouched raw material, what we encounter then is a process of symbolic domination enacted by a paternalistic Liberal state that was attempting to hegemonize the notion of the people. This was a political move by the Liberal party to get hold of the institutional power that had remained in the hands of the Conservative landowners for almost fifty years.

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<sup>462</sup> Muñoz, “A Mission of Enormous Transcendence,” 82.

<sup>463</sup> Muñoz also reveals that the bambuco remained the most fashionable music genre, only second to other genres popularized in the radio like the Cuban rumba, danza, and bolero, the Mexican bolero and ranchera, Argentine tangos, and the US-American fox-trot. Ibid, 97.

<sup>464</sup> Muñoz, Catalina, “To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946,” 30.



Santos's adoption of this musical categorization was thus tied to the ways Liberal intellectuals had envisioned reconfiguring Colombian society through popular integration into the state. In other words, what this shows is that the institutionalization of this categorization followed a clear political agenda and a move by Liberals who were claiming “the power to redefine categories and social hierarchies in a way that ultimately legitimized their political power as the modernizers of Colombian society.”<sup>465</sup> As I argue below, Liberal state elites achieved this in part by constructing an antagonistic narrative: that of the people vs. the Conservative, landowning elite. And this where Uribe Holguín’s figure as a foreignizing and elitist composer with ties to the Conservative party came in handy. As Laclau details, the construction of the people as a crystallization of a chain of equivalences requires two things: naming and affect. On the one hand, the construction of the people occurs through a “performative operation constituting the chain as such,” which is largely dependent on producing affective registers through the body (this is where the orfeones, mass choirs, and open spectacles come into play), and on the other, it requires finding a common identity against which the people will be constructed.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> Ibid, 135.

<sup>466</sup> Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 97; On the performative and affective dimension of “naming” and its role in populist articulatory logics, see Laclau, 101–16.

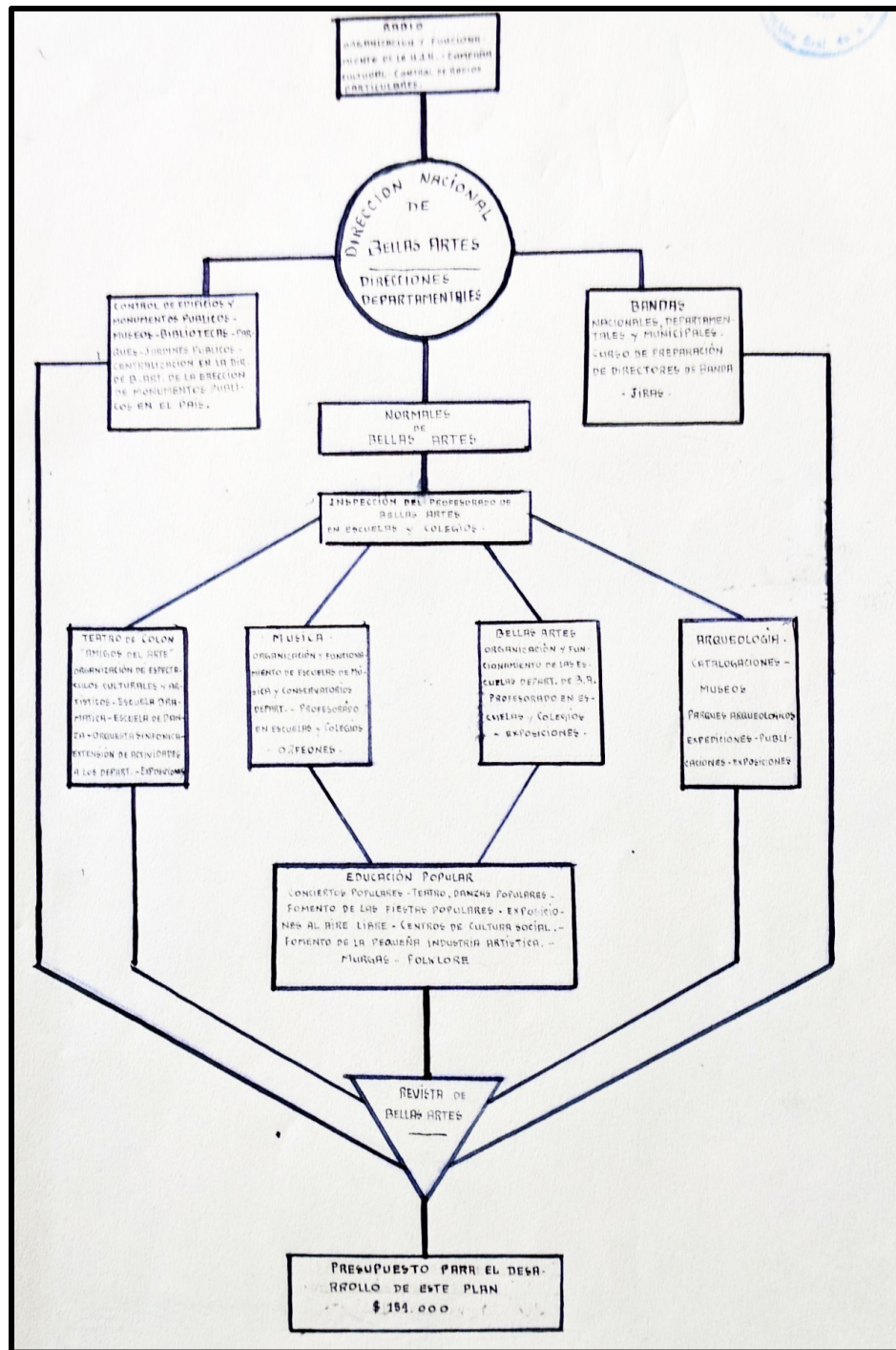


Figure 4.2. Organizational diagram of the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes by Gustavo Santos, May 1937. Archivo General de la Nación. ICAN. Caja 1, Carpeta 4, Correspondencia. Folios 189

## **From the Performative to the Historiographical**

It is in the context of the reformist cultural policy of the República Liberal that Uribe Holguín's debates with Murillo not only affected Uribe Holguín's reception in Bogotá's music scene, but they also snowballed into crafting his persona in Colombian historiography as an anti-populist composer. It is not my interest to provide a comprehensive reception history, but rather to account for the effects of the reinscriptions of these public performances of antagonism in historiographical accounts. I find it worthwhile to revisit some examples that have made it into recent literature on Colombian music nationalism since these are sources from which historiographical practices started to draw from.

As argued before, because Uribe Holguín's reception coincided with some of the first attempts at (re)constructing a national music history, his antagonistic persona became engraved in Colombian music historiography. In fact, Uribe Holguín recognizes this in a letter to musicologist Francisco Curt Lange in response to his article in the fourth volume of the *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música* published in 1938 by the Centro de Estudios Superiores Montevideo (Uruguay), an institution founded and directed by Curt Lange himself.<sup>467</sup> Curt Lange wrote this article following the Ibero-American music festival

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<sup>467</sup> Uribe Holguín wrote to Lange in 1939: "I do have, however, to make a couple rectifications to your document regarding my performance as Director of the Conservatory. It is very true that writing contemporary history constitutes a very serious issue, for the sources of information are generally devoid of true impartiality. It won't be long until the date in which the proper occasion to tell the world the truth presents itself to me" ("Tengo sí que hacer algunas rectificaciones a su escrito en lo referente a mi actuación como Director del Conservatorio. Es tan cierto que escribir la historia contemporánea constituye un problema bastante serio, por no ser las fuentes de información generalmente desprovistas de imparcialidad verdadera. No tardará mucho tiempo la fecha en que se me presente la ocasión propicia para contar al mundo la verdad de las cosas.") Uribe Holguín to Lange, March 20, 1939. Series: 01567, Code: BRUFMGBUCL2.2.S26.1401 Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte, Brasil.

organized by Santos around the celebration of the fourth centenary of the founding of Bogotá in 1938, which he attended. The festival and the celebrations were an initiative that had no precedents in the nation, becoming a flag-bearer of the cultural policy during the República Liberal.<sup>468</sup> Curt Lange, who was driven by an Americanist impetus to show the world that “in [American] soil abounds the germ capable of bringing new aesthetic emotions to a new humanity,”<sup>469</sup> as he stated in the introduction to the compendium of scores published along with the *Boletín*, wrote the following lines about Uribe Holguín in 1938:

We cannot harbor the slightest doubt that our collaborators, when reading this work on the great Colombian composer Guillermo Uribe Holguín, will find themselves surprised by a discovery of this kind. The majority of composers of the [American] continent, and especially those who are living, are known, even if it is just by name. Uribe Holguín, for reasons that we will analyze further, has not been an Americanist, and has not concerned himself with the fate of the music of the continent nor with the diffusion of his own music. Musically educated in France, his thoughts were living in permanent contact with the men and the cultural institutions of that country. But [because Uribe Holguín] was later isolated in Bogotá, dedicated to a task that after twenty-five years won harsh and almost unanimous critiques, it is difficult for anyone who wishes to understand the situation of an outstanding creator as peculiar as this, to set aside these passions and describe the life and work of this man with objectivity.

Recently retired from the profession, [Uribe Holguín] was seen again on Bogotá’s artistic scene on the occasion of the festivities of the Fourth Centenary, only to flee again as soon as his guest colleagues left to his coffee-growing hacienda, where he personally manages his crops, and also composes music joyfully—he confessed to us—on top of his horse. A *Bogotano* aristocrat in the purest sense of the word, with a difficult temper and undoubtedly egocentric, he has had to face many struggles that emerged perhaps as a result of this traditionalist position, which is at odds with the postulates and demands of a social process that has begun, especially in Colombia,

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<sup>468</sup> I expand on this festival in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

<sup>469</sup> See the introduction by Francisco Curt Lange in Instituto de Estudios Superiores (Montevideo, Uruguay). Sección de Investigaciones Musicales., *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música. Tomo IV [Música]: Suplemento Musical* (Bogotá : Litografía Colombia ; New York City : Foreign and International Book Co., 1938).

to crassly manifest the need to involve the people in the artistic destiny of the country.<sup>470</sup>

Curt Lange's article is of utmost importance here, for it is the first comprehensive text in which Uribe Holguín becomes historicized as part of the larger narrative of Colombian music. In this article, Curt Lange praises Uribe Holguín's gargantuan compositional output. After all, he had just completed his *Trescientos Trozos en el Sentimiento Popular*, a work for piano comprised of three hundred short pieces.<sup>471</sup> As seen above, despite such praise, Curt Lange introduces Uribe Holguín as an aristocrat whose egocentric character made him into a social pariah in both transnational and national contexts (locally and within the larger context of "Americanism"). Interestingly, Curt Lange also recognizes the agonistic dimension (i.e., what he calls the "passions" that inhibit an objective analysis of Uribe Holguín work) that played into the politics of music nationalism during this time period. Curt Lange links these performative articulations of the antagonisms present in the

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<sup>470</sup> "No debemos abrigar la menor duda de que los colaboradores nuestros, al leer este trabajo sobre el gran compositor colombiano Guillermo Uribe Holguín, se muestren sorprendidos ante un hallazgo de esta naturaleza. Se conoce, aunque sea de nombre, a la mayoría de los compositores del Continente, y especialmente a los que viven. Uribe Holguín, por diversas causas que hemos de analizar más adelante, no ha sido americanista ni preocupóse mayormente por la suerte de la música del Continente ni por la difusión de la suya propia. Educado en Francia, sus pensamientos vivían en permanente contacto con los hombres y las instituciones culturales de aquel país. Enclavado luego en el ambiente bogotano, dedicado a una labor que después de veinticinco años mereció acerbas y casi unánimes críticas, se hace difícil a toda persona que desea discriminar tan original situación en un creador descolante, colocar de lados los apasionamientos para describir con objetividad, la vida y la obra realizada por este hombre.

Retirado de las actividades profesionales desde hace poco tiempo, apareció en el escenario de Bogotá con motivo de los festejos del Cuarto Centenario, para fugarse de nuevo, apenas se fueron los colegas huéspedes, a su hacienda cafetera, donde dirige personalmente los cultivos, y compone, como confiesa, alegremente, sobre el recado de su caballo. Aristócrata bogotano en la más pura acepción de la palabra, de carácter más bien difícil, sin duda alguna egocéntrico, ha tenido que enfrentarse a luchas que quizás surgieron a raíz de esta posición tradicionalista que está reñida con los postulados y las exigencias de un proceso social que ha comenzado, especialmente en Colombia, a manifestar crasamente la necesidad de hacer participar al pueblo en los destinos artísticos del país." Francisco Curt Lange, "Guillermo Uribe Holguín," in Francisco Curt Lange and Instituto de Estudios Superiores (Montevideo, Uruguay). Sección de Investigaciones Musicales., *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*. 1938, 757.

<sup>471</sup> Duque, *Guillermo Uribe Holguín y sus 300 trozos in el sentimiento popular*.

Colombian music scene of the early twentieth century, however, as part of a larger contention: that of a music “traditionalism” that is at odds with a view that sees music as a proper object for social reform. Curt Lange juxtaposes two positions: on the one hand, he underlines the universalist idea of the inevitability and the desirability of constructing a nation, and on the other, he ascribes this construction through a particularist music that the Liberal state connected to its integrationist and reformist cultural politics. By doing so, Curt Lange thus legitimizes the cultural policies of the Liberal state and antagonizes Uribe Holguín in the process.<sup>472</sup>

This is important to consider, for Curt Lange’s text quickly became an authoritative source from which to narrate Uribe Holguín’s life, working often times as a supplement to Uribe Holguín’s autobiography. For example, in 1945, the lawyer, musicologist, and priest José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar (1913–1980) published the first edition of his book *Historia de la Música en Colombia*, a widely-read text where Perdomo Escobar sets out to reconstruct the music life of Colombia from pre-Hispanic times to the present. Perdomo Escobar’s book was an expansion of his 1938 article, “Esbozo Histórico sobre la Música Colombiana,” which had been first published in Curt Lange’s *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* in 1938.<sup>473</sup> Whereas in the third (1970) and fifth (1980) editions of this book—a sign of its popularity—Perdomo Escobar devotes an entire chapter to Uribe Holguín’s administration of the conservatory (borrowing largely from Uribe Holguín’s

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<sup>472</sup> I thank Leonora Saavedra for this idea.

<sup>473</sup> Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, 1945; Also see Ospina Romero, “Los estudios sobre la historia de la música en Colombia en la primera mitad del siglo XX,” 313–14.

autobiography), in its first edition (1945) Perdomo limits Uribe Holguín's entry to a few pages, prompting his readership to consult Curt Lange's text instead.<sup>474</sup>

In his first edition, furthermore, Perdomo Escobar inaugurates another historiographical practice of twentieth-century Colombian scholarship: to reference Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture via Uribe Holguín's autobiography. Perdomo Escobar cites *Vida de un Músico Colombiano* throughout and even employs the categorization proposed by Uribe Holguín in his 1923 analysis of Colombian music. Indeed, Perdomo uses as a theoretical framework Uribe Holguín's contention that the music created by composers born in Colombian territory ought to be labelled as "national music," regardless of style, on the one hand, and adopts the category of "popular music" to denote a type of music that comes from the unnamed "masses," on the other.<sup>475</sup> In the manner of a Foucauldian event, however, Perdomo Escobar takes it a step further, and places Colombian composers who wrote "national music" into three distinct categories. By applying a categorization that was, as Perdomo Escobar tells us, proposed by Charles Seeger in his text 1942 text *Music in Latin America* published by the Pan American Union, Perdomo Escobar divides Colombian composers into (1) nationalist composers, (2) romantic composers "who attempted to assimilate music folklore," and (3) composers who follow the "cosmopolitan trends of international music."<sup>476</sup> Perdomo Escobar proceeds to place Murillo Chapull in the first category, characterizing him as the most "outstanding figure among [composers] who

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<sup>474</sup> Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia, 1945*, 214.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid*, 236.

<sup>476</sup> José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, Biblioteca de historia nacional, v. 103; (Bogotá, Editorial ABC, 1963), 236–40.

cultivated national folklore,” while locating Uribe Holguín in the final category.<sup>477</sup> Perdomo reserves the second category for nineteenth century composers such as Manuel María Párraga (c.1835–?), author of what is considered to be the first notated bambuco, and José María Ponce de León (1845–1882), a composer whose opera, *Ester*, is considered to be the first Colombian opera to ever be put on stage (1874).<sup>478</sup>

Curt Lange and Perdomo Escobar’s work transformed Uribe Holguín’s figure as a foreignizer and anti-nationalist into a historiographical trope. Music historian Andrés Pardo Tovar (1911–1972), in his 1945 gargantuan study of Colombian music entitled “La Cultura Musical en Colombia,” makes use of Curt Lange’s article to criticize Uribe Holguín’s work. Pardo Tovar frames his own critique of Uribe Holguín’s administration and work by using Curt Lange’s text as evidence. Pardo Tovar, for example, references Curt Lange’s assertions that Uribe Holguín had “neglect[ed] the music organization of the country, judging by what [he] found in his [trip to Bogotá], [because the organization of music education in Colombia was] dispersed and lacking in unity.”<sup>479</sup> Furthermore, Pardo Tovar, following Perdomo Escobar, does not include Uribe Holguín in his study of national music, applying that label to composers such as Antonio María Valencia and Jesús Bermúdez Silva, whose aesthetic philosophy was actually not too different from Uribe Holguín’s. This prompted Uribe Holguín to take up the mantle of polemicist once more (at

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<sup>477</sup> “La figura de Emilio Murillo se destaca en primera línea entre todas las de los cultivadores del folklore nacional. Fue el apóstol más decidido de nuestro criollismo.” Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, 1945, 237.

<sup>478</sup> See Carolina Alzate et al., *José María Ponce de León y la ópera en Colombia en el siglo XIX; & Ester, libreto de Manuel Briceño y Rafael Pombo*, 2014; Luis Carlos Rodríguez Álvarez, “El Bambuco de Manuel María Párraga,” *Artes la Revista* 1, no. 2 (March 26, 2015): 83–90.

<sup>479</sup> “[Uribe Holguín] descuida la organización musical del país, a juzgar por lo que hallamos a nuestro paso, disperso y carente de unidad.” Curt Lange quoted in Pardo Tovar Andrés Pardo Tovar, *La Cultura Musical En Colombia*, vol. 6, Historia Extensa de Colombia (Bogotá: Lerner, 1966), 230.



age 79), publishing a number of articles in the *El Espectador* newspaper against the assertions made by Pardo Tovar in his text.<sup>480</sup>

Other texts that attempt to reconstruct a comprehensive history of Colombian music during the twentieth century, and which share these historiographical practices include (by no means a comprehensive list): Jorge Añez's *Canciones y Recuerdos* (1951), Heriberto Cuéncar's *Compositores Colombianos* (1962), José Pinilla Aguilar's *Cultores de la Música Colombiana* (1960), Hernán Restrepo Duque's *Lo que Cuentan las Canciones* (1971), David Puerta Zuluaga's *Los Caminos del Tiple* (1988), Hernando Caro Mendoza's "La Música en Colombia en el Siglo XX" (1989), and Ellie Anne Duque's chapter in Bermúdez's *Historia de la Música en Santafé y Bogotá* (2000).<sup>481</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> See Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "De la Cultura Musica en Colombia," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa. Bogotá, Colombia; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Una Polémica sobre Música," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa. Bogotá, Colombia; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "La Polémica Sobre Música," *El Espectador*, August 12, 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa. Bogotá, Colombia; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Las Críticas al Conservatorio," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Plan de Estudios Musicales," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "El Conservatorio Transformado," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "El Conservatorio Reformado," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "El Pensum de Valencia," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Ultimos Directores del Conservatorio *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "El Conservatorio Transformado," *El Espectador*, (month and day unknown), 1959. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín Archive. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Folio Prensa; "Pardo Tovar Responde a Uribe Holguín, en la Polémica Musical," *El Espectador*, September 11, 1959.

<sup>481</sup> Añez and Otero d'Costa, *Canciones y recuerdos*, 294; Heriberto Zapata Cuéncar, *Compositores colombianos*. (Medellin: Editorial Carpel, 1962), 173–75; Hernán Restrepo Duque, *Lo que cuentan las canciones: cronicón musical* (Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1971), 48–60; Puerta Zuluaga, *Los caminos del tiple*, 19–20; Hernando Caro Mendoza, *La música en Colombia en el siglo XX*, 1989, 275–77; Ellie Anne Duque in Bermúdez et al., *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá*, 141–46.

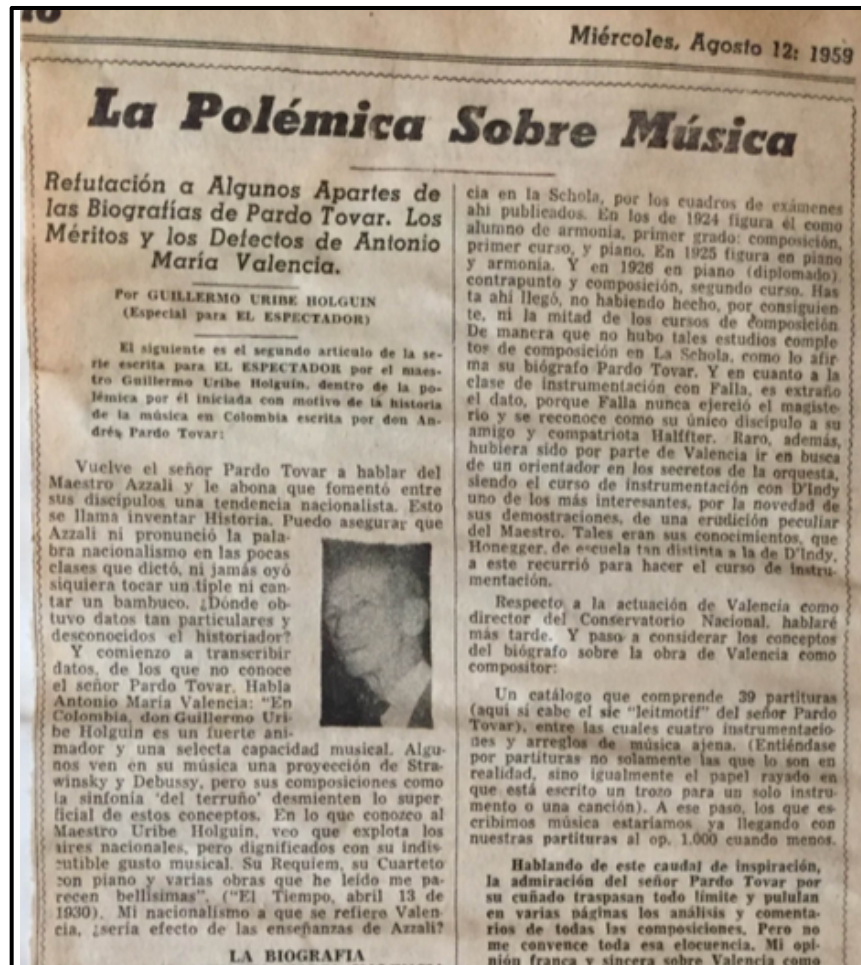


Figure 4. 3. Guillermo Uribe Holguín responds to Pardo Tovar. “La Polémica Sobre Música,” *El Espectador*, August 12, 1959. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

In more recent scholarship, the “passions” that Curt Lange wrote about in the fourth volume of the *Boletín* remain part of the discussion of the relation between nationalism, folklore, and popular music in Colombia during the twentieth century. However, the contention is framed in a slightly different way. Uribe Holguín’s disdain for Murillo’s project of musical nationalism has been re-cast as a complete rejection of anything that is non-European, instead of being interpreted as a contention over *who* gets to manage and

institutionalize their own cultural and symbolic capital. Below, I discuss the epistemological implications of this approach.

### **Epistemologies of Purification and Epistemologies of Hybridization**

Because of the reiterative reference to his 1923 lecture in music criticism, as I have discussed, Uribe Holguín's antagonistic persona seeped into the first historiographical texts where he was introduced as part of a linear history of Colombian music. Music scholars and historians made it a practice to criticize this lecture, transforming it into a narrative trope.<sup>482</sup> Because of this trope, Uribe Holguín has also become what Michel Foucault calls an *author-function*; that is, an author who comes to represent a discourse through "our way of handling texts."<sup>483</sup> For Foucault, texts do not represent a truthful dimension that speaks of the author's original intentions or thought. Rather, by introducing the notion of author-

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<sup>482</sup> While I do not discuss this here at length, it is worth questioning if Uribe Holguín's lecture also continues to operate as a Foucauldian event (i.e., in power relations in discourses created by a historical action) as to articulate a politics of belonging in recent Colombian scholarship. Juan Sebastián Ochoa Escobar, for instance, sets to disclose the underlying Eurocentric patterns that have shaped Colombian music education to the day, and in doing so, he critiques Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture. Nevertheless, he begins his article by framing the need of challenging said Eurocentric patterns by reflecting on his own experience as a Colombian academic and musician. He thus writes: "When I conducted this research, I found myself in a conflictive position with respect to the music program at Javeriana University [in Bogotá, Colombia]: I was one of their full-time professors and at the same time I had critiques of the program. My own musical practice was far from the Central European tradition and more focused on traditional and popular Colombian music, which clashed with [the ideas] that the program defended. One of the purposes of this research was then to make a critical reading from within, to try to propose transformations within the institution itself, and that could also serve as reflections for other institutions both in the country and outside of it." ("Al realizar esta investigación me encontraba entonces en una posición conflictiva con respecto a la carrera de música de la Javeriana: era uno de sus profesores de planta, y al mismo tiempo tenía una posición crítica frente al mismo. Mi propia práctica musical, alejada de la tradición centroeuropea y más enfocada en músicas tradicionales y populares colombianas, chocaba con lo que desde el programa se defendía. Uno de los propósitos de esta investigación fue entonces hacer una lectura crítica desde adentro, para tratar de proponer transformaciones al interior mismo de la institución, y que pudieran también servir de reflexiones para otras instituciones tanto en el país como fuera de él."), Juan Sebastián Ochoa Escobar, "Un análisis de los supuestos que subyacen a la educación musical universitaria en Colombia.," Cuadernos de Música, Artes Visuales y Artes Escénicas 11, no. 1 (December 13, 2015), 6.

<sup>483</sup> Michel Foucault quoted in Wilson, "Foucault on the 'Question of the Author,'" 350.

function Foucault shows the constructed nature of who and what we regularly assume an author to be: a subject who represents a “privileged moment of individualization in the history of ideas, knowledge, and literature.”<sup>484</sup> This allows Foucault to show how an author is rather the function of discourse and not the other way around. For Foucault then, it is the discursive role of the author-function, which ultimately “authorizes” the very idea of authorship in the first place.<sup>485</sup> Furthermore, in regard to the idea of author-function, Foucault writes:

Nevertheless, these aspects of an individual, which we designate as an author (or which comprise an individual as an author) are projections, in terms always more or less psychological, of our way of handling texts: in the comparisons we make, the traits we extract as pertinent, the continuities we assign, or the exclusions we practice. In addition, all these operations vary according to the period and the form of discourse concerned.<sup>486</sup>

Following Foucault, I contend in the first instance that Uribe Holguín’s 1923 lecture has become *the* source for (re)inscribing Uribe Holguín into the history of Colombian music, leading in most cases to associating his figure, time after time, with the idea of “foreignness” (an author-function). Thus, depending on the theoretical lens from which scholars, critics, and historians have written about Colombian music, they have constructed Uribe Holguín’s persona as either (allowing for some overlap) an elitist composer of Europeanizing tendencies, an anti-nationalist, or, more recently, the embodiment of

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<sup>484</sup> Foucault quote in Wilson, 343.

<sup>485</sup> Wilson, 341.

<sup>486</sup> Michel Foucault quoted in Wilson, 350.

coloniality. Below, I focus particularly on studies that seek to reveal long-standing patterns of power that resulted from colonialism, and which have continued to operate in Colombia.

In an article that sets out to expose the underlying colonial patterns that have shaped Colombian music education to this day, Juan Sebastian Ochoa Escobar inevitably references Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture: "We cannot avoid mentioning the valuation that composer Guillermo Uribe Holguín, director for several years of the National Conservatory of Music at the beginning of the 20th century, made of a [local] instrument like the *tiple*, signaling it as a 'rudimentary and deficient' instrument."<sup>487</sup> Uribe Holguín's 1923 lecture, or rather the act of criticizing said lecture, leads Ochoa Escobar to associate Uribe Holguín's figure with hegemonic discourses of Eurocentrism, music whitening, and universalism. In his study of music education in Colombia, Luis Gabriel Mesa Martínez, in a similar manner, posits the following: "With the new conservatory now in the hands of Uribe Holguín, the inspiration taken from popular musics and the fondness for folkloric traditions faced a threat that stirred the ideological confrontation between a Eurocentric academicism and the strengthening of discourses that focused on the search for a national identity."<sup>488</sup>

Here, both scholars treat Uribe Holguín's cosmopolitan recourse to a *peripheral music universalism* as distinct and even antithetical to other discourses of music particularism,

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<sup>487</sup> "No podemos dejar de hacer la relación con la valoración que el compositor Guillermo Uribe Holguín, director por varios años del Conservatorio Nacional de Música a principios del siglo XX, hacía de un instrumento como el tiple, señalándolo como un instrumento "rudimentario y deficiente." I find it important to note that Ochoa takes Uribe Holguín's commentary from a text by Oscar Hernández-Salgar, where Salgar draws from Uribe Holguín's autobiography. See Escobar, "Un análisis de los supuestos que subyacen a la educación musical universitaria en Colombia," 13, 27; Hernández Salgar, "Colonialidad y Poscolonialidad Musical En Colombia."

<sup>488</sup> "...con el nuevo Conservatorio en manos de Uribe Holguín la inspiración en músicas populares y el gusto por las tradiciones folklóricas enfrentarían una amenaza que enardecería los enfrentamientos

denying the possibility that a music actor can alternate between stances or juxtapose them. This is why in Mesa Martínez's text, as shown above, Uribe Holguín's "Eurocentric academism" appears as an obstacle that prevents a national-particularist identity from developing. What is more, by doing so, Mesa Martínez clearly shows how Uribe Holguín's figure operates as a reinscription of national prolepsis in his narrative of Colombian music. Indeed, by showing Uribe Holguín as that which threatened the development of a genre of music that was affectively constructed as being tied to the nation-state, Mesa Martínez spells out what, following Laclau and Mouffe, I have been referring to here as an antagonism. Perhaps the most representative and conspicuous example of this practice comes from Carolina Santamaría's *Vitrolas, Rocolas, y Radioteatros*:

Since 1910, when Uribe Holguín was appointed to that position, he had promoted profound structural reforms in the way music was taught at the institution. By adopting the French conservatory model, the interpretation of traditional 'national' music had been banished from the institution. Because of his efforts to elevate the local musical level through the practice of the European musical canon, Uribe Holguín *ended up suffocating the development* of the professional technical competence of performers who were knowledgeable in traditional repertoires, casting grave doubts on the nationalistic aesthetic trend that had been influential to several local composers [at the time].<sup>489</sup>

Furthermore, this critique of institutional practices that exclude and devalue subaltern music practices employs an epistemological model that treats these music

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ideológicos entre un academicismo eurocentrista y el fortalecimiento de discursos concentrados en la búsqueda de una identidad nacional." Luis Gabriel Mesa Martínez, *Hacia una reconstrucción del concepto "músico profesional" en Colombia: antecedentes de la educación musical e institucionalización de la musicología*, Tesis doctoral; ([Granada] Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, 2014), 131.

<sup>489</sup>“Desde 1910, cuando Uribe Holguín había sido nombrado en ese cargo, había promovido profundas reformas estructurales en la enseñanza musical impartida en la institución. Al acogerse al modelo de conservatorio francés, en la práctica se había desterrado de la institución la interpretación de la música tradicional 'nacional.' En su esmero por elevar el nivel musical local a través de la práctica del canon musical europeo, Uribe Holguín había terminado asfixiando el desarrollo de la competencia técnica profesional de intérpretes conocedores de los repertorios tradicionales y puso en entre dicho la corriente

practices as distinct and separate from so-called Western classical music. However, I believe this criticism disregards practices of re-localizing and re-temporalizing music, which involved a larger network of musicians whose artistic careers and lives often crisscrossed. These networks included musicians from the emerging industrial middle class who partook in the music industry like Murillo; or the upper classes, represented by Uribe Holguín, who did not have to rely on, nor wanted a stake in the music industry, yet were deeply invested in processes of recontextualization (see chapters 3, 5, and 6).

As Ana María Ochoa Gautier explores in her work on music epistemologies, the genealogies of musical knowledge concerning “non-Western musics” are fundamentally tied to the practice of entextualization—that is, “the act of framing the musical object to be studied through multiple modes of ‘capturing it.’”<sup>490</sup> Expanding upon the work of Steven Feld on sound, Ochoa studies the ways the sonic becomes an object of study and is categorized into sonic typologies that are deeply embedded in “the politics of the global circulation of sound.”<sup>491</sup> For Ochoa, Latin American musicians and scholars have constructed a knowledge of traditional musics through the practice of capturing sound (through recording technologies but particularly through the written word) and recontextualizing it as a music object. Sonic recontextualization, as Ochoa Gautier details, is a process that involves “localizing global sounds as well as globalizing local ones,” and is often tied to a type of politics of belonging.<sup>492</sup> Indeed, it is through this dual practice—of

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estética nacionalista que animaba a varios compositores locales.” Santamaría Delgado, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 74.

<sup>490</sup> Ochoa Gautier, “Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America,” 805.

<sup>491</sup> Ochoa Ibid, 804.

<sup>492</sup> I explore this in chapter 2. Gautier, 805.

entextualizing and recontextualizing sound into a hierarchy of music typologies—that scholars and musicians throughout the twentieth century have sought to “identify and visibilize local musics as part of a project of valorization of sonic localism that was crucial to nationalist postcolonial projects.”<sup>493</sup>

This project of sonic valorization in Latin America, however, was an extremely heterogeneous one if we consider the diverging agendas of the social actors who carried it out. These actors included composers, anthropologists, archeologists, writers, journalists, musicologists, ethnomusicologists, and folklorists.<sup>494</sup> Furthermore, as Ochoa Gautier suggests, many of these actors dealt with both art music and traditional, folkloric, and popular music, and thus, “elid[ed], in their own work, the division between musicology as the study of Western classical music and ethnomusicology as the study of traditional ‘non-Western’ musics.”<sup>495</sup>

The difficulty of tracing a clear trajectory of these entextualizations and recontextualizations of the sonic makes Uribe Holguín’s role in the articulation of a politics of national belonging much more apparent when scholars begin to (re)historicize him in terms of music and decoloniality. Current (ethno)musicological accounts on Uribe Holguín, especially during the last ten years, have taken pains to disclose the Eurocentric position implicit in Uribe Holguín’s 1923 lecture. Inadvertently, however, by writing of Uribe Holguín’s persona and educational reforms as that which inhibited the development of

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<sup>493</sup> Ibid, 814.

<sup>494</sup> Citing the work of anthropologist Carlos Miñana, Ochoa Gautier lists up to eleven different types of intellectuals and musicians who were part of these networks of entextualization and recontextualization of the sonic. Ibid, 811–12.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid, 816.



local, subaltern musics, these scholars have clearly sketched out an antagonistic relation in which Uribe Holguín emerges as a sort of *anti-transculturator*. That is, someone or something who opposes, disrupts, or as we shall see, even reverses the “general restructuring” [of sounds into multiple disciplines, [which] rearticulates the relation between the local, the national and the global through multiple practices that imbue sounds with notions of place-based originality and representativeness in an intensely transnational sphere.”<sup>496</sup>

Carolina Santamaría, for example, sees Uribe Holguín’s opinions on popular music as well as the “Europeanizing policies” that were implemented during Uribe Holguín’s tenure as director of the conservatory, as the main causes for the separation of local music practices into two distinct groups: “on one side, those who made art music belonging to the urban, European, and hegemonic population, and on the other those who made traditional music that supposedly belonged to rural, subaltern, and mixed-race populations.”<sup>497</sup> For Santamaría, Uribe Holguín’s Europeanizing logic springs from a “problem of epistemic inaccessibility of hybrid knowledges (*saberes mestizos*),” and thus, represents a prime example of how postcolonial subjects continue to adhere to an ethno-racial hierarchy that privileges European knowledge over everything else.<sup>498</sup> Similarly, in his discussion of the persistence of European scientism in Colombian music historiography, Hernández Salgar points out that Uribe Holguín’s rejection of local hybrid musics like the bambuco

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<sup>496</sup> Ibid, 816.

<sup>497</sup> Santamaría also argues that Uribe Holguín’s Eurocentric predilection prevented the conservatory from developing a “collection of oral and traditional repertoires, an approach associated with folklore studies that could well have been the appropriate environment for the study of the bambuco within the academy, did not fall within the interests of a French-style conservatory program.” Carolina Santamaría, “The Bambuco, Hybrid Knowledges and the Academy,” in León and Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader*, 201.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid, 196.

constitutes a “legitimation of formal music activity and exclusion, at least in academic circles, of any type of music that was not based on the theoretical paradigms of European urban artistic music.”<sup>499</sup>

The most recent example of this model comes from an article published in February of 2018 by Pilar Tovar Holguín. Indeed, in her article on decolonizing music education, she argues that Colombian music education has been largely shaped by an elitist whitening (“*blanqueamiento*”) of national music, given that composers such as Uribe Holguín considered “autochthonous rhythms, instruments, and composers as inferior.”<sup>500</sup> In doing so, she inevitably conjures Uribe Holguín’s 1923 lecture to exemplify how the coloniality of knowledge has permeated Colombian musical thought.<sup>501</sup> Recognizing the colonial epistemologies that inform Uribe Holguín’s thought on national music allows Tovar Holguín then to formulate a program from which to decolonize music education in Colombia and Latin America.<sup>502</sup> Tovar Holguín also brings to the fore the fact that Uribe

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<sup>499</sup> “El punto cero de lo científico musical aparece entonces como un nuevo argumento para la legitimación de la actividad musical formal y para la exclusión, al menos en los círculos académicos, de cualquier tipo de música que no estuviera basada en los parámetros teóricos de la música urbana artística europea.”

Hernández Salgar, “Colonialidad y Poscolonialidad Musical En Colombia,” 253.

<sup>500</sup> “En Colombia, a fines del siglo XIX, se tuvo la intención de establecer una música nacional, pero blanqueada. Los ritmos autóctonos, los instrumentos y sus compositores se consideraron inferiores por eruditos de la élite.” Pilar Tovar Holguín, “La música desde el Punto Cero. La colonialidad de la teoría y el análisis musical en la universidad,” *Revista Internacional de Educación Musical* 0, no. 5 (January 18, 2018): 152.

<sup>501</sup> Scholars have dedicated volumes of work to untangling the effects in Latin American cultural production of “coloniality,” a term coined by Anibal Quijano to denote the long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that continue to define culture, labor, and knowledge production. In this view, whereas colonial administrations ended in certain regions of Latin America, coloniality persists in all aspects of postcolonial society, replicating itself through its multiple iterations (e.g., coloniality of knowledge, coloniality of gender, etc.). Walter D. Mignolo conceives of coloniality not as a result of modernity, but as constitutive of it, and thus, refers to coloniality as “the darker side of modernity. Anibal Quijano, “Modernity, Identity, and Utopia in Latin America,” *Boundary 2* 20, no. 3 (October 1, 1993): 140–55, <https://doi.org/10.2307/303346>; Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History; Variation: Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>502</sup> Other authors have tied Uribe Holguín’s lecture to the notion of coloniality, see Hernández Salgar, “Colonialidad y Poscolonialidad Musical En Colombia”; Santamaría Delgado, *El bambuco, los saberes mestizos*

Holguín had studied in the “Paris Conservatory,” another narrative trope that aims to highlight Uribe Holguín’s “foreignness.”<sup>503</sup>

What is interesting to me, however, is that in this line of research (in which, I should clarify, I’m using Santamaría, Salgar, and Tovar as examples of a larger trope), Uribe Holguín not only appears as a subject whose actions presented obstacles to a decolonial path but, most curiously, he has also—perhaps inadvertently—become the embodiment of what Bruno Latour calls *purification*, hybridization’s antithetical yet complementary force in modernity’s epistemological cycle.<sup>504</sup> That is, a cycle between epistemologies of purification, which separate music practices into distinct genres, and epistemologies of hybridization, which seek to link practices that are understood as distinct from each other (see figure below).<sup>505</sup>

To be modern, argues Latour, is to subscribe to a view that directs its attention to either the proliferation of hybrids or to the creation of autonomous spheres of knowledge, but not to both; this allows for a cyclical production of modernity in which paradoxically “the more we forbid ourselves to conceive of hybrids, the more possible interbreeding becomes.”<sup>506</sup> Moreover, as Ochoa Gautier shows, the construction of these music

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*y la academia*, 2007; Escobar, “Un análisis de los supuestos que subyacen a la educación musical universitaria en Colombia.”

<sup>503</sup>As we know, however, while Uribe Holguín did indeed reside in Paris, he studied both at the Schola Cantorum and the Paris Conservatory, and only for a period of three years. In all fairness, Uribe Holguín himself would also reiteratively stress his connection to the Paris as well as to his teacher, Vincent d’Indy. Yet, I believe that Uribe Holguín’s constant references to a French modernist milieu should be read as a strategy to acquire symbolic capital within the context of the early twentieth-century Colombian intellectual landscape and not as a foreignizing mechanism. For a study of how Colombian intellectuals used the reference to Europe as a form of cultural capital. See Martínez and Palacios, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita La referencia a Europa en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900*.

<sup>504</sup> Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 1993.

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid*, 10–12.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

epistemologies involved a third step, one in which, following the formation of autonomous genres (purification), and its subsequent linking (hybridization), a process of hiding the work of purification takes place, rendering “tradition [...] as ‘natural’ and hybridity as constructed.”<sup>507</sup> As Ochoa explains, this process marked indigenous, folk, and popular musics not only as autonomous domains separated from one another, but also, most importantly, as distinct domains from those of what she calls Western art music. This may be what drives Santamaría to conceive of Uribe Holguín as the “complete antithesis of Murillo [Chapull].” Hence, in recent Colombian music historiography, I argue, Uribe Holguín needs to be vested with the power to segregate music into elite and subaltern practices so that hybridity can emerge as a path towards decoloniality. Emancipation, so it seems, necessitates antagonism. But, in doing so, such critique gets caught up in the logic of modernity and in the erasure of its own processes of production. Thereby, when we expose the epistemological sleight of hand by which the work of purification is made invisible, the narrative changes substantially, for it tells us that Uribe Holguín, the so-called Colombian anti-nationalist art composer par excellence, was not the only one involved in the construction of a typology of segregated music practices but also musicians such as Murillo Chapull who were associated with mestizo/a artistic movements such as criollismo.

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<sup>507</sup> Gautier, “Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America,” 810.

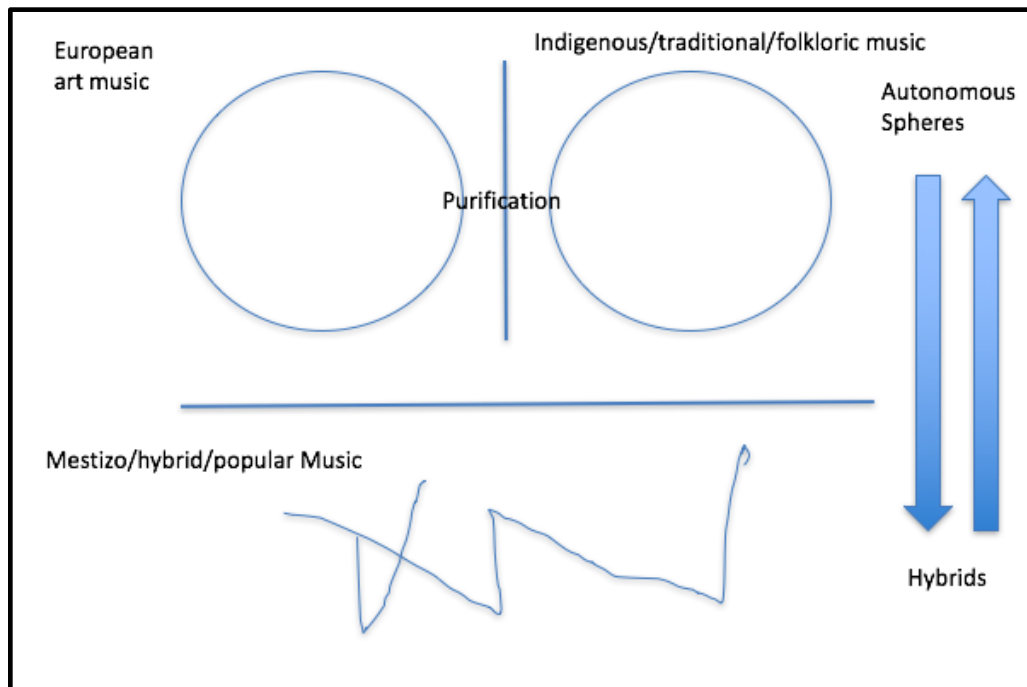


Figure 4.4. Diagram based on Bruno Latour's and Ana María Ochoa Gautier's epistemological model.<sup>508</sup>

To conclude, the figure of Uribe Holguín continues to be mapped onto universalism in Colombian music historiography. Universalism, in this case, more than the symbol of missing fullness, as Laclau defines it, has rather served as a place-holder for Europeanism and coloniality.<sup>509</sup> On the other hand, scholars have associated particularism with so-called subaltern music practices, especially *mestizo/a* musics (read in most accounts as hybrid popular or folkloric music), and have interpreted their development as being disrupted or

<sup>508</sup> Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 11.

<sup>509</sup> As I hope to have shown, there are instances of universalism that are not necessarily cosmopolitan and instances of particularism that can be anti-populist as is the case of Uribe Holguín's discourse against music criollismo.

inhibited by Uribe Holguín's pervading Europeanizing ideology and educational reforms.<sup>510</sup>

In this scenario, “art music” is a category not defined by its characteristics but rather by its exclusion of folkloric and popular musics (an antagonistic relation). The same applies for the terms of “popular music” and “folkloric music,” whose categorization, as Matthew Gelbart explains, responds to a shift in the way of thinking about music in which music historians and theorists began to be concerned more about the ontogeny of musics rather than their function—largely due to the rise of cultural nationalism and the nation-state as the predominant configuration of political legitimation and sovereignty ever since the eighteenth century.<sup>511</sup> Because the idea of the popular became increasingly associated with the rural and with authenticity (and with the “non-Western”), the intellectuals and musicians in charge of entextualizing music practices began to discursively articulate a connection between localized musics and an aesthetics of orality that since then has been tied to a sense of deeply felt national identification (recontextualization). Given the relation between these origin-based music categories and cultural nationalism, we should seek to understand the way music actors and communities use these categories as a way to acquire cultural capital within the context of the nation-state. By the same token, we must acknowledge how this strategic use of origin-based music categories, began to entrap

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<sup>510</sup> By this, I do not mean that a “real” subaltern music exists beyond folklore or popular music nor that the musical practices of marginalized groups have not been left out of the representational machine of the Colombian nation-state and its institutions. I wish, however, to make a distinction between the categorization of these musics as an epistemological practice that replicates what Ana María Ochoa calls a *fonocentrism* of the subaltern (see Introduction) and the way marginalized groups used these categories in strategic ways to resist and to gain political pull in national politics.

<sup>511</sup> For a study of the shift between the categorization of music based on function to one based on origins, see Gelbart, *The Invention of “folk Music” and “Art Music.”*

composers like Uribe Holguín, “forcing them into pigeonholes that frequently confined their aesthetic choices and the reception of their pieces.”<sup>512</sup>

I thus find it important to distinguish between, on the one hand, (1) the performative articulations of antagonism of actors such as Uribe Holguín and Murillo Chapull, who participated in such public performances (in the press, in public conferences, or however broadly these performances could be defined) to articulate a politics of belonging and gain status in the public sphere; and on the other, (2) a historiographical register that inscribes these performative articulations of antagonisms as autonomous musical epistemological domains (art music as distinct from folkloric music). For an antagonism, as Fisher reminds us, “is not to be understood as reducible to a ‘real’ opposition—to the empirical level, where it might be exhausted—but rather, it should be grasped at the symbolic level where social reality is seen to be discursively constructed, and where the social imaginary is constituted.”<sup>513</sup> Studying how said categorizations are constituted through opposition thus demonstrates not only what the presence of antagonisms “*says* at the level of discursive statements, but [also] what it *shows* (regarding the structures that produce those statements).”<sup>514</sup>

Furthermore, such antagonisms, as explored in chapter 2 of this dissertation, take part in turn in the hegemonic operation by which a particular (e.g., Murillo’s *criollismo musical*) attempts to represent a totality (e.g., national music). This operation, as we know,

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<sup>512</sup> Gelbart, 10.

<sup>513</sup> Tony Fisher, “Introduction: Performance and the Tragic politics of the *Agon*,” in Tony Fisher and Eve Katsouraki, eds., *Performing Antagonism: Theatre, Performance & Radical Democracy*, Performance Philosophy (London: Springer Science and Business Media: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 6.

<sup>514</sup> Fisher and Katsouraki, 7.

is contingent upon the antagonizing of another particular, which comes to be articulated as a threat to the identity of the former particular—the identity is articulated precisely through the exclusion of that other, so as to constitute an “us” vs. “them” relationship. This is why Uribe Holguín has come to embody in Colombian music historiography that which prevents national (read: subaltern/particularist) music from developing itself fully to become its own autonomous style: to validate a politics of belonging whose articulation hinges on the notion that a local and vernacular music can germinate on its own, free of foreign influences and cultural impositions.

What is at stake in these recent critiques made against Uribe Holguín, I infer, is the formulation of a politics of recognition of music difference against the practices of the “academy” (embodied in part by Uribe Holguín), and which continues to reify an exclusionary model that valorizes—through a rationalist and evolutionist lens as well as an aesthetic universalism—European art music over everything else, including its canonical notions of music value such as harmonic complexity and textualism (the primacy of the written text over the oral and the aural).<sup>515</sup> However, this approach, whose objective I believe is an attempt to politically empower subordinated groups by valuing previously disqualified music epistemologies as a strategy to decolonize music education, nonetheless ends up favoring an ontological and epistemological approach that privileges an already-constituted and fixed identity. The latter, I believe, is at odds with the pursuit of a decolonial

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<sup>515</sup> For critical survey on how the notion of difference has been treated in music scholarship, especially in regard to the limitations of a politics of recognition that emphasizes “claims for subjective acknowledgment, valuation, and accommodation,” see the Introduction written by Bloechl and Love in Bloechl, Lowe, and Kallberg, *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*.



option and with the formulation of an emancipatory strategy towards the construction of a radical democracy (to put it in Laclau and Mouffe's terms).

## CHAPTER 5

### Guillermo Uribe Holguín: An Indigenista Composer?

In his 1923 lecture, Guillermo Uribe Holguín assessed the musical legacy of the Chibchas, an indigenous community that Colombian elites promoted as being tied to the nation's past.<sup>516</sup> "Chibcha music, which was probably more noise than music, has been lost forever, lost as the treasures of Sugamuxi's temple," declared Uribe Holguín.<sup>517</sup> Stemming from a catastrophic view of the past, which was predominant among Colombian intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century, as I discuss below, Uribe Holguín believed that so-called authentic indigenous musical practices had been completely eradicated during colonial times.<sup>518</sup> What is more, he also contended that indigenous musical practices

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<sup>516</sup> The term Chibcha refers to the language family of the Muisca community, who continue to inhabit the area surrounding Bogotá. However, during Uribe Holguín's time both terms were used interchangeably, and the community was perceived as pre-Hispanic. For the purpose of clarity, I will use the term Chibcha and not Muisca since Uribe Holguín used it in this way. Frank Safford describes the Chibchas/Muiscas in the following manner: "The most renowned of Colombia's indigenous populations at the time of the European conquest were the Muiscas, or, as they are also commonly known, the Chibchas, who dominated the eastern highlands in the current Departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá. The Muiscas occupied an area of roughly 10,000 square miles centering on the intermountain valleys atop the Eastern Cordillera, but also including the upper parts of the mountain flanks below these highland plains. Estimates of their population at the time of the conquest vary—from a low of about 300,000 to a high of 2,000,000, with most guesses hovering about the middle points of 800,000 to 1.2 million." Frank Safford and Marco Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, Latin American Histories (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 22; Also see Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: listening and knowledge in nineteenth-century Colombia*, 2014, 221.

<sup>517</sup> "La música chibcha, que probablemente fue más bien ruido que música, se perdió para siempre, como se perdieron las riquezas del tempo de Sugamuxi." Uribe Holguín, "La Música Nacional," 3; Sugamuxi, according to Ocampo Lopez, was the last chief of the Iraca confederation of the Muisca. Sugamuxi, after the defeat of the Muisca confederacy, converted to Catholicism and took the name of Don Alonso. The temple to which Uribe Holguín is referring to is the famous Sun Temple located in present-day Sogamoso, Boyacá, which was raided and burnt in 1537 by Spanish troops led by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada in his quest to find the legendary El Dorado. The temple, which was initially built as a place of worship to the Sun god Sué and as a necropolis for the powerful caciques (chieftains). The temple was reconstructed by the indigenista anthropologist Eliécer Silva Celis in 1942, sponsored by the Instituto Etnológico Nacional (modern-day Colombian Anthropology Institute). Javier Ocampo López, *Mitos y leyendas indígenas de Colombia* (Bogotá: Plaza & Janes, 2013), 77.

<sup>518</sup> Indeed, Uribe Holguín believed that so-called authentic indigenous music had been eradicated and destroyed by the Spanish during the Conquest. He believed such practices were lost to history because there

had been forgotten because pre-hispanic indigenous communities had failed to record their music into a comprehensible form that could allow for a reconstruction of their musical past.<sup>519</sup> Against this backdrop, Uribe Holguín denied the possibility of a musical marriage between European and pre-hispanic musics during the colony.<sup>520</sup> To him, contemporary indigenous musical expressions were nothing more than a mere cultural imposition of the Spanish. Uribe Holguín thus declared: [W]e must find our musical tradition in the motherland. It is [in Spain] where the treasure of our heritage resides [while] there are those who still strive to find it in the indigenous chaos. There it is, [in Spain], as are the traditions of our language and our visual arts.”<sup>521</sup>

To support this hispanicist contention, Uribe Holguín showed that Colombian popular music could be positively traced back to Spain by resorting to organology as evidence. He stated that while the tiple, a twelve-string guitar used in Andean music ensembles in Colombia, was a “rudimentary and defective” derivation of the Spanish

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was no positive evidence that pointed to an intelligible musical practice that made it through colonial times. Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 3.

<sup>519</sup> It is worth noting that part of the colonizing project, as Diana Taylor argues, was to discredit “autochthonous ways of preserving and communicating historical understanding.” Uribe Holguín’s opinion on indigenous musical practices, in this view, is representative of an epistemological view in which writing comes to stand for meaning itself. Indeed, she shows how the equation “writing =memory/knowledge” continues to function as a governing model for understanding knowledge production in such a way that we have paid less attention to “how the repertoire of embodied practices [stands] as an important system of knowing and transmitting knowledge.” Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 26.

<sup>520</sup> Uribe Holguín wrote: “To what time period can we place the origins our popular music? Undoubtedly to colonial times. All our airs, which are almost entirely dance-related, are probably derivations and decompositions of Spanish airs. Maybe some have an African origin.” (“De cuándo data entonces nuestra música popular? Indudablemente de los tiempo coloniales. Todos estos aires, que son casi en su totalidad de danza, son probablemente derivaciones y descomposiciones de aires españoles. Acaso algunos tengan un origen africano”). Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” 3.

<sup>521</sup> “[N]uestra tradición musical debemos buscarla en la madre Patria Allí está el tesoro que nos pertenece por herencia y que hay quienes se esfuerzan en buscarlo en el cao indígena. Allí está, como también la tradición de la lengua y de las artes plásticas.” Ibid, 5.

guitar, a direct lineage to the “motherland” could be evinced, nonetheless.<sup>522</sup> He also discussed the origins of the Colombian *bandola*, tracing it back to the Spain and Italy; and whereas he recognized its potential to carry a melodic line, he deemed it simply a “mandolin that is tuned in a different way.”<sup>523</sup> In Uribe Holguín’s mind there was thus no space for cultural mixture, for what we now call musical hybridity (at least not with indigeneity; he did accept a possible mixture with African musics, nonetheless); nor was there space for a sonic transculturation of contemporary indigenous expressions into the popular sphere.<sup>524</sup> By understanding Colombian popular music as a degeneration of Spanish practices (a notion that parallels racial discourses of the time, as I discuss below), Uribe Holguín, articulated a line of thinking reminiscent of the view that divided civilization into Europeans and savages during the Enlightenment: he negated the possibility of a temporal simultaneity between the Other (the indigenous) and the otherizing agent (the criollo and mestizo elites). Uribe Holguín therefore clung to the *telos* of history, a proto-developmental view in which the “history of all human societies can be

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<sup>522</sup> “Inclusive como instrumento de acompañamiento, el tiple es rudimentario y deficiente, y no puede siquiera llenar ese papel correctamente.” Ibid, 4.

<sup>523</sup> “La bandola es una mandolina afinada de diferente modo.” Ibid.

<sup>524</sup> Hybridity is a botanical term that refers to the engineered and asexual grafting of two dissimilar entities. Coming out of the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group, however, hybridity has come to dominate the field of postcolonial studies to refer to a type of cultural mixing that is not necessarily biological. This responds to the way native populations in places like India had to deal with cultural mixing as a response to external colonization where, unlike Latin America, there was far less heterosexual intermingling. See Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 93–109; I understand sonic transculturation as defined by Ana María Ochoa, meaning a “‘general restructuring’ of the practices, modes of signification and circulation of the sonic,” one in which “rearticulates the relation between the local, the national and the global through multiple practices that imbue sounds with notions of place-based originality and representativeness in an intensely transnational sphere.” In this sense, the sonic appears as an epistemology that is validated because of its hybridity and its location in-between spheres of influence. See Ana María Ochoa Gautier, “Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America,” *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (November 1, 2006): 816.

reconstructed *a posteriori* following the *same* evolutionary pattern in time,” as Colombian philosopher Santiago Castro-Gómez describes in his analysis of the colonial imaginary of the Viceroyalty of the New Grenade.<sup>525</sup> Indeed, whereas Uribe Holguín did in fact acknowledge the existence of contemporary indigenous societies, in his understanding, they simply belonged to a former stage of humanity—he articulated a temporal asymmetry so to speak.<sup>526</sup>

In what appears to be a turn of events, on April 12, 1940, Uribe Holguín conducted the premiere of his symphonic poem *Bochica* (1939), his first attempt to explicitly represent indigeneity in music.<sup>527</sup> *Bochica*, as I explore in the next chapter, is filled with exoticist and orientalist allusions, which suspiciously parallel the discourse that Uribe Holguín criticized with ardent vehemence in his lecture. In 1943, furthermore, Uribe Holguín completed

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<sup>525</sup> Santiago Castro-Gómez, *La Hybris Del Punto Cero: Ciencia, Raza e Ilustración En la Nueva Granada (1750-1816)*, Segunda edición, Colección Pensar (Bogotá, D.C: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010), 33–37.

<sup>526</sup> A lesser known fact, is that in his infamous lecture Uribe Holguín was echoing the opinion of his close friend Gustavo Santos, preceding Uribe Holguín’s remarks by seven years. In 1916, music critic Gustavo Santos published a piece entitled “De la Música en Colombia” in a local journal in which he espoused his hispanicist beliefs. Santos wrote: “The testimonies of whom have studied the music of our savage regions have finally convinced us of the primitive state of pre-Columbian music; those testimonies agree in that the music of our savages was a form of magic: with chants they cured illnesses, snake bites, with chants they produced rainwater, etc. We have insisted about this rudimentary characteristic of pre-Columbian music. . .and our national music cannot [appropriate] anything from the pre-Columbian music analyzed [above]. This music had no heritage; before flourishing it was drowned, it was shattered by a music that came with the Conquest that was already in the process of developing, and the seeds [of pre-Columbian music] were atrophied like the seeds of a bud-cut flower” (“Los testimonios de quienes han estudiado la música de nuestras regiones aún salvajes acaban de convencernos del estado primitivo de la música precolombina; aquellos testimonios convienen en que la música entre nuestros salvajes era una forma de la magia; con cantos se curan las enfermedades, las mordeduras de las culebras, con cantos se producen las lluvias, etc. Hemos insistido sobre este carácter rudimentario de la música precolombina, porque necesitamos para nuestras conclusiones finales sentar firmes bases que justifiquen nuestras conclusiones parciales; y es la primera de estas que nuestra música nacional no puede esperar nada de la música precolombiana analizada rápidamente en los párrafos anteriores. Esta no tuvo herencia; apenas en botón fue ahogada, fue tronchada por una música en plena desarrollo que trajo la Conquista, y sus semillas se atrofiaron como las de una flor cortada en capullo”). Gustavo Santos, “De la Música en Colombia” *Textos Sobre Música y Folklore*, 293.

<sup>527</sup> *Bochica* is the subject of chapter 6 of this dissertation. Uribe Holguín completed *Bochica* on September 6, 1939. The date can be found in the last page of the original manuscript of *Bochica* held at the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín in Bogotá, Colombia.

what he considered as his magnum opus: his opera *Furatena*, whose plot functions as an ode to *mestizaje*, a master narrative of national identity based on the notion of racial and cultural mixing. *Furatena* revolves around the character of Furatena, an indigenous chieftess (leader of the Muzos tribe), who falls in love with a Spanish conquistador, Don Álvaro, and whose sexual and romantic union Uribe Holguín frames as the beginning of the "Colombian race."<sup>528</sup> Two decades later, Uribe Holguín even chose another one of his indigenous-inspired works, *Ceremonia Indígena* (1959), to represent Colombian music at a series of concerts organized by Colombian conductor Guillermo Espinosa in Washington D.C. How can we explain Uribe Holguín's apparent cultural metamorphosis? Was Colombia's most notorious Europeanizing composer attempting to be absolved of his anti-nationalist sins?

In this chapter, I explore Uribe Holguín's heretofore under-examined relationship with indigeneity. I aim to show the complicated cultural and political landscape in which Colombian, non-indigenous, elite musicians constructed an indigenous imaginary during the first half of the twentieth century. First, I discuss the place of indigeneity in the Colombian racial imaginary during the late nineteenth-century and the early twentieth-century. I then assess *indigenismo* in Latin America at large, an important cultural movement centered around the revindication of indigeneity in national narratives.<sup>529</sup> I conclude the chapter by presenting an analytical model on how to understand Uribe Holguín's

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<sup>528</sup> *Furatena*, I believe demands a lengthy study, which I do not pursue in this dissertation. For more information on *Furatena* see Luis Fernando Restrepo, "El inmerecido olvido de la ópera *Furatena* de Guillermo Uribe Holguín," *pensamiento palabra y obra* 16, no. 16 (2016).

<sup>529</sup> In the next chapter, I discuss *indigenismo* in Colombia and its institutionalization during the early 1940s.

indigenista works as both instances of self-identification and self-exoticization. To do this, I point to Uribe Holguín's later embracement of indigenismo, and discuss the publication history Uribe Holguín's *Ceremonia Indígena*.

### **Indigeneity and Racial formations in Nineteenth-Century Colombia**

Just as its geographical location, Colombia, in matters of racial politics, is located somewhere between Mexico and Argentina. Colombian racial politics during the early twentieth century were informed by two distinct spheres of influence: on the one hand, they owe to the intellectual and political work of Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos, and, on the other, they drew upon Argentine eugenics. Before tackling these intellectual discourses, however, allow me to first locate indigeneity within nineteenth-century Colombian racial politics.<sup>530</sup>

Akin to Mexico and Peru, where nationalist discourses revolved around the incorporation of pre-hispanic culture into their national narrative, national discourse regarding indigeneity in Colombia first developed from the impulse of the state elites to establish a historical continuity to connect the republican present to a pre-Columbian past. To recall the often-cited Benedict Anderson: “when newly formed nation-states are widely

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<sup>530</sup> Following Peter Wade, I understand the term race here as the “changing categories and concepts created primarily by Europeans as a result of their contact with, and subordination of, non-European peoples through colonialism and imperialism.” These categories and concepts encompassed a combination of physical, class, gender, sexual, and cultural differences that were indexed into “racial signifiers” [that] came to bear a vast load of social and cultural meaning organized primarily by hierarchies of labor exploitation, power and value.” Because the meaning of these racial hierarchies and categories have varied over time and space, Wade recommends approaching the study of race in Colombia by focusing not on racial identities as such but instead on *racialized* identifications (i.e., the processes by which people identify with naturalized racial categories)—a method that I use throughout this chapter. Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 14.

conceded to be ‘new’ and ‘historical,’ the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and still, more importantly, glide into a limitless future.”<sup>531</sup>

Late nineteenth-century Colombian nationalist movements mythicized an indigenous past, and by extension, exoticized an indigenous present. Oscar Guarín Martínez understands this construction of a linear temporality within the context of the nation-state as “a process of objectification of alterity, [which] established a series of limiting factors, both temporal and spatial, to draw difference.”<sup>532</sup> As Guarín Martínez explains, state elites of this time, just as Uribe Holguín would replicate later in his 1923 lecture, articulated a temporal asymmetry in which “the past was indigenized, but the present was exclusively republican.”<sup>533</sup> Cristóbal Gnecco further explains that the construction of alterity by constructing temporality in such a way results from two processes that went hand-in-hand: diffusionism and catastrophism. The latter was a discourse that naturalized a view of a pre-hispanic past as diffuse and “without causality, without linearity, and without chronology.”<sup>534</sup> Catastrophism, on the other hand, presupposed a complete disintegration, in both time and space, of pre-Hispanic cultures.<sup>535</sup> Absent of a surviving and “authentic” indigenous culture, and lacking a strong, particularist project of the nation,

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<sup>531</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 11.

<sup>532</sup> "La fijación de dicho pasado implicó un proceso de objetivación de dicha alteridad y estableció una serie de límites tanto temporales como espaciales para trazar la diferencia." Oscar Hernando Guarín Martínez, "La civilización chibcha y la construcción de la nación neogranadina." *Universitas Humanística (Bogotá)*, no. 70, 217.

<sup>533</sup> "El pasado se indigenizó, pero el presente fue exclusivamente republicano, de esta manera se justificó su existencia y se le atribuyeron una serie de características y de razones que daban cuenta de su proceso." *Ibid.*

<sup>534</sup> "...un pasado sin causalidad, sin linealidad, sin cronología" Cristóbal Gnecco, "La Indigenización de las Arqueologías Nacionales," *Convergencia Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, no. 27 (January 1, 2002): 135.

<sup>535</sup> Gnecco, 137–38.



the notion of civilization, now in the hands of the new criollo state elites (who opposed the Spanish crown but who saw themselves as the inheritors of European culture), remained closely tied to Pan-Hispanic culture.<sup>536</sup> In the eyes of the nineteenth-century Colombian elite, in other words, Hispanicism posed as the *sole* form of national imaginary.

Colombian intellectuals of the time therefore transformed the violence of the Spanish conquest and colonial practices into an historical argument to justify their calling as saviors and leaders of the newly-formed Colombian nation. By the same token, these intellectuals imbued this historical argument into ethnological descriptions of indigenous communities, portraying indigenous peoples as belonging to a degraded race that had lost its memory.<sup>537</sup> In 1863, for instance, José María Samper, a prominent intellectual of the mid-nineteenth century, stated that the Conquest was an “epopee in which the fight of the malicious and cruel civilization against the innocent, weak and trustful barbarians can be evinced.”<sup>538</sup> In his view, the few surviving indigenous communities either “degraded and unfortunately became either stupefied or fled from civilization going back to a wild life.”<sup>539</sup>

In establishing an historical link to an immemorial past, late nineteenth-century state elites conveniently selected the Chibcha civilization to serve as the nation’s past, since they had inhabited the same territory later occupied by Andean criollos themselves. This

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<sup>536</sup> As I argued in previous chapters, particularist projects of the nation gained strength until the late 1920s, when the industrialization and modernization allowed and required an imagined community to be constructed, which was based on particularist-nationalist signifiers.

<sup>537</sup> Guarín Martínez, “La civilización chibcha y la construcción de la nación neogranadina,” 229.

<sup>538</sup> “[La Conquista había sido] una epopeya en que se ve la lucha de la civilización maliciosa y cruel contra la barbarie inocente, débil y confiada.” José María Samper quoted in Guarín Martínez, 218.

<sup>539</sup> “Donde no fueron totalmente aniquilados, gracias a la bondad de los climas y a los hábitos tradicionales de labor, o se degradaron y embrutecieron lastimosamente o desertaron de la civilización volviendo a la vida salvaje, para sucumbir más tarde” Samper quoted in Guarín Martínez, 218; I explain the notion of racial degeneration below.

avored Andean subjectivities over coastal or Amazonian cultures, and reified centralism as a naturalized state structure, especially after the Constitution of 1886, as explained in the introduction to this dissertation. Colombia's racial topography was thus constructed from a centralized perspective, which Peter Wade describes as follows:

[The] Pacific litoral was black, the Caribbean coastal region was highly mixed, with significant black and indigenous people, the jungles of the Orinoco and Amazon basins beyond the eastern cordillera were largely populated by native Americans and missionaries, while the interior of the country was mainly white and mestizo with some indigenous populations in isolated areas and some black and mulatto people in particular areas of the inter-Andean valleys. The interior of the country, especially in its urban centers, was the focus of power, wealth, "civilization," and "whiteness."<sup>540</sup>

In this sense, indigenous communities inhabiting coastal areas were relegated to a subordinate position in relation to Andean peoples. Furthermore, late nineteenth-century Colombian intellectuals granted the Chibchas a higher degree of civilization, instilling Andean indigeneity with a notion of nobility, and separating it from traits that would deem them barbaric. This process of eliminating barbarism from pre-Hispanic narratives, as Leonora Saavedra writes, was an "indispensable requisite" to transform a national past into a "symbol of power and high civilization, assimilating [the past] to so-called universal principles, such as sovereignty and heroism."<sup>541</sup> On the other hand, Colombian intellectuals described coastal pre-hispanic civilizations, such as the Caribes, as socially backward and barbaric tribes who engaged in acts such as anthropophagy. The naturalization of this state structure was such that even intellectuals from provinces located on Colombia's cultural

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<sup>540</sup> Wade, 31.

<sup>541</sup> "Para transformar el pasado prehispánico en pasado nacional es requisito indispensable eliminar en lo posible las connotaciones del mundo prehispánico que lo identifican con la barbarie, y transformarlo en vez en símbolo de poder y alta civilización, asimilándolo a los llamados principios universales, como la soberanía y el heroísmo." Saavedra, "El nuevo pasado mexicano," 84.

periphery replicated this trope. For instance, in 1889, historian Belisario Palacios, in his textbook *Apuntaciones historico-geográficas de la actual Provincia de Cali* (Historical-Geographical Notes on the Current Province of Cali), stated the following about pre-Hispanic cultures in Colombia:

The moment when the Divine Providence ordered the extermination of the American aboriginals had arrived; [the aboriginals] found themselves devoted to the most inept idolatry, but also [devoted] to all kinds of vices and felonies: the tribes hated and annihilated themselves, reciprocally. With the exception of the Indians of Cundinamarca<sup>542</sup> who were relatively civilized, the rest were murderers, traitors, thieves, and lazy.<sup>543</sup>

Indeed, it is through the absolute negation of an indigenous present that Colombian nineteenth-century elites began to discursively construct indigeneity as lacking autonomy. Yet, they deemed the historicization of an indigenous past into national history as necessary to articulate claims of sovereignty and nationhood. This historiographical practice would eventually inspire the paternalistic and populist cultural policies of the *República Liberal*, even prompting the production of salvage ethnographies, fearing that these indigenous cultural expressions would disappear without state intervention and preservation.<sup>544</sup> I find worth mentioning that during the late-nineteenth century, the Colombian state expropriated indigenous territories, denying indigenous communities any chances of political autonomy

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<sup>542</sup> Cundinamarca is the region where Bogotá is located.

<sup>543</sup> “Llegaba el momento en que la Providencia Divina dispuso el exterminio de los aborígenes de América; quienes no sólo se hallaban entregados á la mas torpe idolatría, sino también a toda clase de vicios y delitos: las tribus se odiaban y se aniquilaban recíprocamente. Exceptuando los indios de Cundinamarca relativamente civilizados, los demás eran asesinos, traidores, ladrones y perezosos.” Belisario Palacios quoted in Carl Henrik Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado: indígenas y pensamiento criollo en Colombia y Venezuela* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Universidad de los Andes : Ediciones Uniandes, 2009), Tomo II, 4.

<sup>544</sup> It is worth considering how this has also shaped recent ideas on cultural heritage that appeal to a sense of urgency in protecting cultural expressions deemed as “folkloric” or “traditional.” For a well-articulated discussion on this matter, see Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 16–33.

by dissolving the few existing *resguardos* (indigenous reservations) of the time.<sup>545</sup> It was not until 1991—after two decades of indigenous mobilization—when the Colombian National Constituent Assembly recognized indigenous territorial integrity and granted self-governance of indigenous *resguardos*. The constitution of 1991 also secured a direct political participation of indigenous communities in state affairs, though only reserving two senate seats for indigenous communities.<sup>546</sup>

### ***Mestizaje* and Eugenics in Early Twentieth-Century Colombia**

During the first decades of the twentieth century, indigeneity—that is, as an imaginary of the non-elites in Colombia took center stage—ceased to be just a corollary of dispersed nationalist agendas. What was later labelled as the “problem of the Indian” (how indigenous peoples ought to be included within the nation-state), was intimately connected to a number of debates on miscegenation and race that were held in the public sphere. The subjects involved in these debates were active cultural managers who had a hand in shaping state policies, prompting the institutionalization of indigenismo later in the 1940s.

These debates were also directly tied to the increasing popularity of hereditary-based pathology theories that had gained momentum in the Western hemisphere during

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<sup>545</sup> Guarín Martínez, 220-221.

<sup>546</sup> James Sanders, “Belonging to the Great Granadan Family: Partisan Struggle and the Construction of Indigenous Identity and Politics in Southwestern Colombia, 1849–1890,” in Nancy P Appelbaum, *Race & Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 56.

the second half of the nineteenth century. Darwinism,<sup>547</sup> Lamarckism,<sup>548</sup> Spencerianism,<sup>549</sup> and the doctrines of Francis Galton<sup>550</sup> took the spotlight in Colombian intellectual circles during this time, being selectively reconfigured to fit local milieus, where these ideas were accepted, contended, or modified. Hereditary theories in Colombia eventually permeated matters of public policy in the early twentieth century, finding their way to studies surrounding indigenous musical practices carried out during the first half of the twentieth century, as I explain in the next chapter. These debates about race and indigeneity, however, were first held in the medical field, which during the early twentieth century became the legitimized discipline in addressing emerging social issues. Indeed, Daniel Díaz argues that medical and hygienic strategies were carried out by the Colombian government

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<sup>547</sup> As Langebaek-Rueda explains, even though Charles Darwin did posit that all civilized nations had been barbaric in their past, he did not assert that civilization was the result of racial struggle. However, in Colombia, Darwinian thought was not as predominant as Spencerianism, although criollos used his ideas to explain the different degrees of evolution they ascribed to themselves and to their “internal others.” Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 29–30.

<sup>548</sup> Lamarckism was an early-nineteenth-century theory of “transformism,” attributed to the French Biologist Jean Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet (the chevalier of Lamarck). Leys Stepan describes Lamarckism as a “radical theory of evolution of successive forms of species,” where evolution is “driven by a slow, purposeful adaptation to changes in the environment.” Interest in Lamarckism was renewed in the early twentieth-century (Stepan calls it Neo-Lamarckism), as it offered a reasonable alternative to the more chaotic Darwinian model of random variation and natural selection. Nancy Stepan, *“The Hour of Eugenics”:* *Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 68–70.

<sup>549</sup> According to Langebaek Rueda, the ideas of Herbert Spencer were favored in Colombia. Intellectuals were attracted to the notion of progress attached to his theory of universal evolution, in which all societies, species, and even the solar system, evolved from simple organisms to more complex ones and from the homogenous to the heterogeneous. Langebaek Rueda explains the myriad of ways in which Colombian intellectuals grappled with both Darwinian and Spencerian thought, from laic interpretations to ones to religious connotations in which humanity evolved towards Christian values. This justified why white Europeans occupied a higher position in the social ladder. Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 28–38.

<sup>550</sup> Francis Galton, the “father” of eugenics, set to prove that human ability was a function of heredity and not education, and hence, proposed to produce a highly gifted race through selective human breeding and control over human reproduction. In the nineteenth-century, Galton’s ideas were not readily accepted (Darwin was himself reluctant but found his ideas intriguing), but with the economic growth and anxieties brought by industrialization in the last decades and into the new century, eugenics became established as a legitimate field of scientific inquiry. Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 22–24.

at a state-level to cope with rapid urbanization.<sup>551</sup> Díaz ties these processes of early twentieth-century Colombian urbanization to foreign economic influx:

During the first three decades of the XX century, Colombia started to undergo industrialization thanks to the influx of foreign capital (North-American), and particularly, to the compensation for the theft of the Panama Canal, [also] known as the “*Danza de los Millones*” (The Dance of the Millions), and to the loans from the United States, which stimulated the construction of new roads, railways, aqueducts, pavements, and high levels of public investment. Of course, this provoked an accelerated growth in certain urban nuclei because of the influx of labor; by the beginning of the twentieth century Bogotá had a population of approximately 121,000 inhabitants, by the thirties the number had increased to 330,000 people.<sup>552</sup>

Because of this rapid growth, medicine, but especially hygiene, became the biopolitical tools par excellence during the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>553</sup> Nancy Leys Stepan details as well how the increasing role of medicine in state affairs in the early twentieth century was directly tied to bacteriology.<sup>554</sup> Disease control quickly became a state-funded venture that if not tackled nation-wide would become an impediment for national modernization, posing as an obstacle to the construction of an imaginary of progress.

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<sup>551</sup> Daniel Díaz, "Raza, pueblo y pobres: Las tres estrategias biopolíticas del siglo xx en Colombia (1873–1962) Santiago Castro-Gómez and Eduardo Restrepo, eds., *Genealogías de la colombianidad: formaciones discursivas y tecnologías de gobierno en los siglos XIX y XX* (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2008), 46.

<sup>552</sup> “Durante las tres primeras décadas del siglo XX, Colombia comenzó a industrializarse gracias a la afluencia de capitales extranjeros (norteamericanos), y particularmente, a la indemnización por el robo del Canal de Panamá conocida como “La Danza de los Millones” de la década del veinte, y a los empréstitos de Estados Unidos, con lo que se estimuló la construcción de nuevas carreteras, ferrocarriles, acueductos, pavimentos, y altos niveles de inversión pública. Desde luego, esto provocó el crecimiento acelerado de ciertos núcleos urbanos por la afluencia de nueva mano de obra; para comienzos del siglo Bogotá contaba con alrededor de 121,000 habitantes, para los años treinta la cifra había ascendido a ls 33,000.” Díaz in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 46.

<sup>553</sup> Jorge Uribe Vergara traces hygiene in Colombian public policy starting in 1914 with the creation of a Council of Public Health (Consejo Superior de Sanidad), which would later become part of the Ministry of Education in 1928, and finally institutionalized in 1932 as the National Department of Hygiene and Public Assistance. See Jorge Uribe Vergara, "Sociología biológica, eugenesia, y biotipología en Colombia y Argentina (1918–1939) Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 216.

<sup>554</sup> As Stepan writes: “For the first time, it appeared that doctors could actually begin to do something about the epidemic and endemic diseases that plagued urban and rural populations.” Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 42.

Indeed, hygienists and physicians not only addressed problems of biological order, but turned towards a socio-biological praxis that mapped diseases to hereditary racial traits: diseases were not just the result of outside epidemics, but also sprung from a racial group's genetic make-up. Neo-Lamarckianism, an early-twentieth-century scientific stance that saw behavioral traits as hereditary (based on Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's evolutionary theory), took over medical debates. This turned the Colombian intellectual gaze of the early twentieth-century towards discourses of racial degeneration and along with it a movement "racial improvement" known as eugenics.<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> Stepan describes the appeal of Lamarckian thought to Latin American scientists of the early twentieth century as linked to the idea that Lamarckian evolution and not Darwinian evolution "was the result not of blind material forces but of changed brought about by will and choice" in which Lamarckian ideas "justified the belief that human effort had meaning, that improvements acquired in an individual's lifetime could be handed on genetically, that progress could occur. Stepan, 74.

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MUNDO AL DIA

# LA HIGIENE ES UNA CIENCIA MODERNA

## LA GRUZ ROJA ES HOY LA MAS BENEFICA DE LAS INSTITUCIONES

La organización de la higiene es relativamente reciente. En tiempos pasados, cuando ocurrían epidemias, se tomaban medidas aisladas respecto a la limpieza o a la potabilidad de las aguas, según las ideas y las concepciones que entonces se tenían sobre la materia, hasta que conchaba una vez que la epidemia había desaparecido.

Pero en el año de 1848 cuando se dieron los primeros pasos serios sobre el particular y se creyeron comités departamentales de higiene y comisiones de lugares insalubres. Desde esa época se hizo patente el deber que tienen los poderes públicos de asegurar la protección de los miembros de la comunidad, contra las influencias nocivas, ya vivas, de la comunidad misma o de fuera; deber tan estrecho para ellos como el de asegurar el orden público.

Debido a los portuneros decaídos de Pasteur, —este es el nombre que se dio a la teoría de la generación espontánea, fue de la bacteriología y del impulso extraordinario a las ciencias biológicas,— la higiene ensanchó su radio de acción, pues de privada, de individual que hasta entonces era, limpió, día por día, a ser higiene pública y una higiene social.

Al revelar la causa de las enfermedades transmissibles, que, como se sabe, son producidas por seres materiales que se pueden seguir y detener en sus diversas evoluciones y migraciones a través del medio ambiente, aparece más clara aún la obligación que tienen las autoridades de prevenir la transmisión del agente morboso y de proteger con medidas adecuadas contra la diseminación del germen.

La necesidad de la intervención de los poderes públicos en materia de higiene, ya no se niega, al menos teóricamente. Por desgracia, cuando se trata de su aplicación, encuentra a veces resistencias, aun de autoridades y de personas llamadas a implantarla.

En los diversos países y de cambiar ideas respecto a las epidemias y a las epidemias que ocurren o se previenen en ellas; se firman Convenciones tendientes a restringir el abuso de los narcóticos; las instituciones tan beneficiosas como la Fundación Rockefeller, gastan sus recursos y aprovechan los conocimientos de especialistas de la más mundial, por salvar a millares de personas de los estragos de la asneña tropical, de la fiebre amarilla, de la peste bubónica, del paludismo, de la fiebre recurrente, de la fiebre intero-hemorrágica y de muchas otras enfermedades, y esto se hace, no ya por los poderes públicos, sino por filántropos, que han vivido en su ayuda, de una manera muy humanitaria.

Afortunadamente, entre nosotros principia a hacerse sentir esta iniciativa particular, en favor de la higiene y de la asistencia pública, de que das testimonio los centros los asilos, hospitales, bacterioscopios, centros de beneficencia y demás instituciones sociales que han nacido, crecen y prosperan mediante el impulso que le han comunicado, distinguidos ciudadanos y caballeros y virtuosas damas.

Una institución que trabaja con grande entusiasmo, que ha prestado y continúa prestando innumerosos servicios a la sociedad y que ya es acreedora a la gratitud pública es la Cruz Roja Colombiana. Mediante su intervención, se han fundado centros gratuitos, que, como se sabe, son considerados hoy como la base de la asistencia pública; tres salas en las que se han organizado en diversos barrios y están dando magnífico resultado; buen número de ambulancias se han enviado a poblaciones azotadas por alguna calamidad y, como auxiliar poderosísimo en el desenvolvimiento de sus prioritarias actividades, ha surgido la institución de las enfermeras voluntarias.

Estas enfermeras son unidades valiosísimas, nacidas al impulso de la lucha contra la tuberculosis y organizadas definitivamente como factores de primer orden en el ramo de higiene y de asistencia pública.

La función esencial de estas enfermeras consiste en mantenerse en relación constante y activa con las diversas obras de la misma institución y con las obras de acción social y de beneficencia, dependientes de otras entidades con el fin de mantenerse siempre alerta para poder prestar servicios; también deben velar por la educación higiénica de los niños y de sus familias; proporcionar la salud de los enfermos; distribuir oportunos y convenientes socorros en especie o en dinero; y velar por que las prescripciones médicas se cumplan. En consecuencia, esencialmente social, es esta la necesidad de que sean especialmente instruidas en sus deberes y moralidad. Para esto se ocupan, garantías particularmente de instrucción, capacitación de sus deberes y moralidad. Para cumplir estas condiciones y condiciones las enfermeras, en grado especial, las enfermeras voluntarias de la Cruz Roja Nacional.

Ningún elogio mejor podemos hacer de esta organización, que no producir las siguientes palabras de la Honorable Magistrada, Presidenta del Comité Consultivo de las enfermeras de la Liga:

—“Me parece —(X)—, decía en ocasión reciente— que este es el punto desde donde las sociedades de la Cruz Roja del mundo entero, unidas por la Liga, venían predicando la lucha contra la enfermedad por la propagación de los gérmenes, la lucha contra los nuevos métodos de higiene, la lucha contra todos los males que afligen a la infancia, por la demostración de las maneras racionales de cuidar a los lactantes, de que a los pequeños y de guiar a los escolares de salud estos.

—“Sea las misérrimas de la Cruz Roja y gracias a nuestra causa y vuestras elevadas cualidades morales, el mensaje de que nada perdurará será transmitido hasta los confines de la tierra.”

(X) Suplemento ilustrado del número de octubre de 1926, de la Revista “Por la Salud”.

Pablo Julio Barón  
Director Municipal de Higiene

**BACALAO NYAL**  
—WASA—

son certificados  
de mayor circulación en  
Colombia. Todas sus tiradas  
de acción social y de beneficencia,  
“MUNDO AL DIA” es el día

1927



Doctor Pablo Julio Barón

Pue fortuna, el público y la prensa se van dando cuenta cada vez de la importancia y utilidad de este labor, pues han podido apreciar los beneficios resultados obtenidos en otros países, en donde se ha visto la que puede obtenerse de una higiene pública bien organizada y con personal y elementos suficientes.

Periodicamente se reúnen Conferencias Sanitarias con el fin de discutir los servicios de higiene

Figure 5.1. “Hygiene is a Modern Science,” written by then Director of Municipal Hygiene, Pablo Julio Barón (pictured). Published on January 15, 1927, in the *Mundo al Día* magazine, where the polemic on national music took place.<sup>556</sup>

The “medicalization of the social field,” as Díaz labels it, became legitimized when biological determinism, on the one hand, began to be understood as an issue of public health, and, on the other, intellectuals began to treat eugenics as an intellectual discourse that could potentially show the nation as being resolutely modern within a larger

<sup>556</sup> In this article, Barón presents a brief history of hygiene, beginning in 1848, tying it to the early history of the Red Cross.



transnational sphere.<sup>557</sup> In this light, Stepan argues that “the history of eugenics in [Latin America] must be seen as part of a generalized endorsement of science, as a sign of cultural modernity, and a means by which the various countries of Latin America could emerge as powerful actors on the world scene.”<sup>558</sup> Invested in participating in cultural modernity by taking part in the scientific discourse of the time, Colombian physicians sought to get rid of what they believed to be atavistic hereditary traits in the nation’s racial make-up, becoming a primordial public concern even over issues of hygiene and education. For instance, Miguel Jiménez de López and Luis López de Mesa, two prominent physicians and eugenicists, who participated actively in public debates on race and shaped public policy, called during this time for a necessary “infusion of fresh and vigorous blood into [the Colombian] social organism.”<sup>559</sup> Colombian eugenics, however, as I mentioned above, were intimately tied to emergence of eugenics in Argentina. Jiménez de López’s and López de Mesa’s gaze became fixed in Buenos Aires, where eugenics was institutionalized early in the game, only ten years after the founding of the British Eugenics Society, the first eugenics society to appear in the world.<sup>560</sup>

In Argentina, as Stepan explains, eugenics was first linked to secular and left-wing anarchist groups, but quickly moved to a more Conservative and Catholic branch whose aim was to take eugenics to a state-wide level. This prompted the creation of the Argentine Eugenics Committee in 1914 and the Argentine Eugenics society in 1918, both founded by

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<sup>557</sup> Díaz in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad*, 54.

<sup>558</sup> Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 40.

<sup>559</sup> “Una infusión de sangre fresca y vigorosa en nuestro organismo social.” Miguel Jiménez de López quoted in Díaz, Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad*, 2008, 55.

<sup>560</sup> Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 36.

Victor Delfino.<sup>561</sup> Delfino, who had attended the First International Congress of Eugenics in London in 1912, was a key figure in increasing the institutional power of eugenics in Argentina. Following the Great Depression, which brought about nationalist conceptions of identity that sought to defend “true” *Argentinidad* in the light of increasing racial mixing with non-desired immigrant populations, the Argentine Association of Biotypology, Eugenics, and Social Medicine was founded.<sup>562</sup> This association, as Stepan recounts, aimed to study issues associated with “the notion of a national mosaic, [which threatened] a biological unity and the prospects of a eugenic nationality.”<sup>563</sup> Under the guide of this association, which became one of the largest medical institutions in this nation, Argentine immigration laws became tougher on “non-Latin” immigrants, especially Jewish people, and “Asian” or “Oriental” races such as Syrian and Lebanese people.<sup>564</sup> As eugenics and biotypology gained national prominence, the myth of a “white” Argentina gained notoriety, both at a national and international level. And Colombian scientists were certainly taking note, as I discuss below.

This heightened emphasis on *Latinidad* came about from Argentina’s intimate connection with Italian Fascism (and not German Nazism), which became ingrained in Argentine scientific thought, prompting institutional and ideological ties between Argentina and Italy.<sup>565</sup> These ties were further intensified following a military coup in

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<sup>561</sup> Ibid, 58.

<sup>562</sup> Biotypology was built on the idea of preventing human abnormalities by dividing humans into types by listing their illnesses and psychological make up. Pende, as Stepan argues, believed that by “means of an inventory of human biotypes in a population, the biological resources of a nation could be harnessed efficiently to the goals of the state.” Stepan notes that biotypology not only aimed to classify human beings into their “correct” types but looked to control their physical, psychic, and sexual development. Ibid, 60.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid, 142.

<sup>565</sup> Stepan, 140.

Argentina led by José Felix Uriburu in 1930. Uriburu's government brought the Italian scientist Nicola Pende (who positioned biotypology as an intellectual and scientific discipline) to help guide the development of biotypology in Argentina. The Uriburu administration even paid for the studies in Italy of two Argentine doctors interested in biotypology, Arturo Rossi and Octavio López. This scientific exchange had immediate cultural effects in Argentina's proposed racial model for the nation, placing Latinidad above Teutonism. Italy, then under Mussolini's rule, saw their civilization as being Mediterranean or "Latin," linking the "ancient world of Rome with the present, and embracing and joining together all people of Latin descent, wherever they were found."<sup>566</sup> In Argentina, the stress put on Latinidad (and with it the "Latin spirit"), despite an increasing anti-foreign sentiment, brought about a sort of Hispanic nostalgia. The cultural proximity to Italy also inspired a number of Argentine scientists to denounce Nazi ideology while upholding Italian Fascism.<sup>567</sup> As Stepan writes:

By the 1930s, it was clear to the conservative eugenisists and biotypologists that Argentine's identity was going to be Latin, not Anglo-Saxon. A positive assessment of this Latin identity was under way, in opposition to the "marginal" others migrating to the cities from the Argentine countryside and from abroad. This reassessment took several forms—a revival of interest in national history, nostalgia for the Hispanic cultural roots, insistence of the Indian as a romantic element of Argentine's past. The eugenisists' contribution to the nationalist movement was to give biological currency to the idea of Latinity and thereby new life to scientific racism.<sup>568</sup>

Latinidad and Hispanicism, in the sense, stood as cultural repositories from which Argentine intellectuals drew upon to lessen the fear of national disintegration in the light of

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<sup>566</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid, 139–45.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid, 141.

massive immigration from subjects who they perceived could dilute the national identity of the country. Yet, anti-Semitism and racist ideologies still flourished. The former, interestingly, surfaced not in addressing race explicitly but rather indirectly through cultural references to other ethnic and racial communities that Argentines deemed unassimilable. Argentine intellectuals, Stepan recounts, devalued Jewish people by condemning “‘Russian,’ ‘Eastern, or ‘Oriental’ language, customs and habits.”<sup>569</sup> Explicit demonstrations of anti-Semitism in the Argentine eugenics circles, however, were rare.<sup>570</sup> These were rather made through references to Jewish culture as a way to uphold Catholic Latinidad. This is very similar to the way Uribe Holguín referenced d’Indy’s critique of Jewish music (let us recall that d’Indy was a fervent defender of the “Latin spirit”), and which had him against the ropes during the 1940s. By the same token, the culturalist Latin American brand of anti-Semitism via Latinidad found its way into ideas about indigeneity’s hereditary make-up, which as I explain in the next chapter, derived in part from orientalist theories that ascribed the origins of indigeneity in the Americas to a biblical migration of ancient Semitic tribes.

Based on Argentine eugenics-derived immigration policies, Colombian elites proposed immigration policies to be carried out at a national level, but these failed to materialize, as Uribe Vergara details.<sup>571</sup> Among these failed policies, for instance, Jiménez de López, inspired by early Argentine immigration policies, proposed in 1918 to bring European subjects to Colombia to improve racial formations in Colombia. Jiménez de

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<sup>569</sup> Stepan, 143.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid, 143–44.

<sup>571</sup> Uribe Vergara in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad*, 219.

López' immigration initiative operated based on four parameters: “1) that the races subject to breeding are not unequal in number; 2) that they do not differ too much on their traits; 3) that they are both subject for a long time under the same environmental conditions; 4) that one of the races presents organic and psychological traits able to compensate for the deficiencies of the race whose improvement is desired.”<sup>572</sup> This translated into a desire to bring in immigrants from Europe, but only from North and Central European nations.<sup>573</sup> For López de Meza, on the other hand, who ascribed to a “harder” line of eugenics, immigration took anti-Semitic undertones. He argued that to prevent “old vices” like alcoholism to be imported into the country, Semitic peoples should not be considered for immigration.<sup>574</sup> In fact, following the Second World War, it was López de Meza himself (at the time serving as Minister of Foreign affairs during the liberal administration of Eduardo Santos), who opposed Jewish immigration in Colombia, making it difficult for European Jewish immigrants to enter the country.<sup>575</sup>

López de Meza saw in immigration a path to propel the Colombian nation forward as he considered Colombia to be young and immature in comparison to the historical

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<sup>572</sup> “1) que las razas sometidas al cruce no sean muy desiguales numéricamente; 2) que no difieran demasiado en sus caracteres, y 3) que estén sometidas por largo tiempo a idénticas condiciones ambientales; 4) que una de las razas presente caracteres orgánicos y psicológicos capaces de compensar las deficiencias de aquella que se quiere mejorar.” Jiménez de López quoted in Uribe Vergara, Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 212.

<sup>573</sup> Uribe Vergara Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 213.

<sup>574</sup> The etiology of alcoholism, as Stepan explains, was associated with poverty at the time, though it was debated if poverty was the result or the cause of alcoholism. During this time, the Colombian state banned the consumption of chicha, a drink made out of corn regularly consumed by indigenous communities in the Andes. Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 43.

<sup>575</sup> López de Meza's anti-Semitic policies had profound effects on the cultural life of Colombia. As I explained in this previous chapter, Uribe Holguín himself faced a backlash for adhering to such view. Uribe Vergara in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad*, 213.

process that Europe had already undergone (i.e., a discourse of national prolepsis).<sup>576</sup> Immigration was thus a way to speed up those processes, or to at least remove the obstacles impeding racial progress. Colombian eugenics, nevertheless, ended up following a softer line of eugenics, which was centered mainly on educational and hygienic initiative, and where state-driven immigration policies took on a secondary role.<sup>577</sup> Indeed, López de Mesa and Jiménez de Lopez were also proponents of softer sociological initiatives, which focused on extolling the importance of nuclear family values in the public sphere through educational campaigns. They also criminalized prostitution and homosexuality, which were seen in the public eye at the time as issues of public health.<sup>578</sup> Sanitary professionals, medical experts, and scientists during the 1920s presumed that social illnesses were located at the bottom of the social ladder in which “the poor were poor because they were unhygienic, dirty, ignorant, and hereditary unfit.”<sup>579</sup>

This intersection between class and racial formation becomes all the more complex if we also take into account that unlike other Latin American nations (where eugenics became a sign of modernity because it rejected biblical notions of the origins of humanity), in Colombia, eugenics was “structured upon values that attempt[ed] to divorce themselves from tradition and get closer to modernity, without threatening against the

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<sup>576</sup> Uribe Vergara explains: “Immigration constituted a means and not an end for cultural and sociological development in Colombia. In Argentina, instead, eugenics was a means to populated and then govern the population.”<sup>576</sup> Uribe Vergara Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 212.

<sup>577</sup> A murky line between discourses of nurture and nature can be evinced during this time, in which social behavior was thought could be improved by a holistic range of state-funded ventures, including educational campaigns, selective human breeding, and sterilization practices. See Uribe Vergara in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 219.

<sup>578</sup> Uribe Vergara in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 209.

<sup>579</sup> Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 37.

precepts of the Church.”<sup>580</sup> López de Mesa, for example, proposed that the Colombian’s ideal genetic make-up ought to be based on the racial configuration of the region of Antioquia, where phenotype was thought to lean more towards a white European racial configuration because of its topographical isolation. Most importantly, such an isolation was thought to have preserved Hispanic spiritual and moral values that would ensure a proper work force apt for the modernization that was yet to come.<sup>581</sup>

It is thus in this ambivalent space in which Uribe Holguín found himself in, mediating conflicting ideas surrounding modernity, religion, geography, and the role of science in the making of a modern Colombia. Because the ontogeny of music became a site of political contention, as I explored in the previous chapters, Uribe Holguín’s adherence to universalist markers during the 1920s ended up turning him into an unredeemable Conservative Europhile and an anti-nationalist. Europhilia is a notion that I understand here as a desire for cultural universality in former European colonies, but which in Colombian scholarship has been generally interpreted as a Europeanization of the local. Such desire, nevertheless, cannot be divorced from Colombian racial politics, including eugenics. Notwithstanding, we should take into account that Colombian racial politics were

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<sup>580</sup> “La interpretación sociológica de López de Mesa se estructura sobre unos valores que intentan divorciarse de la tradición y acercarse a la modernidad, sin atentar contra los preceptos de la Iglesia.” Uribe Vergara in Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, *Genealogías de la colombianidad*, 2008, 210.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid.

also intimately connected to the discourse of “constructive miscegenation,” which Uribe Holguín was certainly not secluded from.<sup>582</sup> Let us now turn to this topic.

### ***Mestizaje in Colombia***

While eugenics was a widely-debated topic in Colombian intellectual circles, racial politics in Colombia, in retrospect, were closer to those of Mexico. As a matter of fact, during the 1920s, some of the atavistic traits that were thought to be inherited through indigenous blood served as a basis for constructing a positive national-racial formation once Colombia entered processes of industrialization and modernization. During this time, state elites and intellectuals strengthened the temporal link with a pre-hispanic past, whereas discourses that linked indigeneity to atavistic characteristics were often contended or modified to articulate new racial configurations. This is further explained, if we consider, as Wade argues, that in postcolonial Colombia racial identification was particularly linked to nationalism and by extension, national identity. As I contended in the introduction of this dissertation, however, Colombian national identity was articulated from an ontology of fragmentation and heterogeneity. This proved cumbersome to the construction of a unified idea of the nation. Yet, Wade recounts that during the twentieth century Colombian

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<sup>582</sup> As Stepan tells us, through this term was not used at the time, the idea of a productive hybridization was common around the early twentieth-century, serving Latin American scientists to counter the extreme negative racial stereotyping laid out by European and US-American scientists who saw in Latin American biological mixture an obstacle for progress. Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 138.



upper and middle-class subjects attempted to overcome such an ontology by appealing to a discourse of racial homogeneity.<sup>583</sup> The latter was articulated through *mestizaje*.

The term "*mestizaje*," as Diana Taylor reminds us, was first used to designate the biological mixture of indigenous and European subjects during the colony.<sup>584</sup> However, in the light of anti-US-American sentiment during the early twentieth century, *mestizaje* slowly became a predominant discourse to counter US-American and European imperialism and by extension, a discourse from which Latin American nations-states began to build their national projects. This also came about as a reaction to the strengthening of scientific discourses in both Europe and in the United States, which saw in Latin American racial hybridization a primary cause for Latin American degradation. Latin American intellectuals thus began to articulate *mestizaje* as an anti-imperialist discourse that upheld the benefits of racial mixing. After all, we must consider that the threat that the United States posed to "the territorial and political sovereignty of all Iberian American nations," was not only ideological but also tangible.<sup>585</sup> In Colombia, the work of the Mexican intellectual José Vasconcelos (1882–1959), whose theories he had already put in motion into a series of cultural policies while being head of the Universidad Nacional de México

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<sup>583</sup> In fact, following the work of Homi Bhabha, Wade sees the coexistence of discourses of heterogeneity and homogeneity as belonging to a central paradox of nationalism: one in which the "attempt to present the nation as a unified homogenous whole conflicts directly with the maintenance of hierarchies of class and culture—and their frequent corollaries, region and race—that is wanted by those who are located in the higher echelons of those hierarchies." Wade, 5.

<sup>584</sup> In certain regions like Colombia, however, it eventually came to signal a tri-ethnic configuration of national identity: African, Indigenous, and European. Moreover, unlike the term *hybridity*, which carries implications of disembodiment and deterritorialization, *mestizaje*, Taylor adds, "tells a history and embodies a history." This is why scholars such as Gloria Anzaldúa have stressed that *mestizaje*'s identity politics can be best explained as a *both/and* rather than an *either/or*. See Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 93–109; Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera* (San Francisco: Spinster/Aunt Lute, 1987).

<sup>585</sup> The United States began to be perceived as a colonial power, starting with the Mexican secession in the the 1840s, but especially after the Spanish-American War of 1898. See Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*, 59.

and the Secretaria de Educación Publica during the early 1920s, was particularly influential.<sup>586</sup> Colombian intellectuals were eager to adopt to such policies, especially during the 1930s.

Vasconcelos proposed that the figure of the mestizo ought to become the modern racial ideal for Mexico (and for the whole world) from which a “Cosmic Race” could eventually emerge and become the cultural and spiritual heir to Western civilization. It was through the figure of the mestizo through which a renovated Mexico, especially after the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), would finally fulfill its destiny as future of the humankind, serving as a bridge among all races.<sup>587</sup> Leonora Saavedra encapsulates Vasconcelos’s view of history as follows:

Vasconcelos conceived this world order from a historical perspective embracing both past and future. He saw it in terms of constant opposition, dating from the sixteenth century, between two branches of white European civilization, the English (or Anglo-Saxon) and the Hispanic (or Latin), and he wrote about it in terms of binary oppositions that could be diversely comprehensive: The United states vs. Mexico (and Iberian America, England and its former colonies vs. Spain and its former colonies, Northern European and the United States vs. Mediterranean or Latin Europe (Spain, Portugal, Italy and France) and Iberian America.<sup>588</sup>

According to Vasconcelos, the white Anglo-Saxon race had failed to accomplish their destiny, and so it was up to the mixed race of Iberian America (a hybrid of all races) to fulfill this task. As Saavedra details, Vasconcelos sought to accomplish this by “unifying the entire population into one homogenous, Western-style, mixed-race culture; by making

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<sup>586</sup> On Vasconcelos and music see Saavedra, 51–135.

<sup>587</sup> Saavedra writes that in Vasconcelo’s conception of history there were four main races: European, Asian, African, and Indian. Each of these had a destiny to fulfill. *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

every member of this culture conscious of being the heir to the best of Western civilization; and by elevating the moral and spiritual state of the population through art as a substitute for religion with a laic nation-state.”<sup>589</sup> This translated into a careful framing of the contribution of Mexican indigenous culture and the working classes towards national culture.

Vasconcelos, as Saavedra recounts, was keenly aware of how in Mexico “race indicators functioned as class indicators on a continuum which extends from the uneducated, impoverished peasants, with heavier—or pure—Indian backgrounds, to the white and mestizo, educated, urban upper classes.”<sup>590</sup> However, like many of his Mexican contemporaries, Vasconcelos knew very little about indigenous cultures, past or present. Akin to what Uribe Holguín had proposed in 1923, he did not see indigenous cultures as a “real synthesis of Indian and Spanish cultures.”<sup>591</sup> Rather, he understood contemporary indigenous cultural expressions as a result of Spanish imposition. Most importantly, as Saavedra recounts, “he saw no possibility of “salvation”—physical, cultural and political—for the Mexican people, unless every single one of them—urban and rural, whites, mestizos, and Indians—was made to feel, through education and art, to be a part of a single, unified civilization based on Iberian culture.”<sup>592</sup> In this light, Uribe Holguín’s hispanicist assertions detailed in the first page of this chapter did not stand too far away from Vasconcelos. Indeed, it is important to acknowledge that Latin American intellectuals during the early

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<sup>589</sup> Ibid, 61.

<sup>590</sup> Ibid.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid, 63.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid, 59.

twentieth century were caught in a process of reevaluating their self-image within a transnational sphere who saw them as incapable of progress. This resulted at times in a process in which Latin American cosmopolitan intellectuals, as Stepan argues, “were only too prone to project themselves—or onto fractions of themselves, which served as their own “others”—these negative judgments of the outside world.”<sup>593</sup> Unlike Uribe Holguín in his 1923 lecture, however, Vasconcelos did not entirely discard the idea that cultural indigeneity could contribute towards the construction of a national culture. He thus proposed to study indigenous cultures first, so that the Mexican state could then assess its place within the nation-state.<sup>594</sup> As I discussed in previous chapters, in Colombia it was not until the República Liberal, where the state began to become preoccupied with collecting and studying “other” (internal) cultures as part of a project of national modernization.

Inspired by Vasconcelos, who travelled to Colombia in the 1920s and 1930s, Colombian intellectuals began to place mestizaje at the center of nation-building enterprises.<sup>595</sup> Colombian intellectuals, just as Vasconcelos, proposed to invert European racial paradigms.<sup>596</sup> Colombian intellectuals, for instance, contended the ideas espoused by the French polymath, Gustave Le Bon who had deemed mestizo peoples as unfit for modern-state systems. To briefly illustrate, in the figure below, Colombian political scientist

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<sup>593</sup> Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 137.

<sup>594</sup> Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*, 64.

<sup>595</sup> In the 1930s, Vasconcelos travelled to Colombia to give a series of conferences. Interestingly enough, Emilio Murillo himself took Vasconcelos and taught him how to play turmequé. See Santamaría Delgado and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros*, 72.

<sup>596</sup> Stepan describes this racial inversion as a substitution of the “negative European racial mythologies with mythologies of their own.” Furthermore, Stepan argues that such an inversion was prompted by the “excessively negative judgments about Spanish America’s destiny made by such European writers as Gustave Le Bon and replace them with more positive views of the mestizo dynamic element in national life. Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 145.

Florentino Goenaga questions Le Bon's position on mestizo peoples, contesting Euro-American ideas of modernity in the Colombian press. In the conclusion to this article, Goenaga even echoes Vasconcelos's idea of a "cosmic race" via a speech given days before by Camacho Roldán, a prominent Colombian sociologist:

Will we resign to continue to be ungovernable and to only deserve the grace of despotic rule as such eminent men, one latino [Le Bon] and one Anglo-Saxon [Burgess], both affirm? [. . .] And in regard to the charge of being mestizos, let us take comfort in it: to a Colombian sociologist who has more authority than Le Bon or Burgess, because he knows his own nation, and his fellow citizens, we have heard him say, in an eloquent academic speech, that the race that was being made in our countries will be the most beautiful one that men could contemplate.<sup>597</sup>

The place of mestizaje in racial politics in Colombia during this time was, nevertheless, incredibly ambivalent, even despite its politicization as a Liberal project. Even López de Meza, when he was serving as Minister of Education (1934–1935), wrote of mestizaje as a democratic force: "We are Africa, America, Asia, and Europe all at once, without grave spiritual perturbation."<sup>598</sup> Conservative politician Laureano Gómez (who then served as President of Colombia in the 1950s), for example, understood the Colombian race as the result of a tri-ethnic mixture of Spanish, African, and Indigenous races. Whereas Gómez saw the latter two as markers of inferiority, he was also very critical of the "Spanish race," whose culture he deemed rudimentary and charged with fanaticisms,

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<sup>597</sup> "¿Nos resignaremos a continuar siendo ingobernables y a merecer si no la gracia de un mando despótico como afirman hombres tan eminentes, latino uno y el anglosajón el otro? A pesar de nuestra pobreza, ahí vamos los colombianos dando señales de estar sentando juicio; ta lo proclama el hecho clamoros de que hace veinticuatro años que se firmaron los tratados de Nerlandia y Panamá y que no corre ya, en pugnás suicidas, la noble sangre de hermanos. Y en cuanto al cargo de ser mestizos, consolémonos de él: a un sociólogo colombiano de más autoridad para nosotros que Le Bon o Burgess, porque él conocía a su patria y a sus coterráneos, le oímos deir un elecuento discurso universitario, que la raza que se estaba elaborando en estos países sería la más bella que pudieran contemplar los hombres." Florentino Goenaga, "Colombia es un Pueblo de Mestizos?," *Revista Mundo al Día*, January 15, 1927. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>598</sup> López de Mesa [1934] quoted in Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 33.

yet he saw it as the future of the nation: “It is in whatever we have been able to inherit from the Spanish spirit that we must look for the guiding lines of the contemporary Colombian

character.”<sup>599</sup> But how was mestizaje thought of culturally? How was it revealed in music?

Let us now attend to these queries.

MUNDO AL DIA Página 55

## ¿COLOMBIA ES UN PUEBLO DE MESTIZOS?

Estudia en su nueva obra el profesor John W. Burgess, decano de las facultades de ciencias políticas, filosofía y ciencia pura de la Universidad de Columbia, los esfuerzos que han hecho los estados de los diversos continentes, en el transcurso de los siglos, para obtener la reconciliación del gobierno con la libertad. No da el autor a la palabra gobierno el significado restricto que le da la constitución colombiana, en la cual gobierno quiere decir sólo el presidente y un ministro, o sea la rama ejecutiva. En el sentir de Burgess, el gobierno comprende no sólo el poder ejecutivo, sino el legislativo y el judicial. Para que se efectúe la reconciliación dicha, exige el autor estos elementos: 1° Que la constitución sea dictada y enmendada por un poder soberano, superior al legislativo e independiente de él; 2° Que en la constitución haya un título en que se establezcan los que nuestra carta llama derechos civiles y garantías sociales; 3° Que la corte esté investida de la facultad de proteger el dominio de los derechos individuales contra las invasiones de cualquiera de las ramas del gobierno.

En rápida revista el profesor Burgess encuentra que el Asia y el África no han aportado soluciones definitivas al problema planteado en el libro. Según él, las constituciones de China y el Japón son favorables netamente al gobierno y no a la libertad, y afirma que la esperanza de hallar la solución en esos continentes está, por paradójico que parezca, en las naciones musulmanas.

El esfuerzo de Europa está ampliamente estudiado. Al resumir el largo período de los siglos medios, reconoce nuestro autor, a pesar de ser protestante, que de quien recibió la libertad más amparo y protección en aquella época fue de la Iglesia. Papas, obispos, jefes de congregaciones religiosas enfrentáronse con frecuencia en favor del derecho individual, al poder secular de reyes y señores feudales en esa edad que el doctor Núñez llamó “el largo ciclo de civilización que la tiara simboliza”. Considera el profesor Burgess que la consolidación de la monarquía en los tiempos modernos fue fatal a la reconciliación de los dos poderosos elementos en cuya armonía radicaba la bienandanza política de los pueblos: la autoridad y la libertad, porque la balanza se inclinó resueltamente al lado de la primera. Las revoluciones de Inglaterra en el siglo XVII y de Francia en el XVIII, si derriban la monarquía que tiende al absolutismo, no tardan en la primera de esas naciones en culminar en la franca usurpación y tiranía militar del protector Cromwell, y en la segunda en el glorioso y feudo despotismo de Bonaparte. Y es sabido que bajo el imperio de la convención francesa la libertad sólo brilló por su ausencia, empleando una expresión de Tácito. Débese advertir aquí que el publicista norteamericano desconfía mucho de la senatesz de los cuerpos colegiados. Al terminar su examen del esfuerzo europeo, expresa Burgess, refiriéndose a Inglaterra, estimada como la tierra clásica de la libertad, que allí tampoco se ha verificado la plena reconciliación del gobierno con la libertad, puesto que el primero, en forma legislativa y parlamentaria, o sean los comunes, ejerce un poder inconstruible que se encamina a marchas forzadas al predominio del socialismo y al establecimiento de una sola cámara sin contrapeso, formada por un

### La raza que se está elaborando en los países jóvenes de América será la más bella que puedan contemplar los hombres



Dr. Florentino Goenaga

En donde halla el profesor Burgess, como buen ciudadano norteamericano, que se ha efectuado la reconciliación supradicha es, naturalmente, en los Estados Unidos. La constitución de 1787, junto con las dos grandes enmiendas décima tercera y décima cuarta, adoptadas después de la guerra de secesión, completaron el dominio de la inmutabilidad individual contra el poder del gobierno; pero el profesor estima que esa reconciliación sólo ha sido total hasta 1898, o mejor dicho, hasta la guerra con España. La victoria de los Estados Unidos dotó a la Unión Americana con varias conquistas que, según dice el autor, no tuvo en mentes el presidente Mac Kinley al entrar en la guerra, y alzó, por tanto, el territorio de la nación, no de un modo continuo como hasta entonces había sucedido, sino saliendo de los límites continentales y salvando grandes espacios de mar. Tales conquistas no sólo agujonearon el espíritu imperialista sino que trajeron como natural conse-

cuencia la necesidad de invertir al gobierno de nuevos poderes para la administración de las tierras adquiridas, a las cuales debe agregarse Panamá, atrapado sin mayores escrúpulos de conciencia por el coronel Roosevelt en 1903. Nada, dice el profesor, impide ahora a los Estados Unidos acometer empresas imperialistas, especialmente en las Américas, a lo cual los está siempre tentando la interpretación de la doctrina Monroe, convertida en ídolo, no en ideal, tanto más cuanto que, en contra de lo que generalmente se cree, el pueblo americano no es de ningún modo un pueblo inclinado a la paz, sino que es más bien belicoso y a veces histórico. Otro hecho que el profesor tiene como adverso a la reconciliación del gobierno con la libertad es la persecución a las grandes empresas industriales por medio de contribuciones o exacciones fiscales que gravan pesada e injustamente la renta de los tenedores de acciones, y desea él que se haga pronto alto en ese peligroso camino.

En lo atañadero a los países, mal llamados según el latinoamericano, el autor cree que la Argentina, el Brasil, Colombia, Cuba, el Perú, Uruguay y Venezuela han avanzado más que las naciones mismas de Europa en relación con el tema desarrollado en el libro. Las constituciones de esas repúblicas son apreciadas como perfectas en el papel y redactadas como para ser aplicadas a hombres de raza blanca, pero, según la opinión del profesor, no es a hombres de raza blanca a quienes se aplican, con excepción de la Argentina, Chile, Uruguay y Cuba. De nuestra Colombia asienta Burgess que con 6.000.000 de habitantes sólo cuenta con el 20 por 100 de raza blanca, todo lo demás resulta indios, negros y mestizos, cosa que no deja de producir un sentimiento de desconfianza acerca de la exactitud y precisión del profesor respecto de los otros datos que suministra la obra. Es indudable que Cuba, con sus 2.000.000, tiene proporcionalmente más negros de raza pura que Colombia, lo que no debe sorprender a nadie si se considera que en nuestros

días, casi a fines del siglo XIX, fue cuando la reina regente de España abolió la esclavitud (1887) en la Perla de las Antillas, donde hace pocos años hubo una guerra de raza o racial, usando un feo neologismo. En Colombia, a pesar de nuestros blancos, indios, negros y mestizos, no hemos aún disfrutado de una guerra de esa especie, y cuenta que los colombianos hemos pasado hasta por candela. Todos nuestros presidentes han gobernado y gobiernan como blancos o como españoles, aunque admitimos que la raza española de hoy lleva sangre muy mezclada, puesto que por el suelo de la Península han desfilado celiberos, fenicios, tartagones, romanos, visigodos, alanos, árabes, moros y judíos; los braquicéfalos y los dolicocefalos, tan ensalzados éstos por Gobineau; los arios y los semitas, pero no indios ni negros puros. El profesor enuncia bruscamente la idea de que en el estado presente de estas poblaciones (que no pueden aspirar, según él, todavía al honor de ser llamadas pueblos) lo más conveniente es la dominación de un déspota benévolo o lo que Renan llamaba, con su ironía de prince-savant, el tirano científico e ilustrado. Sólo que si para complacer a Mr. Burgess apelásemos a hacer ensayos de despotismo, pudiera resultar de pronto que el déspota no fuese ningún Pericles, sino un tiranuelo cruel, rapaz e ignorante. Échesele una ojeada a la historia de “estas Repúblicas” por cuyas páginas discurren las sombras intranquilizadoras de Rozas, Francia, Melgarejo y otros cuyos nombres sería largo enumerar, y se verá que la prudencia misma y el santo miedo de los golpes, de que habla un personaje de Rabelais, nos aconsejan declinar cortésmente la invitación del profesor y abolir las hermosas constituciones que nos hemos dado y entregarnos esponzámente a cualquier restaurador de las leyes, como se hacía llamar modestamente don Juan Manuel Ortiz de Rosas, tirano que no era de Colombia sino de la Argentina, de ese pueblo “luz y esperanza de Suramérica”, en concepto del ilustre decano de la facultad de ciencias políticas de la universidad de Columbia. Quedémosnos como estamos en esta materia y no reformemos tanto nuestra constitución, a fin de no dar pretexto al doctor Gustave Le Bon para decir, como ha dicho, que un pueblo de mestizos es ingobernable e incapaz de adquirir una alma nacional ni estabilidad siquiera.

¿Nos resignaremos a continuar siendo ingobernables y a merecer si no la gracia de un mando despotico como afirman hombres tan eminentes, latino el uno y anglosajón el otro? A pesar de nuestra pobreza, ahí vamos los colombianos dando señales de estar sentando el juicio; tal lo proclama el hecho clamoroso de que hace veinticuatro años que se firmaron los tratados de Nerlandia y Panamá y que no corre ya, en pugnas suicidas, el noble sangre de hermanos. Y en cuanto al cargo de ser mestizos, consuémosnos de él: a un sociólogo colombiano de más autoridad para nosotros que Le Bon o Burgess, porque él conocía a su patria y a sus conterráneos, le dimos decir, en elocuente discurso universitario, que la raza que se estaba elaborando en estos países sería la más bella que pudieran contemplar los hombres. Todo indica que la concetosa frase del doctor Camacho Roldán, convertida ya en apoteosis, entraña una verdad inconcusa.

Florentino Goenaga

### LAS CAJAS DE COMPASES



DE MARCA “KERN” QUE VENDE LA  
**LIBRERIA DE “EL MENSAJERO”**  
 SON DE CALIDAD INSUPERABLE

11403-a

Figure 5.2. Florentino Goenaga, “¿Colombia es un Pueblo de Mestizos?” in *Mundo al Día* Magazine, January 15, 1927<sup>600</sup>

## ***Mestizaje and Music***

It is important to acknowledge that because of the preponderance of practices of racial and cultural mixture since the colony, race in postcolonial Colombia (and in much of Latin America), as both Peter Wade and Marisol de la Cadena argue, more than a clear cut mechanism of marginalization, operates rather in an ambivalent space—in a “subtle balance between inclusion and exclusion.”<sup>601</sup> De la Cadena explains, for example, that contrary to definitions that overemphasize phenotype as a predominant marker of race, *mestizaje* allowed certain subjects to appeal to what she calls a “culturalist” definition of race.<sup>602</sup> By this, de la Cadena means a view of race that included the “possibility of subordinating one’s phenotype and emphasizing instead one’s intelligence and morality, if these had been exposed to the corrective powers of ‘education.’”<sup>603</sup> Thus, this “peculiarly ductile” racial taxonomy, as de la Cadena calls it, resulted in a paradoxical perception of rigid hierarchies that nonetheless left room for negotiation and by extension, social mobility.<sup>604</sup> Most importantly, it was through *mestizaje*, as a “symbolics of mixture,” that Latin American state elites connected racial identification to a process of national

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<sup>599</sup> Gómez quoted in Wade, 33.

<sup>600</sup> Note that this discussion was carried out in the same magazine as the so-called polemic on National Music, where Uribe Holguín was critique for his “Tres Danzas” and on the same year.

<sup>601</sup> Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 15; Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham (N.C.): Duke University Press, 2000).

<sup>602</sup> Colombian scholars who study race have argued that *mestizaje* functions similarly in Colombia. See for instance Catalina Muñoz Rojas, ed., *Los problemas de la raza en Colombia: más allá del problema racial: el determinismo geográfico y las “dolencias sociales”* (Bogotá, D.C.: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2011); Anne-Marie Losonczy, “El Criollo y el Mestizo: Del Sustantivo al Adjetivo: Categorías de Apariencia y Pertenencia en La Colombia De Ayer y De Hoy” in Marisol de la Cadena, *Formaciones de indianidad: articulaciones raciales, mestizaje y nación en América Latina* ([Colombia]: Envión, 2007), 269–86.

<sup>603</sup> De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 9.

<sup>604</sup> For instance, de la Cadena recounts, that *mestizaje* has been recently claimed and resigned by the working classes to empower themselves in an ambivalent process of identification. *Ibid*, 9.



identification so that “notional fragments of racialized identities” were to be resignified and rearticulated in such a way that “homogeneity and heterogeneity [were] imagined as the community and diversity of “natural” essences.”<sup>605</sup> I believe that Uribe Holguín’s assertions about indigeneity in 1923 should be interpreted within the context of this ambivalent space.

Furthermore, in the face of European-derived racial theories that delegitimized non-European racial formations, Latin American intellectuals constructed race as a “simultaneously scientific and political notion and an officially legitimate, emotion-laden term.”<sup>606</sup> Following this train of thought, de la Cadena argues that *mestizaje*, as a term used in debates about the “perils and benefits of hybridity,” became “the epicenter of the racialized structured of feelings of this region.”<sup>607</sup> Interestingly, Colombian musicians and critics linked the idea of hybridity to music through a prevalent tenet in Colombia at the time, in which music and indigeneity were connected together by racialized ideas surrounding emotions like melancholy and sadness. Cultural agents tied such a notion to the idea that the “indigenous race” lacked vitality, as Oscar Hernández Salgar has written about.<sup>608</sup> State elites thought that the ruthlessness of the conquest, along with the harshness of Colombian topography and its tropical climate, had degenerated indigenous peoples,

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<sup>605</sup> Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 16.

<sup>606</sup> Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 13.

<sup>607</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>608</sup> Oscar Hernández Salgar, *Los Mitos de la Música Nacional: Poder y Emoción en las Músicas Populares Colombianas 1930-1960* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2014), 75.

rendering them melancholic and sad—a weakness that, according to López de Meza, Spaniards used to their advantage during the colony.<sup>609</sup>

This idea even reached transnational spheres, as illustrated in *Musics of Latin America*, Nicolas Slonimsky's Pan-Americanist account, published in 1945. In the chapter where Slonimsky covers music in Colombia, he translates an excerpt from Colombian-Curaçaoan scholar Emirto de Lima's influential study *Folklore Colombiano*, published in 1942. De Lima's description of cultural mestizaje in Colombia recalls the understanding of popular music that Uribe Holguín's actual detractors adhered to:

In Colombian music, we find elements of the culture of three races that have passed through Latin America. Listening to the beat of a drum, one conjures up a picture of African slaves driven down the coast during an era now happily past. In the dolorous chants of the Indians of the Amazon region, there is the wistfulness of the aborigines, who express their yearnings in the melanco[lic] sounds of the flutes. And when a dapper boy, or a young lady of Santander or Cundinamarca, picks up a guitar and recites a sentimental ballad, one is transported as if by magic into ancient Spain. What a delight it is to recapture in these rhythms, chords, dissonances, accents, and gambols, the aura of the old romance, the passions and ardors of bygone days.<sup>610</sup>

The indexing of race into emotions in music was, not surprisingly, a contested political site. Emotions like melancholy and sadness, as Hernández Salgar details, were at times understood as obstacles to modernization. In 1927, López de Mesa suggested for instance that music and the visual arts ought to be employed to bring joy to the working classes in order to alleviate the natural sadness of those populations and therefore transform them into productive citizens of the Colombian nation state.<sup>611</sup> However, for other intellectuals,

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<sup>609</sup> Hernández Salgar, *Los mitos de la música nacional*, 62.

<sup>610</sup> Emirto de Lima "Folklore Colombiano" quoted in Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America*, 1st edition (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1945), 166. Original translation.

<sup>611</sup> Hernández Salgar, *Los mitos de la música nacional*, 64.

like the Liberal politician Armando Solano, the melancholy of the indigenous race represented nationhood. What is more, for Solano, emotions like joy and happiness were indexical of the empty material progress brought by US capitalism. As Hernández Salgar explains, during the late 1920s, as part of their plan for national modernization, the Conservative party had worked facilitating the entry of US companies like the Tropical Oil Company or the United Fruit company.<sup>612</sup> In this sense, Solano politicized melancholy, framing it as a national emblem, and tying it to an ontology of the American continent as a whole. This recourse to place-making through the racialization of emotions, however, was also a place of dispute. In 1916, Gustavo Santos connected emotions like sadness and melancholy to the nostalgia felt by the Spanish conquerors in foreign lands, finding themselves far away from their places of provenance:

The origins of this genre of music, inappropriately called popular, in which sadness varies according to its literary form but in music, it is clear, it varies very little. The Spanish that came in times of the Conquest, many of them Andalusians, adventurers most of them, felt nostalgia for their birthland, and they started, them a strong race . . . a race that sings, to sing to their far away land, their families, their lovers, and as the nostalgia started to grow as time passed, and that Andalusian soul, so strange and mournful in spite of their red carnations, and the rattling of their luggage, and their adventurous soul, ended up creating a music that was melancholic, sad, heartrending, neurasthenic.<sup>613</sup>

For Santos then, nostalgia and melancholia are traits that showcased not a lack of vitality, but strength and desire for adventure. Indeed, just as Uribe Holguín prompted other

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<sup>612</sup> Ibid, 66.

<sup>613</sup> "El origen de este género de música, impropriadamente llamada popular, y cuya tristeza varía en su forma literaria pero en su forma musical varía poco, es bien claro. Los españoles que vinieron en tiempo de la Conquista [sic], andaluces muchos, aventureros la mayor parte, sintieron aquí la nostalgia de su tierra natal, y empezaron, ellos, raza fuerte, es decir, raza que canta, a cantar su tierra lejana, sus familias, sus amores, y la nostalgia iba creciendo a medida que el tiempo pasaba, y esa alma andulza, tan extraña y tan

composers to do a couple years later, Santos saw in Spanish folklore a solution to compensate for Colombia's "deficient" cultural richness. He went as far as proposing that Spanish folklore be taught in primary schools, as to "graft the musical soul of our ancestors [the Spanish] into our blood."<sup>614</sup> Santos's public figure, nonetheless, does not reside in the Colombian cultural imaginary as the dreadful folkloric boogiemán that Uribe Holguín is now taken to be. After all, Santos, as I discussed in previous chapters, was very skilled in navigating the political waters of early-twentieth-century Colombia.<sup>615</sup> Paradoxically, as I explore in chapter 6, Uribe Holguín's indigenous-inspired work coincides with the cultural policy first laid out by Santos himself, and which was then institutionalized into what I call here indigenismo. Let us proceed with a brief explanation of what I mean by such a term.

### **Indigenismo and Indianismo**

I define *indigenismo* here as a set of discursive practices carried out by Latin America's mestizo and criollo elites—initially Hispano-centric but then adopted in places like Brazil—during the twentieth century that aimed to determine the place of indigenous difference within nation and state building processes, both symbolically and at a state level.<sup>616</sup> Its iterations, however, are far less unitary and narrow than the definition I am presenting. Indeed, *indigenistas* (intellectuals and artists who were associated with such a movement)

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fúnebre a pesar de sus claveles rojos y cascabeleo de sus equipajes y el alma aventurera, acabaron por crear una música melancólica, triste, desgarradora, neurasténica." Santos quoted in Hernández Salgar, 88.

<sup>614</sup> Ibid, 301.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>616</sup> On indigenismo and Latin America (including Brazil), see Estelle Tarica, "Indigenismo," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, March 3, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.68>; Benoît de L'Estoile et al., *Empires, Nations, and Natives: Anthropology and State-Making* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

negotiated difference through a wide range of strategies and interests. While some indigenistas were only concerned with the incorporation of indigenous cultural practices into a mestizo, imaginary, often times leading to a whitewashing of indigenous expressions, others went as far as lobbying for state initiatives that recognized difference and offered cultural and political autonomy to indigenous communities. These discourses surrounding indigenous cultures, nonetheless, were mainly articulated by criollos (i.e., the descendants of American-born Spaniards) and mestizos—and not by indigenous subjects themselves.

Indigenismo is also largely understood as having a connection to twentieth-century socio-political movements that sought to “defend” indigenous peoples in recognition of the constant abuses of the state since colonial times. Indigenista practices, as progressive as they could be at times, existed in a constant tension between mestizaje and eugenics-inspired discourses (both defined below) that were predominant in Latin American thought at the time. These movements, nonetheless, were ultimately unsuccessful in achieving concrete socio-economic results (at least not until the 1960s); one could even argue that they reified racial hierarchies even more. As Laura Giraud and Stephen E. Lewis state:

In the best of cases, indigenistas proposed and shaped policy, but more often than not they lacked access to power and financial resources and instead practiced a type of "scientific" or "salon" indigenismo. Rarely did indigenistas offer radical solutions to unjust political and economic systems; rarely did they vigorously defend the rights of Indians from their exploiters. And when they did as in 1946 in Peru or in the Chiapas highlands in the 1950s—they confronted tenacious opposition and soon surrendered. Chronically underfunded and often lacking the necessary political support, indigenistas typically offered “band aid” solutions to problems that required a dramatic restructuring of the socioeconomic order. Indigenismo's inability to challenge and overturn exploitative political and

economic systems gave way to projects that attempted to induce cultural change in Indians. These met with less opposition and were easier to implement.<sup>617</sup>

While the efforts to alleviate social inequality were largely ineffective, indigenismo was extremely successful in placing the figure of the “Indian” at the center of the nation, albeit symbolically. Indigenismo, along with *mestizaje* (its “discursive twin” as Michelle Bigenho so cleverly puts it) made part of nation and state building projects that aimed to create a homogenous, imagined community. At the same time, indigenismo was instrumental in dealing with issues of citizenship and political participation of indigenous subjects.<sup>618</sup> I thus understand indigenismo as being tied directly to twentieth-century modernization and nation-state building projects in which *mestizaje* (and eugenics) played a big role. I believe that this separates indigenismo from *indianismo*, its immediate predecessor.

Indeed, *indianismo* is often linked to nineteenth-century artistic and literary movements that favored a more romanticized view of the “Indian.” *Indianismo* was influenced by nineteenth century travel writings and Humboldtian-inspired scientific accounts.<sup>619</sup> In spite of *indianistas*’ desire “to create a recognizably national iconography that showcased social and cultural diversity,” in a general sense, *indianismo* “[painted] an almost uniformly negative portrait of present-day indigenous peoples,” deeming them a threat to national interests and unfit to participate in political life.<sup>620</sup> Furthermore, this

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<sup>617</sup> Laura Giraud and Stephen E. Lewis, “Introduction: Pan-American Indigenismo (1940-1970): New Approaches to an Ongoing Debate,” *Latin American Perspectives* 39, no. 5 (2012): 5.

<sup>618</sup> Michelle Bigenho, “Embodied Matters: Bolivian Fantasy and Indigenismo,” *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 11, no. 2 (November 1, 2006): 271.

<sup>619</sup> See for instance Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2 edition (London : New York: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>620</sup> Tarica, “Indigenismo.”

movement is not to be confused with second-half-of-the-twentieth-century indianismo, which flourished in countries like Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia. As Michelle Bigenho explains (echoing Henri Favre's influential work on indigenismo), this later type of indianismo arose "as a critique of the exclusionary cultural politics of [indigenismo], and [promised] a project in which flesh and blood indigenous subjects reclaim their positions as agents of their own history."<sup>621</sup> I find it useful then to differentiate both instances of indianismo from indigenismo by taking into consideration their proximity to processes of modernization and state-sponsored cultural policy. In this sense, while the second-half-of-the-twentieth-century indianismo might have reproduced previous indigenista tenets as strategies to gain visibility in a public imaginary, its intent was to stand against the idea of a nation-state, for they deemed it responsible for the ethnocide of indigenous peoples throughout the twentieth century.<sup>622</sup>

The distinction between nineteenth-century indianismo and indigenismo is trickier to discern. Since nineteenth-century indianismo was instrumental in defining difference within the newly-formed postcolonial nations, measuring its proximity to nation-building processes can prove a murky exercise (e.g., is nineteenth-century indianismo a form of proto-nationalism?). For example, indigenismo was shaped by ethnographic studies that were the produce of state-sponsored initiatives (sometimes indirectly) to integrate the margins into the center. Furthermore, indigenismo was not simply a pastoral portrayal of difference as in nineteenth-century indianista practices, but was articulated through a

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<sup>621</sup> Bigenho, 268.

<sup>622</sup> Henri Favre, *El indigenismo* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998), 134.

mestizo/a lens. To state that indigenismo is absent of romanticized versions of indigeneity would be a travesty, but it is the overlap present in indigenismo between Herderian thought and a more integrationist, systematic, and state-sponsored initiative that I believe defines it as a separate movement. As I will elaborate later in the next chapter, Uribe Holguín's work was informed by state-sponsored, ethnographic-based music studies published in the late 1930s, and thus, I am willing to categorize his work as being primarily indigenista, although there is an indianista mindset lurking in the background.

### **Indigenismo and Music in Latin America: Some Considerations**

Because Colombian indigenismo was deeply influenced by indigenista movements in other nations, I find it worthwhile to take a promenade into the indigenista imaginary of other Latin American nations and look at how music formed part of this cultural movement during the early twentieth century. In this section, I highlight theoretical lineaments that inform my analysis of Uribe Holguín's *Bochica* in the next chapter. As such, I delve into issues of authenticity in relation to mestizo identity. Finally, I theorize how Europhilia can be incorporated into analysis of music nationalism.

Since Colombia's indigenista imaginary was intimately tied to Andean subjectivities, I first consider how indigenista projects used music in neighboring Andean nations. In *Gentleman Troubadours and Andean Popstars*, Joshua Tucker examines how Andean music inhabits Peru's public sphere by ways of cultural mediations in the recordings of contemporary *huayno* music from Ayacucho. Tucker maps the sonic topography of contemporary Andean music in Ayacucho, while examining the construction of



“competing definitions of Andean legitimacy [in the Peruvian imaginary].”<sup>623</sup> In doing so, he calls attention to the construction of elite identities in the Peruvian Andes, which were inevitably transformed by indigenista thought in the early twentieth century. Tucker sheds light on the symbolic valorization of indigenous lifeways amid the few concrete results that indigenista movements achieved in the economic and political landscape of Peru as they failed to lessen Andean inequality. He sees Peruvian indigenismo as “Andean Peru’s most influential, if ultimately unsuccessful, movement for cultural revindication.”<sup>624</sup> Cultural revindication, Tucker reminds us, does not necessarily entail socio-economic equality.

In his assessment of Peruvian sonic topography, Tucker avoids a simplistic binary of indigenous vs non-indigenous elites: a move that addresses the complexity of mestizaje as a nation-building strategy in Latin American nations. Andean mestizo identities, Tucker argues, are not in direct opposition to their indigenous counterparts as “both positions exist in a mutable, evolving tension with one another.”<sup>625</sup> In this light, Tucker is careful to avoid equating authenticity with subalternity, a call that I undertake in my assessment of musical indigenismo in Colombia.

Examining mestizo claims to authenticity can be a thorny subject, especially when “musical traffic across social boundaries always [makes] it difficult to separate Andean elite and popular spheres in the first place.”<sup>626</sup> I find Michelle Bigenho’s work on Bolivian

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<sup>623</sup> Joshua Tucker, *Gentleman Troubadours and Andean Pop Stars: Huayno Music, Media Work, and Ethnic Imaginaries in Urban Peru*, Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology; Variation: Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 5, 184.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

indigenismo to be illuminating in this respect. In *Sounding Indigenous*, Bigenho examines Bolivia's ethnic landscape, aiming to uncover the complex cultural affiliations contained in terms like "criollo" and "mestizo" in reference to indigeneity in Bolivia. She cleverly inquires: "So who is mestizo and who is indigenous? Is the term mestizo ever used in a self-ascribing way or is it always assigned by others to signal the lack or absence of an authentically indigenous heritage?"<sup>627</sup>

Bigenho explores how claims to indigenous authenticity acquired new value throughout the twentieth century. She achieves this by surveying the changes in performance practices of Bolivian mestizo-creole troupes who represented indigeneity on stage. Furthermore, she compares early-twentieth-century musical practices with music performances informed by recent socio-political indianista movements. Bigenho associates the latter movements with what she calls the "Return of the Indian," a political and social movement that arose in the light of the quincentennial of the conquest of the Americas, which foregrounded indigeneity in the light of global funding agendas. Contrary to other indigenista movements, as Bigenho explains, the "Return of the Indian" movement resulted in a tangible revalorization of claims to indigenous authenticity.

Through an ethnographic study of these folkloric troupes in Bolivia, Bigenho looks at the contradictions found in claims to indigeneity through the ever-present tension between particularist and universalist strategies to represent indigeneity in national culture.<sup>628</sup> She explores this by looking specifically at two mestizo-criollo musical projects

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<sup>627</sup> Michelle Bigenho, *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 3.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

that sought to represent indigenous cultures by appealing to musical folklore. In doing so, she spells out the antagonistic relation between universalism and particularism:

Both of these musical projects make particularist and universalist claims in ways that are neither oppositional nor mutually exclusive. The classification of composers as “universal” or “particularist” is not foreign to Western classical music traditions, but a universalist claim has a distinct importance when it is made by composers in a country where social relations have been historically structured in subordination to the West.<sup>629</sup>

These two projects found themselves caught in a “cosmopolitan ideology whereby each nation is assumed to have its great composers who simply need to be recognized, recorded, and raised to the level of their European counterparts.”<sup>630</sup> Because one of the projects that she studied had a more romantic view of indigeneity, while the other claimed to enact a more “systematic cultural intervention,” Bigenho demonstrates that claims to indigeneity by mestizo-criollos are not monolithic elite enterprises.<sup>631</sup> However, these claims are caught in the antagonism that make up universalist and localist discourses of identity formation. This begs the question: can Bigenho’s examination of claims to authenticity be applied to denunciations of Europhilia in the work of Latin American composers (as is the case of Uribe Holguín)? Or, should claims to universalism be read simply as Europhilia? Even further, is particularism in Latin America Europhobist by definition?

While the impulse to amplify subaltern voices is laudable and should be pursued, accomplishing such task prompts us to go beyond a critique of a monolithic elitist state. Michelle Bigenho’s contention to be skeptical of top-down interpretations “whereby clear connections are assumed between mestizo-Creole artistic productions, the [...] [s]tate, and

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<sup>629</sup> Ibid.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid, 99.

corresponding assumed effects of such projects” proves useful when examining the relationship between Europhilia and the more inclusive indigenismo.<sup>632</sup> I argue that by looking at Europhilia’s putative antithesis (that of claims to indigeneity), Uribe Holguín’s ambivalent relationship with indigenismo can be examined with critical rigor. Just as “a view of indigenismo that only interprets the discourse as a monolithic expression of elite political processes falls into [a] kind of functionalist flatness,” I contend that an analysis of Europhilia should not fall into a simplistic denunciation of a racist past.<sup>633</sup> Favoring a reading of a monolithic elite state that functions efficiently not only denies agency to subalternity, but also recalls what Bigenho, echoing Sherry Ortner, calls *ethnographic refusal*; that is, a “resistance literature that dissolves subjects and refuses to thickly describe processes that do not fit a model of easily separable spaces of resistance and domination.”<sup>634</sup> Highlighting the disjunction between elitist enterprises of nationhood does not entail that our assessment of the relationships of power and inequality will be lost. But was folklorism and the inclusion of so-called traditional musics into a national identity a bottom-up initiative? Can we analyze the discourse surrounding the exclusion of traditional musics vis-à-vis so-called indigeneity as part of the negotiation that went into the construction of a modern nation?

I thus see what scholars have configured as opposites poles (Europhilia vs Europhobia) as a reformulation of a larger paradigm: the supposed opposition between particularism and universalism. This could also be applied to the debates that regard art

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<sup>632</sup> Bigenho, “Embodied Matters,” 272.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid, 267.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid, 272; see Sherry B Ortner, “Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 1 (1995): 173–93.

music in opposition to folkloric music. Following Ana María Ochoa Gautier's work on epistemologies of purification, I see Europhilia and indigenismo both as belonging to the formation of a modern and highly contested, aural public sphere. As Ana María Ochoa Gautier reminds us (I find it worthwhile to insert it here again *in extenso*):

The aural public sphere, Latin America as an aural region, is thus constituted by the mediations and (dis)junctures between these different practices enacted by the sonic transculturators, that is, all of those involved in this reorganization whether as musicians, intellectuals, or figures that move between different capacities. This often involved the immersion of the individuals who practi[c]ed this separability into contradictory practices of recontextualization demanded by their simultaneous investment in cultural policy, avant-garde creativity, the media, the nationalistic agendas of folkloristics and in the different types of mediations and articulations enacted through these different investments. Thus, musical nationalist cosmopolitanism is a project fraught with the contradictions of mediating between the local and the metropolis. What does this say of the political significance and inscription of the intellectuals that participated in these complex networks and of the significance of epistemologies of purification in postcolonial contexts? What does it tell us about the ways in which many of the ideas associated with local musics are being recast and resignified in today's intensified aural recontextualizations?<sup>635</sup>

Examining mestizo claims to both indigenous authenticity and Europeanist conceptions of the self, shows how both enterprises are made part of the same nationalist, mestizo and eugenicist project. It is precisely the highly contested and convoluted aural sphere that creates a nation, and not necessarily the adjudicated winner of the contention.<sup>636</sup>

The case of Mexican composer Manuel María Ponce is particularly illuminating in this regard. Just as Uribe Holguín in 1923, Ponce made similar claims to the ones espoused by Uribe Holguín in his lecture, yet because of his involvement with the Mexican *canción*—he was, after all, deemed the father of Mexico's vernacular song—scholars did not construct

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<sup>635</sup> Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America," 817.

<sup>636</sup> I thank Leonora Saavedra for this idea.

Ponce as an enemy of the nation.<sup>637</sup> As Saavedra points out, Ponce had an ambivalent relationship with indigenous expressions, first rejecting them and later in his career embracing indianist aesthetics. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Ponce sought to find in Mexican popular music a viable expression to represent the nation in a unique way, but did not consider indigenous music as he thought of it as barbarian. In Saavedra's own words:

Ponce makes no mention of contemporary Indian music either . . . he does not consider popular music to be a product of mestizaje, and therefore does not consider the possibility that the uniqueness of Mexican music may be attributed to or created on the basis of Indian elements. Instead he asserts the Spanish origin of the dances and puzzles over the Italian character of the canción, "an anomaly" that he attributes to the influence of Italian music on that of all other nations.<sup>638</sup>

Saavedra sees Ponce's ambivalence towards indigenous expressions and mestizaje as a "problem of self-definition—in musical terms—of a nation whose culture, as a result of its colonial past, has become a peripheral part of Western culture but which is marked with enough residues from a pre-colonial past to be considered uncomfortably different yet not altogether separate."<sup>639</sup> Ponce was caught in the unattainable goal of belonging to the "universal" narrative of Western music vis-à-vis markers of difference in which intellectuals constructed Mexican popular music as unique and in oppositional relation to what Europeans perceive as difference.<sup>640</sup> Yet, as Saavedra explains, this movement away from

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<sup>637</sup> Leonora Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce's 'Chapultepec' and the Conflicted Representations of a Contested Space," *The Musical Quarterly* 92, No. 3/4 (2009): 279.

<sup>638</sup> Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*, 39.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>640</sup> Richard Taruskin when discussing to Antonín Dvořák's Bohemianism calls this a "double bind," one in which "[w]ithout the native costume, a 'peripheral' composer would never achieve even secondary canonical rank, but with it he could never achieve more." Taruskin, "Nationalism."

European music was paradoxically counteracted by a “gesture *towards* European music,” in which “Mexican composers must undertake the belated task—already accomplished by the European nations, both Central, such as Germany and peripheral such as Russia—of “elevating popular song to the category of true art,” meaning, of course, Western art music.”<sup>641</sup>

Discouraged by the reception of his music in the early 1920s, Ponce moved to Paris in 1925 and studied with the composer Paul Dukas. Ponce’s self-imposed exile prompted him to turn to the mastery of Western compositional technique and, in turn, he regarded the Mexican canción, which he had helped construct years before, as unviable for his own work.<sup>642</sup> While residing in Paris, however, Ponce was compelled to represent the indigenous in his music. Prompted by expatriate needs, he set out to write music based on exoticist tropes surrounding indigeneity in order to “emphasize, even to exoticize, that which might establish Mexican culture as different from other Western cultures, making Mexican culture rather supplementary, rare, and valuable.”<sup>643</sup> Saavedra sees this as a “strategy that [Ponce] develop[ed] in order to negotiate the power relationship established between himself and a culturally dominant host culture. Difference acquires symbolic value, and

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<sup>641</sup> Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*, 39.

<sup>642</sup> Saavedra, “Manuel M. Ponce’s ‘Chapultepec’ and the Conflicted Representations of a Contested Space,” 2009, 304.

<sup>643</sup> *Ibid.*, 305.

can also acquire trade value and become a commodity, morphing into an asset that would seem to allow the establishment of some—usually temporary—leverage.”<sup>644</sup>

Thus, the turn to represent indigeneity within a mestizo/a imaginary undergoing construction should not be understood just as the “cultural representation of the national by personal and social agents that vied for the control of the national symbolic capital.”<sup>645</sup> Following Saavedra, I believe we must also consider how national identity is also the “product of the response by the political and intellectual elites (and, at times, of the masses) to [a] peripheral position in Western culture.”<sup>646</sup> Uribe Holguín’s 1923 stance on indigeneity and his later embracement of indigenista thought should be *in part* understood in terms of his self-perceived peripheral position in the macro narrative of Western art music, a position that prompted him to constantly negotiate his intellectual output in relation to the antagonism between the so-called universal and the so-called particular. I believe, then, that as scholars that delve into matters of Latin American music we should stay away from functionalist, top-down interpretations that present the panorama as too clear, efficient, and tidy. Uribe Holguín cannot be simply reduced to a Europhile because he belonged to the Conservative elite. Rather, I believe that his elitism reveals itself through his privileged role as an active transculturator in the construction of an aural modernity. In this sense,

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<sup>644</sup> Saavedra, 305.

<sup>645</sup> Saavedra, 279.

<sup>646</sup> Saavedra, 280.



Uribe Holguín's ostracized position in the Colombian music scene is indicative of what Ernest Gellner calls "nationalism's self-deception." Ernest Gellner reminds us:

Nationalism usually conquers in the name of a putative folk culture. Its symbolism is drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants, of the *Volk*, the *narod*. There is a certain element of truth in the nationalist self-preservation when the *narod* or the *Volk* is ruled by official of another, an alien high culture, whose oppression must be resisted first by a cultural revival and reaffirmation, and eventually by a war of national liberation. If the nationalism prospers, it eliminates the alien high culture, but it does not then replace it by the old local low culture; it revives, or invents, a local high (literature, specialist-transmitted) culture of its own, though admittedly one which will have links with the earlier local folk styles and dialects.<sup>647</sup>

### **Interpreting Uribe Holguín's Europhilic and Indigenista personas**

Below I outline four possible ways in which we can understand the relation between Uribe Holguín's Europhilia and indigenismo. My purpose is not to validate any of these perspectives, nor to present one in better light than the other. I believe, instead, that these four views operate in moving layers.

In the first instance, I understand Uribe Holguín's apparent cultural metamorphosis as a paradigm shift in the negotiation of the indigenous within the cultural production of mestizo and criollo elites between the 1920s and the 1950s in a city like Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia's centralist state.<sup>648</sup> As the Colombian nation set to modernize its economy while aiming to create a supposed homogenous cultural unity, social agents were grappling with the idea of how to understand modernization and mestizaje as part of a larger nation-building process. This translated into an attempt by the elites to incorporate

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<sup>647</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism / Breuilly, John*,; 1946-, 56.

<sup>648</sup>See Angel Rama and John Charles Chasteen, *The Lettered City, Post-Contemporary Interventions* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1996).

the margins (the indigenous) into the center (the mestizo and criollo elite of Bogotá) while maintaining old hierarchies and creating new ones. In other words, the elites from Bogotá, by speaking for their internal Other (the indigenous), sought to “indianize the mestizo and to mestizo-ize the indigenous,” as Leonora Saavedra cleverly points out when referring to similar processes taking place in Mexico during the same time period.<sup>649</sup> I tackle this subject at length in chapter 6.

I also understand Uribe Holguín’s attempts to represent indigeneity as a result of casuality and opportunity: Uribe Holguín must have seen a chance to incorporate his invented version of an indigenous past (through the mythical, that is) to the nation’s history, considering that the nation’s music “pre-history,” according to his view, had been rendered inaudible by the Spanish during the Spanish conquest. The manipulation of symbols used to create the nation can thus be understood as belonging to cosmopolitan trends in which the Other is always represented by the center, bypassing and displacing subaltern voices and replacing them with the lettered elites’ own choice of semiotic material. In this view, Uribe Holguín resorted to representing the Other through exoticist, orientalist, and primitivist aesthetics, making his work fashionable according to transnational trends. Although I find Uribe Holguín’s indigenista work to operate mainly through a European-derived exoticist lens, this view denies indigenous agency. Is Uribe Holguín’s impulse to represent the indigenous simply tied to a Machiavellian plan to rule the subaltern? Or, is

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<sup>649</sup> Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez and the Myth of the Aztec Renaissance,” in *Carlos Chavez and his World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Press, 2016), 139.

there a space for indigenous agency to permeate the public imaginary as to make someone who was deemed the most foreignizing composer of this time change his ways?

A third possibility is to view this apparent cultural shift as an ideological tug of war between Eurocentrism and local cultural revindication—one sometimes coming on top of the other. The composer, in this scenario, found himself in a constant negotiation of the so-called universal and particular, attempting to be relevant in both a national and transnational stage. This translates into the incorporation of self-exoticizing strategies to achieve recognition in Europe and in the United States, while reifying class and racial hierarchies at a local level. After all, the choice to appear modern in the twentieth century made part of a nationalist scheme that at times clashed with localized perceptions of the Self. I explore this view in the concluding section of this chapter.

A fourth view, and the last one of the bunch, is to read the shift across racial lines, pointing to a gradual integration of a racialized symbolic realm—especially indigeneity—into processes of constructing Colombia as a racially-mixed and modern nation. Once the nation-state was strong enough to enact a modernization that integrated the margins to the center, while only symbolically, Uribe Holguín must have realized that this cultural material was available for his use and perhaps started to view his ethnic configuration as that of a mestizo. Hence, his impulse to place the *indígena* at the core of his own identity. Even though I do not pursue such an analysis here, I still find it compelling to propose that Uribe Holguín conceived of his opera *Furatena* not only as a recreation of the conquest and as a founding moment of the Colombian (mestizo) race, but as a way of self-identification. One of the issues that Uribe Holguín's reception pose to musicological analysis is that he is

not described in racial terms nor he self-identifies as mestizo or criollo in explicit ways. We must consider as well that the only instances where Uribe Holguín perspicuously self-identifies correspond to instances where he found himself navigating in transnational artistic circles.<sup>650</sup> But, whereas we can safely assert that Uribe Holguín deliberately attempted to unmark himself (a cosmopolitan strategy), explaining why he was not racialized by his contemporaries is a conundrum that is more difficult to resolve through reception history. This, I contend, has contributed to his construction as a social antagonist for he is often framed in opposition to mestizo identity.

### ***Ceremonia Indígena***

Twenty years after the premiere of his indigenista piece, *Bochica*, Uribe Holguín published *Ceremonia Indígena*, his orchestral take on music and ritual by way of an imagined indigenous ceremony.<sup>651</sup> Uribe Holguín completed the manuscript in June 12, 1955, but the work not was printed by the Pan American Union until 1959. The work is divided into four short movements: 1) Hymn to Zuá, 2) Ritual Dance, 3) Invocation to Chía, and 4) The Wedding of the Chief. The piece as a whole operates as a primitivist representation of

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<sup>650</sup> The first of these instances of racial self-identification comes from the first two decades of the twentieth century, before mestizaje— that is, as a nationalist project of national modernization—became predominant in Colombia. As I discussed in the introduction, during this period he appealed to the notion of Latinidad to gain social capital in Europe, especially with mentors like d'Indy and Pedrell, who recognized Uribe Holguín not necessarily as an equal (i.e., they did not see him as European) but as belonging to a larger racial community. Even in his private correspondence with Pedrell, Uribe Holguín appealed to such a strategy. In a letter written to Pedrell in April of 1911, Uribe Holguín announces the birth of his daughter Lucía, begging Pedrell to treat as his own granddaughter.<sup>650</sup> In this peculiar letter, which is one of the few documents explicitly show Uribe Holguín's identification with Latinidad, Uribe Holguín describes Lucía as follows: "I have never met a gentler girl. She is very white, with eyes so blue, that one would say she is more of a Saxon rather than a daughter of Latin blood." Uribe Holguín to Pedrell, April 19, 1911. Biblioteca de Catalunya [Spain], Secció de Música Correspondència del Fons Felip Pedrell, M 964/1491.

<sup>651</sup> Dubbed a "Native Ceremony for Orchestra" in the Pan-American Union edition.

indigenous ritual that features programmatic allusions to Colombianidad. Indeed, in this piece, Uribe Holguín references local mythology such as the Chibcha goddess, Chía, and Zuá, a chibcha term that denoted the daytime, although unlike in *Bohica* he offers no further explanation. In *Ceremonia Indígena*, as Camilo Vaughan shows, Uribe Holguín makes uses of a myriad of exoticist strategies in order to represent indigeneity as primitive and rudimentary, yet in line with modernist tendencies (but not experimental).<sup>652</sup> These include: the use of anhemitonic pentatonic and octatonic scales (all centered around A minor without abrupt harmonic modulations), static harmony, and violent rhythms à la Stravinsky.<sup>653</sup>

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<sup>652</sup> For a more detailed analysis, see Vaughan, “Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971).”

<sup>653</sup> On how Carlos Chávez employed similar melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic choices (i.e., via Stravinsky) to represent pre-Columbian culture in order to strategic otherized himself for US audiences. See Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 1 (April 1, 2015): 122–28.

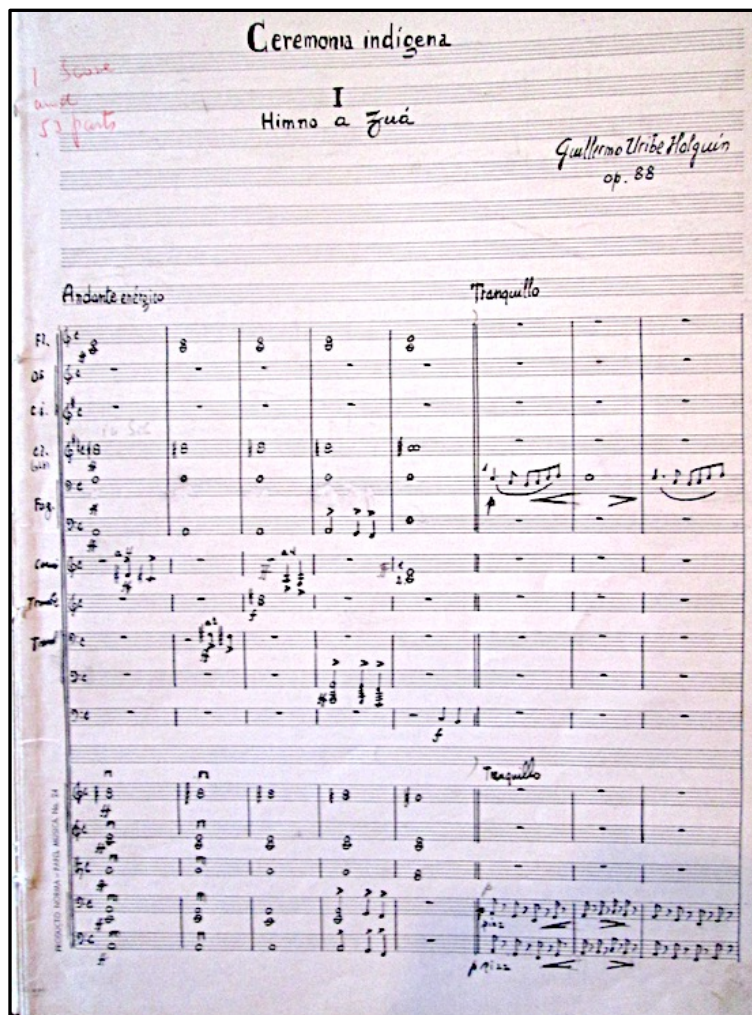


Figure 5.3. Manuscript of *Ceremonia Indígena*. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

Indeed, Stravinsky's primitivism looms large in *Ceremonia Indígena*. As Leonora Saavedra and Tamara Levitz have written, Stravinsky's success and his ambiguous nationality (which resonated with notions of mestizo/a identity) gave Latin American composers a model from which to unapologetically represent Latin American identity as difference, especially in relation to the non-Western autochthony of imagined Pre-Columbian

cultures.<sup>654</sup> This is evinced in the opening of *Ceremonia Indígena* where Holguín begins the piece with a repeated polychord orchestrated in the strings, somewhat reminiscent of the famous Petroushka chord. He also uses the bassoon (beginning in m. 5) to depict paganism, just as Stravinsky did in *The Rite of Spring*, although in a lower range and without its characteristic grace-notes, perhaps owing to a more Pan-Americanist influence.<sup>655</sup> Uribe Holguín accompanies the melody in the bassoon by an anhemitonic pentatonic scale plucked in the bass and cello (Figures 5.4 and 5.5. below). The opening measures of the closing movement showcase a more Stravinskian take on ritual through its repetitive rhythmic pulsations, although certainly not as violent as in *The Rite of Spring* (see Figure 5.6. below). For the purposes of this chapter, I do not intend to provide a comprehensive musical analysis of this piece. Nevertheless, as shown above, Uribe Holguín's compositional choices reveal his peripheral position as a Latin American composer

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<sup>654</sup>For this reason, music historians have taken to the task to pinpointing the first moment when a Stravinskian flair begins to show up in the work of Latin American and Caribbean composers. Mexican composer Carlos Chávez's 1921 ballet *El Fuego Nuevo*, for example, seems to stylistically owe in part to Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, although as Saavedra argues, we cannot say with any certainty that Chávez had direct exposure to Stravinsky's work prior to 1922. Stravinsky's print on Chávez's 1927 ballet *Los Cuatro Soles*, on the other hand, can be supported with documentation. Indeed, three years before *Los Cuatro Soles*, as Saavedra shows, Chávez attended the 1924 performance of *The Rite* by the Boston Symphony Orchestra conducted by Pierre Monteux at Carnegie Hall in January of that year, and the same can be said for other works that exhibit Stravinskian colors in the late 30s and after, for it was Chávez himself who conducted the Mexican premiere of the *Rite* in 1935. Similarly, scholars dedicated to the study of Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos such as Lisa Peppercorn and Gil Jardim, have highlighted Stravinsky's impact on Villa-Lobos's 1917 ballets *Uirapuru* and *Amazonas*, dedicating a large portion of their research enterprise to determining the moment when the Brazilian composer first heard Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, though the matter remains a constant subject of debate. See Saavedra, 113; Esteban Buch, Igor Contreras Zubillaga, and Manuel Deniz Silva, *Composing for the State: Music in Twentieth-Century Dictatorships*, 2016, 40; Leonora Saavedra, "Stravinsky Speaks to the Spanish-Speaking World," (introduction) in Tamara Levitz, *Stravinsky and His World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 177–224; Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries*, 300–349; Omar Corrado, "Stravinsky y La Constelación Ideológica Argentina En 1936," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 26, no. 1 (2005): 88–101.

<sup>655</sup> On the dudki, see Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 890–91.

through the mediation of cosmopolitan signifiers of otherness (i.e., Stravinskian elements) and localized, nationalist myths.

A look at *Ceremonia Indígena*'s publication history reveals an interesting shift in the composer's idea of the representation of the national, where indigeneity in national music now appeared to be at the center of his work. *Ceremonia Indígena*'s publication is particularly significant to Uribe Holguín's career since his enormous output was and remains largely unedited, and only a few of his works have been edited and printed—*Ceremonia Indígena* being his last published work. *Ceremonia Indígena* was also his second and last US-based publication, having had a small piano prelude published by the New Music Society of California in 1939, edited by Nicolas Slonimsky. What is more, as Camilo Vaughan has studied, Uribe Holguín had been trying, although with little success, to take part in the US-American cultural enterprise in Latin America ever since the tour of the American Ballet Caravan, funded by the Office of Inter-American Affairs in 1941. This cultural enterprise inspired Uribe Holguín to write his *Tres Ballets Criollos*, although they were never performed by the Ballet Caravan. Uribe Holguín, as a strategic move, even dedicated his ballets to US-American musicologist Gilbert Chase (whom he had never met), and to his friend the Russian-US-American pianist Nicolas Slonimsky (his dedication to Slonimsky appears in English although they corresponded in French).<sup>656</sup>

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<sup>656</sup> Uribe Holguín met Slonimsky in 1938 during the Ibero-American Music Festival. A few years later, Slonimsky wrote about Uribe Holguín in his chapter on Colombian music. While only providing a short biography, Slonimsky deems him a "prolific composer." Slonimsky then goes on to list some of the pieces written by Uribe Holguín. Finally, he directs the reader to Curt Lange's article. Nicolas Slonimsky, "South American Composers, by Nicolas Slonimsky.," *Musical America*, February 10, 1940, 172, <https://urresearch.rochester.edu/institutionalPublicationPublicView.action;jsessionid=131D276C24C84362DCEF531A4FC537BF?institutionalItemId=24818>.



# CEREMONIA INDÍGENA

3

## I Himno a Zuá

Guillermo Uribe-Holguín Op. 88

Andante enérgico Tranquillo

Flauto Piccolo  
2 Flauti Grandi  
2 Oboi  
Corno Inglese  
2 Clarinetti (sib)  
2 Fagotti  
4 Corni  
3 Trombe (do)  
Tromboni 1, 2, 3  
Tuba  
Arpa  
Timpani  
Violini I  
Violini II  
Viole  
Violoncelli  
Contrabassi

Andante enérgico Tranquillo

Figure 5.4. Opening of “Himno a Zuá” (m. 1-5) from *Ceremonia Indígena* Op. 88 published by the Pan American Union in 1959.

The image shows a musical score for the Bassoon Melody from "Himno a Zuá," mm. 7-11. The score is written for five staves: Fag. (Bassoon), Corni (Cornet), Vi. I & II (Violins I & II), Vle. (Viola), V'celli (Violoncelli), and Cb. (Contrabasso). The Bassoon part features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *mf* and a triplet of eighth notes. The Cornet part has a dynamic marking of *p* and a first ending bracket. The Violin I & II and Viola parts have dynamic markings of *pp* and a *v* (vibrato) marking. The Violoncelli and Contrabasso parts have a dynamic marking of *p* and a *pizz.* (pizzicato) marking.

Figure 5.5. Bassoon Melody from “Himno a Zuá,” mm. 7-11. *Ceremonia Indígena* Op. 88 published by the Pan American Union in 1959.

The image shows the opening of the musical score for "Boda del Cacique" (The Chief's Wedding). The score is written for three staves: Fag. (Bassoon), Timp. (Timpani), and V'celli (Violoncelli). The tempo is marked *Allegro pesante*. The Bassoon part has a dynamic marking of *p* and a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking. The Timpani part has a dynamic marking of *p* and a *Tamb.* (Tambourine) marking. The Violoncelli part has a dynamic marking of *p* and a *div.* (divisi) marking.

Figure 5.6. Opening of “Boda del Cacique” (The Chief’s Wedding). *Ceremonia Indígena* Op. 88 published by the Pan American Union in 1959.

Colombian conductor and cultural promoter Guillermo Espinosa mediated *Ceremonia Indígena’s* printing venture. Espinosa, who at the time was serving as the music director of the Organization of the American States (replacing Charles Seeger in 1949), was instrumental in both the development of musical Pan Americanism as a whole, and in

introducing new music by Colombian composers to US-American audiences.<sup>657</sup> Under Espinosa, the OAS organized a number of Pan-hemispheric festivals, including both the 1954 and 1957 Festival of Latin American Music in Caracas (Uribe Holguín attended the former; see Conclusion); and six Inter-American Music Festivals held in Washington D.C. from 1953 to 1975. Espinosa's festivals, especially the one in 1958, received praises for not featuring overtly nationalist and folkloric-inspired pieces. Instead, Espinosa favored contemporary art music over the folk music program that Seeger had supported.<sup>658</sup> Despite the success of Latin American music in the United States, as Alyson Payne's work shows, the OAS, nevertheless operated as a "virulently anti-Communist organization, disrupting Leftist movement in Latin America in the name of inter-Americanism."<sup>659</sup> Indeed, Espinosa's cultural initiatives should be understood within the context of the early Cold War.

Colombia's position during the early Cold War, as historian Stephen Randall writes, has to be understood in relation to the political crisis and massive hysteria that destroyed the city of Bogotá in 1948. This event was brought by the assassination of Colombian presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, who was shot a few blocks away from the site where the founding meeting of the Organization of American States took place.<sup>660</sup> Gaitán's death justified the construction of a larger bilateral framework that fostered moderate anticommunist elements into the political mainstream, for it was first

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<sup>657</sup> On the dudki, see Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 890–91.

<sup>658</sup> Alyson Payne, *The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain: A Critical Examination of Ibero-American Musical Relations in the Context of Cold War Politics* (eScholarship, University of California, 2012) 1.

<sup>659</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>660</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

believed, especially by the CIA—although largely unsubstantiated—that Gaitán’s murder was the result of international communist activity. As a result, the Colombian government broke relations with the Soviet Union shortly thereafter, as an act that ratified Colombia’s adherence to US international policy.

Seeking monetary and military aid from the United States, Colombia was the only Latin American nation to send troops to Korea, and since then Colombia became the “showpiece’ of U.S aid programs,” as Randall asserts.<sup>661</sup> Moreover, between 1958–1962, during the Liberal Presidency of Alberto Lleras Camargo (1906–1990), the Colombian state maintained a firm anti-Castro stance, one which Lleras Camargo used to pressure the Eisenhower administration into drawing a Marshal plan for Latin America. Lleras’s efforts eventually materialized after Kennedy’s election into the Alliance for Progress, a development initiative, whose focus remained on private sector foreign and domestic investment in Latin America for which the US pledged 10 billion dollars in public aid.<sup>662</sup> When Kennedy took office, he expanded on the cultural diplomacy efforts organized by the OAS. For the 1961 Inter-American music Festival, Jacqueline Kennedy even served as honorary chair.<sup>663</sup> As Payne recounts, Espinosa’s cultural initiatives were praised in Washington D.C, especially regarding the festivals’ ability to strengthen the relation

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<sup>661</sup> Ibid, 189.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid, 225.

<sup>663</sup> Alyson Payne, *The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain*, 117.

between Latin American states and the United States while countering the spread of communism in the continent.<sup>664</sup>

Against this backdrop, Espinosa first prompted Uribe Holguín to send a couple of his works to his office in the United States, in preparation of a Colombian recital that was to take place at a reunion of American composers in Washington D.C. in April of 1956. This request came with the added advantage that said works could be recorded by the MGM label. Espinosa suggested Uribe Holguín's symphonic poem *Coriolano* (1955) for the occasion.<sup>665</sup> In *Coriolano*, Uribe Holguín depicts the life of the Roman general Coriolanus and his story of forced exile. *Coriolano*, as Camilo Vaughan explains, explores issues of power and alienation, which Vaughan interprets as a musical exploration of Uribe Holguín's own ostracized position in Colombian society—a self-portrait, if you will.<sup>666</sup> However, Uribe Holguín, heedless of Espinosa's advice, decided to go with *Ceremonia Indígena* along with his Sixth String Quartet as a better choice to represent him in an international arena.<sup>667</sup>

Months later, when a publication opportunity presented itself through the Pan American Union, Espinosa encouraged Uribe Holguín to choose a work other than *Ceremonia Indígena* (presumably a more avant-garde piece) that would guarantee him an undisputed success in an international sphere.<sup>668</sup> Espinosa's attempts to convince Uribe Holguín to choose a work different than *Ceremonia Indígena* proved futile: Uribe Holguín was

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<sup>664</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>665</sup> March 8, 1956 Espinosa-Uribe Holguín. Correspondence, Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato de Artes y Ciencias. Bogotá, Colombia.

<sup>666</sup> Vaughan, "Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971)," 64–57.

<sup>667</sup> August 29, 1957. Espinosa-Uribe Holguín.

<sup>668</sup> "We have no problem in publishing *Ceremonia Indígena*, but personally I would like a work of more girth so that we can achieve a real success" ("No tenemos inconveniente en publicar la partitura de su *Ceremonia Indígena*, pero personalmente me gustará una obra de más embergadura y con la cual podamos obtener un verdadero éxito.") September 5, 1957. Espinosa-Uribe Holguín.

dead set on his indigenista creation. *Ceremonia Indígena* was published on April 6, 1959. The official publication was preceded by its US premiere, performed by the United States Air Force Symphony Orchestra. The premiere took place at the Hall of the Americas at the

Panamerican Union in Washington DC on March 18, 1959, conducted by Colonel George S. Howard.<sup>669</sup>

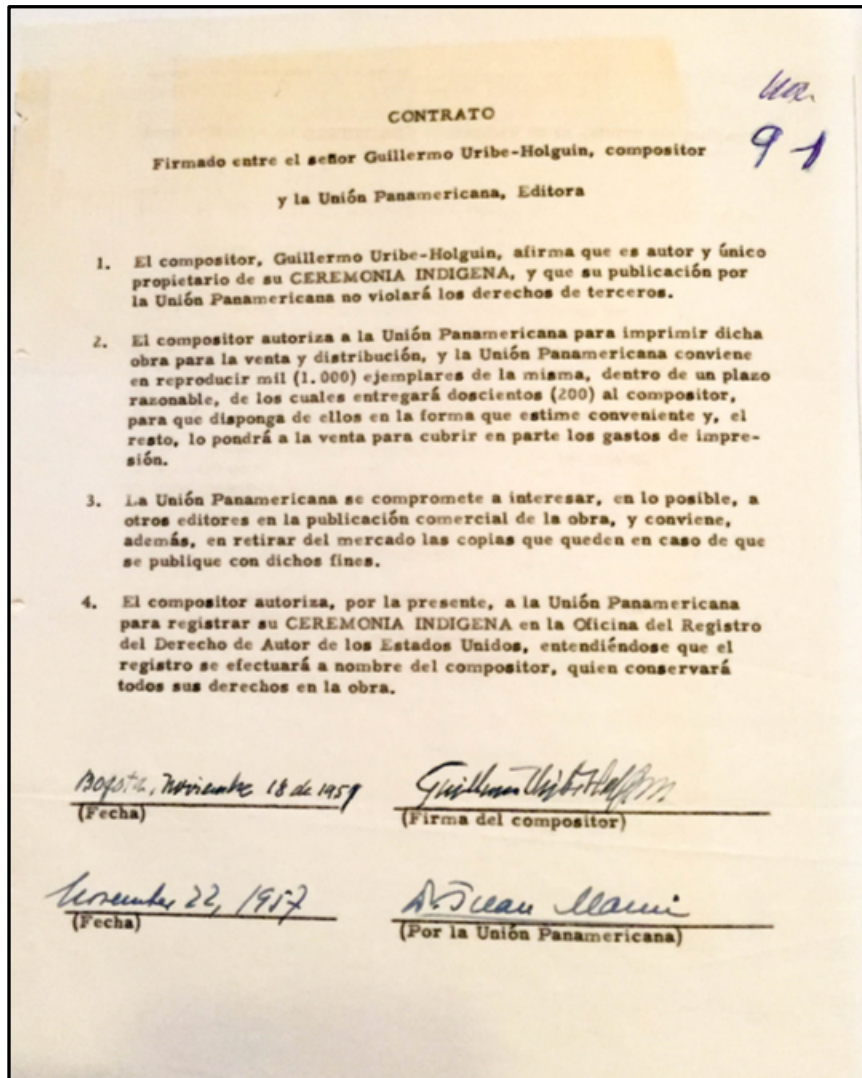


Figure 5.6. Publication Contract for *Ceremonia Indígena*. Folio Prensa. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

In 1960, Uribe Holguín attempted to further his position at the OAS by publicly aligning himself with US cultural policy. During this year, Stravinsky toured Latin America, and gave a series of concerts in Bogotá in August of 1960, where he was treated

like a celebrity. Stravinsky was accompanied by his wife Vera and by the US-American conductor, Robert Craft, who shared the podium with Stravinsky and helped rehearse the orchestras for him. Uribe Holguín published a series of articles in the press, using Stravinsky's celebrity status in Colombia to justify his well-known position against local compositions that showcased hyperbolic patriotism as well as to further his self-image as a national composer with universalizing tendencies, some of which mirrored Stravinsky's aesthetic output.

For instance, in an op-ed piece entitled "Revolución en la Música," printed only two weeks after Stravinsky left for Peru, Uribe Holguín downplayed Stravinsky's Russianness and denied Stravinsky's ties to revolutionary movements, even aesthetic ones. He argued that Stravinsky ought to be labelled an innovator and not a revolutionary, as the press had been calling him, for the revolution "[is] destruction, a radical change, [one] which would break the slow but continuous evolution of music."<sup>670</sup> This statement served Uribe Holguín not only as a commentary on Stravinsky's aesthetics but a justification of his own nationalist yet conservative- modernist work, including *Ceremonia Indígena*. In another article, entitled "Musica Nuova," he openly criticized Stravinsky's turn to serialism, favoring his universalist "sublimation" of Russian folklore in works like *The Rite*.<sup>671</sup> I believe

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<sup>669</sup> February 18, 1959. Espinosa-Uribe Holguín. Espinosa was responsible for including Uribe Holguín's *Ceremonia Indígena* in the program. I have not found any critiques of *Ceremonia Indígena* published in the United States press. To the best of my knowledge, the piece has not being performed in the United States ever since.

<sup>670</sup> "Ha sido costumbre desde hace mucho tiempo calificar de revolucionario al artista innovador, sin tenerse en cuenta que revolución es destrucción, un cambio radical, que de efectuarse rompería la cadena de la lenta pero continua evolución de la música, no interrumpida en los últimos cuatro siglos." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Revolution in Music," *El Espectador*, August 31, 1960. Folio Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>671</sup> Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Musica Nuova," No date or publication information. Folio Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.



Uribe Holguín used Stravinsky's visit and wide coverage in the Colombian press not only to support his conservative modernism, but looking to gain as well political pull with the cultural enterprises of both the United States and the Colombian government at the time. The latter is further supported, if we take into account that during an interview in March of 1960, Uribe Holguín questioned the effects of the Soviet Union's control over music, positing that it inhibited musical progress while asserting that "democracy is good even for musical matters."<sup>672</sup> Notwithstanding Uribe Holguín's failure to gain notoriety in the United States, what is particularly interesting is that the composer chose a piece about indigeneity to represent him internationally and not, for example, one of the eight symphonies he had written at that point (Uribe Holguín came to write a total of eleven symphonies), and which were well-received in Colombia, unlike *Ceremonia Indígena*.

Interestingly enough, Uribe Holguín's indigenista persona has been underplayed in written accounts that deal with the composer's work, as Camilo Vaughan aptly points out in his master's thesis on Uribe Holguín's symphonic poems.<sup>673</sup> Vaughan argues that such classification has been effected solely by virtue of an assessment of Uribe Holguín's early compositional techniques, deeming him at most an impressionist composer.<sup>674</sup> Scholars that have looked at Uribe Holguín's work have mostly focused on his life and work up to 1941

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<sup>672</sup> "Además, cómo se puede progresar la música en un ambiente donde el gobierno controla los compositores? Fijense que la democracia es Buena hasta para los asuntos musicales." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "Sentimiento Otoñal tiene la Composiciones de Khachaturian." *El Espectador*, March 1960 Folio Prensa. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>673</sup> Vaughan, 9-10.

<sup>674</sup> Jonathan C. Brown, "The Genteel Tradition of Nineteenth Century Colombian Culture," *The Americas* 36 (4), 1980.

(the year of the publication of his autobiography), and thus, have underplayed his later involvement with Pan-Americanism and indigenismo (and by extension, mestizaje).

Accounts about the composer's life written after 1941, which would have encompassed his indigenista works, reproduce a similar rhetoric. This is particularly salient in writings by non-Colombian scholars involved in Pan-Americanist affairs. Furthermore, these accounts were for the most part mediated by the composer himself, which is indicative of the way he wanted to be perceived outside of national borders. To illustrate, in Nicolas Slonimsky's influential "South American Composers," Slonimsky presents Uribe Holguín as a composer with "Franckian tendencies, but [who] progressed towards the technique of French impressionism."<sup>675</sup> In their correspondence, Uribe Holguín prompts Slonimsky to update his catalog and include his most recent works, including his indigenista creations, but does not correct Slonimsky's initial assessment of his style.<sup>676</sup> Similarly, in Gilbert Chase's "Creative Trends in Latin American Music-I" published in 1958, Chase refers to Uribe Holguín as the "patriarch of Colombian art music," foregrounding the composer's relationship with D'Indy, and describing his music as one "in which all types of Colombian folk music are passed through the post-Franckian wringer," but makes no mention of Uribe Holguín's representation of the indigenous, whatsoever.<sup>677</sup>

His universalist persona also found its way into the program notes of the Inter-American Symposium of Contemporary Music held at the University of Texas in 1962. In the symposium's notes, Richard Hoppin describes Uribe Holguín's work as stemming

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<sup>675</sup> Slonimsky, "South American Composers, by Nicolas Slonimsky."

<sup>676</sup> May 23, 1964, Uribe Holguín-Slonimsky. Slonimsky Collection, Box 167, Folder 39. Library of Congress, Washington. D.C.

<sup>677</sup> Chase, "Creative Trends in Latin American Music-I," 32.

“from the French impressionistic school with some admixture of later, more dissonant harmonies, which also betray a French influence in their near approach to polytonality.”<sup>678</sup> Uribe Holguín, unlike some of his Latin American contemporaries who played their mestizo and indigenista cards (for example, Carlos Chávez and Heitor Villa-Lobos) to gain notoriety in the United States, showed himself as belonging more to a more vague “modernist” vein, but always at the wrong times, as the publication history of *Ceremonia Indígena* shows.

Studies that *do* include his representations of indigeneity are sparse, and usually do not grant them the title of indigenista creations, but instead see them as part of a larger nationalistic endeavor, which is not necessarily an erroneous interpretation. Colombian musicologist Ellie Anne Duque, the leading authority on Uribe Holguín, calls them “works of heroic stature (also a characteristic of the nationalist aesthetic) that are not based in concrete melodic nor rhythmic traits, but in historic facts or indigenous images.”<sup>679</sup> While Duque does recognize Uribe Holguín’s exoticist tendencies and relates them to the *Grupo Bachué*, an indigenista visual arts movement of the 1930s led by sculptor Rómulo Rozo (1899–1964) and painter Luis Alberto Acuña (1904–1994), her analysis of musical indigenismo in Colombia is perfunctory. Duque is concerned largely with matters of music style and technique, deterring her from an analysis that moves beyond the purely structural. She describes, for instance, Uribe Holguín’s exoticism as a way to “venture into the most daring terrains of rhythm, tonality, and which helped to justify [music] effects that would

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<sup>678</sup> Uribe Holguín Collection. Carpeta 22, MSS 772. Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, Bogotá, Colombia.

<sup>679</sup> Ellie Anne Duque, “Paradigmas de lo Nacional en la Música” in *El Nacionalismo en el Arte: Textos*, ed. Egberto Bermúdez (Bogotá D.C, Colombia: Universidad Nacional, 1984), 42.

not have had a space inside academic formats.”<sup>680</sup> Her account, however, fails to point out the glaring disjunction between Uribe Holguín’s public position on indigeneity and his work, ignoring the complexities of both indigenismo and mestizaje as a nation-building enterprise in Latin America during the early twentieth century.

Even in studies about music and indigeneity in Colombia in the 1930s such as Oscar Hernández Salgar’s *Los Mitos de la Música Nacional*, Uribe Holguín’s indigenista persona is entirely absent from the picture. Hernández Salgar completely sidesteps Uribe Holguín’s venture into the representation of the indigenous despite spending a good number of pages deconstructing his 1923 lecture.<sup>681</sup> Studies that discuss Uribe Holguín’s lecture, including Hernández Salgar’s work, cite as a primary source Uribe Holguín’s autobiography, and not the lecture’s original transcription, published by the *Revista Musical* only a couple of days after it took place. What is interesting about this approach is that Uribe Holguín, in the same chapter where he reinserts his lecture, ends the narrative with a rather disconnected anecdote that is not found in the 1923 version of the lecture. In his autobiography, Uribe Holguín recalls attending a performance at the Teatro Colón, Bogotá’s most important music hall at the time. The performance, which Uribe Holguín describes as a “demonstration of criollo art that took to the stage something like a ballet,” was a musical representation of the legend of Bochica.<sup>682</sup> While Uribe Holguín keeps the name of the composer to himself, he is confident enough to call the performance a complete failure. Uribe Holguín mockingly labels it a “positive scandal for an alleged form of art.”<sup>683</sup>

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<sup>680</sup> Duque, “Paradigmas de lo Nacional en la Música,” 42.

<sup>681</sup> Hernández Salgar, *Los mitos de la música nacional*, 74–90.

<sup>682</sup> Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 141.

<sup>683</sup> Uribe Holguín, 142.

In his opinion, this performance should have put an end to debate around national music, making him the victor instead. The music, as Uribe Holguín describes it, consisted of a “series of [old] *bambucos* and *pasillos*,” played on the piano by the unnamed composer himself, who was center stage wearing a dress-coat while a photograph of the Tequendama falls was projected in the back, but shown mistakenly upside down.<sup>684</sup>

While I have not been able to find evidence regarding the ballet that Uribe Holguín alludes to in his autobiography, it is still surprising that this anecdote is not mentioned in any of the studies that delve into the politics of his widely discussed lecture. I think it is safe to assume that the composer inserted this story, whether fictitious or not, to promote his own indigenista work. After all, *Bochica* was premiered on April 12, 1940, only a year before his autobiography came out.

Almost a century later, Uribe Holguín’s perceived Europhilia has reached mythic proportions. During an interview I conducted in May of 2016, for instance, a member of the Colombian National Symphony expressed to me that Uribe Holguín is responsible for taking the *fiestero* (the cheerful) out of the bambuco, rendering it melancholic and sad. Such a statement left me in awe, as I did not anticipate that an emotion that had been mapped onto indigeneity would be associated to the sworn enemy of Colombian folklore.<sup>685</sup>

Is it possible perhaps that Uribe Holguín’s construction as an anti-nationalist composer has blinded us from looking at the bigger picture? Shouldn’t we look at

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<sup>684</sup> Uribe Holguín, 141.

<sup>685</sup> In another interview, this time with Ilse de Greiff, radio host and daughter of Otto de Greiff (Colombia’s most notable music critic), I discovered that Uribe Holguín was known in the Colombian music scene by the name of Guache. Guache is a derogatory term used to date by the upper classes in Bogotá for people who are rude, and at times for people who show unrefined mannerisms. The etymology of the word is indigenous, deriving from the Quechua “huaccha,” meaning “poor” or “orphan.” However, as Ilse de

Euromania as yet another discourse within nation and state projects in Latin America — examining it critically—rather than resorting to the public denunciation of a figure of the past?

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Greiff assured me, people would humorously refer to him by that name because his initials (GUH) were contained in the word “guache,” and not because it was related to anything indigenous. I think it is safe to assume, however, that this nickname was a refined commentary on his persona—a “chascarillo” as the Bogotá elites would have called it at the time—making fun of his dismissal of indigeneity as well as his cold and confrontational public persona.

## CHAPTER 6

### **Guillermo Uribe Holguín's *Bochica*: Place-Making, Orientalism, and Indigenismo in Colombia**

In 1938, under the purview of Gustavo Santos, then Mayor of Bogotá and director of the Ministry of Education's administrative unit in charge of cultural management, the Colombian state organized a number of events in celebration of the fourth centennial of the founding of the city of Bogotá. Some of these events included a religious art exhibit, a national book festival, a flower festival, an industrial fair, a parade of *murgas* (folkloric dance and music troupes) who marched down the *carrera séptima* (one of Bogotá principal avenues to the day), and an archeological and ethnographic exhibition, where Colombia's indigenous heritage took center stage.<sup>686</sup>

In honor of the occasion, the Colombian state organized the first Ibero-American Music Festival, produced by then director of the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, Guillermo Espinosa. Espinosa brought composers and musicians from all over the continent to Bogotá to perform with the Orquesta Sinfónica such as Nicolas Slonimsky (Russia-USA), Vicente Emilio Sojo (Venezuela), Armando Carvajal (Chile), Eduardo Fabini (Uruguay), Alfredo de Saint-Maló (Panamá), and Oscar Lorenzo Fernández (Brazil). The latter came to stand in for Heitor Villa-Lobos, who could not attend the festival. The festival sponsored a lecture series as well, centered on topics surrounding music in Latin America. Curt Lange, for

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<sup>686</sup> Brett Troyan, "Re-Imagining the 'Indian' and the State: Indigenismo in Colombia, 1926-1947," *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 33, no. 65 (2008): 82.; "Valiosas Antigüedades en la Exposición de Arte Religiosos," *El Tiempo*, August 3, 1938. "Todas las murgas desfilaron por las calles centrales hoy," *El Espectador*, August 10, 1938. Emilia Pardo Umaña, "La Exposición nacional es el acto más importante del centenario," *El Espectador*, August 13, 1938.

instance, gave a lecture on *Americanismo Musical*, while Slonimsky discussed modern music. Fernández, on the other hand, talked about Brazilian popular music, and finally, Carvajal presented on the activities of the National Music Conservatory in Chile. The Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional also performed the works of Guillermo Uribe Holguín, in a concert devoted entirely to his music, which the composer himself conducted.<sup>687</sup>

Two years later, inspired by a local indigenous legend, Uribe Holguín premiered his first symphonic poem, *Bochica*, which he completed only a year after the Ibero-American Festival took place. In this work for orchestra, Uribe Holguín depicts the legend of how the god Bochica saved the Chibchas from the flooding of the valley they once inhabited, a valley located in the Central Andes Mountains, modern-day Bogotá. As the legend goes, the god Chibchacun inundated the lands of the Chibchas as punishment for their sins, as they had been swayed by the evil goddess Huitaca to follow a path of debauchery and lust. In a moment of compassion, the god Bochica—personified by an elderly white man with a snowy beard, who had come presumably from the Far East or from Atlantis—appeared behind a rainbow, and with the strike of his golden staff, destroyed the rocks that held the water inside the valley. The water thus quickly began to fall freely, forming the Tequendama Falls, an important landmark located just outside of Bogotá. In appreciation

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<sup>687</sup> Francisco Curt Lange, “El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música,” Francisco Curt Lange and Instituto de Estudios Superiores (Montevideo, Uruguay). Sección de Investigaciones Musicales., *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*. 1938, 55–63.



of his heroic act, the Chibchas offered a dance to Bochica; and Bochica, in return, taught them good morals, skills like weaving, and medical knowledge.<sup>688</sup>

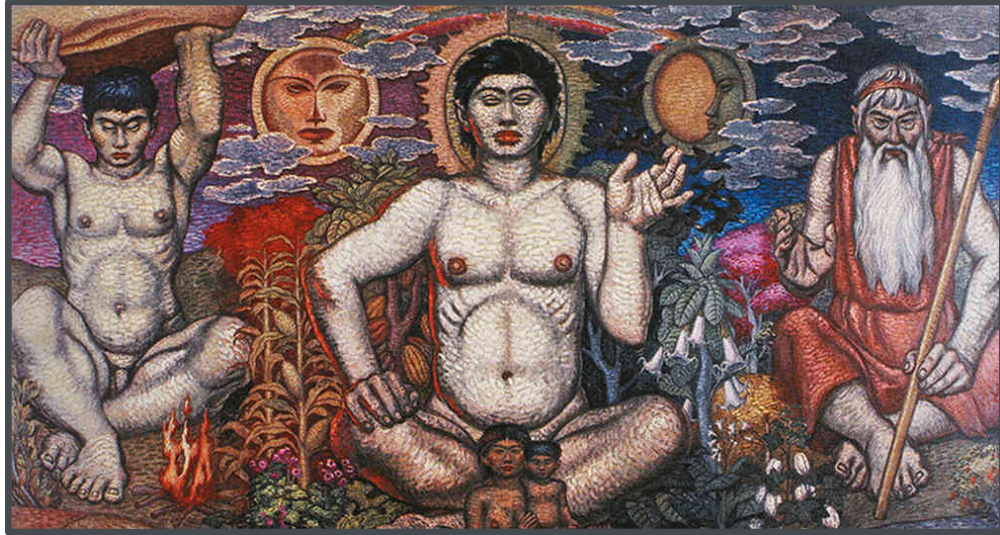


Figure 6.1. “Mural Portátil de los Dioses Tutelares Chibchas” by Luis Alberto Acuña (ca.1938).<sup>689</sup> From left to right: Chibchacun, Chiminguagua, and Bochica.

In this chapter, I explore the intersection between place-making, modern music epistemologies, *mestizaje*, indigenismo, orientalism, and Europhilia in early twentieth-century through Uribe Holguín’s *Bochica*. I concentrate on the symbolic construction of space here, one which Marc Augé calls an “anthropological place,” to consider the ways group identity is established, assembled, and united by ascribing meaning to the location in which the members of said group find themselves in. This handling of space, as Augé argues is a means for collectivities to symbolize and create a shared identity conferred to

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<sup>688</sup> Uribe Holguín provides a description of the legend of Bochica in the original manuscript of *Bochica*. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>689</sup> “La Tierra de Los Muisca.” Colección Museo Nacional. Semana, “La tierra de los muisca,” Historia sobre los muisca y la creación de Cundinamarca, accessed June 3, 2018, <https://www.semana.com/contenidos-editoriales/cundinamarca-por-la-ruta-correcta/articulo/historia-sobre-los-muisca-y-la-creacion-de-cundinamarca/540171>.

them based on the occupancy of a particular place.<sup>690</sup> In doing so, I highlight moments in which national projects of place-making coincided with state enterprises, bringing to the foreground the sometimes-elusive hyphen of the nation-state.

Lastly, because of the orientalist<sup>691</sup> and exoticist<sup>692</sup> strategies pursued in Uribe Holguín's representation of indigeneity, I will analyze *Bochica* through its *strategic formation*—that is, following Edward Said, I will underscore the relationships between mestizo texts that articulate a connection between indigeneity and “the oriental” to show how these texts acquire “mass density, and referential power among themselves and thereafter in culture at large.”<sup>693</sup> This method for intertextual analysis served Said to explore how a set of discourses based on the idea of an Oriental Other defined in relation to an Occidental

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<sup>690</sup> Marc Augé and John Howe, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London; New York: Verso, 1995), 51.

<sup>691</sup> Orientalism is a term popularized by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* in which he examines—building on a Foucaultian and Gramscian framework—the processes by which European culture managed and produced the “Orient” based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction from that of “the Occident.” Orientalism, in Said's own words, constitutes a “Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” This definition, however, poses significant problems when applied to places like Latin America, where discourses of the “Orient” abound but which do not come from colonial powers such as France or Britain (which is the focus of Said's work), but from the perspective of former colonies. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3.

<sup>692</sup> In its more fundamental sense, the term exoticism (from the greek *éxō*) means “outside of” or “away from.” Exoticism in music, as Ralph P. Locke points out, refers to the processes of Otherization that “link a [musical] work to some especially fascinating, attractive, or fearsome place: to an Elsewhere, and usually, to its inhabitants and their supposed inclinations.” While exoticism initially signified an essential and inherent radical otherness (this is especially true of nineteenth-century references to an “exotic style”) that was experienced, translated, represented—or in many cases imagined—by European subjects, the term has become a central concept of postcolonial thought. Drawing its attention rather to the asymmetrical relations of power evinced in the representation of the cultural contact between Europe and its Others, the field of postcolonial studies has offered more than a simplistic and passive interpretation of the power play implicit in the relationship between Self/Other, center/periphery, or colonizer/colonized. This allows the term “exoticism” (along with the epithet “exotic”) a degree of opacity to account for the ways postcolonial subjects have (re)configured (neo)colonial power relations. In this sense, exoticism operates as a strategy of resistance and, at times, it can even create a leverage, albeit temporal, against colonial representational power dynamics. This is particularly evident when, for example, the colonized subject exoticizes their colonizer, or when the postcolonial subject performs the simultaneous role of both exoticized and exoticizer. Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, 2009, 1.

<sup>693</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 20.

Self—what he calls *Orientalism*—gained its strength and authority in European institutions and intellectual traditions. But here, it will serve us to explain Uribe Holguín’s *strategic location*; that is, the composer’s position in relation to indigeneity in relation to that which he is representing.<sup>694</sup>

Said’s method is particularly useful to reveal the power relations involved in this act of representation, including relations where the differences between Self (the mestizo/a) and the Other (the indigenous) are often-times blurred. Strategies of representation common in postcolonial nations such as self-exoticization and mimicry are an example of this. To understand the strategic formation that informed Uribe Holguín’s *Bochica* then, I first explain what place-making is and how it operates in the Colombian context. Second, I discuss how place-making processes are tied to the emergence and institutionalization of indigenismo in Colombia. Third, I discuss how we can understand the relation between Orientalism and indigenismo through the Latourian-inspired epistemological model that I discussed in chapter 4. Then, I will survey the intersection between orientalism and indigeneity across different disciplines such as archeology, linguistics, the visual arts, as well as music historiography and ethnography. Lastly, I will offer an interpretation of *Bochica* in relation to its strategic formation by analyzing some of the work’s most representative passages.

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<sup>694</sup> Said describes strategic location as “a way of describing the author’s position in a text with regard to the Oriental material [they] write about.” Ibid, 20.

## Place-Making and Indigenismo

In *Indigenous Mestizos*, Marisol de la Cadena argues that race-making in early twentieth-century Latin America was intimately tied to a political process of place-making by which intellectuals assigned races “to spaces and evaluated these within evolutionary temporal schemes.”<sup>695</sup> In Peru, for instance, intellectuals appealed to a form of geographical determinism (the notion that geographical location shapes races, culturally and biologically) to map the figure of the *criollo*— and with it, Hispanic colonial culture—onto the Pacific coast. Meanwhile, they connected the Indian-mestizo to the Sierra, the highland region where the Inca Empire had flourished.<sup>696</sup> Influenced by Lamarckism, these intellectuals ranked the social status of Peruvians according to their proximity to the coast. As de la Cadena puts it: “the higher the geographical elevation, the lower the social status of its inhabitants.”<sup>697</sup> The construction of this particular racial topography influenced the way the state modernized the nation during the first decade of the twentieth century, resulting in an uneven distribution of the Peruvian national capital among its regions. The state invested on the coast, aiming to “transform” its working classes into productive laborers that could contribute towards the industrialization of the nation-state. Conversely, the highlands continued to lack urban infrastructure, and their large rural towns, remained

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<sup>695</sup> De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 20; On the relationship between anthropology and temporal alterities see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, 2014.

<sup>696</sup> Similarly, the Amazonian forest was reserved for the “savages and primitive tribes,” a different indigenous breed, according to these intellectuals, who could not contribute towards the modernization of Peru, Afro-descendants were considered a foreign race and thus, had no place of origin, although they were thought to adapt easily to “tropical lands.” De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 20–21.

<sup>697</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

“inhabited by absentee landlords of large haciendas who lived in large mansions teeming with indigenous male and female servants.”<sup>698</sup>

Colombian race-making followed a similar process. Unlike Perú, however, in Colombia, mountainous regions offered more favorable conditions for agriculture than other regions, resulting in denser populated areas.<sup>699</sup> This produced what appears as an inverted image of the Peruvian racial landscape that de la Cadena describes in her book: because most of the Colombian elite resided in these mountainous regions, intellectuals articulated a sense of Andean superiority by placing the mestizo and criollo elites from this area (along with their cultures, past and present) at the top of the social ladder. By the same token, they relegated indigenous and Afro-descendant communities hailing from other areas like the Amazon or the Pacific and Atlantic coasts to the lower strata of society.

Temperature and climate also contributed towards the construction of this racial mapping. Since Colombia is not affected by seasonal changes, both temperature and rainfall levels remain more or less constant throughout the year. Temperature variation depends rather on elevation: the higher the location, the cooler it gets. Bogotá, which is located at 2630 meters (or 8500 feet) above sea level, averages an annual mean of 13 degrees Celsius (56 degrees Fahrenheit).<sup>700</sup> A coastal city like Barranquilla (sea level), on the other hand, experiences an annual means of 28 to 30 Celsius (82 to 86 Fahrenheit).<sup>701</sup> This inverse

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<sup>698</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>699</sup> Safford and Palacios write that 15 percent of the country’s territory lies above 1000 meters, where over two-thirds of the population during the nineteenth century lived. Frank Safford, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society* / Palacios, Marco., Latin American Histories; Variation: Latin American Histories. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3.

<sup>700</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid.

relation between elevation and climate prompted Colombian scientists during the late nineteenth century to posit that in areas where hot temperatures were predominant, human bodies would burn more carbon dioxide to operate, and thus, less energy could be spent on mental activities. Humans who hailed from these warmer regions (as well as their descendants), according to these intellectuals then, evinced a lesser degree of evolution than people from mountainous regions.<sup>702</sup>

Such a form of geographical determinism eventually found its way into early-twentieth-century Colombian discourses of racial mixing (see chapter 5). Mirroring Mexican indigenismo, Colombian intellectuals during the late 1920s and 1930s challenged the notion that a biological mixture with the indigenous race would pose as an obstacle to national progress, as I described in the previous chapter. One has to recall, however, that such valorizations of indigeneity were filtered through a mestizo-modernizing lens. State elites during this time period, Stepan reminds us, sought to replace “land-bound Indians... with a mobile, urban, and modern labor force made up of mestizos.”<sup>703</sup> Owing to its centralized political configuration, in Colombia, intellectuals encouraged a selective mestizaje with indigenous populations that resided near Colombia’s capital city, especially those who they thought were the descendants of the Chibchas. Colombian race-making during the early twentieth-century was thus shaped by its centralized political configuration, which became legitimized (after many Civil Wars during the nineteenth

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<sup>702</sup> It is worth noting that despite the fact this rationale became a trope in Colombian thought at the time, it was later contended by indigenista intellectuals like engineer Miguel Triana in the 1920s. Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 156.

<sup>703</sup> Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 145–46.

century) in the constitution of 1886. Bogotá's role as the nation's administrative and legislative center, nevertheless, required political work well beyond the power granted to it through the constitution.

Indeed, despite the fact that Santafé de Bogotá (Bogotá's name during the colony) served as the center of the Viceroyalty of the New Grenade, parts of modern-day Western Colombia were not under its jurisdiction during the colony, creating internal tensions once these territories were absorbed into the emerging Colombian nation-state.<sup>704</sup> Furthermore, whereas Santafé de Bogotá remained dominant during the early stages of the Colombian Republic, its power stemmed mostly from its political resources, social capital, and a long-standing aristocratic presence that dated back to the colony. Meanwhile, other regions began to gain political pull right after independence by developing strong economies through gold mining (in the West) or the importation of consumer goods (in the Caribbean coast). During the nineteenth century, inhabitants of cities such as Popayán (in the Colombian Southwest) and Cartagena (the Caribbean Coast), also increased their political influence by appealing to their historical role as important political and administrative centers during the colony. The region of Antioquia (in the Western Andes) became a strong contender for Colombian's political power during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially when coffee began to take the place of the country's primary export commodity.<sup>705</sup> What is more, as alluded to in the previous chapter, early twentieth-century intellectuals framed this region as a cultural and racial repository of Catholic "whiteness,"

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<sup>704</sup> See Safford, *Colombia*, 6–8.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

extolling their spiritual and moral values over the rest of Colombia's cultural geography, and therefore, placing at the top of Colombia's racial ladder.<sup>706</sup>

Intellectuals from Bogotá constructed their city's political dominance during the early twentieth century through a number of discourses that naturalized its position as center of the nation. Langebaek Rueda recounts, for example, how intellectuals of this time attempted to reconcile what they thought to be observable biological and physiological phenomena with the particularities of nineteenth-century Colombian racial topography via mestizaje and centralization. Some of these intellectuals posited, for instance, that “[w]hile the man in the coast inhaled 3425 daily grams of oxygen, in the highlands, the consumption of oxygen was only of 2525, [which] was detrimental to cerebral activities; because of this, [it was thought that] the Chibchas had developed larger lungs and thoracic cage, and thus, they had an organism that was ready for a sedentary and industrial life.”<sup>707</sup> This intersection between centralization, mestizaje, and geographical determinism, can also be evinced in the way indigeneity was inscribed into the nation's history. Indeed, intellectual elites from Bogotá appealed to geographical determinism to construct the Chibchas as *the* pre-Hispanic civilization worthy of representing the origins of the young Colombian nation-state. Unlike other indigenous communities in Colombia, only the Chibchas, in these intellectuals' view, had ruled under a complex state system. Because the archeological remains of the Chibcha civilization were scant and conceivably smaller in comparison to their Latin American

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<sup>706</sup> See Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 83.

<sup>707</sup> “Mientras que el hombre de la costa aspiraba 3425 gramos diarios de oxígeno, en las tierras altas el consumo era de solo 2525, con el consiguiente detrimento de las actividades cerebrales; por ello, el chibcha había desarrollado unos pulmones y una caja torácica más grandes, y por lo tanto un organismo más dado al sedentarismo.” Carl Henrik Langebaek Rueda, *Utopías Ajenas. Evolucionismo Indios E Indigenistas. Miguel Triana Y El Legado De Darwin Y Spencer* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Universidad de Los Andes, 2014), xxvii.



counterparts (especially neighboring nations like Perú), intellectuals from Bogotá argued that Chibcha greatness resided more “in being a moral civilization, [because they] penalized crimes such as homicide, rapture, incest, sodomy, burglary, and even desertion.”<sup>708</sup> And the lack of a material greatness was justified through catastrophism: the Spanish Conquest had not only destroyed Chibcha culture but it had trumped Chibcha development, casting it into a proto-empire.

This catastrophic view of the past created a sense of national inferiority vis-à-vis other Latin American nation-states. This sense of inferiority, interestingly, continues to be commonly invoked in the Colombian imaginary as one of the main reasons—along with Colombia’s difficult topography—for Colombia’s weak state and fragmented national identity.<sup>709</sup> Even Uribe Holguín in his 1923 lecture articulated said discourse. As he stated: “But if nothing can be positively affirmed regarding the musical art of those refined civilizations of antiquity [i.e., referring to other pre-Columbian cultures], because there is no documentation from which we can understand [their musical practices], what can we say about the music of our own aborigines?”<sup>710</sup> The effects of centralization in nationalist

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<sup>708</sup> “Finalmente, la interpretación de Acosta estableció la idea más general que se ha argumentado a favor de la civilización Chibcha: la de que si bien sus restos materiales son pocos, su grandeza radicó en la de ser una civilización moral, al sancionar delitos tales como el homicidio, el rapto, el incesto, la sodomía, los robos y hasta la deserción en la guerra.” Guarán Martínez, “La civilización chibcha y la construcción de la nación neogranadina,” 217.

<sup>709</sup> Safford and Palacios write for instance: “Wide cultural disparities were evident among Colombia’s pre-Columbian populations. Under Spanish rule the topographically determined division between the country’s eastern and western population groups was reinforced by political divisions stemming from the pattern of conquest. To these spatial and political divisions were added regional ethnic and cultural differences that were determined in part by the varying economic functions of the different regions. During the colonial period and afterward, an indigenous- mestizo population survived in the agricultural East, while on the Caribbean coast and in much of the gold-mining West African slaves played an important part in the formation of the population.” Safford, *Colombia*, ix–xi.

<sup>710</sup> “Pero si nada puede afirmarse de modo positivo respecto del arte musical de aquellos pueblos refinados de la antigüedad, porque no existe ningún documento sobre el cual se pueda fundar siquiera un concepto

discourse here contribute towards the construction of a the notion of *permanent national prolepsis*—a discourse that is constitutive of Colombianidad, as I argued in the introduction to this dissertation. Chibcha civilization was thus casted as a proto-empire, having the potential for greatness but ultimately failing to mature because of the Conquest.<sup>711</sup>

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definitivo, qué decir de la música de nuestros aborígenes?” Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “La Música Nacional,” *Revista Musical* 1, no. 1 (ago 1923): 3.

<sup>711</sup> Guarín Martínez, “La civilización chibcha y la construcción de la nación neogranadina.,” 19.



Figure 6.2. Map of pre-Columbian cultures by indigenista painter Luis Alberto Acuña in *El Arte de los Indios Colombianos* (1942). Circled area corresponds to Bogotá, which Acuña labels with the name Bacatá (Bogotá in Chibcha Language). Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

Finally, as a result of centralization, this notion of an “empire-in-development” was also applied to other pre-Hispanic cultures in Colombia. In his work on the institutionalization of indigenismo, Hector García Botero explains that the zoomorphic

statues found in San Agustín (a region in the Colombian Southwest), despite being the largest pre-Hispanic monuments found in Colombian territory, and as such, could have been framed as an affirmation of indigenous cultural development, were still perceived by Colombian archeologists as mediocre in comparison to the archeological remains of the Incan or Mayan civilizations.<sup>712</sup> As a matter of fact, scholars of the time thought that the sphere of influence of these Mayan and Incan empires had spread far enough as to affect the cultural production of all Colombian pre-Hispanic groups. This formulated a double-sense of inferiority in comparison to other “ancient” civilizations: one with the “Asian race” (thought of as the origin of indigenous races; see below) and another with other Latin American nations. In Garcia Botero’s own words:

This sensation of inferiority not only has as a reference the grandiosity of Asian monuments, the millenary civilizations, who are the origins of humanity, but it was compared to the works left by the Incan, Aztec, and Mayan past. In effect, the lettered [elite] recognized the “Maya Quiché” influence, but insisted in the inferiority of Colombian artistic remains . . . for example, [the lettered elite] does not discard the conjunction of two heritages, Peruvian and Mexican, making of the San Agustín culture, a synthesis of indigenous mobilizations prior to the arrival of the Spanish.<sup>713</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> The first documentation of this archeological site dates back to the eighteenth century, written by Friar Juan de Santa Gertrudis. Muñoz details that San Agustín was a common site for grave robbers (guaqueros) during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, who sold these artifacts to a few amateurs, interested in pre-Hispanic cultures. In 1918, the Colombian government attempted to tackle this through a legislative effort (Law 48) that did not pass in congress. Such effort was not successful until 1931. This allowed foreign ethnologists to export archeological objects from San Agustín to other Europe and the United States. On the archeological studies carried out at San Agustín, see Muñoz, Catalina, “To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946,” 201–4.

<sup>713</sup> “Esta sensación de inferioridad no solo tiene como referencia la grandiosidad de los monumentos asiáticos, las civilizaciones milenarias que son el origen de la humanidad, sino que está comparada con las obras legadas por el pasado incaico, azteca, y maya. En efecto, el letrado reconoce la influencia ‘maya quiche,’ pero insistiendo en la inferioridad de los restos artísticos colombianos, por ejemplo, no descarta la conjunción de dos herencias, peruana y mexicana, situando en San Agustín una síntesis de las movilizaciones indígenas antes de la llegada de los españoles.” Héctor García Botero, *Una Historia de Nuestros Otros. Indígenas, Letrados y Antropólogos En El Estudio de La Diferencia Cultural En Colombia (1880-1960)* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Universidad de los Andes, 2010), 21.



Figure 6.3. “Estatua No1. Plaza de San Agustín,” by José María Gutiérrez de Alba (1873).<sup>714</sup> Colección Digital Banco de la República de Colombia.

It is worth noting that these archeological expeditions were intimately tied to the place of indigenismo within the cultural politics of the *República Liberal*. As Brett Troyan recounts, in Colombia, a consolidated indigenista line, while difficult to ascertain (e.g., when did a romanticized version of the “Indian” transform into a movement that sought to defend indigenous culture?), can be traced to the stock market crash of 1929. As explained in previous chapters, this inaugurated a time period known for its reformist

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<sup>714</sup> “Episodios: Las Prodigiosas Estatuas de San Agustín,” accessed June 1, 2018, <http://www.banrep.gov.co/impresiones-de-un-viaje/index.php/episodios/view?id=73>.

cultural policy—the *República Liberal*—especially during the first presidency of Alfonso López Pumarejo (1934–1938).

During this time period, López Pumarejo pursued an agrarian reform, which supported the study of rural areas and of the indigenous peoples who inhabited in such area. In the following section, I discuss how indigenismo in Colombia is connected to process of race-making and place-making via the República Liberal.

### **Indigenismo and the Colombian State during the *República Liberal***

Prior to its institutionalization during the República Liberal, indigenismo in Colombia had three immediate precursors: (1) José Eustasio Rivera’s novel, *La Vorágine* (1924), a bestseller that was that result of Rivera’s travels to the Amazon as a government official in charge of mapping Colombia’s borders; (2) a branch of Colombian proto-indigenismo that was heavily influenced by Mexican indigenismo during the 1920s; and (3) the group of artists who came to be known as the *Bachués*, named after Bachué, a fertility goddess venerated by the Chibchas.<sup>715</sup> Let us briefly explore these.

In *La Vorágine*, Rivera details the travels of a city man who finds himself in the Colombian Amazon. Rivera’s depiction of the Colombian amazon conforms to a romantic vision of the region, where the relation between the urban man and nature is expressed through an “omnipresent magical and anthropomorphized hostility of the forest.”<sup>716</sup> In *La Vorágine*, Rivera nevertheless explored other themes such as the absence of

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<sup>715</sup> Troyan, 91.

<sup>716</sup> Safford, *Colombia*, 279.

government control in the region and the exploitation of indigenous peoples by the rubber industry in the Colombian-Peruvian border. The popularity of this book brought about negative publicity to the Colombian State. Rivera not only depicted the state as apathetic towards its indigenous communities, but also as ineffective in defending Colombian sovereignty against Perú. Through Rivera's novel, indigeneity quickly became a matter of national interest.<sup>717</sup>

The impact of Rivera's novel in the Colombian imaginary was also accompanied by a number of indigenista articles published in Colombian magazines throughout the 1920s. These articles appeared in magazines such as *Universidad*, *Los Nuevos*, and *Voces*.<sup>718</sup> *Universidad*, Brett Troyan tells us, was the most prominent of these, owing largely to its editor, Germán Arciniegas (1900-1999). Arciniegas was a prominent Liberal intellectual, who later became associated with the Bachúes during the 1930s.<sup>719</sup> While the articles published in *Universidad* rarely dealt with living Colombian indigenous communities, at most they featuring fictional recreations of Chibcha tales, this magazine was instrumental in valorizing indigeneity within Colombian processes of race-making, often challenging ideas of racial degeneration. Most of the articles on indigeneity, however, focused on the way other nations (where the indigenista movement was already underway) were pursuing their own revindication of indigenous lifeways. Indeed, as Troyan writes, a number of articles were dedicated to the development of indigenismo in Mexico, praising their

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<sup>717</sup> In the early 30s, a short-lived armed conflict between Perú and Colombia broke after Peruvian *caucheros* (rubber gatherers), seized the Colombian town of Leticia On the early twentieth-century rubber industry in the Amazon Safford, 278–79; Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 92.

<sup>718</sup> Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 92.

<sup>719</sup> Arciniegas also served as Minister of Education in the mid-1940s

muralists in particular. *Universidad* also featured a number of interviews of indigenista intellectuals such as the Peruvians José Carlos Mariátegui and Victor Haya de la Torre. However, as Troyan writes, the articles were largely based on the search of so-called authentic identity, and thus, did not address state matters in the way that *La Vorágine* did.<sup>720</sup>

Magazines such as *Universidad*, along with *La Vorágine*, became cardinal points from which a more defined Colombian school of indigenismo materialized in the early 1930s: the Bachués. The Bachués counted with sculptors, painters, archeologists, and essayists among their ranks. The most prominent artist that came out of this movement was sculptor Romulo Rozo, whose representation of indigeneity, as Troyan tells us, owes more to the indigenous motifs of Native American groups in the United States than to the political and cultural reality of Colombian indigenous groups.<sup>721</sup> What is more, while the group's aesthetic philosophy was rather disjointed and heterogeneous, Troyan tells us that these artists were united by their political affinity to the Liberal party, and most importantly, by the search of a pan-American identity that would stand in opposition to European models of art and culture, which after World War I, they started to see as decadent.<sup>722</sup> Nevertheless, while the Bachués were somewhat divorced from the reality of

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<sup>720</sup> Troyan, "Re-Imagining the 'Indian' and the State," 93.

<sup>721</sup> On the Bachués, see Troyan, 93–94; Fabio Rodríguez Amaya, "La Bachué de Rómulo Rozo. Un ícono del arte moderno colombiano," *Ensayos. Historia y teoría del arte* 17, no. 24 (January 1, 2013): 146–59.

<sup>722</sup> Troyan, "Re-Imagining the 'Indian' and the State," 95.



indigenous communities, they pressured the government into financing the study non-urban areas, where indigenous populations largely resided.

Answering to this call, the Liberal State financed the first significant archeological enterprises in Colombia, most of which were carried out by the first archeological society, founded by archeologist Gregorio Hernández de Alba (1904–1974) in 1935.<sup>723</sup> It was through Gustavo Santos, we should note here, by which the archeological society became a state agency in 1937.<sup>724</sup> What is more, during the presidency of Santos's brother, Eduardo Santos, Hernández de Alba was sent by the Colombian government to study ethnology under Paul Rivet, then director of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Interestingly, Rivet first met Hernández de Alba at the archeological exhibition organized by the Colombian state for the fourth centenary of the founding of Bogotá.<sup>725</sup> Rivet later went into exile in Colombia, after being fired from the Musée de l'Homme.<sup>726</sup> With Rivet, Hernández de Alba established the National Ethnological Institute in 1941, considered by many to be the founding moment of anthropology in Colombia.

Under Hernández de Alba, who also joined the Bachués in the 1930s, the Colombian state funded a number of archeological and anthropological expeditions. The first of these was carried out in 1935 in the region of the Guajira, where Hernández de

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<sup>723</sup> On Hernández de Alba, see Luis Fernando Restrepo, "De La Etnoficción y La Literatura Indígena. Los 'Cuentos de La Conquista' (1937) de Gregorio Hernández de Alba," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 39, no. 1 (2014): 15–27; Brett Troyan, "Gregorio Hernández de Alba (1904-1973): The Legitimization of Indigenous Ethnic Politics in Colombia," *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe / European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, no. 82 (2007): 89–106.

<sup>724</sup> Troyan, "Gregorio Hernández de Alba (1904-1973)," 92.

<sup>725</sup> Brett Troyan, "Gregorio Hernández de Alba (194-1973): The Legitimization of Indigenous Ethnic Politics in Colombia.," *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe (Amsterdam)*, no. 82 (2007): 93.

<sup>726</sup> Troyan, "Gregorio Hernández de Alba (1904-1973)," 96.

Alba conducted fieldwork with the Wayú communities. As Troyan recounts, through this expedition, the intellectual elites of Bogotá first became aware of the presence of indigenous communities in that area. He later led expeditions to San Agustín and to the region of Tierradentro, both located in the Colombian Southwest. Hernández de Alba published his findings in cultural journals such as *Revista Pan* or the *Revista de las Indias*. Interestingly, Uribe Holguín published an article in the latter in 1947, where he criticized music nationalism.<sup>727</sup>

Other prominent indigenistas of the time were Antonio García Nossa (1912–1962), a Marxist activist, hired by the Colombian state to study the rural Cauca and its indigenous communities<sup>728</sup>; and Juan Friede (1901–1990), a Ukrainian Jewish man who settled in Colombia in 1926 and later became a Colombian citizen in 1930.<sup>729</sup> Friede, as Troyan writes, played an instrumental role in showing to other Colombians the importance of communal landholding to indigenous communities. His book *El indio en lucha por la tierra, historia de los resguardos del macizo central colombiano* (1944), became an instant classic among indigenista circles. In 1943, García Nossa and Hernández de Alba founded the Instituto Nacional Indigenista de Colombia, which remained a private institution until April of 1944, when the Colombian congress finally ratified a Pan-American treaty that urged Latin American nations to create indigenista institutes.<sup>730</sup> This treaty was the result of the

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<sup>727</sup> Guillermo Uribe Holguín, “Cómo piensan los artistas Colombianos: contra el nacionalismo musical,” *Revista de las Indias*, No. 96, 1947. Centro de Documentación Musical. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

<sup>728</sup> Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 96–97.

<sup>729</sup> On Friede, see Troyan, 99–102.

<sup>730</sup> Since Uribe Holguín’s *Bochica* precedes the creation of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista de Colombia, I won’t address it here as such. For more information on the cultural politics of this instituto, see François Correa Rubio, “La modernidad del pensamiento indigenista y el Instituto Nacional Indigenista de

First Inter-American Indigenista Congress (1940), which was held in the city of Pátzcuaro, in the state of Michoacán in México.<sup>731</sup> But why did the Liberal State become so invested in indigenismo?

After forty years of Conservative rule, to secure their power, many Liberals during the *República Liberal* sought to consolidate political alliances with both the urban working class and indigenous peoples, who overwhelmingly resided in the countryside. An alliance with the latter was particularly important to the Liberal party, because many of these indigenous communities, especially ones residing in the Colombian Southwest (in the region of Cauca), were affiliated with Conservatism.<sup>732</sup> This affiliation, more than ideological or religious, had to do with collective landholding rights and the safeguarding of indigenous *resguardos*, which the Conservative administration of Núñez secured by passing Law 89 in 1890.<sup>733</sup> Ironically, this law was approved based on the notion that indigenous people needed protection, for Conservative intellectuals regarded them as savages and thus, unfit to join the nation-state until they had become civilized via Catholic evangelization.<sup>734</sup> The Liberal party, as Troyan argues, was also concerned with the

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Colombia,” *Maguaré* 0, no. 21 (January 1, 2007), <https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/maguare/article/view/10391>.

<sup>731</sup> See Roberto Pineda C, “El Congreso Indigenista de Pátzcuaro, 1940, Una Nueva Apertura En La Política Indigenista de Las Américas,” *Baukara: Bitácoras de Antropología e Historia de La Antropología En América Latina* 2 (2012): 10–28.

<sup>732</sup> Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 83.

<sup>733</sup> A *resguardo* was the land granted to indigenous people by the Spanish crown to protect them after their rapid decline of population during the beginnings of the colony. This land as Troyan explains “was inalienable and could not be sold or rented to non-indigenous people.” *Ibid*, 87.

<sup>734</sup> *Ibid*, 88–89.

growing popularity of the socialist and communist movements among indigenous communities, especially in the region of Cauca.<sup>735</sup>

It is important to note here as well that Law 89 of 1890 and other subsequent laws that came into effect during the late nineteenth century, while securing the rights of indigenous communities to collective landholding, also stripped the civil and political authority of resguardos from indigenous communities, which were handed to the Catholic Church.<sup>736</sup> In the 1910s, a number of conflicts broke out between the indigenous communities in the regions of Putumayo and Nariños and the state, especially after the state took 2,471 acres from a resguardo to found the town of Sucre (modern-day Colón, located in the region of Putumayo).<sup>737</sup> These missions, furthermore, operated a mechanism to incorporate indigenous labor into the rubber industry.<sup>738</sup> As I explain below, the first comprehensive music ethnography of indigenous musics in Colombia came from a Catalan Capuchin monk, who resided in one of these missions.

Troyan argues that despite appearing as disconnected from the reality of Colombian indigenous communities, it was through the cultural work of indigenismo that Colombia slowly began to construct a proper intellectual climate that eventually contributed towards the mobilization of indigenous activism in the 1970s and 1980s.

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<sup>735</sup> Troyan, “Gregorio Hernández de Alba (194-1973),” 91.

<sup>736</sup> Law 72 of 1892, for instance, granted the Missionaries with civil, penal, and judicial authority over the resguardos Misael Kuan Bahamón, *Civilización, frontera y barbarie: misiones capuchinas en Caquetá y Putumayo, 1893-1929* (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2015), 188.

<sup>737</sup> On the expropriation of indigenous resguardos by the Colombian state during the early twentieth century in this region, see Kuan Bahamón, 163–76.

<sup>738</sup> For a comprehensive study of the Capuchin missions in Colombian territory during this time period, see Misael Kuan Bahamón; On indigenous labor and missions in Colombia during the early twentieth century, see Amada Carolina Pérez Benavides, *Nosotros y los otros: las representaciones de la nación y sus habitantes, Colombia, 1880-1910*, 2015, 275–307.

During this time period, the first indigenous grassroots organization began to operate in Colombia, chief among them, the *Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca* (CRIC).<sup>739</sup> As Troyan details, indigenistas like García Nossa and Friede were friends, for example, with the indigenous leader Manuel Quintín Lame, who had attempted to create an indigenous republic during the early twentieth-century and who fought the Colombian state on many occasions.<sup>740</sup> Quintín Lame was an important figure in the indigenous struggle to reinstitute collective landholding, despite his failure against the Liberal state, which denied his claims to land. In the 1970s, inspired by Quintín Lame, the Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame took up arms against the state. They eventually demobilized, after their efforts were inscribed into the new constitution of 1991, which secured two seats in the national senate for indigenous communities.<sup>741</sup>

Nevertheless, we should consider, as Safford writes, that during the República Liberal, the state also pursued an active centralization of the economy in order to bolster industrial development; and we cannot separate indigenismo from such an enterprise. Indeed, these processes were also intimately tied to the way Liberal intellectuals sought to incorporate indigenous communities in the nation-state be it through mestizaje or the revaluation of indigeneity in national narratives. To achieve said modernization, Liberal intellectuals and politicians sought to articulate an alliance with the working classes, who were being swayed by the ascendancy of socialism and communism in Colombia. This was

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<sup>739</sup> Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 84.

<sup>740</sup> On Manuel Quintín Lame, see Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998).

<sup>741</sup> Safford, *Colombia*, 359.

an issue that provoked reactions from both the Conservative and the Liberal parties.<sup>742</sup> Most importantly, this centralization of the economy was reflected in the way the Colombia state dealt with land ownership during this time period.

Safford and Palacios detail that Liberals sought to organize labor union and support agrarian legislation in support of peasants, who worked under heterogenous agrarian labor systems.<sup>743</sup> It was the state's role then to mediate claims to land by both large landowners and *colonos* (peasants who settled in the land they were working). In 1932, President Olaya Herrera first tackled this issue by proposing an agrarian reform that established “a presumption of state ownership of ‘all uncultivated land,’” as Safford and Palacios write.<sup>744</sup> Whereas public lands could be obtained solely by the people which the state considered to be “barren lands,” in 1936, during the administration of López Pumarejo, this law was reversed, and replaced by a reform that privileged large landholders. Safford and Palacios state:

The law strengthened the juridical position of large landowners, although it gave some relief to peasants who could prove good faith in the possession of their plots. That relief depended on the fate of their claims for recognition of improvements on the land. But the number of land judges created to deal with these conflicts was tiny. And they were not provided with instructions and regulations for more than a year, giving the landowners time to remove the colonos. Peasant protest was concentrated in the coffee zones of Tequendama and Sumapaz, which were dominated by the Communists, and to a lesser degree in the Santa Marta banana zone, the province of Vélez, the Sinú valley on the Caribbean coast, and the coffee-growing Quindío. The land law of 1936 served to resolve these conflicts by means that in reality had been employed since the 1920s—private or government division of large estates that were

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<sup>742</sup> Ibid, 293.

<sup>743</sup> On Labor Unions during this time period, see Safford, 292–96.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid, 296.

besieged by colonos and tenants and adjudicating public lands on a case-by-case basis.<sup>745</sup>

The issue of land, however, was not limited to the claim of large landowners and *colonos*, but also involved the expropriation of indigenous resguardos by the state in favor of state modernization. For Colombia indigenistas like Friede, this constituted a direct affront against indigenous ethnic identity. As Troyan explains, Friede did not conceive of indigenous ethnic identity based on ancestry, language, nor phenotype. After all, these intellectuals considered cultural and linguistic heritage as inauthentic or lost to history, so indigenous identity could not possibly be based on these aspects. Phenotype also posed an issue for the construction of an indigenous ethnic identity, given the long-standing practices of biological mestizaje throughout Colombia. To circumvent this issue, Friede naturalized indigenous claims to land as a definite marker of their ethnic identity. “In spite of everything and more out of an instinct of preservation than out of mature thinking, the fight goes on desperately to hold on to what the past has left them: this is to say, the collective right to the territory they occupy,” Friede wrote in 1944.<sup>746</sup> It is through catastrophism then, that in Colombia, race-making had become synonymous with place-making.

Colombian indigenistas therefore constructed indigenous ethnic identity through its ties to collective landholding. These ties were perceived as innate and natural to indigenous peoples. Yet, indigenistas considered this connection to land as socially backward, and almost irrational, for they deemed “the actual land held by indigenous communities as

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<sup>745</sup> Ibid, 296.

<sup>746</sup> Friede quoted in Troyan, “Re-Imagining the ‘Indian’ and the State,” 100.

practically worthless and infertile.”<sup>747</sup> Despite this patronizing view, we should acknowledge that Colombian indigenismo was decisively ambivalent, contradictory, and overtly political. It revindicated indigenous lifeways through place-making, but it did so through a stance that was inevitably connected to bipartisan politics and to the land reform of the República Liberal. In the section below, I show how this construction of ethnicity to the land owes in part to the orientalist strategies that discursively dislocate indigenous claims to land first as to later reinscribe them through an indigenista and mestizo lens.

### **Orientalism and Indigenismo**

Different from what Said calls Orientalism, which I understand as a discourse of cultural domination formulated by colonial powers—especially in relation to British and French practices—Latin American Orientalism developed as a product of a cultural periphery. It was deeply informed, for example, unlike its European counterparts, by the idea of an Asian origin of Amerindian populations, which was later modified to fit a mestizo project of the nation.<sup>748</sup> This process was furthered complicated during the nineteenth century after the abolishment of slavery in much of Latin America, when a large influx of people coming from countries to the East of Europe (Chinese, Indian, Malaysian, among others) were brought to Latin America as a labor force to bolster the modernization of Latin

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<sup>747</sup> Brett Troyan, “Re-Imagining The ‘Indian’ And The State: Indigenismo In Colombia, 1926-1947,” *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Latino-Américaines et Caraïbes* 33, no. 65 (2008): 100.

<sup>748</sup> See Erik Camayd-Freixas, *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America: Fashioning Self and Other from the (Post)Colonial Margin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 9–16.



American infrastructure.<sup>749</sup> Particularly relevant to the Colombian case, is the large migration of Lebanese, Turkish, Syrian, and Palestine immigrants to the Colombian Atlantic coast that first took place during the second half of the twentieth century and, whose numbers increased after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1922.<sup>750</sup>

In this light, Erik Camayd-Freixas argues for a substantial qualification of the discourse of Orientalism in Latin America. Camayd-Freixas, for instance, proposes to consider the ambivalent position that indigeneity occupied with respect to its perceived contributions to the racial make-up of Latin American hybrid identity, which he traces even to pre-Columbian times in Spain:

First, the profound Arabic and Hebraic cultural influences in the Iberian Middle Ages led to the late fifteenth-century formation of Spain and Portugal as nominally European but truly hybrid nations in denial. Moreover, the colonial hegemony they established in Latin America led to a hybrid Creole culture. Thus,[...] it is not unusual for Latin American subjects to perceive the Orient not as Europe's Other but rather as a reflection of the Other within, variously and conflictually affirmed or denied. Second, there is the fact that Latin American Orientalism arises not in the centers of colonial power but in the periphery, where it presents itself at times as an alternative to both indigenous and Western constructs of cultural history and identity. Third, Latin American Orientalism may even take the form of a foundational discourse, based on the remote Asian origins of Amerindian population.<sup>751</sup>

Yet, it is important to acknowledge that while Latin American orientalism differs from its European counterparts, Latin American intellectuals still replicated some of the tenets of

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<sup>749</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>750</sup> Michael J. LaRosa and German R. Mejía trace these migrations to the Crimean war and the Arab-Israeli conflict at the beginning of the twentieth century as possible causes as well. Michael James LaRosa and Germán R Mejía, *Colombia: A Concise Contemporary History* (Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 56.

<sup>751</sup> Camayd-Freixas, *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America*, 5.

European orientalist representational practices. The myth of European religious homogeneity, for example, based on the exclusion of the Orient and the “Westernization of Christianity through differentiation from its Semitic Roots,” looms large in the Latin American imaginary.<sup>752</sup> In his book, Camayd-Freixas details that as early as 1511, Spanish colonialists held that indigenous peoples were ancient Israelite tribes who had lost their memory.<sup>753</sup> Columbus, for instance identified the Hispaniola with Ophir, a port mentioned in the Bible where King Solomon’s fleet returned with lots of gold after a three-year journey. This idea eventually led to the myth of El Dorado, which was thought to be located in Colombia. Other writers during the colony such as Fray Gregorio García thought that indigenous populations were descendants of Noah who had even traveled to China, bringing Egyptian and Phoenician influences with them to the American Continent.<sup>754</sup> As Freixas argues, this theory rested on “physical similarities (facial features, pigmentation, lack of hair), and cultural affinities (idolatry, the calendar, the use of knots as a system of registry)”. In Colombia, historian José Benito Gaitán proposed in 1668 that the Chibchas “were descendants of an Israeli tribe who venerated the temple of [Sugamuxi] as a reminiscence of Jerusalem.”<sup>755</sup>

Let us also recall the well-known theory about the Asian migration to the American continent some 15,000 years ago through the Bering Strait, a hypothesis first proposed by the Spanish missionary Fray José de Acosta in 1590. Acosta proposed the origins of these

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<sup>752</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid.

<sup>755</sup> “No obstante, no se racializaba el pasado: el texto insistía en que los muiscas eran descendientes de una tribu de Israel que veneraba el templo de Sogamoso como reminiscencia de Jerusalén.” Langebaek Rueda, *Herederos del Pasado Tomo II*, 4.

indigenous populations came from Adam and the ancient Orient. According to Acosta, these communities eventually migrated thousands of years before the colony, which caused indigenous peoples to forget their origins. Their indoctrination into the Catholic faith would therefore reintegrate them into the biblical tradition. Acosta's myth has loomed so large in historical narratives that it was considered true until very recently, being disproven through DNA analysis.<sup>756</sup>

Similarly, in 1552, Spanish Historian Francisco López de Gómara equated the lost landmass of Atlantis with the American continent, which López located as part of the Orient.<sup>757</sup> Others like the Novohispanic polymath, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora posited that indigenous communities descended from Neptuhim, a son of Noah (Neptune in Greek literature), who led an exodus towards Atlantis.<sup>758</sup> As Leonora Saavedra writes, even Vasconcelos himself held that great civilizations of Mesoamerica (Teotihuacán, early Maya, and Toltec), were heirs to an "Atlantis-related civilization."<sup>759</sup> Indeed, central to Mexican nationalism was the figure of the god Quetzalcóatl, who, just as Bochica in Colombia, had also come from "afar, full of science and virtue, who taught art and reformed social customs."<sup>760</sup> Against this backdrop, we must then consider how Latin

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<sup>756</sup> See Mikkel W. Pedersen et al., "Postglacial Viability and Colonization in North America's Ice-Free Corridor," *Nature* 537 (August 10, 2016): 45; Jason Daley, "First Humans Entered the Americas Along the Coast, Not Through the Ice," *Smithsonian*, accessed February 2, 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/humans-colonized-americas-along-coast-not-through-ice-180960103/>; Saul Jarcho, "Origin of the American Indian as Suggested by Fray Joséph de Acosta (1589)," *Isis* 50, No. 4 (1959): 430–38.

<sup>757</sup> Glynn White, *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 132.

<sup>758</sup> Camayd-Freixas, *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America*, 10.

<sup>759</sup> Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*, 63.

<sup>760</sup> José Vasconcelos quoted in Saavedra Saavedra, 63.

American orientalism responds to the way Latin American subjects integrated and (re)fashioned the idea of the “Orient” into discourses of national alterity and identity.

In early-twentieth century Colombia, for instance, the orientalization of indigeneity was dispersed across multiple disciplines that informed one and other, which eventually informed Uribe Holguín’s *Bochica*. Miguel Triana, an influential indigenista engineer, believed there was a connection between Egyptian spirals and the indigenous drawings he had stumbled upon in Colombian archeological sites.<sup>761</sup> Thus, Triana was quick to suggest that for the Paris Exhibition of 1925 the Colombian nation ought to be represented by an indigenous gazebo. Triana proposed to build the gazebo on top of the remains of an Egyptian pavilion, which had been erected for the celebration of Colombia’s centenary of independence in 1910. Despite the fact that he believed that “Indian buildings” were merely huts, Triana saw in the convergence between Egyptian and Chibcha symbols a possibility to elevate Colombian identity. Triana wrote in 1912:

In reality, the buildings of these Indians did not go beyond the category of wooden huts built with straw and [adobe] walls, but this building could still be housed in the aforementioned museum, because it will be inspired by the figures and symbols used in the decoration [of the Egyptian Pavilion] such as rhombuses, frets, and spirals.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>761</sup> On Triana, See Carl Henrik Langebaek Rueda, *Utopias Ajenas. Evolucionismo Indios e Indigenistas. Miguel Triana Y El Legado De Darwin Y Spencer* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Universidad de Los Andes, 2014).

<sup>762</sup> “En realidad los edificios de estos indios no pasaron de la categoría de cabañas de madera y paja con paredes de bahareque, podría figurar este proyecto en el museo mencionado, por estar inspirado en las figuras usadas y en los signos empleados en la decoración tales como los rombos, las grecas, y los espirales.” Langebaek Rueda, 185–86.

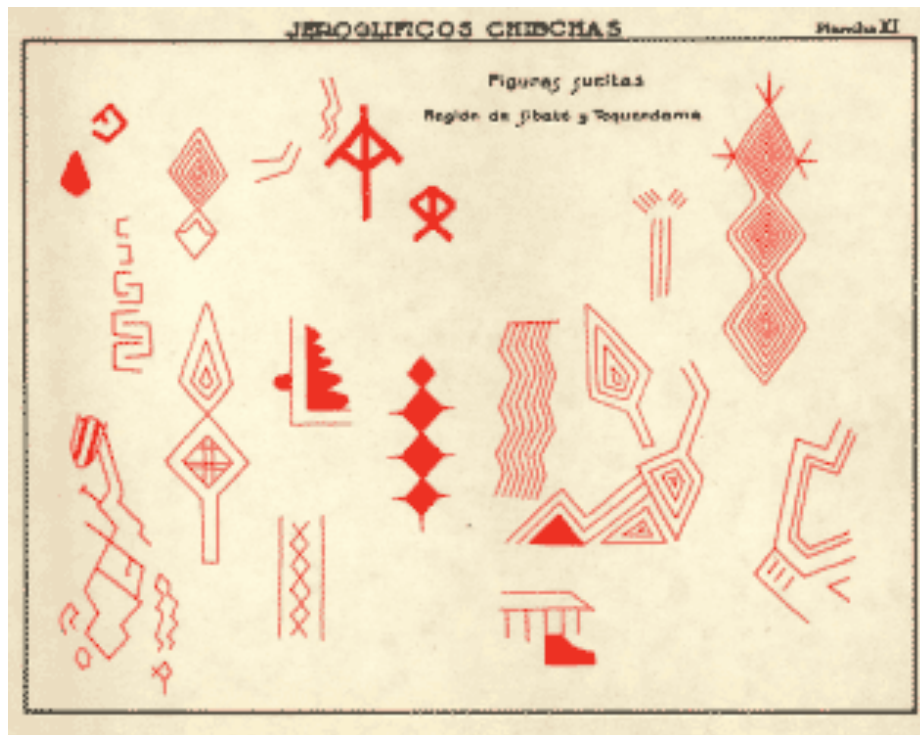


Figure 6.4. "Jeroglíficos Chibchas" by Miguel Triana, 1922<sup>763</sup>



Figure 6.5. Pabellón Egipcio, Exposición del Centenario (1910).<sup>764</sup>

In a similar vein, the director for the Center for Linguistic and Ethnological Research of the Amazon (CILEAC), Father Marcelino de Castellvi (1908–1951) wrote about the need to expand his research by finding correlations between Asian languages and languages of the indigenous communities of the Amazon.<sup>765</sup> Castellvi was a Catalan Capuchin monk, who conducted ethnological research through his missionary work in the town of Sibundoy in the region of Putumayo. Kuán notes that between 1907 and 1934, missionaries in Putumayo published thirty-seven texts on indigenous grammar.<sup>766</sup>

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<sup>763</sup> Image taken from “Documentacion Y Registro Sistemático: Zonas de Pinturas y Grabados En El Municipio de Suacha, Bosa y Sibate, Departamento de Cundinamarca, Colombia--III Congreso Virtual de Antropología y Arqueología,” accessed September 30, 2017, <http://www.equiponaya.com.ar/congreso2002/ponencias/gipri3.htm>.

<sup>764</sup> “Historia extensa de la arquitectura en Colombia, Page 18,” accessed June 3, 2018, <http://blogs.virtual.unal.edu.co/hacolombia/author/historia/page/18/>.

<sup>765</sup> Elena Martín Delfour, “Breve Ensayo Biográfico del P. Castellvi,” in Elena Martín Delfour, “Breve Ensayo Biográfico del P. Castellvi,” Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas y Etnográficas de la Amazonia Colombiana, *Miscelánea Padre Castellví* (Sibundoy (Colombia): Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas y Etnográficas de la Amazonía Colombiana, 1953), 91.

<sup>766</sup> Kuan Bahamón, *Civilización, frontera y barbarie*, 190.

Castellvi's phonetic glossary of the Sibundoyes made it to pages of the fourth volume of the *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música*, edited by Curt Lange.

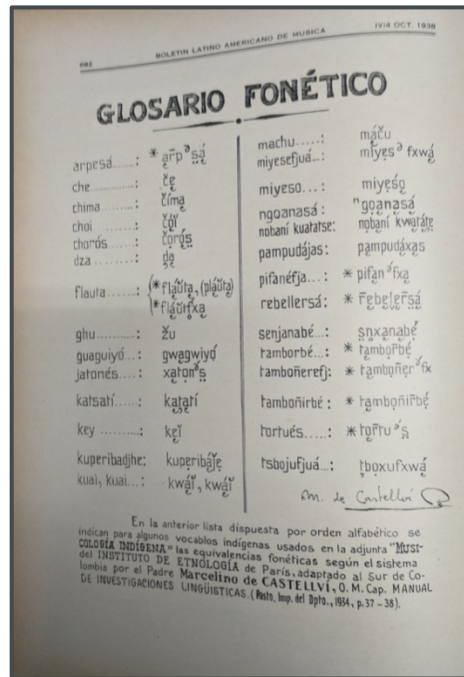


Figure 6.6. Phonetic Glossary of Sibundoy peoples by Father Marcelino de Castellvi, included in the *Boletín Latin Americano de Música*, edited by Francisco Curt Lange, 1938.

It is not uncommon to find orientalist representations of indigeneity as well in the Colombian visual arts, as in the eroticized depictions of indigenous women by Adolfo Samper (1900–1991) published in the Liberal-owned magazine *Mundo al Día* (Figure 6.7).<sup>767</sup> Here, Samper uses Orientalized gender tropes as a means to depict indigeneity and otherness. While I do not explore the intersection between ethnic and gender differentiation here, we must be reminded, nevertheless, as Lynda Phyllis Austern argues,

<sup>767</sup> On Gender and the Other in the “New World,” see Timothy Dean Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*, *Refiguring American Music*; Variation: *Refiguring American Music*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 22–23; On the intersection between the exotic, the erotic, and the feminine, see Linda Phyllis Austern, “Forreine Conceites and Wandring Devises” in Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 26–42.

that “long before [Europe] dichotomized Selves and Others by ethnicity, it did so through gender.”<sup>768</sup> It is also worth mentioning that before working for *Mundo al Día*, a magazine where Uribe Holguín’s work was constantly criticized, Samper worked for *Universidad*, a magazine, which as I explained above, featured a number of articles on Mexican and Peruvian indigenismo.<sup>769</sup>

Similar objects can be found in the catalog of the Bachués. This pervasive orientalization in the Bachués’ artistic production should not come as a surprise given the Bachués’ close relationship with Germán Arciniegas, who had also collaborated with José Juan Tablada, a Mexican poet who introduced Japanese haiku into Latin American literature.<sup>770</sup> Figure 6.8. is a painting of the God Bochica, by a member of the Bachués, Luis Alberto Acuña, whose drawings and articles on indigenismo were featured many times in music magazines such as *Mundo al Día*.

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<sup>768</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism*, 27.

<sup>769</sup> “La Caricatura En Colombia a Partir de La Independencia: Recorrido Virtual - Caricatura ‘a Sangre y Fuego,’” accessed June 3, 2018, <http://www.banrepcultural.org/la-caricatura-en-colombia/virtual-espacio13.html>.

<sup>770</sup> On José Juan Tablada, see Camayd-Freixas, *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America*, 119–44.



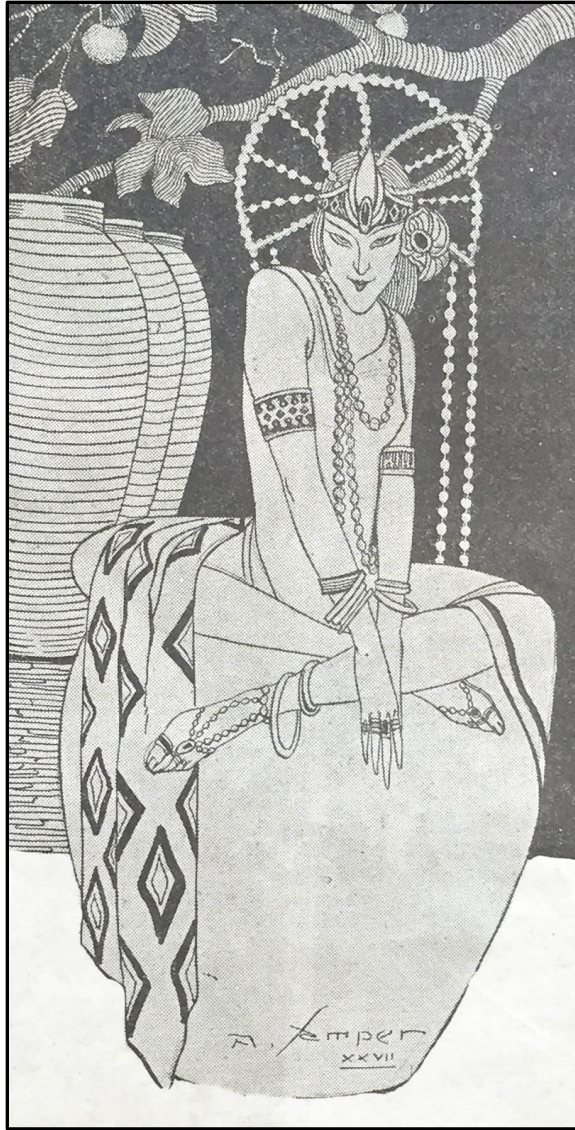


Figure 6.7. “The Hidden Treasures of El Dorado,” Drawing by Adolfo Samper, *Mundo al Día*, March 12, 1927.<sup>771</sup>

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<sup>771</sup> Samper’s drawing showcases an eclectic mix of art deco and art nouveau aesthetics. This image accompanies a text that denounces the Quixotesque enterprises that were fueled by ideas of lost and hidden treasures, such as the case of the famous *El Dorado* legend in Colombia.



Figure 6.8. Mural of Bochica by Luis Alberto Acuña (1933)

The orientalization of indigeneity also found its way into Colombian music historiography. In most accounts that attempted to “reconstruct” a history of Colombian musical indigeneity the authors begin with orientalist comparisons to compensate for their catastrophic view of the indigenous past. In 1879, Juan Crisóstomo Osorio, for instance, wrote that while he had not been able to hear an authentic indigenous melody, indigenous music must have sounded as sad and monotonous as Chinese or Persian music. He even ascribed to them a common origin:

However, because of what they tell us about them, the Indians sang and played in a tone that was always dreary and sad, with no variation in tones, and with very few notes; and from what we know of the Indian, oriental, Chinese and Persian, music

of which if we do have some samples, we think that the style of these and that of our Indians, if they were not one, at least they were very similar. They will ask us: And the *torbellino*? We do not have [indigenous music] with us in the nationality of this air. And the bambuco? It is not ours. What a pity! And the *galerón*? It is an Andalusian; [albeit] reformed. The little we know that is truly indigenous, we do not know, because we have not heard the Chocoés, or Caquetáes, or Cunáes, etc. This knowledge will serve those who can study their songs and styles to compare them later with what we know of the ancient peoples of Asia.<sup>772</sup>

Osorio not only Orientalizes indigeneity here, but he also negates the indigenous origins of the bambuco, just as Uribe Holguín would decades later. After all, during this time period, the politics of belonging were not necessarily articulated through a particularist, nationalist stance. Decades later, influenced by Colombian indigenista intellectuals, José Ignacio Perdomo, begins his narrative of Colombian indigenous music not by Orientalizing it but by articulating a sense of inferiority vis-à-vis other pre-Hispanic cultures such as the “Maya, Nahua and Inca.”<sup>773</sup> In this light, Perdomo writes: "In addition, it has been proven that the civilizations of South America were influenced by the ethnic and artistic element of those

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<sup>772</sup> “Sin embargo, por lo que nos dicen de lo que los indios cantaban y tocaban en un tono siempre lúgubre y triste, sin variación de tonos, y con muy pocas notas; y por lo que conocemos de la musica indiana, oriental, de la China y la Persia, de las que si tenemos algunas muestras, parécenos que el estilo de éstas y el de la de nuestros indios, si no eran uno mismo, por lo menos eran muy semejantes. Nos preguntará: Y el torbellino? No las tenemos todas con nosotros en cuanto a la nacionalidad de este aire. Y el bambuco? No es nuestro. Qué lástima! Y el galerón? Es un andaluzada; reformada, eso sí. Lo poco que sabemos que se canta verdaderamente indígena, no lo conoces, pues no hemos oído a los Chocoés, ni Caquetáes, ni Cunáes, etc. Este conocimiento les servirá a los que pudiendo estudiar sus canciones y estilos los comparasen con lo que conocemos de los antiguos pueblos de Asia." Juan Crisostomo Osorio y Ricuarte, "Breve Apuntamientos para la Historia de la Musica en Colombia," *Textos Sobre Música y Folklore: Boletín de La Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia, 1942-66/1969-71. 1978.No. 29 T. I*, 1978, 82–83.

<sup>773</sup> Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, 1945, 5.

[civilizations] that had flourished in the north of the continent and in turn, the culture of the Colombian Indians was a derivation of Inca culture.”<sup>774</sup>

What is more, besides constant references to the *fofuto*, a shell trumpet found in archeological sites throughout the American continent, indigenous organology is also limited to orientalist comparisons. Osorio, for instance, connected a flute that he describes as a type of *chirimía*, a Spanish double-reed instrument, with a Jewish wind instrument that Osorio calls the “*ahabub*.”<sup>775</sup> Similarly, building on Osorio’s work, José Ignacio Perdomo claimed in 1945, that the *bombo*, a large, double-headed rimmed drum used still today in both Afro and indigenous traditions, was the same *Tam-Tam* found so commonly in the “*Oriental Indies*,” and which was also, according to the author, connected to the Persian instrument known as “*daire*” or “*def*.”<sup>776</sup> But this still begs the question: why did these intellectual elites Orientalized indigeneity once *mestizaje* became a national-building discourse?

Against this backdrop, Camayd-Freixas argues that the challenge of studying orientalism in Latin America is “*coeval with the rise of recorded culture in the Americas*.”<sup>777</sup> Camayd-Freixas writes that indigenous communities in the Continent, for instance, prior to the arrival of the Spanish, had developed foundational myths of origins to lay claim of the land they inhabited—a process of place-making, so to speak. These claims, however,

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<sup>774</sup> “Además, está probado que las civilizaciones de Sur América fueron influenciadas por el elemento étnico y artístico de las que florecieron en el norte del Continente y a su turno, la cultura de los indios colombianos fue una repercusión de la incaica, en muchos de los aspectos.” Perdomo Escobar, 6.

<sup>775</sup> Osorio in *Textos Sobre Música y Folklore*, 85.

<sup>776</sup> Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia*, 1945, 19.

<sup>777</sup> Camayd-Freixas, *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America*, 1.

were soon negated by colonial writers who were quick to theorize that the origins of these communities had migrated from the “East in a not-so-distant past.”<sup>778</sup> Freixas thus sees this “orientalization” of indigeneity as a discourse by which colonizers presented indigenous peoples as foreigners as to justify colonization. But how was place-making involved in such a colonial project? What is more, how did this discourse operate once it was challenged by a mestizo narrative? I believe Uribe Holguín’s Europhilia and new-found indigenismo can provide us with further insight.

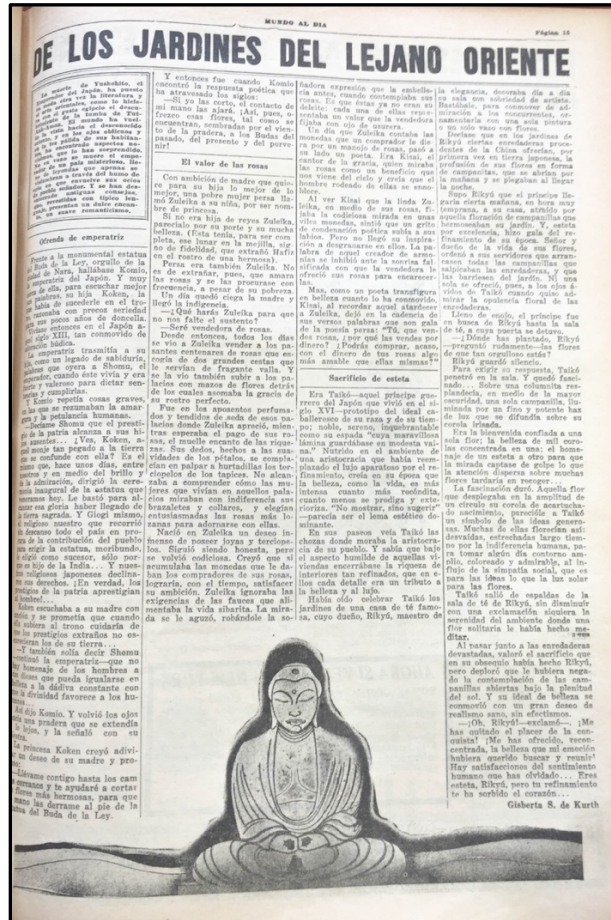


Figure 6.9. “De Los Jardines de Lejano Oriente.” Author of the drawing unknown. *Mundo al Día* magazine, Bogotá, Colombia. February 12, 1927

778 Ibid.

## **Dislocation and Place-Making**

As I showed in chapter 4, we can explain the antagonistic relation between “art music,” on the one hand, and popular, folkloric, and traditional musics, on the other, through the play between epistemologies of purification, in other words, epistemologies that separate musical practices into distinct genres; and epistemologies of hybridization, which seek to link practices that are understood as distinct from each other. It was through this epistemological process by which Colombian intellectuals entextualized and recontextualized sound into musical objects that were affectively tied to the national territory.

Taking this model as a theoretical basis, I argue that Uribe Holguín’s apparent cultural metamorphosis—his departure from a Europhilic stance to the more Liberal *inclusive* and hybrid indigenismo—does not necessarily constitute a contradiction nor a cultural displacement. Instead, I believe the epistemological work of indigenismo follows the aforementioned model of hybridization and purification, operating simultaneously as a discourse of symbolic dislocation and as a postcolonial strategy of national place-making. By discourse of dislocation, I mean a discourse that symbolically separates people from the places where they ostensibly belong—an act of epistemological purification— and by strategies of place-making, I mean discourses that aim to establish an affective bond between people and a particular location (hybridization).

I thus understand the work of Colombian indigenismo not only as a form of valorization of indigenous lifeways within a mestizo imaginary, but also as a peripheral exoticist enterprise, in which mestizo intellectuals—in their quest for the construction of a

hybrid, national identity, and caught in a narrative of anti-coloniality—resorted to discourses such as orientalism to dislocate the origins of indigenous musics from the place indigenous peoples claimed as their own. This unfixing of musical practices, so that they are perceived to be floating and travelling musical expressions, allowed mestizos to freely incorporate what they imagined to be indigenous musical characteristics (usually borrowing from exoticist and orientalist tropes) into national processes of cultural mixture that could be readily identified within the framework of a mestizo/a, spatial configuration such as the Colombian nation-state. Thus, by posing the origins of indigenous music in a faraway place like the Orient, the Far East, or Atlantis, mestizos rendered musical indigeneity as untouched by former processes of cultural mestizaje, and yet exotic, precarious, and Other enough as to be made into an object of value and even of libidinal desire that would be ready to enter new processes of hybridization, paralleling process of race-making in Colombia.

Seen in this light, the discourse of indigenismo is not too different from Murillo Chapull's criollismo nor is it too distinct from Uribe Holguín's Europeanist remarks from his 1923 lecture, when he posited that the origins of national music were to be found in Spain, outside of the national territory (a process of dislocation), and then brought to the American continent by ways of the conquest, and modified to fit a novel type of "New World" subjectivity. It is because European music was understood as being dislocated in the first place and made available to be discursively relocalized that it was imbued with new meaning and marked as national. Therefore, this dislocation and relocalization of

European music, I argue, is predicated upon the exoticization of Europeanism, or to paraphrase Dipesh Chakrabarty, upon the construction of a “hyperreal Europe.”<sup>779</sup>

Taking this spatial model into consideration, we can explain why there is a recurrent intersection in mestizo texts between the oriental and the indigenous, and why, for instance, Uribe Holguín chose Bochica, a god who was thought to come from the Far East or from Atlantis, as a vehicle to represent indigeneity. Below, I discuss how Uribe Holguín’s *Bochica* responds to processes of ethnic and cultural centralization.

### **Orientalizing Indigenismo in Colombia during the Early Twentieth Century**

We do not have any documentation where Uribe Holguín speaks explicitly of his motivations for writing *Bochica*. However, taking into consideration the strategic formation detailed above, it is my belief that this piece responds simultaneously to mestizo/a imaginaries of indigeneity and to state logics of centralization, having had its inception during the fourth centennial of the city of Bogotá in 1938. For this occasion, as explored above, the Colombian government organized a number of events that were a first for the nation. Their purpose was to show the result of the liberal state’s cultural policies, which had aimed to incorporate the nation’s margins into Bogotá, the nation’s administrative, juridical, and legislative center since 1886. After all, it is during this time, as Muñoz shows,

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<sup>779</sup> Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 27–42.



that “Liberals institutionalized cultural politics in Colombia, establishing for the first time an apparatus for centralized national cultural management.”<sup>780</sup>

This centralization of culture was also connected to the way indigenista intellectuals historicized the nation’s roots as tied to a pre-Hispanic past. Colombian indigenistas, in this sense, not only resorted to orientalism’s spatial dislocation of indigenous musical origins to construct a hybrid notion of cultural practices, but they also reinforced such mixtures in the formation of spatial-temporal alterities through the construction of a national, secular time. As Muñoz details, Liberals also saw in the valorization of pre-Hispanic cultures as a way to counter foreign ideologies like Nazism, fascism, and communism. And what is more, they appropriated indigeneity as a symbol to represent opposition to Hispanic culture, which was generally ascribed to the Conservative aristocracy. Finally, it is important to consider as well, that Liberal intellectuals, while extolling indigeneity, often denigrated Colombia’s African heritage. They deemed blackness as backwards and too primitive as to be positively incorporated into the nation, both symbolically and biologically.<sup>781</sup> Against this backdrop, Muñoz argues that the events of the fourth centenary, more than a celebration of the city of Bogotá, should be read more as a strategy of Liberal intellectuals to (1) showcase the results of the cultural and economic policies of the Liberal State, and to

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<sup>780</sup> Catalina Muñoz, “To Colombianize Colombia: Cultural Politics, Modernization and Nationalism in Colombia, 1930–1946,” 311.

<sup>781</sup> Wade explores this at length. See Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*.

(2) bring indigeneity center stage to national politics by appealing to mestizaje and indigenismo.<sup>782</sup>

The preparations for the centenary began as early as 1934. During this time, archeologist Gregorio Hernández de Alba had published an article in the press, where he argued that the upcoming celebrations of the founding of cities like Bogotá, did not mark the date of the foundation of those cities per se, but of its establishment by Spaniards. To counter this, he proposed not to replace Hispanic culture but to honor indigenous heritage as well. “Children of Spain? Yes. But also children of America,” wrote Hernández de Alba.<sup>783</sup> After all, indigenismo was a decisively mestizo discourse—a mediation of indigenous and Hispanic racial and cultural signifiers. This mediation can also be evinced in an initiative by the Colombian Academy of History, who had manufactured a medal with the image of the Spanish founder of Bogotá, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Such a medal would be distributed as commemoration of the fourth centenary among its participants. As Muñoz recounts, this initiative, however, was critiqued by other members of the Academy of History, who argued that while the Academy should not deny Colombia’s Hispanic heritage, they should not forget the atrocities committed by the

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<sup>782</sup> On the organization of the celebrations around the fourth centenary of Bogotá, see Muñoz “To Colombianize Colombia,” 213–25.

<sup>783</sup> Hernández de Alba quoted in Muñoz, “To Colombianize Colombia,” 213.

conqueros as well. These prompted the manufacturing of another medal, this time with the figure of an indigenous chieftain.<sup>784</sup>

The flagbearer of indigenista cultural politics during this time was, nevertheless, the archeological exhibition that took place during the celebrations of the founding of Bogotá. Organized by Gregorio Hernández de Alba and Gustavo Santos, the exhibition aimed to develop “a broader knowledge and appreciation of the qualities of the pre-Columbian inhabitant of this part of America in its race, arts, industries, and general development of its civilization”<sup>785</sup> The exhibition was widely praised in the press, for it brought to the public of Bogotá a number of curiosities never seen in the Colombian capital, such as molds of the San Agustín statues as well as indigenous mummies that were found by Hernández de Alba in an earlier expedition to San Agustín and Tierradentro. Hernández also organized a series of lectures led by intellectuals like Germán Arciniegas, Luis López de Mesa, Father Marcelino de Castellví, Paul Rivet, and Hernández de Alba himself.<sup>786</sup>

Furthermore, to inaugurate the exhibition, Hernández de Alba had arranged for indigenous groups to attend the opening. A first for the Colombian nation, over fifty indigenous participants shared their music with several members of the Colombian elite, including Gustavo Santos (see figure below). Their instruments, nevertheless, were described by the press as primitive, and their music was thought to be static, unchanged by time, and most importantly, centralized. “The small drums, reed flutes, indigenous tambourines, the touch of their copper-colored hands, and the blow of their lips, released

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<sup>784</sup> Ibid, 218.

<sup>785</sup> Santos quoted in Muñoz, "To Colombianize Colombia," 279.

<sup>786</sup> Ibid, 222.

tunes that resonated four centuries ago in the open grounds of the savannah [of Bogotá],” stated a journalist working for the Liberal newspaper *El Tiempo*.<sup>787</sup> What is more, these indigenous participants also performed during an event called Fiesta Indígena, which was held at none other than the Teatro Colón, the most prestigious hall in Colombia at the time. Muñoz details how the Guajiro peoples opened the Fiesta by interpreting the national anthem. The act was followed by a dance group from Sibundoy, who were accompanied by an indigenous trumpet. Other acts included musicians from Cauca who performed on the chirimía, and a Guajiro-staged drama entitled “Shirumachon.”<sup>788</sup> Muñoz recounts that the public, however, saw these presentations rather as curiosities. Indeed, audiences

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<sup>787</sup> Ibid, 222.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid, 223.

understood these performances as artifacts that accompanied the archeological exhibition, adding a flair of authenticity to the mix, but not as representative of their own heritage.



Figure 6.10 Gustavo Santos with the Tierradentro indigenous community at the Celebration of the 4th Centenary of the founding of Bogotá in 1938.<sup>789</sup>

Interestingly, around this time, Father José Vicente Castro Silva (1885–1968) penned an article on the Atlantian origins of Bochica, which appeared in the press on the same day as the opening of the archeological exhibition took place. In this article, Castro Silva, who was the rector of the Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, one of Colombia's prime higher education institutions to the day (founded in 1580), drew similarities between Bochica and other indigenous gods prominent in Mexico like Quetzalcoatl or in Peru like Huiracocha. Father Castro Silva had devoted much of his career to the study of Colombian history, which he wrote and published about constantly. These included articles on Colombian ecclesiastic history and on indigenous stories like

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<sup>789</sup> *El Tiempo*, August 4, 1938.

Bochica or the legend of the Temple of the Sun Sugamuxi. His popularity was such that for the celebration of the fourth centenary, he even gave a funerary mass in honor of Jiménez de Quesada, the Spanish founder of Bogotá, as well as Simón Bolívar. While I have not found documentation that corroborates that Uribe Holguín got the idea to compose a symphonic poem from Castro Silva's article, we can safely assert that this myth was part of the Bogotá imaginary of the time. As an active participant and avid reader of the Colombian press, it would not be surprising that Uribe Holguín would have read a piece by such distinguished academic as Castro Silva.



Figure 6.11. "Bochica, Son of Atlantis." *El Espectador*, August 4, 1938. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia

Finally, while the Ibero-American music festival was not organized as a celebration that aimed to extol indigeneity like the archeology exhibition, it did, however, feature

indigenista music by Latin American composers such as Carlos Gomes, Oscar Lorenzo Fernández, and Heitor Villa-lobos.<sup>790</sup> The treatment of “indigenous material” by Latin American composers was extolled by critics such as Otto de Greiff, who highlighted, for instance, Fernández’s symphonic poem “Impabara” and Villa-Lobos’s “Uirapurú,” which he described as a “beautiful legend [based on] the dawn in the jungle and the songs of the birds, [in which Villa-Lobos] finds renewed inspiration when using indigenous airs to imitate the sacred bird.”<sup>791</sup>

Most significantly, the festival also included the premiere of *La Coronación del Zipa* (the crowning of the Chieftain) the first explicitly indigenista symphonic piece ever written by a Colombian composer, Carlos Posada Amador (1908–1993), a student of both Nadia Boulanger and Uribe Holguín himself. *La Coronación del Zipa* was Posada Amador’s first orchestral piece. Premiered under the baton of Slonimsky, the piece received negative reviews for it was deemed too “Wagnerian,” although Posada Amador was praised for attempting such a feat at age thirty.<sup>792</sup> Similarly, Curt Lange deemed Posada Amador’s piece as lacking any value whatsoever, but he nevertheless praised his talents: “[The Coronation of the Zipa] was written by a young man of great talent, but it does not stop it

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<sup>790</sup> See Otto de Greif, “El Festival de música ibero-americana, un suceso continental,” *El Espectador*, August 12, 1938.

<sup>791</sup> “Bellísima leyenda que el socorrido tema del amanecer en la selva y de los cantos de las aves, encuentra remozada inspiración al emplear aires indigenas para imitar al pájaro sagrado Otto de Greif, “El Festival de música ibero-americana, un suceso continental,” *El Espectador*, August 12, 1938.

<sup>792</sup> “Nicolas Slonimsky: Un concierto y cuatro conferencias,” *El Espectador*, August 31, 1938.

from being a first orchestral attempt."<sup>793</sup> Apparently, Posada Amador did not attend the premiere of the piece, a fact that was criticized by the press.<sup>794</sup>

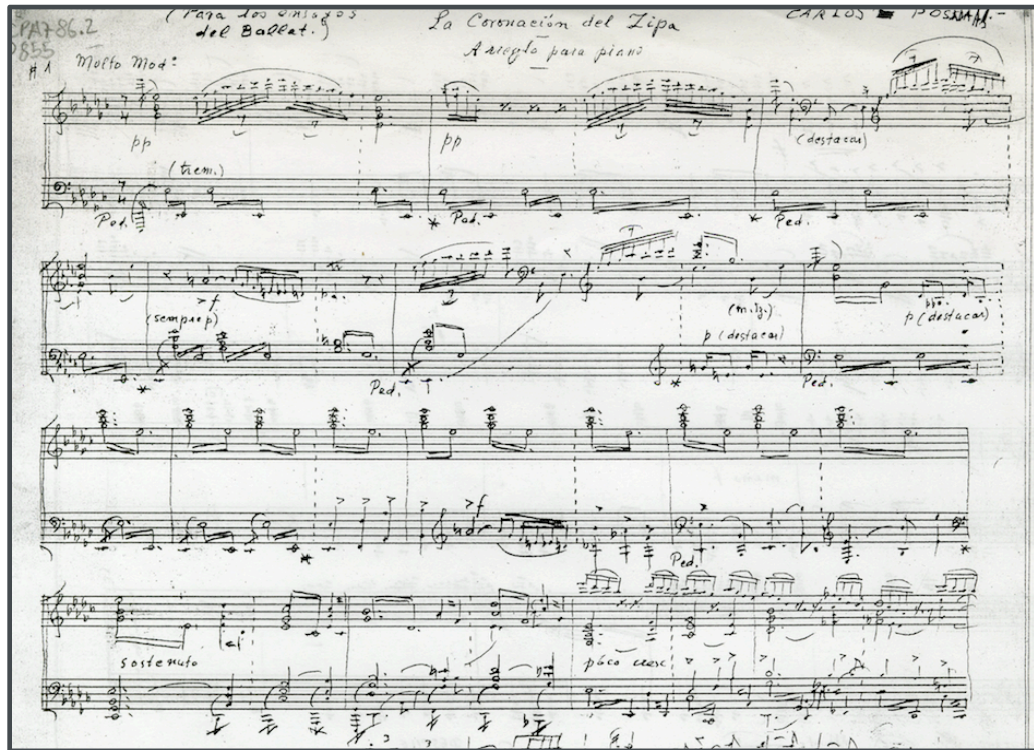


Figure 6.12. *La Coronación del Zipa* by Carlos Posada Amador, arranged for Piano (1992). Original Manuscript. Sala de Patrimonio Documental EAFIT. Medellín, Colombia

It is worth mentioning that for the Ibero-American Music Festival, Uribe Holguín presented a program that featured orchestral pieces like his first explicitly nationalist-particularist work, *Sinfonía del Terruño*, which was generally well-received by Colombian

<sup>793</sup> “[*La Coronación del Zipa*] escrita por un joven de mucho talent, pero que no deja de ser un primer ensayo orquestal.” Francisco Curt Lange, “El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música,” *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*. 1938, 1938, 61.

<sup>794</sup> “Nicolas Slonimsky: Un concierto y cuatro conferencias,” *El Espectador*, August 31, 1938. While a comparison between Posada Amador and Uribe Holguín’s *Bohica* could yield interesting results, I have not been able to find the orchestral manuscript of Posada Amador’s piece. Furthermore, as Luis Carlos Rodríguez notes, in 1992, Posada Amador revised the work and turned into a ballet.<sup>794</sup> For this ballet, there exists a version arranged for piano (Figure 6.12) housed at the Sala de Patrimonio Documental EAFIT in Medellín, Colombia.



critics who called it a “perfectly structured, developed, and finished four-movement symphony.”<sup>795</sup> His treatment of popular material, however, as with his “Tres Danzas” (see chapter 2), was seen in a more negative light, for the themes used by Uribe Holguín, according to a critic, had been deconstructed to a point that they were not recognizable as popular anymore: “The themes are somewhat isolated, sporadic, strange, we could say that the author calls them and receives them, but he immediately puts them back to flight, giving away to harmonic or contrapuntal explorations, which are dressed with marvelous timbres, but in which nothing remains of those [popular themes].”<sup>796</sup> Other pieces included his *Nocturno*, a work for tenor and orchestra based on a poem by Colombian author José Asunción Silva; and two other orchestral works, *Bajo la Ventana* (1930) and *Marcha Festiva* (1928), all of which were praised by the press. Curt Lange reports that Uribe Holguín’s work “left the public quite cold and indifferent.”<sup>797</sup> Nevertheless, Curt Lange uses this to criticize the Colombian public, deeming it unable to “consciously contribute in any way to

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<sup>795</sup> “Son los cuatro movimientos de una sinfonía perfectamente estructurada, desarrollada, y acabada.” Don Basilio “Tercer concierto sinfonía dirigido por el maestro G. Uribe Holguín,” *El Espectador*, August 3, 1938.

<sup>796</sup> “Los temas son allí algo aislado, esporádico, extraño, podríamos decir que el autor los llama y los recibe, pero los pone en fuga en seguida, para darle paso a la elucubración armónica o contrapuntística, revestida de timbres maravillosos, en la cual no queda nada de aquellos.” Don Basilio “Tercer concierto sinfonía dirigido por el maestro G. Uribe Holguín,” *El Espectador*, August 3, 1938.

<sup>797</sup> “Se explica, por consiguiente, que obras creadas con la intervención del intelecto, así gran parte de la música chilena y también las obras de Uribe Holguín, hayan dejado al público bastante frío e indiferente.” Francisco Curt Lange, “El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música,” *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*, 1938, 61.

the formation of a conscious nucleus that can support the development of national symphonic music.”<sup>798</sup>



Figure 6.13. Guest Conductors at the 1938 Ibero-American Music Festival. From left to right: Armando Carvajal (Chile), Guillermo Uribe Holguín (Colombia), Guillermo Espinosa (Colombia), Oscar Lorenzo Fernández (Brazil), and Nicolas Slonimsky (USA/Russia). *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*, 1938

Following the festival, only a few months later, Curt Lange, then residing in Uruguay, published the Fourth Volume of the *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música*, featuring a number of articles on Colombia as a result of the festival, which he had attended. As discussed in previous chapters, this lengthy volume included an article on Uribe Holguín written by Curt Lange himself, and which Uribe Holguín criticized heavily. However, the

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<sup>798</sup> “No puede contribuir de manera alguna a la formación de un núcleo consciente que apoye la labor sinfónica nacional.” Francisco Curt Lange, “El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música,” Francisco Curt Lange and Instituto de Estudios Superiores (Montevideo, Uruguay). Sección de Investigaciones Musicales., 61.

*Boletín* also included two pieces that introduced explicitly Colombian indigenista tenets to Colombian composers. The first of these articles was penned by none other than Hernández de Alba, who wrote on Colombian archeological findings of pre-Hispanic indigenous instruments that he had encountered in San Agustín like the fotuto, and which had been displayed during the archeological exhibition of 1938. The other article, written by Fray Francisco de Igualada, a Catalan Capuchin monk who worked for Castellví in the Colombian Amazon, focused on musical practices of indigenous communities in Colombia.

Indeed, Igualada described his article as an ethnographic sample that was representative of the ethnological research carried out by the Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas de la Amazonía Colombiana. In it, he provides notated melodies that he transcribed as part of his ethnographic research with seven indigenous linguistic communities: Arahuako, Huitoto, Bora, Karibe, Tukano, Sáliba, and Kamsá. The purpose of said article, Igualada wrote, was to prove that “indigenous musicology” (*Musicología Indígena*) could be as useful to musicians as the study of musical folklore. It was his hope, he details, to help the “artist, the musician, [who] wants sources of inspiration that can lead him [or her] to [come up with] new [musical] combinations.”<sup>799</sup>

Igualada proceeds to describe some of the salient characteristics that he found in indigenous music. Igualada wrote, for example, that indigenous music was rarely chromatic, decisively diatonic, and harmonically static, which is why it reminded him of

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<sup>799</sup> “Los bailes que se efectuan durante las mismas, aun los más rudimentarios, son esencialmente rítmicos.” Francisco de Igualada, “Musicología Indígena de la Amazonía Colombia,” *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*. 1938, 683.

ancient Greek music and Gregorian chant.<sup>800</sup> According to Iguialada, however, indigenous music from the Colombian amazon differed from Gregorian chant for it showcased more of a repetitive rhythmic pulse. He ties this sense of rhythmic regularity to dance, which he highlights as a characteristic trait among all the tribes: "The dances that take place during their [social gatherings], even the most rudimentary, are essentially rhythmic."<sup>801</sup> Furthermore, these dances, Iguialada tells us, always begin slowly and disparate, but as the energy builds up, the music crescendos and the rhythmic becomes more uniform. He also details that said dances are accompanied by voices who sing either a fifth or an octave apart from each other.<sup>802</sup> Most of the transcriptions provided by Iguialada, as Camilo Vaughan notes, regularly have as a cadence point the pitch A (la).

Interestingly, Uribe Holguín does not mention Iguialada's text nor makes any allusion to the events of the archeological exhibition. However, in his autobiography, in the chapter where he deals with Curt Lange's appraisal of his music and administration, Uribe Holguín maintains his stance that authentic indigenous music did not exist for there is no documentation that can prove it. In response to Perdomo Escobar's article published in the *Boletín*, where Perdomo discusses pre-Hispanic indigenous musical practices based on Spanish chronicles, Uribe Holguín states:

But it is well-known that what can be affirmed about the artistic state of the people, when the tradition is completely broken by lack of written documentation, is the result of the pure imagination of the historian. That in such an ancient chronicle it is said, for example, that the Chibchas sang or played; What can be deduced from this assertion? What music did they sing or play? Where can you study this, or who can say how it [sounded]? Can this music attributed to the indigenous race, be used

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<sup>800</sup> Ibid, 679.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid, 685.

in a practical way, for the benefit of national art, if there is no way to reconstruct it?<sup>803</sup>

Nevertheless, in his study of Uribe Holguín's symphonic poems, Vaughan argues that some of the musical choices that Uribe Holguín uses in his indigenista pieces including *Bochica*, *Furatena*, and *Ceremonia Indígena*, resemble some of the descriptions of indigenous music in Igualada's and Hernández de Alba's article. For instance, Vaughan argues, that Hernández de Alba's article on archeological musical objects, he tells the reader that a "clay trumpet" that he had found in Chibcha territory, produced a very low tone. As Vaughan notes, in the opening measures of *Bochica*, Uribe Holguín assigns a very low register to the French horns, and which Vaughan deems as uncharacteristic of other works where Uribe Holguín makes use of their higher registers to signify bucolic scenes.<sup>804</sup> Vaughan also finds parallels between Uribe Holguín's harmonic language with Igualada's assertions that Colombian indigenous harmony was rather static and modal; and between Igualada's description of rhythm and the way Uribe Holguín's *Bochica* builds up to a great crescendo in the middle of the piece.<sup>805</sup> While I find Vaughan's comparative approach very insightful, I am not quick to ascribe a direct connection between the two, for the language used in *Bochica*, also corresponds to the exoticist and orientalist tropes found in the music of other Latin

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<sup>803</sup> "Pero sabido es que lo que pueda afirmarse sobre el estado artístico de un pueblo, cuando la tradición está totalmente rota por falta de documentación escrita, es pura imaginación del historiador. Que en tal crónica antiquísima se dice, por ejemplo, que los chibchas cantaban o tocaban; qué se puede deducir de esa aseveración? Qué música cantaron o tocaron? Dónde se puede conocer, o quién puede decir cómo fue? Qué puede aprovecharse en el orden práctico, en beneficio del arte nacional, una música atribuida a la raza indígena, si no hay manera de reconstituirla ni en forma aproximativa?" Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano*, 253.

<sup>804</sup> Vaughan, "Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971)," 43.

<sup>805</sup> *Ibid*, 47.

American and European composers of the time. What is more, I have not found in *Bochica* any explicit treatment nor borrowing of the melodies that Igualada collected. I believe, instead, that Uribe Holguín was drawing from a larger imaginary, including Igualada's text, which is why I pursue the analysis of *Bochica* through its strategic formation.

**Bochica**

Guillermo Uribe Holguín 1880-1971  
op. 73

Leyenda: La sabana de Bogotá se encontraba inundada, como castigo de los dioses por los pecados de los chibchas. Pero un día llegó Bochica, predicador y justo varón, quien enseñó al pueblo las buenas costumbres y lo salvó luego del terrible flaqueo, haciendo desbordar las aguas estancadas. Subió sobre el arco iris, galpón con su vara mágica la roca y al punto rompióse ésta, formando la Catarata del Tequendama

a - La sabana inundada  
b - Llegada de Bochica  
c - Arribo de Bochica y el pueblo  
d - La catarata - Himno y danza

PATRONATO COLOMBIANO DE ARTES Y CIENCIAS

**Lento**

Flautas  
Corno (fa)  
Acordeón

**Lento**

Violín  
Viola  
Vcllo  
Bajo

Figure 6.14. *Bochica* Op. 73 (1939) by Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Original Manuscript. Courtesy of the Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

**Uribe Holguín's *Bochica*: Centralization, Indigenismo, and *Mestizaje***

In the program notes to its premiere (April of 1940),<sup>806</sup> the musical program of *Bochica* is explained with painstaking detail.<sup>807</sup> These notes draw the audience's attention to musical cues that Uribe Holguín used to depict the narrative, including musical elements used by the composer to symbolize water, indigenous chants, and Bochica himself. Filled with allusions to the primitive, however, the language in these program notes contains suspicious parallelisms to the discourse that Uribe Holguín had criticized with ardent vehemence in his 1923 lecture and his autobiography.<sup>808</sup> For instance, Uribe Holguín describes the “indigenous themes” in his piece as ones that express “doubt, incertitude, and plead,”<sup>809</sup> providing stark contrast to the music set to represent the god Bochica, described in the program notes as music that is “calm and majestic.”<sup>810</sup> Below, I highlight some of

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<sup>806</sup> Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, Mss 722.

<sup>807</sup> The program notes for that concert do not provide an author. Given the extensive detail of the programmatic content, and the fact that it was its first premiere, I am inclined to assert that they were written by Uribe Holguín himself, but I have no evidence to prove so.

<sup>808</sup> “...las quejas plañideras de los indigenas.” Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Bogotá, Colombia.

<sup>809</sup> “...los temas de los indígenas, unos de duda, de incertidumbre, y otros de suplica.” Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Bogotá, Colombia.

<sup>810</sup> “...los que simbolizan a Bochica, tranquilos éstos y majestuosos.” Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias. Bogotá, Colombia.



these moments, which I connect to the strategic formation explained throughout this chapter.

**ORQUESTA  
SINFONICA  
NACIONAL**

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COLON — Viernes 12 — 6.30 p. m.

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SEGUNDO CONCIERTO DE ABONO

Director: GUILLERMO  
**URIBE HOLGUIN**

Solista: **HEINZ TESCH** (Fagotista)

**PROGRAMA:**  
Obertura de "Tristán e Isolda". Wagner.  
Concierto para fagot (1.a audición). Mozart.  
Tres Danzas. Uribe Holguín.  
**BOCHICA**, poema sinfónico (estreno). Uribe Holguín.

**LUNETAS \$ 1.00**

Figure 6.15. Newspaper ad promoting the premiere of *Bochica* Op. 73. *El Tiempo*, April 10, 1940. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia

Uribe Holguín's *Bochica* begins with a sonic representation of a diffuse and chaotic pre-Hispanic past, one that is, to recall Gnecco again, without linearity, and without chronology. Uribe Holguín achieves this by resorting to static and unchanging harmony, and by crafting a sense of rhythmic displacement between the winds and the strings, all of which he harmonizes in parallel fifths and fourths, and which together form a slow orchestral ostinato. The ostinato contours around the pitch A, which serves as a harmonic

and melodic anchor for the whole piece. The notion of an “indigenous chaos,” as Holguín put it in his 1923 lecture, is boosted by floating and sweeping melismas in the winds, but especially found in the harp, which Uribe Holguín uses throughout the piece as a leitmotiv to symbolize the water flooding the valley (Figure 6.16).<sup>811</sup>

Ensuing, Uribe Holguín introduces an “indigenous motif” in the English horn, which he describes in the program notes as one that is comprised of “short and interrupted melodic turns,” which are indexical of the “mournful laments of the indigenous.” The use of the English horn is a clear allusion to double-reed instruments like the *chirimía* (associated with indigenous communities), as well as a choice of instrumentation typically used in exoticist pieces (Rehearsal Number 1; see Figure 6.17).<sup>812</sup> This short motif is next transformed, transposed, reworked, and repeated through a series of timbral explorations (mutes, trills, pizzicatos, portamentos). Yet, Uribe Holguín does not develop this motif in an organicist way, and thus challenges canonical notions of musical value (mm. 12–20). In this section, he also introduces a similar two-measure motif in the oboe (mm. 18-20), which he then repeats in the English horn (mm.22-24), and develops it in a similar way as the motif shown in Figure 6.17. Throughout the poem, however, Uribe Holguín resorts to a myriad of European-derived exoticist tools to depict indigeneity as Other, such as the

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<sup>811</sup> On melismas as signifiers of the exotic see Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 53.

<sup>812</sup> Ralph Locke describes that in musical representations of the exotic, the English horn has been particularly useful for composers to denote “foreignness,” especially if these give an extensive solo of an arabesque or a “melancholy-minor type.” Locke, 54.

constant use of pentatonic and octatonic scales, parallel fifths and fourths, and angular and asymmetrical melodic phrases.<sup>813</sup>

The image shows a page of a musical score for the opening measures of 'Bochica'. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left are Fagot 1, Fagot 2, Cornos fr. 1 y 3, Cornos fr. 2 y 4, Arpa, Violín 1, Violín 2, Viola, Violonchelo, and Contrabajo. The tempo is marked 'Lento' with a metronome marking of 120. The score includes various dynamics such as *pp*, *p*, and *sf*, and includes performance instructions like 'Con sord.' and 'pizz.'. The music is in a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Figure 6.16. Opening measures of *Bochica*. Transcription by Camilo Vaughan. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

<sup>813</sup> On exotic signifiers in music, see Locke, 51–54.

Figure 6.17 Entrance of Indigenous motif (French Horn) in *Bochica*. Transcription by Camilo Vaughan. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

Following a section that gradually builds up through timbral, thematic, and chromatic saturation, in which both the water and indigenous motifs collide (mm. 21-38), Uribe Holguín disrupts the orchestral ostinato with a series of pulsating notes played by the tuba, which pulls back the music into a more organized, homophonic, texture based on the pitch A, symbolizing the impending arrival of *Bochica* (figure 6.18). As Vaughan notes, Uribe Holguín wrote all of his symphonic poems using A as tonal center, which he often

treats through modal borrowings, but without modulating.<sup>814</sup> The piece begins to grow yet again, which Uribe Holguín propels further by introducing two short ostinatos (Figure 6.20.) that owe more to a primitivist representation of indigeneity akin to Stravinsky's *The Rite* than to a representation of melancholy. Uribe Holguín highlights these ostinatos by varying their texture, timbre, and duration, and by alternating one with the other (mm. 69–97). What is more, he juxtaposes the sense of rhythmic regularity brought by these ostinatos, with the sweeping passages played the harp, creating a sense of untamed and primitive chaos, which slowly grows until it occupies the whole orchestral palette (m.XXX). The piece, however, suddenly comes to a halt when Bochica strikes the rocks that hold the water, creating the Tequendama falls. The impact is heard in the percussion: Uribe Holguín calls for Tam-Tam in his score, perhaps symbolizing a bombo (mm. 97). Cascading melodic lines are then heard in the piccolo and other winds, as well as in the violins, symbolizing the running rainwaters that were once entrapped by the valley surrounding the Savannah (the name given to the area surrounding the city of Bogotá).

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<sup>814</sup> Vaughan, “Los poemas sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880-1971),” 41.

Figure 6.19. Tuba entrance m. 39 (*Bochica*). Transcription by Camilo Vaughan. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

Figure 6.20. Primitivist Ostinatos mm.70-74 (*Bochica*). Transcription by Camilo Vaughan. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

Among the ensuing chaos brought by a maelstrom of short themes that Uribe Holguín layers on top of each other, the texture suddenly begins to thin out, when the trombone, makes its appearance in measure 140, and which Holguín uses to personify Bochica (Figure 6.18). Here, Holguín does something peculiar. Holguín grants Bochica rhetorical prowess by ways of tonality, rhythmic inventiveness, melodic symmetry, and tertial harmony (mm. 238-259; Figure 6.19). Thus, Bochica does not appear to be constricted by pre-Hispanic time but rather, his speech suggests a synchronic telos akin to the secular, linear time of the modern nation-state. Uribe Holguín signals this by

contrasting the angular melodies of the indigenous and primitivist motifs with Bochica's rhetorical dexterity. When Bochica speaks the texture suddenly becomes homophonic and gentle (mm. 238-259; see Figure 6.22). What ensues is a long section where the Chibchas first seem to resist Bochica's speech but, nonetheless, gradually begin to consent to his moralizing discourse, which Uribe Holguín symbolizes when other instruments begin to imitate the trombone line (e.g., violin solo beginning in mm. 155). This in turn begins to make the texture more and more homophonic and more tonal (e.g., rehearsal no.14). This mimetic exchange, I believe, Uribe Holguín uses to signal the process by which Bochica teaches the Chibchas good morals, and a discourse that not surprisingly echoes Spanish colonization as well as the patronizing ideology of the Liberal state of the 1930s and 1940s. Such a discourse seems to suggest that it is only through education and morals through which the primitive state of the Chibchas can be advanced so that they can contribute towards the racial make-up of the nation. The piece ends when consent quickly transforms into euphoria, building up to a joyful dance in which the Chibchas rejoice in celebration of their newfound civility.

Despite this patronizing view, it is important to highlight the fact that in *Bochica*, Uribe Holguín resorts to different conceptions of temporality and different cosmologies, ones that are simultaneously juxtaposed and used as tools to negotiate alterity. What is more, by using Bochica as a subject for his first symphonic piece, Uribe Holguín was not only Orientalizing and exoticizing indigeneity. Rather, by depicting the story of a figure that came from the East, who was the originator of the noble Chibcha culture, Uribe Holguín was (1) dislocating indigeneity by posing that his music had hailed from a place afar, so that

their culture can then (2) be tied to the land from which the Colombian nation eventually emerged. After all, Bochica's story is about the creation of the Tequendama Falls, functioning as a discursive representation of place-making, so to speak.

Hence, instead of understanding indigenismo and Europhilia as antithetical practices, or, as sites where postcolonial subjects simply replicate European practices of Otherization, I prefer to understand them as complementary epistemologies of dislocation and place-making, ones that are marked by asymmetrical relationships of power. To be sure, this does not mean that indigenous subjectivities disappeared but rather that they either fell outside, resisted assimilation into, or were excluded from the nation-state's representational machine. After all, as Ana María Ochoa Gautier suggests, indigenous subjectivities "had to be accounted for, even if to deny them of their own singularity."<sup>815</sup>

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<sup>815</sup> Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 5.



The image shows a page of a musical score, specifically the entrance of the Trombone (Bochica). The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. The Trombone part (Tbn. 1 y 2) is the central focus, showing a melodic line with dynamic markings like *p*, *f*, and *dolce*. Other instruments like Flutes, Clarinets, Violins, and Viola are also visible, providing harmonic support. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Figure 6.21. Entrance of the Trombone (*Bochica*). Transcription by Camilo Vaughan. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

The image shows a musical score excerpt for a Trombone Solo. The score is arranged in a system with ten staves. The instruments are: Flute 1 (Fl. 1), Flute 2 (Fl. 2), Clarinet in G (Cl. G.), Trumpets 1 and 2 (C. tr. 1 y 2), Trombones 1, 2, and 3 (Tbn. 1 y 2, Tbn. 3), Violins 1 and 2 (Vln. 1, Vln. 2), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The music is in 2/4 time and features dynamic markings such as *f*, *p*, *pp*, and *pizz.* (pizzicato). The excerpt covers measures 245 to 252, with a rehearsal mark at measure 250.

Figure 6.22. Excerpt from the Trombone Solo (*Bochica*), mm 245-252 Transcription by Camilo Vaughan. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

To conclude, in this chapter, I sought to reevaluate claims of exteriority to Eurocentrism, such as indigenismo, which have posed at particular historical moments as emancipatory solutions to structures of colonial difference. By analyzing the indigenista work of a music that was far away from the Liberal project of the nation, my aim was to measure the limits of political struggles that are reduced to the nation-state, a call made by Ramón Grosfoguel.<sup>816</sup> This is not say that representational politics at the level of the nation-state cease to be a space of important struggle, but to acknowledge the ways the mestizo nation-state can be in itself an articulation of a colonial enterprise, despite posing as

<sup>816</sup> Ramón Grosfoguel, “World-Systems Analysis in the Context of Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 29, no. 2 (2006): 167–87.

inclusive and well-intended alternative to other forms of exploitation. If we are to go beyond a Eurocentric critique of modernity, to paraphrase Walter Mignolo, the answer, I insist, does not lie in an anti-Europeanizing stance, for we cannot go back to a pre-modern world, nor does it lie on models of “inclusion without inclusion,” as I hope to have demonstrated in this chapter.<sup>817</sup> Recognizing this, to ground it in terms of this dissertation, would allow us to analyze art music in Latin America beyond a critique of a monolithic elitist society, and for instance, point to other epistemologies at play, such as purification, notions of time, or that of a “positional dislocation,” a term that Leonora Saavedra uses to refer to the temporal inversion of the power relations that occurs when a Latin American composer represents oriental subjects in their music.<sup>818</sup>

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<sup>817</sup> See Walter Mignolo, “The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 57–96.

<sup>818</sup> Leonora Saavedra, “Manuel M. Ponce’s ‘Chapultepec’ and the Conflicted Representations of a Contested Space,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92, No. 3/4 (2009): 233.

## EPILOGUE

On the morning of February 26, 1932, news of a bizarre occurrence spread like wildfire in the city of Bogotá. “A dynamite bomb almost exploded at the National Music Conservatory,” reads a headline on the front page of the *El Tiempo* newspaper that day.<sup>819</sup> Another Liberal diary, the *Revista Mundo al Día*, showcased two photographs of the incident, along with a big caption that said: “A BOMB IN THE CONSERVATORY—A dynamite bomb with the power to blow the entire block, according to the experts, was found yesterday in the afternoon in the lobby of National Conservatory of Music... All of the pertaining investigations will be made to find an explanation to the case and its authors.”<sup>820</sup> Days later, military experts revealed that the bomb was filled not with explosives but rather with starch; and that despite the efforts of the police, no culprit was ever found.<sup>821</sup> Colombian musicians remained silent regarding said incident. Not even Uribe Holguín himself made any public accusations—a surprising fact considering his penchant for controversy.<sup>822</sup>

The strange reticence surrounding this event, nevertheless, fueled the imagination of Colombian audiences, who were quick to come up with their own theories, reading the incident across bipartisan lines and through a nationalist lens. An anonymous columnist, for instance, wrote that the bomb, despite being filled with starch, was to be understood as a symbolic act. The author labelled the event as an “oppositionist editorial”: an act that

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<sup>819</sup> “Una bomba estuvo a punto de estallar en el Conservatorio” *El Tiempo*, February 26, 1932.

<sup>820</sup> “Se Halló una Bomba en el Conservatorio,” *Revista Mundo al Día*, February 26, 1932.

<sup>821</sup> “Una Bomba Vacía” *El Tiempo*, February 28, 1932.

<sup>822</sup> He did, however, express that he could not imagine who could have been behind such heinous acts. “Una bomba estuvo a punto de estallar en el Conservatorio” *El Tiempo*, February 26, 1932.

was successful at provoking Conservatives, who had just lost the control over the state after more than forty years of rule to the Liberal party. As the author tells us, after the incident, Conservatives began to publicly condemn the Liberal administration for selling the country to Wall Street and for inundating Colombian soil with “‘Quaker Oats’ and movies.”<sup>823</sup> This leads the author to ridicule Conservative thought, deeming their accusations as nothing more than an “apocryphal roar that [did not come out of a lion but was] rather produced by a stomachache from eating [too much] printing paper.”<sup>824</sup>

Similarly, another columnist argued that while they did not believe that any of Uribe Holguín’s detractors were behind the fabrication of the bomb, they still regarded the incident as symptomatic of an ideological contention that had gone too far. Blaming the effect of tropical weather on the population for “breaking the old lyrical tradition of Orpheus, whose lire was able to appease the rough soul of the beasts,” the author goes on

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<sup>823</sup> “La bomba estaba cargada de almidón. Era un especie de editorial opositorista”; “Envilecido por el cine y por los ‘Quaker Oats,’ el Colombiano no tiene ni sensibilidad ni conciencia.” See “La Bomba Vacía” *El Tiempo*, February 28, 1932.

<sup>824</sup> “Examinado este rugido de los leones vegetarianos, pudo comprobarse en la Escuela nacional de Veterinario, que era un rugido apócrifo, producido por una indigestion de papel de imprenta.” See “La Bomba Vacía” *El Tiempo*, February 28, 1932.

to call out the government for being too passive, prompting the Liberal administration to intervene quickly before such a crisis would escalate more.<sup>825</sup>



Figure 7.1. Front Page of Revista Mundo al Día on the day after the bomb was found.

<sup>825</sup> “La Bomba de dinamita sorprendida ayer en el Conservatorio nacional de música rompe totalmente con la vieja tradición lírica de Orfeo, cuya lira lograba apaciguar el alma áspera de las fieras reduciéndolas a la armónica servidumbre.” “Reflector de los Hechos,” *Revista Mundo al Día*, February 26, 1932

AS BC

## UNA BOMBA ESTUVO A PUNTO DE ESTALLAR EN EL CONSERVATORIO

Fue colocada en el zaguán del establecimiento—Un empleado apagó la mecha y evitó la catástrofe—El dictamen pericial se hará hoy—Habla Uribe Holguín.

En el zaguán de la casa que ocupa desde hace muchos años el Conservatorio Nacional de Música, situado en la calle 11 número 85, fue encontrada por uno de los empleados de la institución, llamado José María Valencia, una bomba que hasta el momento no se ha podido precisar si es o no de dinamita, pues las autoridades policivas no han encontrado desde las cinco de la tarde de ayer, hora en que ocurrió el hallazgo, un perito en explosivos que dé el dictamen preciso.

En tal virtud, sólo hasta hoy, cuando el perito del ministerio de guerra se traslade al juzgado de permanencia de la policía nacional y haya examinado con el mayor detenimiento la bomba, el público y las autoridades podrán saber qué clase de explosivo tiene, y sólo hasta ese momento se podrá iniciar la investigación correspondiente.

A la hora que hemos indicado, el señor José María Valencia, que anda en muletas, debido a un defecto físico, penetró al zaguán del Conservatorio Nacional de Música. En uno de los rincones vio algo que ardía en el suelo. Se acercó y entonces, sin presentir de qué se trataba, colocó sobre la mecha uno de los recatones de sus muletas, apagándola. En ese momento salió uno de los alumnos del Conservatorio, y ambos se pusieron a examinar, sin tocarla, la bomba. Convencidos de que se trataba de una bomba, que bien podía ser de dinamita, salieron apresuradamente en busca de un agente de la policía.



Dr. Guillermo Uribe Holguín

En la esquina encontraron dos agentes de policía, a quienes les comunicaron el hallazgo que acababan de tener. Los agentes se trasladaron al zaguán del Conservatorio y con grandes cuidados alzaron la bomba. En concepto de ellos la bomba si es de dinamita y de una potencia como para hacer volar toda la manzana.

**LA ALARMA**

Con la presencia de los agentes de la policía, los alumnos y alumnos de la institución, se apresuraron a salir del establecimiento.

(Continúa en la página 9a.)

Figure 7.2. News of the Bomb Found at the Conservatory, *El Tiempo*, February 26, 1932.

These reactions were not accidental. Most of the Colombian public would have been acquainted with a number of scandals surrounding the Conservatory around that time, which the press had been following closely.<sup>826</sup> After all, composer Antonio Maria Valencia's sudden decision to leave his job as Professor at the Conservatory in November of 1931, had ignited a series of controversies that went beyond a mere public contention.<sup>827</sup>

<sup>826</sup> See for instance: Guillermo Uribe Holguín, "La Campaña Contra el Conservatorio," *Mundo al Día*, February 15, 1932; "Por la cultura Musical de Bogotá," *Mundo al Día*, February 10, 1932; "La Postulación de Valencia para el Conservatorio: El artista se defiende algunos cargos," *Mundo al Día*, December 21, 1931.

<sup>827</sup> On November 23, 1931, Valencia presented his formal and irrevocable resignation to the Ministry of Education as General Inspector of Studies at the Conservatory and Professor of Piano, Music Dictation, and Theory. The position as General Inspector—Uribe Holguín tells us in his autobiography—was created by him just for Valencia in order to lure him to the conservatory upon his return from Paris, where Valencia had been studying at the Schola Cantorum. In a letter to the Minister, Uribe Holguín lamented

The first of these was a failed attempt at overthrowing Uribe Holguín by twenty-six senators of the Republic of Colombia who wanted to replace him with Valencia.<sup>828</sup> Such an attempt was countered by a protest led by members of the Conservatory Orchestra who, after learning of the senators' political move in the press, refused to play for Valencia. Valencia was to conduct the Orchestra in December of that year, having been previously invited by Uribe Holguín himself.<sup>829</sup> Valencia was forced to step down, but was nevertheless

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his decision to accept Valencia's resignation because in his opinion he was a "very distinguished professor, of profound knowledge, and whose collaboration in [the Conservatory] was highly appreciated." ("Es de lamentar mucho la separación del Señor Valencia, profesor distinguidísimo, de hondos conocimientos y cuya colaboración en el Instituto era apreciada por esta Dirección en alto grado." See Archivo General de la Nación. Sección Archivo Anexo II. Ministerio de Educación Nacional. Correspondencia, Legajo 174, Carpeta 1, folio 305A, 66-78); Uribe Holguín, *Vida de Un Músico Colombiano*, 166.

<sup>828</sup> On November 23, 1931, two separate letters signed by twenty-nine senators of the Republic of Colombia found their way to the offices of the Ministry of Education. In these letters, the senators suggested to the Minister of Education that Antonio María Valencia be named director of the National Conservatory in replacement of Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Among the signatures, the names of prominent Liberal intellectuals stick out such as Darío Echandía, who would later serve as President of Colombia in 1943; Jorge Bejarano, a doctor who became the Public Health Minister in 1946; and Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, whose assassination in April of 1948—as explained in the introductory chapter—would incite a ten-year conflict known as *La Violencia*. Archivo General de la Nación. Sección Archivo Anexo II. Ministerio de Educación Nacional. Correspondencia, Legajo 174, Carpeta 1, folio 305A, 70-71.

<sup>829</sup> See "Los Parlamentarios Recomiendan Para la Dirección del Conservatorio al Maestro Valencia," *El Diario Nacional*, November 23, 1923.



applauded by concert goers upon seeing him sitting among the audience at the Teatro Colón, where the concert took place.<sup>830</sup>

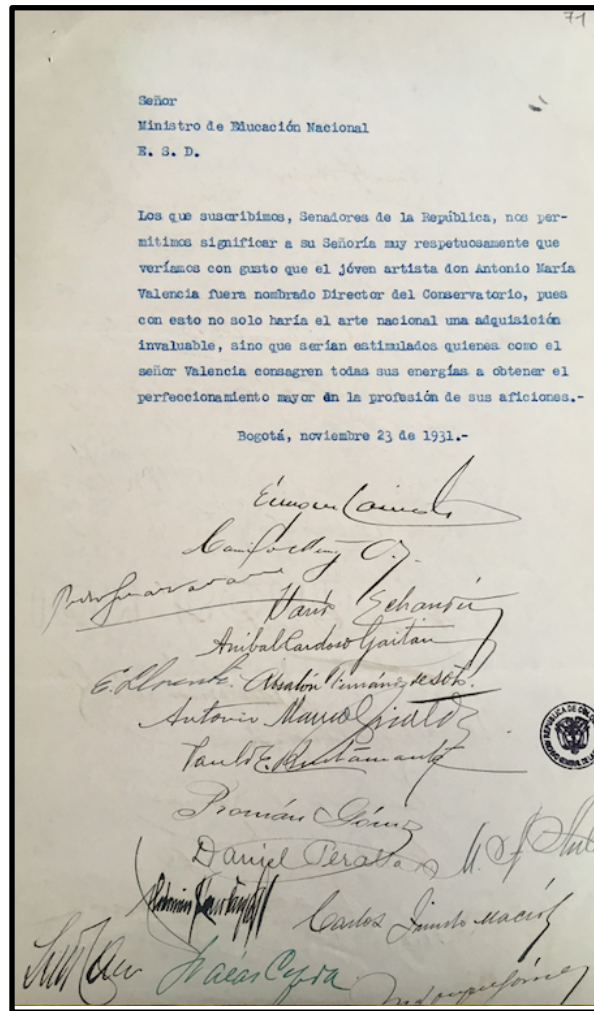


Figure 7.3. Letter to the Minister of National Education signed by Senators of the Colombian Republic requesting that Valencia be named Director of the Conservatory. November 23, 1931.

A few days after, eighty-five individuals, both men and women, among them Emilio Murillo Chapull, wrote a series of letters to the then President Olaya Herrera, this time not

<sup>830</sup> “El Maestro Valencia no colabará en el concierto del lunes.” *El Diario Nacional*, November 28, 1931; “Valencia ruidosamente ovacionado en el Colón,” *Mundo al Día*, December 1, 1931.

requesting, but demanding, in the name of “justice and patriotism,” that Uribe Holguín be removed immediately from the National Conservatory.<sup>831</sup>

In addition, on January 1, 1932, Valencia himself submitted a report to the Ministry of Education where he criticized Uribe Holguín’s administration, proposing a series of reforms that aimed to modernize the Conservatory.<sup>832</sup> His critique was later published in the press, prompting yet another public dispute between Uribe Holguín and Valencia.<sup>833</sup> According to Valencia, Uribe Holguín had failed to make the conservatory into “an ideological organ... that propels art and models aesthetic taste, [and which] must be at the forefront of the spiritual renovations imposed by the progress of nationality.”<sup>834</sup> Uribe Holguín’s twenty-five year administration, in Valencia’s eyes, had been largely unsuccessful

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<sup>831</sup> This grievance was articulated through seven points: 1) That the conservatory lacked a plan of studies and set of regulations that would allow for proper music instruction in performance, conducting, and composition; 2) That in twenty-five years, since its founding, the conservatory had not formed a single professional orchestra conductor; 3) That the conservatory had not produced a single composer worthy of praise; 4) That because of the lack of a *scientific* curriculum, students on a scholarship would often stay at the conservatory for far too long; 5) That because of a lack of modern methods, music theory and solfège classes taught at the conservatory were not having the impact they should have been having in Colombian music of education; 6) That the orchestra, which was the stronghold of the conservatory, was made up of musicians who had studied abroad, and such, it was not representative of the efforts of the conservatory; and 7) That no music history courses were being taught at the conservatory. Archivo General de la Nación. Sección Archivo Anexo II. Ministerio de Educación Nacional. Correspondencia, Legajo 174, Carpeta 1, folio 305A, 82-89.

<sup>832</sup> Fernando Gil Araque discusses Valencia’s critique in the context of the República Liberal, see Fernando Gil Araque, “Congresos nacionales de la música, 1936-1937.,” *Música, cultura y pensamiento: revista de investigación de la Facultad de Educación y Artes del Conservatorio del Tolima* 1, no. 1 (2009): 13–34.

<sup>833</sup> See “Campaña Pro Conservatorio,” *El Tiempo*, February 29, 2932.

<sup>834</sup> “El Conservatorio, como organismo ideológico, como agente propulsor del arte y modelador del gusto estético, debe figurar a la vanguardia de las renovaciones espirituales que impone el progreso de la nacionalidad.” Antonio María Valencia, *Breves Apuntes Sobre La Educación Musical En Colombia* (Bogotá: Editorial A. J. Posse, 1932), 3.

in creating a unique Colombian music style. For Valencia, the students of the conservatory were “not composers but mere interpreters of the Western canon.”<sup>835</sup>

As Catalina Muñoz argues, unlike Murillo Chapull, the Liberal party saw in Valencia a strong contender who had the cultural capital necessary (after all, he had just graduated from the Schola Cantorum, and had studied there for twice the amount of time as Uribe Holguín) to dethrone Uribe Holguín in order to secure that the Conservatory—an ideological organ of the state—remained in their hands. Furthermore, the educational reforms proposed by Valencia were in alignment with the political program of the República Liberal, albeit they were not a big departure from the model followed by Uribe Holguín—one marked by a desire to achieve artistic progress via the dissemination of “good taste” and through the refinement of technique. Both Valencia and Uribe Holguín saw popular and folkloric music in a similar way, deeming it poor compared to their European counterparts. Unlike Uribe Holguín, however, Valencia believed that popular music ought to be transformed by the state as a tool for social improvement, bringing universal music values to the ignorant masses.<sup>836</sup> In this sense, Valencia’s educational project showcased a more democratizing gesture than Uribe Holguín’s. As Muñoz writes, however, this democratization of music did not necessarily imply horizontality.<sup>837</sup>

Despite these collective efforts at taking over the Conservatory, Uribe Holguín remained at the head of the Conservatory for three years more. As detailed before, it was not until Gustavo Santos took over the Dirección Nacional de Bellas Artes, when Uribe

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<sup>835</sup> Muñoz, “A Mission of Enormous Transcendence,” 87.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.*, 83–91.

<sup>837</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

Holguín decided to leave. Valencia, on the other hand, left Bogotá to establish his own Conservatory in the city of Cali; and not surprisingly, the educational model that he institutionalized was not too different from Uribe Holguín's model.<sup>838</sup>

While the apparent upholding of popular culture during the República Liberal seems to be at first glance an inclusive gesture, what was at stake in these disputes over national music, was not a revalorization of subaltern musical practices, but modernity itself—a modernity predicated upon the divide between subalterns and hegemon. This is precisely what Gayatri Spivak means when she posits that the subaltern “is necessarily the absolute limit of the place where history is narrativized into logic.”<sup>839</sup> For the subaltern is not just a dispossessed individual nor a marginalized collective, but also “the epistemological limit at which the nonhegemonic announces the limits of hegemonic thought and of hegemony thinking.”<sup>840</sup> The subaltern both interrupts and allows for a hegemony to be articulated. In other words, the analytical challenge that arises from this scenario is the difficulty of measuring the agency of marginalized groups in the representational machine of the nation-state. In this light, Gareth Williams argues that we must acknowledge that the intellectual desire by Latin American elites to participate in an act of engaged representation during the early twentieth century (as a mechanism of social integration) is often traversed by the formation of institutional practices, political identities, state apparatuses, and agonistic practices. Williams calls to recognize that these subaltern practices were not only “popular forms of self-expression and differential modes of

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<sup>838</sup> Muñoz, 88.

<sup>839</sup> Spivak quoted in Williams, *The Other Side of the Popular*, 10.

<sup>840</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

collective self-definition but also [the product of] an immensely powerful ideological machinery of which popular expressions of difference are often merely more than an effect [of such machinery].”<sup>841</sup>

I close with this consideration to highlight the difficulty in measuring the agency of subalternity in the making of a popular hegemony vis-à-vis a peoplehood fabrication enacted by intellectual elites who end up speaking for the subaltern. The act of representation, we should be reminded, is an act of power, especially at the level of the nation-state. However, representation has its limits. Echoing Laclau and Mouffe, more than what discursive statements *say*, we should also direct our attention to what such statements *show* (at the level of the structure that produces such statements). And this is where antagonism comes into play. After all, just as the dynamite bomb found at the conservatory was perceived by Colombian audiences to be not filled with starch but empty, it is the empty space of Laclau and Mouffe’s constitutive lack—articulated as an antagonism—which allows for the construction of any identity in its first place. Still, this understanding of hegemony finds its limits as well. Indeed, we should also take into consideration, not only what a discursive statement says or shows, but also *how* such statement is enacted. An antagonism, in this sense, can also be understood as a “performative operation [involved] in constituting an [equivalential] chain,” as Laclau writes.<sup>842</sup>

Throughout this dissertation, I have sought to reframe the ideological contentions between Uribe Holguín and his detractors as performances of antagonism that were

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<sup>841</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>842</sup> Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 97.

constitutive of the Colombian aural public sphere during the early twentieth century. Moreover, by highlighting the similarities between Uribe Holguín's project of the nation and his detractors' view on modernity and artistic progress, I aimed to explore the reasons why Uribe Holguín's persona, in Colombian music narratives, was perceived in such a negative light. Thus, while documentary evidence reveals striking similarities between Uribe Holguín's work and that of his detractors whose agenda conformed more to the reformist policies of the República Liberal (his symphonic poem *Bochica* is a prime example of this), I believe that Uribe Holguín's failure to embody the national can be better explained through what his nation-building project lacked: a performance practice that could capitalize on the body's affective registers.

Indeed, his music was seldom performed, and his educational project confined to a small number of the population, who largely resided in Bogotá. This contrasted with Murillo Chapull's cultural enterprise, for instance, whose music was recorded, sold, and eventually disseminated through the radio. As I argued in the opening vignette of this dissertation, the strength of nationalist discourse resides not only in the content of its political and cultural discourse, but also in the way that such a discourse encompasses immanent processes such as the capacity of the body to affect and be affected by other bodies (Affect), and the regular and repetitive activities that structure daily life (Habit and Biopolitics).<sup>843</sup> In this sense, Uribe Holguín's construction as a symbolic enemy of the nation in Colombian historiography is but one piece of a larger process, whose aim is to secure a

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<sup>843</sup> See Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony*, xi–xxi; Guillaume Marche, “Why Infrapolitics Matters,” *Revue Française d'études Américaines*, no. 131 (November 28, 2012): 3–18, <https://doi.org/10.3917/rfea.131.0003>.

national social order—what we call hegemony. Music’s role in this scenario, exceeds the purely discursive or the purely representational.

To conclude, I deem it important to continue this line of research by studying the affective registers between populist musical discourses and the cultural initiatives launched during the República Liberal. By assessing the tension between music’s political and *infra-political dimensions* in relation to state formation, we can focus not only on how music’s affective dimension can be captured by the state but also how musical discourse plays into the construction of subalternity within the representational machine of Latin American modernity.<sup>844</sup> In opposition to a stance that necessarily pathologizes populist strategies, I believe we can look at musical populism as a way of structuring the political.

Following the work of Jon Beasley-Murray, I believe it will be a fruitful enterprise to pursue a comparative analysis of Colombian populist musical politics in relation to theories of group identity and subject formation (empty signifiers, antagonism, and chains of equivalence), on the one hand, and post-hegemonic notions such as *affect*, habit, and the multitude, on the other.<sup>845</sup> This will allow us to understand how that which appears as an excess of the political—what falls outside representational practices—is captured by the nation-state and made into, for instance, a broader category such as “the people.” For example, during the first administration of President Alfonso López Pumarejo, under the purview of Gustavo Santos, the Colombian state became heavily invested in creating a number of *orfeones populares*, choral-societies of “the people,” throughout the country. The

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<sup>844</sup> Infrapolitics refers to a domain that encompasses “the acts, gestures, and thoughts that are not quite political enough to be perceived as such.” Guillaume Marche, “Why Infrapolitics Matters,” *Revue Française d’études Américaines*, no. 131 (November 28, 2012): 3–18.

<sup>845</sup> See Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony*.

*orfeones* rapid success and popularity led also to the founding of *orfeones obreros*, a socialist offshoot of *orfeones populares*, as well as the creation of a number of *masas corales*, massive choirs created by the state. Similarly, during this time, the República Liberal, began to sponsor “official” *murgas típicas*, a form of popular musical theatre, dance, and music that highlighted regional folklorized expressions.<sup>846</sup> This emphasis on collective performance, I believe was a much more compelling mechanism for constructing a nation than the pedagogical approaches carried out by Uribe Holguín in his conservatory. It is thus through the pairing of ideology with embodied practices through which the notion of Colombianidad was ultimately constructed.

Interestingly, the reformist-populist enterprise of the República Liberal was ultimately a failed experiment as nationalist-populist movements in Colombia never took hold, inciting dissent among individuals, who quickly began to stand against the Colombian state itself.<sup>847</sup> As a matter of fact, the excessive focus on bipartisan politics and the patronizing view of the Liberal State eventually erupted into a more than six-decade Civil War between guerilla movements, who organized against the Colombian state during the aftermath of *La Violencia*. Armed conflict and violence increased after Gaitán’s death, especially during the *National Front* (1958-1974), a time period marked by bipartisan clientelism in which Liberals and Conservatives took turns in office every four years, while they distributed all public positions throughout the country evenly between the two

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<sup>846</sup> Muñoz, ““A Mission of Enormous Transcendence,”” 93–99.

<sup>847</sup> See Ana Lucía Magrini, “Colombia y los nombres de lo político. Populismo, Violencia(s) y gaitanismo,” *Iberoamericana* 16, no. 63 (November 16, 2016): 33–52. Daniel (Author) Pecaute, *Populismo imposible y violencia: el caso colombiano*. (Colombia: Universidad de Antioquia, Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 2000).



parties.<sup>848</sup> A study that pursues why the reformist-populist policy of the República Liberal failed in comparison to other Latin American nations could yield interesting results, and could broaden our understanding of how nationalism operates in the cultural periphery.

However, it is still worth pondering how the institutionalization of the cultural politics during the República Liberal continues to affect musical production in Colombia. This would require us to pursue a genealogical approach that traces how the musical categories (including the categorical separation of art music from popular and folkloric musics), that were legitimized during the República Liberal have been adopted, contended, or modified across a number of musical practices in Colombia, from avant-garde circles to folkloric troupes.

It would also be productive to focus on the way Colombian music composers—including Uribe Holguín—participated in but also contended the symbolic revindication of indigenous lifeways that the Pan-Americanist cultural movement known as indigenismo was ultimately taken to be. It would be interesting, for example, to look at how musical indigenismo changed since Uribe Holguín's *Bochica*. A study surrounding the work of Jesús Pinzón Urrea (1928–2016), an experimental music composer, jazz pianist, and ethnomusicologist who drew from his ethnographic work at the National Centre for Folklore during the 1970s to create his body of work, could potentially reveal a clearer

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<sup>848</sup> See Safford, *Colombia*, 324–34.

scenario, where we can observe a more active negotiation of subaltern agencies behind the act of representation itself.

What is more, I believe that the antagonism articulated between Uribe Holguín and subaltern musical practices has received too much attention—this dissertation is proof of this—in Colombian scholarship, shielding us, from instance, from pursuing a more intersectional approach to analyzing Colombian nationalist music. Indeed, I find it imperative to delve, for instance, into the life and work of Jacqueline Nova (1935–1975), Colombia’s most prolific composer of avant-garde and experimental music in the 1960s and 1970s, known for amalgamating queer aesthetics with machine sounds, indigenous chants, and the orchestra. Despite being a changing force in Colombia’s avant-garde music scene, Nova’s figure is largely absent from monographs in both English and Spanish.<sup>849</sup> Nova was the first woman to graduate from the Conservatorio Nacional de Música with a degree in composition during a time when instrumental performance was the only degree conferred to women. Additionally, she confronted harsh opposition as a lesbian composer, leading her to find other avenues beyond the heteronormative and male-dominated Colombian music scene. Indeed, Nova’s work went outside national borders and the purely sonic. After winning a prestigious composition award in 1966, Nova received a grant from the Organization of the American States to work in the prominent Torcuato di Tella’s Electroacoustic laboratory in Argentina.<sup>850</sup> This led to multiple multi-media collaborations

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<sup>849</sup> The only comprehensive study devoted to Nova herself that I know of is Ana María Romano’s article entitled “Jacqueline Nova: De la Exploración a la Experimentación de la Libertad,” Alejandra Quintana Martínez and Carmen Millán de Benavides, *Mujeres En La Música En Colombia: El Género de Los Géneros* (Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2012), 45–93.

<sup>850</sup> On de Di Tella Institute’s Latin American Center for Advanced Musical Studies (CLAEM), see Eduardo Herrera, “The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin American Music in the 1960s: The Creation of Indiana

with musicians and visual artists from Argentina, Uruguay, and other parts of Latin America. Nova composed for a variety of mediums, including modular pieces for small chamber orchestra and highly experimental music. She also wrote music for plays, films, and even created interactive sound installations for museum audiences, far ahead of her time.

In Colombia, however, Nova lived during a time of political and social turmoil. Following the fall of the Rojas Pinilla dictatorship, women's suffrage in 1957, the rise of Marxist-inspired guerrillas, and the beginning of the drug wars, Nova found herself in a dynamic yet repressive scene. Nonetheless, she placed herself at the top of the avant-garde movement in Colombia and in the Southern Cone despite the opposition she faced as a woman and lesbian composer. Because of Nova's involvement in the music scene not only as a composer, but as a radio host, cultural organizer, music technology researcher, and performer, pursuing a comprehensive study of Nova's career will contribute to the field of musicology by providing an account seldom encountered in current scholarship: the exploration of the subjectivities of a Latin American avant-garde composer, who was a woman and a lesbian, and which will examine the musical labor of women beyond accepted historiographical models. Additionally, this research line could contribute to Latin American studies through an examination of the intersection between politics, indigenismo, and avant-garde and queer aesthetics during a particularly convoluted time in Latin America. Similarly, studying Nova's life and work would also serve as a springboard for

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University's LAMC and Di Tella Institute's CLAEM," *American Music* 35, no. 1 (2017): 51–74; Ana R. Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid, eds, *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, 2018.

discussing historiographical and socio-political issues, foregrounding concepts around Latin American difference and sameness that have shaped musicological perceptions of Latin American music. A study of this line could shed light on music's transnational flows along hemispheric lines, while demonstrating how gender and sexual politics inform aesthetic ideas, and vice versa. This has the potential to contribute to the study of intersectionality in gender and queer studies, revealing how gender and sexuality intersect within a continental framework. Finally, since Nova was raised in Santander, a region that is still considered peripheral in Colombia, analyzing how these gender and sexual politics were negotiated within the regional, the national, and the transnational can bear fruitful results.<sup>851</sup>

Finally, while this dissertation focused largely on the first half of the twentieth century, as I had mentioned before, during the 1950s and early 1960s, Uribe Holguín participated in a number of Pan-Americanist events, including the 1954 Latin American Music Festival in Caracas, where he declared to the press that folkloric music in Latin America did not exist.<sup>852</sup> Such an inflammatory declaration was not an attack towards his detractors. Rather, it should be understood as a political strategy, informed largely by US-American cultural policy over the region. Indeed, I believe that by understanding anti-folkloric stances beyond the level of the nation-state, we are then in the capacity to connect Uribe Holguín's putative Europhilia to Pan-Americanist concerns regarding folkloric nationalism and the political implications that being associated with that movement would

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<sup>851</sup> See Herrera, "The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin American Music in the 1960s"; Alonso-Minutti, Herrera, and Madrid, eds, *Experimentalisms in Practice*.

<sup>852</sup> "Carecen de Música Folklórica los Países de América Latina," *El Universal*, November 22, 1954. Fundación Guillermo Uribe Holguín. Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias.

entail for Latin American composers at the time. This would entail pursuing a completely different approach to antagonism and Europhilia, focusing more on the ways Latin American musicians such as Uribe Holguín navigated transnational politics, especially during the early Cold War, which prompted composers from the cultural periphery to negotiate difference and sameness at times through expressions of national disidentification and anti-nationalism.<sup>853</sup>

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<sup>853</sup> See, for instance, Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*; Payne, *The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain*.

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