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BERMÚDEZ, EGBERTO, "Music and Society in 19th-Century Nueva Granada and Colombia. The *bandola* and its History Through Iconographic Sources (1850-1900)", *Ensayos. Historia y teoría del arte*, Bogotá, D. C., Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2011, No. 21, pp. 151-180.

ABSTRACT

Based on the study of the available iconographic sources for this period, this article examines the development of the *bandola* in Colombia in the second half of the nineteenth century. It tries to explain how for its development, the *bandola* borrowed elements from other instruments that coexisted initially with it, such as the *tiple* and the *bandurria*; and how, under the influence of Spanish *Estudiantinas* achieved the shape and characteristics that converted into an emblematic instrument of Colombian 'national' music, playing a major role in its development during the first half of the XX century.

KEY WORDS

Bandola, *bandurria*, *tiple*, Colombia, Nueva Granada, musical instruments, music iconography

TÍTULO

Música y sociedad en la Nueva Granada y Colombia en el siglo XIX: La bandola y su historia a través de fuentes iconográficas (1850-1900).

RESUMEN

A través del estudio de las fuentes iconográficas de este periodo, este artículo examina el desarrollo de la *bandola* en Colombia la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. También trata de establecer cómo en su desarrollo la *bandola* toma elementos de otros instrumentos que en un principio coexistieron con ella, como el *tiple* y la *bandurria* y cómo con el influjo de las *estudiantinas* españolas en las últimas décadas del siglo, adquirió la forma y características que la convirtieron en protagonista e instrumento emblemático de la música 'nacional' colombiana en la primera mitad del siglo XX.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Bandola, *bandurria*, *tiple*, Colombia, Nueva Granada, instrumentos musicales, iconografía musical.

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Recibido setiembre 26 de 2011

Aceptado noviembre 1 de 2011

Music and Society in 19th-Century Nueva Granada and Colombia. The *bandola* and its History Through Iconographic Sources (1850-1900)¹

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In early 1899, the Colombian painter, musician, and composer Pedro Morales Pino (1863-1926) had photographs taken of his Lira Colombiana, an instrumental ensemble he had founded in the previous years. In those months, the Lira was preparing to initiate a foreign tour that—because of a sudden change of plans—finally took them through Central America to the United States to participate in the Pan American Buffalo Exhibition inaugurated in May 1901.²

¹ A draft version of this paper was presented in the 13th International RidIM Conference and 1st Brazilian Conference on Music Iconography, in Salvador, Bahía (Brazil), 20-23 July 2011, thanks to the financial aid granted by the Dirección Nacional de Investigación (DIB) and the Facultad de Artes (Vicedecanatura de Bienestar) of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá). I would also like to thank for their kind help Pablo Sotuyo (Salvador), president and organizer of the congress, and Salette Dubois (Salvador), also for her hospitality. I also thank Jaime Cortés (Universidad Nacional, Bogotá), Juan Luis Restrepo (Fundación de Música, Bogotá) and the anonymous reader who read drafts of this paper for their kind suggestions and additional information on documentary and iconographic sources.

² Precise details about this ensemble and the artistic life of Morales Pino are difficult to establish. For his biography see: Jorge Áñez, *Canciones y recuerdos*, Bogotá: Librería Mundial, 1950; Heriberto Zapata Cuéncar, 'Centenario del nacimiento de un gran artista: Pedro Morales Pino,' *El Colombiano Literario*, Medellín, 21 de febrero de 1963, p. 4; Augusto Morales Pino, 'Apuntes para una biografía de Pedro Morales Pino,' *Boletín de Programas. Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia*, 200 (abr. 1961), and 'Morales Pino: el maestro del claroscuro,' *Boletín de Programas. Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia*, 223 (oct. 1965), both reprinted in Hjalmar de Greiff and David Feferbaum (eds.), *Textos de Música y Folklore. Boletín de Programas*, Bogotá: Instituto Co-



FIG. 1. Melitón Rodríguez, *Lira Colombiana*, Medellín, 1899 Marulanda and González, p. 63. From left to right: Julio Valencia (cello), Carlos Escamilla (tiple), Isaías Rodríguez (bandola), José Vicente Martínez (guitar), Pedro Morales Pino (bandola and director), Gregorio Silva (guitar), Blas Forero (bandola), Vicente Cepeda (tiple), and Carlos Goldsworthy (bandola).³

As part of the farewell tour of the ensemble, Melitón Rodríguez—undoubtedly the foremost Colombian photographer of his day—made in Medellín the two mentioned group portraits of the ensemble.⁴ Both images show an instrumental group modeled on the late 19th-century Spanish ‘estudiantina,’ but in one of them (Fig. 1) we find one violin and four pear-shaped instruments locally known as ‘bandolas’ (also named ‘liras’ in the Medellín area) as melodic instruments, accompanied by two guitars, two triples (small four course treble guitars), and one violoncello.⁵

Morales Pino’s earlier ensembles in Bogotá are documented from 1884 to 1888 but remain iconographically unrecorded. They started as a duo (bandola and guitar), later becoming a

lombiano de Cultura, 1978, I, pp. 73-80 and 99-103; Hernán Restrepo Duque, *Las cien mejores canciones colombianas y sus autores*, Bogotá: RCN/Sonolux, 1991, pp. 121-25; Octavio Marulanda and Gladys González, *Pedro Morales Pino: la gloria recobrada*, Ginebra (Valle del Cauca): Fundación Promúsica Nacional de Ginebra, 1994, and Jaime Rico Salazar, *La canción colombiana: su historia, sus compositores y sus mejores intérpretes*, Bogotá: Norma, 2004, pp. 32-57 and 390-95.

³ José Vicente Martínez is the most common form of the name of one of the guitar players of the Lira; Marulanda, however (p. 63), calls him Vicente de Jesús Martínez.

⁴ Marulanda (p. 63) identifies Fig. 1 as taken in Buga on May 19th, 1899, but most probably this date refers to the dedication of the Medellín photograph in Buga to Samuel Herrera, a local musician.

⁵ The other photograph is reproduced also in Marulanda and González (p. 88) as well and in E. Bermúdez, ‘Un siglo de música en Colombia: ¿entre nacionalismo y universalismo?,’ *Credencial. Historia*, 120 (dic. 1999), p. 8, and Rico Salazar, p. 37.

trio, first with bandola and two guitars and later with bandola, tiple, and guitar. The bandola of these ensembles, however, had the shape of a small guitar and was different to the ones observed in Fig. 1, and is well documented in contemporary iconographic sources, photographs, and engravings contained in bandola tutors. Also, we have at least one surviving instrument built in that fashion (Fig. 12a), and Morales Pino himself was photographed with one such bandola in his hands. This photograph (Fig. 15) illustrates a romantic literary portrait of him written by Cuban intellectual and independence activist Emilio Bobadilla (1862-1921), a.k.a. *Fray Candil*. This article, that appeared in October 1898 in the *Revista Ilustrada*, a new and fashionable magazine, was part of the propaganda campaign for the Morales Pino foreign tour. Bobadilla most probably participated in its planning, and expectations were heightened by the publication of *Cuba Guerrera*—a piano march by Morales Pino dedicated ‘to Cuban patriots’ (*A los patriotas cubanos*) for their struggle against Spanish rule. The *Revista Ilustrada* was the first Colombian publication to incorporate photoengraving techniques and for that reason Bobadilla’s article was duly accompanied by the mentioned photograph, taken at Morales Pino studio, and by the piano score of his ‘pasillo’ *Confidencias*.⁶

Morales Pino was born in a provincial urban proletarian family and arrived from Ibagué to the capital to study at the National Academy of Fine Arts around 1879-80, sponsored by Adolfo Sicard, a local intellectual and educator. Once in Bogotá, he started an active artistic life as a painter and musician and by the end of the century had become a local celebrity. If we assume that the photograph of the *Revista Ilustrada* was taken shortly before its publication in October 1898, and knowing that the Lira Colombiana’s portraits were made early the following year, the final transformation of the bandola from its guitar shape to its pear-like mandolin shape seems to have consolidated in a period of less than a year in musical circles very close to Morales Pino. In fact—according to a tradition quoted by Áñez—he is credited with the apparent addition of a sixth course of strings to the instrument, something implausible given the existence of six-course bandurrias in Spain around 1800.⁷ However, through this significant change of external appearance the bandola renewed its credentials—along with the tiple—as an emblematic instrument of Colombia’s official ‘música nacional’ and played a central role in its repertoire throughout the first half of the 20th century, especially in recordings, which started in 1910.⁸

⁶ Fray Candil, ‘Pedro Morales Pino (Notas),’ *Revista Ilustrada*, Bogotá, I, 6 (20 de octubre de 1898), pp. 95-96, p. 90 (photograph) and pp. 91-92 (score).

⁷ Jorge Áñez, *Canciones y recuerdos* [1951], Bogotá: Librería Mundial, 1970, pp. 34, 54. Áñez seems to have been the disseminator, if not also the author of this tradition. Perhaps the best known of the historical six-course bandurrias is the one made in Barcelona by Manuel Bertrán around 1800, now at the Museo de la Música (Barcelona); see Cristina Bordas, ‘Catalogue,’ in *Instruments de musique espagnols du XVIIe au XIXe siècle. Catalogue*, Bruxelles: Générale de Banque, 1985, p. 170.

⁸ E. Bermúdez, ‘Cien años de grabaciones comerciales de música colombiana. Los discos de “Pelón y Marín” de 1908 y su contexto,’ *Ensayos. Historia y teoría del arte*, 17 (2009), pp. 87-134. Tiple and guitar were

In spite of the fact that the tiple and the bandola gained together the status of national symbols, this essay focuses in documenting iconographically how an instrument called ‘bandola’ achieved a canonic status as one of the par excellence ‘Colombian’ musical instruments in a process that consolidated from the mid-19th century onwards, within specific ideological, political, and literary frameworks. Moreover, it intends to show how the name ‘bandola’ was applied to at least three prototypes of chordophones, all showing different organological characteristics, but in the end converging in the design of the instrument that during the first half of the 20th century was pivotal in the development of ‘música colombiana.’ Additionally, the study limits to iconographic and some documentary sources, elaborating on the images of these instruments and their shape, size, and performing techniques, discussed in their social and cultural contexts. It also considers extant historical European and Colombian specimens and also musical instruments belonging to the living Latin American and Caribbean musical traditions. It excludes though a full discussion on historical sources and terminology, and on the tuning and other organological details of the instruments, key elements to understanding its musical characteristics and the object of a forthcoming study.⁹

‘National’ music and instruments

After around 1850, the tiple and the bandola began to be considered the foremost symbols of ‘national music’ in Nueva Granada, later Colombia. In fact, both were launched together to this status in 1849 by José Caicedo Rojas (1816-98)—a classical guitarist—in ‘El tiple,’ an article belonging to the ‘cuadro de costumbres,’ a literary genre, that reappeared with additions and modifications in 1866 and 1883.¹⁰ Something similar occurred in the

used in the 1908 in the Mexico recordings of Pelón y Marín whereas bandolas (along with tipples, guitars, and a violoncello) were employed in those of the Lira Antioqueña made in New York in 1910.

⁹ From now on, and when necessary, I will refer to four principal tuning systems, without considering their variants concerning octaves and number of strings in instruments with multiple string courses. These are (starting with the lower order): (a) the vihuela (G-c-f-a-d'-g'); (b) the six, five or four course guitar (E-A-d-g-b-e'); (c) the bandurria (g#-c#'-f#'-b'-e''-a''); (d) the Italian mandolin or violin tuning (g-d'-a'-e''), and (e) the cítara (b-a-d'-e'). In all, c' = middle c, in the following sequence: C...c...c'...c''...c'''.

¹⁰ The three versions of the article by José Caicedo Rojas are: (a) ‘El tiple,’ *El Museo*, I, 3 (mayo 1 de 1849); modern edition in Efraín Sánchez Cabra, *Ramón Torres Mendez, pintor de la Nueva Granada 1809-1885*, Bogotá: Fondo Cultural Cafetero, 1987, pp. 179-84; (b) ‘El tiple,’ *Museo de Cuadros de Costumbres*, Bogotá: Foción Mantilla, 1866, vol. I; modern edition: *Museo de Cuadros de Costumbres, Variedades y Viajes*, Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1973, I, pp. 71-82, and (c) ‘El tiple,’ in *Escritos escogidos*, Bogotá: Imprenta de Vapor de Zalamea, 1883, 2 vols.; modern edition: *Apuntes de rancharía y otros escritos escogidos*, Bogotá: Biblioteca Popular de Cultura Colombiana, 1945, pp. 103-14. From here onwards, I will quote from the modern editions, but using in parenthesis the original publication year for each edition. I will also use from here on ‘cuadros de costumbres’ (sketches of local customs) for the genre and ‘costumbrista’ for the writers, poets and painters who used it.

same years in the United States, where—through the activity of professional musicians and publicists—the banjo also acquired the status of a ‘national’ musical instrument. First, it became associated with black-faced minstrel shows and was launched to fame by Stephen C. Foster (1826-64) in two of his ‘Ethiopian’ (Afro-American) songs: *Susanna* (1847) and *Ring, ring the banjo* (1851).¹¹ In the same years, and in the midst of a heated discussions on ‘national’ music, Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-69)—returning home triumphantly after his European successes—composed and published in 1853 an instrumental virtuoso piano piece named *The Banjo* that was immediately cheered as emblematic of the ‘national’ repertoire.¹² It also had quick repercussions in Colombia as young pianist and composer Manuel María Párraga (1835-1906), at the time living in the United States, assimilated its idiomatic piano style in the composition of a similar piece entitled *El tiple. Torbellino, op. 2*, printed for the author by Breitkopf & Hartel in Leipzig in mid or late 1858.¹³ To contribute to the construction of music and musical instruments as symbols of nationality, between 1853 and 1863, at least three poems entitled *La bandola* were published by noted intellectuals and writers Juan Francisco Ortiz (1808-75), Ricardo Carrasquilla (1827-86), and José María Vergara y Vergara (1831-72), all praising the ‘native’ instrument and comparing it in musical effectiveness to the violin and the piano.¹⁴ Moreover, in 1857, Rafael Pombo (1833-1912)—living in New York and who was to become the greatest Colombian 19th-century poet—published a still longer poem called *El bambuco*, thus cementing the musical symbolic capital of musical ‘Colombian-ness’ by combining the bambuco (as a music genre, song, and dance) with the tiple and the bandola as its emblems.¹⁵

As to early and mid 19th-century Colombian chordophones and their organological characteristics, we have to rely mainly on iconographic sources, complemented by the scarce information given in a very small number of historical or documentary descriptions. In the first version of his article (1849), Caicedo Rojas describes the bandola as an instrument used for melody (plucked with a plectrum), accompanied by the tiple, and built with a

¹¹ William W. Austin, “*Susanna*”, “*Jeanie*” and “*The old folks at home*”. *The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from his Time to Ours*, Urbana and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 3-86, 75-76.

¹² S. Frederic Starr, *Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 147-48.

¹³ E. Bermúdez, *Manuel María Párraga (1835-1906) y su obra* (work in progress).

¹⁴ Texts partially reproduced in Harry C. Davidson, *Diccionario folklórico de Colombia. Música, instrumentos y danzas*, Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1970, II, pp. 22-30.

¹⁵ Rafael Pombo, *Poesía inédita y olvidada*, ed. Héctor Orjuela, Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1970, I, pp. 191-98. This is the first version of the poem he reworked completely in 1874 after his return to Colombia. Pombo’s zeal in his endeavour at consolidating the bambuco as a national symbol even led him to outright fabrication, discussed by the author of this paper in ‘*Rafael Pombo (1833-1912), la música y la música colombiana* (in press).

vaulted sound box sometimes made out of an armadillo or tortoise shell, most probably oval or rounded. In spite of being a guitarist—as mentioned above—he seems to convey only a partial technical knowledge of the subject when discussing measurements and also by using indistinctively the names ‘tiple’ and ‘bandola.’ Socially, however, he locates both instruments in the lower strata of New Granada society. As their musical ancestors he recognizes the Spanish vihuela, guitar, and bandurria, but in his usual patronizing way he considers the local instruments as ‘degenerations’ of these prototypes, and when speaking of the bandola he adds an unusual reference to its use in Spain.¹⁶ Caicedo Rojas’ article and its accompanying color plate are reviewed in *El Neogranadino*’s, a plate where the three men dancing and playing are identified as ‘three guaches’—a term used for members of the lower urban classes.¹⁷ On the other hand, Manuel Ancízar (1812-82), prominent contemporary intellectual, journalist, politician, and owner of the mentioned newspaper, employs exactly the same tone in his descriptions of peasants while working for the Comisión Corográfica.¹⁸ In this context, the imprecision and misunderstandings of the organological features of both tiple and bandola in Caicedo Rojas’ article are easy to understand. It is clear that his main purpose was not to fully describe them technically but to legitimize them as cultural symbols.

In an 1866 note, Caicedo Rojas acknowledges the changes the bandola had gone by. He states that in that year it was already widespread throughout all social classes ‘in the interior provinces’ and had been adopted (along with the tiple and guitar) for the performance of European salon dances such as waltz, polka, mazurka, etc. He also refers to its physical ‘improvement,’ but unfortunately does not elaborate on this passing comment. However, he probably alludes to the adoption of the guitar shape and a flat-back resonator, but in the main text he maintains his 1849 description.¹⁹ In 1883 he inserts major modifications to the original text aiming at correcting what he himself called ‘factual mistakes.’²⁰ First of all, he clarifies the circumstances that surrounded the writing of the first version of ‘El tiple’ indicating that in December 1840, during one of the many 19th-century civil wars, Caicedo Rojas, as a part of an army detachment of members of the Bogotá elite, witnessed how urban proletarian and peasant conscripts enjoyed themselves singing to the accompaniment of tipples and how they were so moved as to immediately defect, seized by nostalgia

¹⁶ Caicedo Rojas (1849), pp. 182-83.

¹⁷ *El Neogranadino*, in Sánchez Cabra, p. 126. The anonymous review was probably written, as mentioned above, by Ancízar, owner and editor of the newspaper.

¹⁸ See Agustín Codazzi et al., *Geografía física y política de la Confederación Granadina, III. Estado de Boyacá, Tomo II. Antiguas Provincias de Tunja y Tundama y de los cantones de Chiquinquirá y Moniquirá* (1851), Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia/Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia/Universidad del Cauca, eds. Camilo Domínguez et al., 2003.

¹⁹ Caicedo Rojas (1866), p. 79.

²⁰ Caicedo Rojas (1883), ‘Prólogo,’ p. viii.

of their homes and families. After the episode, and upon suggestion of one of his friends, he decided to write a 'costumbrista' article for which he took notes during the rest of that military campaign that took him from Bogotá to the neighboring northeastern provinces.²¹ Although mainly devoted to the tiple, the three versions and revisions of Caicedo Rojas' article follow closely the development of the bandola from a popular instrument anchored in the colonial Spanish musical traditions and transformed in the 1860s into a salon instrument with a new shape and new social and musical roles.

As we have mentioned, Caicedo Rojas' first version of 'El tiple' was accompanied by a colored engraving of a drawing by Ramón Torres Méndez (1809-85), an artist whose works constitute the main iconographic sources concerning popular music and musical instruments in mid 19th-century Colombia. In one of his oil paintings and ten of his drawings and prints on 'costumbres populares' (popular customs), we find musical instruments in song and dance scenes. In all, the plucked string instruments are guitar-shaped and flat-backed, exhibiting at least three different sizes. The absence of chordophones with vaulted and oval (or rounded) sound boxes in the area surrounding Bogotá and in the central and northeastern highlands confirms the existence of a separate musical tradition from that of the Magdalena River valley and Southwestern Colombia, where iconographic sources precisely refer to chordophones with rounded or oval-shaped sound boxes. The other instruments found in Torres Méndez illustrations are the violin (as a melodic instrument in peasant and urban middle-class contexts), the clarinet (only in the middle-class context), and the 'chirimía' (shawm), in a popular religious street scene. A 'pito' (fife or small traverse flute) is partly visible in one of his peasant music scenes. Membranophones as the 'pandereta' (a frame drum with jingles) or idiophones as the 'guacho' or 'alfandoque' (a long tubular rattle) are both present in festive or ritual music scenes depicting peasants or members of the urban lower classes of Bogotá or its surroundings²².

Contemporary documentary sources—mainly gathered by Davidson—contain references to other instruments such as a 'small wire strung-bandola,' mentioned in a 'costumbrista'

²¹ Caicedo Rojas (1883), pp. 106-7. The episode occurred in Chitaraque, on the border region between present-day Boyacá and Santander.

²² Illustrations in Sánchez Cabra, p. 129 (*El tiple*: tiple and guacho), p. 147 (*Romería a Chiquinquirá*: violin and tiple), p. 154 (*Paseo campestre*: large oil painting with violin, tiple, guacho, and pandereta), p. 160 (*El bambuco. Bogotá*: violin, clarinet, and tiple), p. 176 (*Baile de campesinos. Sabana de Bogotá*: two tipples or tiple and bandola, guacho and pandereta, and *Entierro de un niño. Valle de Tenza*: two string instruments—guitar and tiple—, traverse flute, and chucho), p. 180 (*Paseo campestre*: drawing with tiple, guacho, and pandereta), p. 181 (*El torbellino. Baile en tierra caliente*: tiple and pandereta), p. 182 (*Músicos populares*: tiple, guacho, and pandereta), p. 218 (*Vendedor de sombreros*: two sketches with tiple), and p. 224 (*La Virgen del campo*: shawm). The sketches of the hat seller singing with his tiple are reproduced in Óscar F. Gaona R., Paula J. Martín, Juan R. Rey, and Carolina Vanegas, *Noticias iluminadas. Arte e identidad en el siglo XIX, Bogotá*: Alcaldía Mayor/Fundación G. Alzate Avendaño, 2011, p. 141. I thank Carolina Vanegas and Juan R. Rey (Buenos Aires) for kindly providing me with a copy of their publication.

newspaper article of 1842 as being used for the performance of a waltz. Moreover, ‘bandolas’ or ‘bandurrias’ are found in import-duty lists in Bogotá in 1851. In the first reference, we find a small bandola (‘bandolita’) used to perform the melodic line and from the second we can corroborate the currency of the bandurria and its non-differentiation with the bandola, a topic we shall return to later.²³ In 1851, tipples and bandolas are also described as playing together for Christmas street entertainments in Santafé de Antioquia (Northwestern Nueva Granada)²⁴.

Bandola and bandurria

In mid 18th-century Spain, ‘bandola’ was the name given to a pear-shaped, ribbed and vaulted-back instrument with six double courses of gut strings with vihuela or lute tuning²⁵. On the other hand, ‘bandurria’ referred to an instrument with a flat-back, rounded sound box with square shoulders in its upper section and strung with four or five double courses of gut strings with the tuning in fourths we have identified earlier as the bandurria tuning (see also note 9).²⁶ Minguet adds that when the bandurria had wire strings it was called ‘sonora,’ a metaphoric allusion to its louder sound.²⁷ Iconography for this period is scarce, but we are fortunate to have some examples from Minguet’s small treatises of 1753-4, where both bandurria (Fig. 2, bottom extreme right) and bandola (Fig. 2, bottom second from left) are depicted²⁸. A more detailed engraving (Fig. 3) in the same publication describes its stringing and shows the square shoulders not clearly depicted in the bandurria from the frontispiece of the collection.²⁹ Another bandurria—played with a five-course guitar—is found in *Una romería o el bolero*, an oil painting at the Madrid Museo del Prado by José Camarón Bonanat (1731-1803), showing the dance of the ‘bolero.’³⁰ A similar engraving

²³ Davidson, II, pp. 9-10.

²⁴ Manuel Pombo, ‘Los Diablitos,’ *Museo de Cuadros de Costumbres*, I, p. 109.

²⁵ Juan José Rey, ‘Primera parte,’ in Juan José Rey and Antonio Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España. Bandurria, cítola y “laúdes españoles”*, Madrid: Alianza, 1993, pp. 56-60.

²⁶ Rey, pp. 60-66.

²⁷ Pablo Minguet, *Reglas y advertencias generales para tañer la bandurria...*, Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, c.1754, Regla Octava, n.p. See also ‘Documento VI,’ in Rey and Navarro, p. 164.

²⁸ Pablo Minguet, *Reglas y Advertencias Generales que enseñan el Modo de Tañer todos los Instrumentos mejores y más usuales...*, Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1753, frontispiece. Minguet’s treatises, published separately between 1753 and 1754, were also published as a single volume. In all cases, there are no page numbers, and dating is very difficult since most fascicles have no date. The first one is dated 1753, and the first dated in 1754 is the one dedicated to the Salterio (psaltery), followed by the Bandurria fascicle.

²⁹ Minguet, *Reglas...* Bandurria, Regla Séptima.

³⁰ Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Galería Online, in <www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/zoom/1/obra/una-romeria-o-el-bolero/oimg/0/>. Reproduced in *Cinco siglos. Pasión por la música antigua*, in <www.cincosiglos.es/index.php/instrumentos/cuerda-pulsada/65-bandurria-barroca>.



FIG. 2. Bottom from left to right: tiple (small guitar), bandola, cítara, and bandurria.
P. Minguet, *Reglas y advertencias...*, Frontispiece, 1753.

from the same period and for the same dance also shows the bandurria being plucked accompanied by the guitar.³¹

From Minguet's illustration, it seems clear that the bandola had a pear-shaped vaulted sound box while the bandurria had one with a flat back. The 'cítara' (third from left to right in Fig. 2) also had a similar flat-backed sound box, but since its stringing and tuning were very different it is excluded from this discussion. The tiple (first from left to right in Fig. 2), shown as a small treble guitar compared to the large one (shown besides the violin in Fig. 2), is discussed here only in passing and will be the object of a separate treatment. Minguet mentions different sizes of bandurrias—'grandes' and 'pequeñas'—and also the 'bandolín,' defined as a small bandola, tuned and played in the same way³².

In our case, it seems that the name 'bandola' survived in the 19th century to refer mainly to chordophones with a rounded and vaulted sound box but seemingly to become gradually used also for the flat-back bandurria. New Granada iconographic sources dating from the mid

³¹ Frederic V. Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar. An Illustrated History*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969, p. 162, illustration 111.

³² Minguet, *Reglas... bandurria*, n.p.

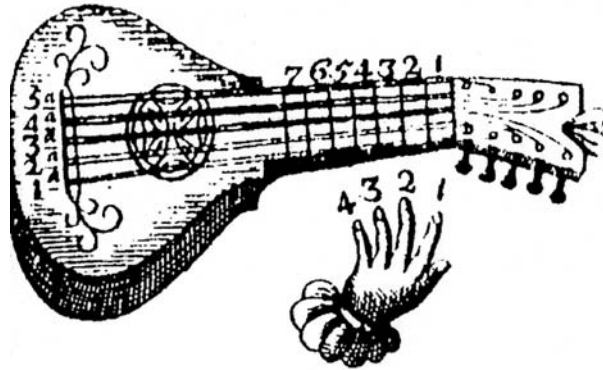


FIG. 3. Five-course bandurria.
Minguet, *Reglas... Bandurria*, c.1753.

1820s and 1830s confirm the existence of plucked instruments with rounded or pear-shaped sound boxes—corresponding to the older bandola (as described by Minguet) and coinciding with that defined by Caicedo Rojas in 1849. Two watercolors from this period depict popular scenes from the valley of the Magdalena River, the principal entry route to Bogotá and the interior provinces of New Granada. The first shows a series of local objects painted by François E. D. Roulin (1796-1874) in 1823 and the other a festive scene—painted by José S. del Castillo and signed in 1834—corresponding to a marriage dance in Guaduas, an important entrepôt between the mid-Magdalena River port of Honda and Bogotá. Roulin sailed down to Nare (mid-lower Magdalena River) and then proceeded by mule to Bogotá, so his drawing refers to the musical culture of the northern region of New Granada, with close contacts with Central America and the Caribbean³³.

The string instrument shown in Roulin's watercolor (Fig. 4a) has an elongated pear shape and shows clearly four double courses with eight pegs³⁴. That of the marriage dance scene by Del Castillo (Fig. 4b) shows instead a pear-shaped body and is accompanied by a pandereta and a shorter and thicker 'chucho.' This instrument has a longer neck, four strings and only six pegs, a probable mistake—missing two of the eight pegs necessary for the four courses of strings. Del Castillo's instrument shows clear indication of having a vaulted sound box, also hinted in Roulin's. Another pear-shaped instrument is included in an engraving illustrating the description of an inn (Venta Grande) between Honda and Sargento, on the way to Guaduas and Bogotá, dating from around 1832. D'Orbigny calls it a 'calabash guitar,' and

³³ Malcolm Deas, Efraín Sánchez, and Aída Martínez, *Tipos y costumbres de la Nueva Granada. Colección de pinturas y dibujos de Joseph Brown*, Bogotá: Fondo Cultural Cafetero, 1989, p. 133.

³⁴ François D. Roulin, *Por el río Magdalena hasta Bogotá*, Bogotá: Duff and Phelps de Colombia, 2004, plate: 'Le vague poisson de la Magdelaine, sellier, utensiles, etc..'



FIG. 4a. Roulin, *Le vague, poisson de la Magdelaine, sellier, utensiles, etc.*, 1823, detail. Biblioteca Luis Á. Arango, Bogotá.



FIG. 4b. José S. del Castillo, *A Wedding Dance at Guaduas*, 1834, detail. M. Deas et al., p. 133.

describes it as a typical item for entertainment at road inns (*ventas*)³⁵. Although not clearly visible in the engraving, its verbal description coincides with the vaulted sound box of the above-mentioned iconographic sources and with Caicedo Rojas 1849 definition of ‘bandola.’

Finally, another watercolor (Fig. 5a) from the same period (c.1835), attributed to José M. Groot (1800-78), depicts a Bogotá ‘tienda’ (shop) where a small four-course chordophone is visible amongst the merchandise. This time the instrument features an elongated narrow upper section on the sound box that can be identified as the distinct shape of the square upper shoulders characteristic of the Spanish 18th-century *bandurria* discussed above. So far, this is the first iconographic source known for the *bandurria* in Colombia³⁶.

One year after the appearance of Caicedo Rojas’ first version of his article, we find a detailed illustration of the *bandurria* with square shoulders on its upper sound box. It is a watercolor by Venezuelan painter Carmelo Fernández (1809-87) that illustrates a description of the population of the Sogamoso region (northeast of Bogotá) made in early 1850 as a part

³⁵ Alcide d’Orbigny, *Voyage pittoresque dans les deux Amériques*, Paris: L. Tenré, 1836, pp. 84 and 66 (illustration).

³⁶ Gaona Rico et al., p. 162.

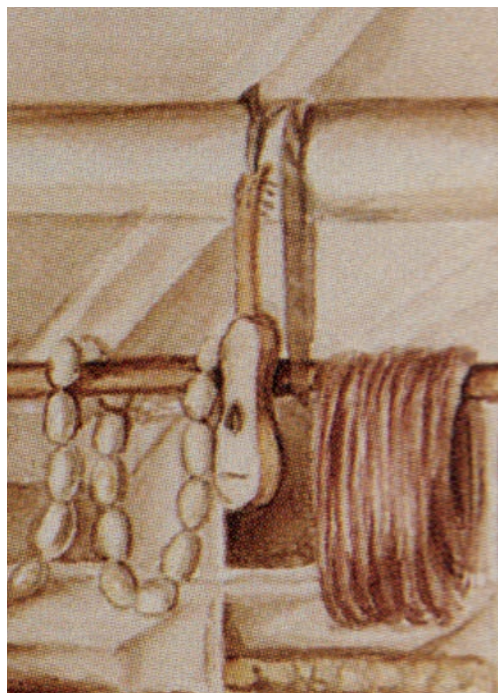


FIG. 5a. José M. Groot/Auguste Le Moyne, *Tienda*, c.1835, detail (upper right corner). O. F. Gaona Rico et al., p. 162.



FIG. 5b. Manuel María Paz, *Cigarrera*, 1853-54, detail (upper left corner). *Acuarelas de la Comisión Corográfica*, n.p.

of the first exploration trip of the Comisión Corográfica, led by Ancizar amongst others.³⁷ The bandurria player of Fig. 6a is a local Indian, portrayed alongside members of the Spanish and Indian-Spanish mixed blood ('mestizo') population of the Tundama region. This instrument is clearly depicted with four single strings and four pegs, probably hinting to a change of double stringing practice due to shortage of gut strings, traditionally imported from Spain and Italy until gradually more durable wire strings became widely current. The scene was matched by Ancizar's lively description of the social, economic, and cultural life of the region published in installments in *El Neogranadino*, where he emphasizes the high degree of Spanish acculturation of the surviving local Indian population. Two years later, Manuel M. Paz (1820-1902), another of the artists accompanying the Comisión, made watercolors for the fourth expedition that followed the Cauca River through the states of Cauca and Tolima. One of them portrays a cigar-maker ('cigarrera') in her hut accompanied by two

³⁷ Agustín Codazzi et al., *Geografía física y política de la Confederación Granadina, III. Estado de Boyacá*, eds. Camilo A. Domínguez et al., Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia/Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, 2003, p. 305.



FIG. 6a. Indian playing a bandurria of four strings, Tundama Province, New Granada, 1850. A. Codazzi et al., *Geografía física*, III, p. 305.



FIG. 6b. Mulatto or black musician, with large bandurria-type instrument, Dominican Republic, 1871, Hazard, p. 278.

other human figures. Hanging from the wall (Fig. 5b) we can see a fishing-net, two calabash rattles, and a roughly depicted chordophone with three visible pegs on one side of the peg box, no strings and a sound box hollowed out of a guitar-shaped calabash³⁸. This is another example of the vaulted-sound box bandolas described above, common in the western New Granada states, particularly in the Valle del Cauca and Tolima regions.

In the Latin American context, the square shoulders of 18th-century Spanish bandurrias can be found in some surviving instruments as well as in 19th-century iconographic documents from the Dominican Republic and in photographs of Puerto Rican musicians from the southern coast of the island or of those who immigrated to Hawaii in the early 20th century³⁹. Samuel Hazard's description of the northern Cibao region in the Dominican Republic in 1871 (Fig. 6b) illustrates a larger instrument of the same type with six strings and a match-

³⁸ *Acuarelas de la Comisión Corográfica. Colombia 1850-1859*, Bogotá: Litografía Arco, 1986, Provincia del Cauca. Cigarrera, n.p.

³⁹ Codazzi et al., plate: 'Tipo blanco e indio mestizo,' p. 305; Samuel Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present; with a glance at Haity*, New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1873, p. 278.



Napangas (jeunes femmes de la vallée du Cauca). — Dessin de A. de Neuville, d'après un croquis de l'auteur.

FIG. 7. Ñapangas (jeunes femmes de la vallée du Cauca), 1869.
Ch. Saffray, p. 140. Photo Juan L. Restrepo.



FIG. 8. *Danse de bambuco au village d'El Bordo, Cauca, 1876.*
E. André, p. 311.

ing number of pegs, played by a wandering musician clearly portrayed as black or mulatto. Hazard indicates the musician traveled with a companion whose musical function he does not describe, and we can only assume the instrument could have been also used to accompany singing. In this case, its large size and number of courses or strings may indicate the consolidation of different American traditions departing from that of the Spanish bandurria. As we will see, the outward design with square shoulders, as well as the different sizes of bandurrias described by Minguet, was maintained while stringing and tuning varied.

Iconographic evidence for these instruments in the 1860-70s is scarce, and two of the few existing depictions of chordophones of that period outside Bogotá are included in the travel accounts of Charles Saffray (1838-?) and Edouard André (1840-1911). Saffray, a

physician and botanist arrived in 1869, on occasion of his visit to the Valle del Cauca gives an account of dances amongst the lower classes, illustrating it with an engraving that shows two 'ñapangas' (lower-class mestizo young women) with two chordophones (Fig. 7). Both instruments have eight strings in four double courses, but their sound boxes are different. One is vaulted and pear shaped (the instrument on the floor) and the other has a small guitar shape and a flat back.⁴⁰ It is probable that they could have been played together for dance and the accompaniment of singing. The Manuel M. Paz's watercolor, this engraving, and the following example confirm the existence of a separate tradition of vaulted-sound box bandolas already acknowledged by Caicedo Rojas in 1849.

André, an architect and urban designer and planner, traveled through Colombia, Ecuador, and Perú in 1875-76, and besides his illustrations he furnishes us with very valuable information about the musical instruments we are dealing with. He visited El Bordo, a town in the southwestern Cauca region, mainly populated by African-descent freemen, former slaves, mulattoes, and their descendants. There he vividly describes the dancing of the bambuco to the music of an ensemble consisting of idiophones (two calabash rattles), membranophones (one conical and one cylindrical drums), and three chordophones. The ensemble is led by the 'tiple,' small and with an 'elongated half melon-shaped' sound box, accompanied by two 'guitars' called locally 'vihuelas segundas,' of the same shape but 'four times bigger.'⁴¹ In André's illustration (Fig. 8) we find a small oval-resonator instrument partially visible between the dance couple, and on the left one of the larger chordophones of the same shape and the peg box of the third, hidden behind the male dancer. This illustration confirms the existence of a separate tradition of oval or rounded sound-box chordophones in the Magdalena and Cauca River basins in western Colombia, particularly in the Cauca, Antioquia and Tolima states. André refers to them as 'tiple' (small) and 'vihuela' (large), and when describing the musical instruments seen in his voyage along the Magdalena River he also mentions them played together in Nare (Antioquia)⁴². Concerning terminology, in a note André explains that in the Valle del Cauca (Cauca River basin north of Popayán) the 'tiple becomes the bandola,' the small drum is replaced by a frame drum ('panderete'), and the already mentioned tube-rattle ('alfandoque') takes the place of the calabash rattles⁴³. For André, tiple and bandola are interchangeable, particularly because they both play the same musical role, providing melody, something he summarizes stating that in El Bordo the tiple plays the role of the 'first violin' of an orchestra.

⁴⁰ Charles Saffray, 'Voyage a la Nouvelle Grenade,' *Le Tour du Monde-Nouveau Journal des Voyages*, xxv (1869), pp. 139-40.

⁴¹ Edouard André, 'L'Amérique Equinoxiale (Colombie-Equateur-Perou) 1875-1876,' *Le Tour du Monde-Nouveau Journal des Voyages*, xxxviii (1876), pp. 309-11.

⁴² André, xxxiv (1875), p. 28.

⁴³ André, xxxviii (1876), p. 311, n. 1.



FIG. 9. Four double-course bandurria-type instrument with requintillas. Bogotá, Biblioteca Luis Á. Arango, "José I. Perdomo Escobar" Collection E. Bermúdez, *La música en al arte...*, p. 125. Photo Jorge Gamboa.

Fortunately, the characteristics of two of the chordophones at the 'José I. Perdomo Escobar' Collection of Musical Instruments at the Biblioteca Luis Á. Arango (Bogotá) help us to corroborate the existence of the two traditions mentioned above and to advance hypotheses for their change and juxtaposition during the period under consideration. The first specimen (No. 30340) is a bandurria-type instrument dating from the mid or late 18th century (Fig. 9) that displays an upper sound box with square shoulders—the main peculiarity of the 18th-century Spanish bandurria that can be seen in surviving specimens from that period and in the early 19th-century bandurria made by Manuel Bertrán, now at the Museo de la Música in Barcelona.⁴⁴ However, the Bogotá instrument belongs to a special category

⁴⁴ This specimen, that provisionally we can call 'cuatro y medio' or 'cinco,' is very deteriorated and probably comes from the Eastern-Lowlands Jesuit Missions in the border of Colombia and

of chordophones that show the addition of shorter strings or courses of strings—named ‘requintillas’ in Spanish—generally running half-length from the upper side of the sound box to the bridge. In present day usage, in Venezuela these instruments—all displaying a guitar shape—receive names such as ‘cuatro y medio’ and ‘cinco y medio,’ referring always to their number of strings or courses plus the extra shorter string—called ‘medio’—always placed as first string (located below the first course).⁴⁵

The other (No. 30301) that we can provisionally call ‘bandola’ has an armadillo-shell resonator. Built probably in the border area between Boyacá and Santander, northeast of Bogotá, in the 1910-20s, it has four double courses and can be easily identified with the bandola described by Caicedo Rojas in 1849, as well as with the iconographic sources of the 1820s and 1830s discussed above.⁴⁶ However, the instrument shows traces too of the square shoulders typical of the 18th-century bandurria and also a vibrating length adequate to it—so we find again a relationship between the contemporary Latin American instruments of this type and the 18th-century bandurria prototype.

As mentioned above, present day Latin American chordophones with square shoulders (with or without requintillas) preserve the 18th-century bandurria shape and come in different sizes and tunings. This is the case of the Puerto Rican ‘cuatro,’ of four single strings (with a modified bandurria tuning), the five-string tiple or ‘tiple doliente’ (with guitar tuning), and the five double-course ‘bordonúa,’ a larger instrument of the same shape, this time displaying a vihuela tuning.⁴⁷ In the Dominican Republic, the instruments named ‘cuatro’ and ‘tiple’—following the same construction techniques—have guitar tunings.⁴⁸ In Venezuela, chordophones with square shoulders are called ‘bandolas’ and come in several varieties and

Venezuela. An instrument called ‘bandola’ and later called ‘cinco’ is found in Macaguane in 1767 and 1775, respectively. See E. Bermúdez, *Catálogo. Colección de instrumentos musicales “José I. Perdomo Escobar”*, Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1986, p. 49; *La música en el arte colonial de Colombia*, Bogotá: Fundación de Música, 1994, p. 125, and ‘La música en las misiones jesuitas en los llanos orientales de Colombia, 1725-1810,’ *Ensayos. Historia y Teoría del arte*, 5 (1998-99), pp. 142-66, 306 (table). There is a typo in the table of p. 306; read ‘cinco’ instead of ‘chico.’ See also Cristina Bordas, *Catalogue. Instruments de musique espagnols du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*, Bruxelles: Générale de Banque, 1985, p. 170.

⁴⁵ Isabel Aretz, *Los instrumentos musicales de Venezuela*, Cumaná: Universidad de Oriente, 1968, pp. 153-57.

⁴⁶ Bermúdez, *Catálogo*, p. 48. Its inner label reads ‘Ramón Carreño, San Juan de Guacamayo,’ a place I have been so far unable to locate precisely. There is a small village called El Guacamayo on the border area of Boyacá and Santander, and the surname of the maker is common in that region and in the eastern Colombian lowlands.

⁴⁷ *Atlas of plucked instruments, Central America*, in <www.atlasofpluckedinstruments.com/central_america.htm>. Here this tuning is mistaken for that of the guitar.

⁴⁸ *The Puerto Rican Cuatro Project*, in <www.cuatro-pr.org/node/70>, <pacoweb.net/Cuerdas/cuetiple.htm> and <pacoweb.net/Cuerdas/cue4.htm>. Here the Puerto Rican tiple and vihuela are described as having the guitar tuning.

tunings. The current names are ‘bandola llanera,’ ‘bandola central,’ and ‘bandola oriental,’ but Aretz summarizes their different tunings as variants of the Italian mandolin or violin tuning (see note 9), including also the ‘bandolín.’⁴⁹ In Puerto Rico, there is a variety of the tiple, called ‘tiple grande’ or ‘tiple con macho,’ with four strings and one half-length ‘requintilla’ placed above the lower string—as the one used in the banjo. Unfortunately, in this case we have no detailed information about tuning.⁵⁰

Matching documentary sources, information on surviving instruments, and music iconography in Bogotá and its surrounding areas points to the existence of three different manufacturing and musical traditions for local chordophones, all of them product of processes initiated in the 16th century. The first was the existence of an instrument called ‘bandola,’ with a vaulted round or oval shape resonator, mainly documented iconographically in the Magdalena River basin and adjacent territories. Second, the continuity of the 18th-century Spanish plucked bandurria tradition, also documented in iconography with its characteristic square-shoulder design, an instrument that most probably was also called ‘bandola’ in some places. Finally, we also find the pervasive influence of chordophone ensemble playing and the presence of a high-pitched guitar-shaped instrument generally called ‘tiple’ but which for a reasonable long period of time also became known as ‘bandola.’ This aspect will be discussed below.

Guitars, bandurrias, and bandolas

Chordophone ensemble playing has a long tradition in Europe, very well documented in iconographic sources including ensemble playing for vihuelas, guitars, and other plucked instruments of different sizes since the 16th century. In 1547, for instance, Valderrábano’s vihuela tutor includes several pieces to be played in at least three different sizes of vihuelas with different tunings.⁵¹ Bordas, in her study of the documents about maintenance of plucked musical instruments at the Royal Palace in Madrid between 1630-40, mentions three sizes of guitars: ‘tiple chico,’ ‘tiple mayor’ or ‘guitarra mediana,’ and ‘guitarra grande,’ corresponding to Calvi’s terminology for the three sizes of guitars he describes (‘chitarriglia’ or ‘picciola,’ ‘mezana,’ and ‘grande’) in his tuning instructions for ensemble playing.⁵² Robledo confirms

⁴⁹ Aretz, pp. 168-76, and *Atlas of Plucked Instruments. South America*, in <www.atlasofpluckedinstruments.com/south_america.htm>.

⁵⁰ *Atlas, Central America*, in <www.atlasofpluckedinstruments.com/central_america.htm> and *The Stringed Instrument Database*, in <stringedinstrumentdatabase.110mb.com/t.htm>.

⁵¹ Enríquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de música de vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas*, Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1547, Libro IV, f. 45 and Libro VII, f. 94v. Besides the main tuning, he describes vihuelas tuned in b^b, c’, and d’.

⁵² Cristina Bordas, ‘La construcción de vihuelas y guitarras en Madrid en los siglos XVI y XVII,’ in Eusebio Rioja (ed.), *Sextas Jornadas de Estudios sobre la Guitarra, La guitarra en la historia*, IV,



FIG. 10. 'Baile de campesinos,' R. Torres Méndez, 1852, detail.
E. Bermúdez, *Historia...*, p. 112. Photo Jorge Gamboa.

the musical functions of different instruments quoting Quevedo's 1627 satirical reference to plucked and strummed guitars playing together.⁵³ Later evidence—Goya's *Majos en los bancos del Manzanares* (1776) at the Museo del Prado—includes two guitars of different sizes, probably fulfilling the same plucking and strumming functions. Concerning bandurrias, as mentioned above, Minguet indicates the existence of 'grandes' and 'pequeñas,' and also, when dealing with the bandola, he mentions the 'bandolín,' defined as a small bandola. However, very likely their function could have been more contrapuntal instead of the strumming and plucking functions described for guitars.

In his first version of 'El tiple,' Caicedo Rojas refers to the ensemble of bandola and tiple, clearly describing their distinct musical functions. We can safely assume that in contemporary iconography, when two guitar-shaped string instruments appear represented together, they are taking different musical roles, one melodic and the other harmonic. This seems to be the case in *Baile de campesinos. Sabana de Bogotá* (Fig. 10), a print from 1852 where the plucking on what looks as the smaller instrument (on the far right of the group of musicians) is represented in very good detail. Torres Méndez has another scene with two chordophones (Fig. 11): *El*

Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba/Ed. La Posada, 1995, p. 58; Carlo Calvi, *Intavolatura di chitarra e chitarriglia*, Bologna: G. Monti, 1646, p. 8. (facsimile edition, Firenze: SPES, 1980).

⁵³ Luis Robledo, *Juan Blas de Castro (c.1561-1631). Vida y obra musical*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1989, p. 56.



FIG. 11. R. Torres Méndez, *Entierro de un niño*, Valle de Tenza, c.1852, detail. Bogotá, private collection. Photo Juan L. Restrepo.

entierro de un niño. Valle de Tenza, where the corpse of a small child is carried on an elevated platform, accompanied by singing with two guitar-shaped instruments of different sizes, a 'pito' (short transverse flute), and a 'chucho' (tube rattle). The differentiation of their sizes is clearer, but not so the plucking or strumming on them. However, guided by the local living musical tradition, we can assume that on instrumental interludes the smallest instrument held the melody while the other fulfilled the accompaniment and that the scheme changed with the singing, when both instruments played the accompaniment.⁵⁴

In the last version of his article, Caicedo Rojas adds that by 1883 the construction of tiples and bandolas had improved considerably, showing artistry and refinement, and also assures that by then these instruments had been totally accepted by the upper classes and were played

⁵⁴ A similar practice is used nowadays in the music tradition of the border area between Boyacá and Santander. See E. Bermúdez, *Por mi puente Real der Vélez. Música tradicional de Puente Nacional, Santander*, Bogotá: Fundación de Música, 2000, CD MA TCOL 004.



FIG. 12a. Bandola by Nicolás Ramos, c.1871, private collection. Photo Jorge Gamboa.



FIG. 12b. A la izquierda, members of the Bogotá elite playing tiple, bandola, and guitar. Photograph c.1870, Bogotá, Biblioteca Luis Á. Arango. E. Bermúdez, *Historia*, pp. 166 and 197. Photo Jorge Gamboa.

even by elite young women. Its repertoire not only includes polkas and waltzes but also ‘full overtures’ performed in a trio along with the guitar, providing harmonic support. He concludes by adding that many Colombians abroad enjoyed showing off their abilities on the instrument.⁵⁵ This was indeed the context of the first public performances of Morales Pino on the bandola.

We know that the presence of a melodic instrument in such contexts dates back to the 1840s, when a small bandola is described as plucking the melody of a waltz. In 1856, Timoteo Ricaurte, a well-known bandola player, is documented performing European music accompanied by the piano at concerts of the Sociedad Filarmónica in Bogotá. Another

⁵⁵ Caicedo Rojas (1883), pp. 110-11, n. 1.



FIG. 13. J. Viteri, *Método...*, 1868, lám. 2.

anonymous virtuoso is mentioned four years earlier—probably the same person.⁵⁶ As we have already noted, Caicedo Rojas remarks the notable change of social status and repertoire of the bandola in the intervening years between his first (1849) and last (1883) version of his article. By the mid 1860s, the transformed bandola had adopted the flat-back resonator and small guitar shape. This can be clearly seen in a photograph of around 1870 (Fig. 12b) showing three young members of the Bogotá elite playing a tiple (left), bandola (center), and guitar (right).⁵⁷

From 1866, we have evidence of bandola makers in Bogotá, as Apolinar Cortés and Camilo Correa, described as makers of ‘violins, guitars, bandolas, and tiples.’ Nicolás Ramos, from Guaduas—according to a newspaper ad—, is recognized as the local maker of the ‘best tiples and bandolas known.’⁵⁸ Fortunately, we have a bandola made by him around 1871 (Fig. 12a) showing the characteristics described in tutors for tiple and bandola that began to appear in the same years.⁵⁹ In 1868, for instance, José Eleuterio Suárez (?-?), a composer and author of a music tutor for tiple, published in 1869, offers in local newspapers his services as bandola teacher.⁶⁰ During the same years in Spain, new experimental instruments appear as attempts to conform an emblematic ‘national’ ensemble. One of them was the ‘octavilla,’ that starts appearing in treatises from around 1860 and that had the shape of a small guitar, six double-strung gut courses, and a transposed bandurria tuning serving as alto in bandurria ensembles.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Davidson, II, p. 21. In 1815, one Timoteo Ricaurte was appointed commander during the Civil War between the followers of a Federal and of a Central scheme of government. See José M. Caballero, *Diario*, Bogotá: Villegas Editores, 1990, p. 191.

⁵⁷ E. Bermúdez, *Historia de la música en Santafé y Bogotá*, Bogotá: Fundación de Música, 2000, p. 166.

⁵⁸ Davidson, II, p. 34.

⁵⁹ The instrument is in a private collection in Bogotá. It has four courses, the first two triple and the rest double. See Bermúdez, *Historia*, pp. 196-97.

⁶⁰ Davidson, II, p. 16.

⁶¹ Antonio Navarro, ‘Segunda parte,’ in Rey and Navarro, p. 77.



FIG. 14a. T. D'Alemán, *Método completo...*, 1885, plate.

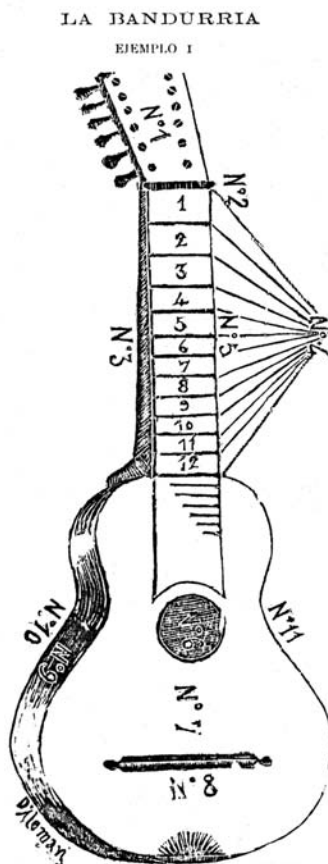


FIG. 14b. E. T. D'Alemán, *Método moderno...*, 1909, p. 4.

Therefore, from the mid 1860s, the new bandola designed in Bogotá combined features of the bandurria of older tradition (flat back, four double courses, bandurria tuning) with that of the melodic tiple (guitar shape, flat back, guitar tuning) present in guitar ensembles and surviving today as the 'requinto' of the already mentioned traditional music of the border region between Boyacá and Santander, precisely the same area where Caicedo Rojas locates his anecdote of 1840 and the region where the bandola by Ramón Carreño at the Perdomo Escobar Collection was made. The pear-shaped, vaulted-backed, four-course plucked instrument called 'bandola' seems to have remained in the periphery, particularly in the Antioquian Cauca and Magdalena River regions.

Tutors for the tiple and the bandola published in Bogotá in the last three decades of the 19th century contain illustrations that corroborate the process described. The illustration contained in José Viteri's tutor of 1868 (Fig. 13) portrays a bandola with a small guitar-shaped

sound box and a bandurria tuning.⁶² Viteri's descriptions of tiple and bandola pose special terminological problems beyond the scope of the present article, but a similar bandola is depicted alongside a slightly larger tiple in Telésforo D'Alemán bandola tutor of 1885 (Fig. 14a). In this plate, the author explains how to hold the instrument and gives the same tuning and the same techniques described by Viteri almost two decades earlier.⁶³ In 1895, in the frontispiece of a modified edition of his previous work, D'Alemán portrays two guitar-shaped instruments of almost the same size played together. In his introductory explanation, he indicates that the tiple is also called 'bandolón' and is the accompanying instrument, while the bandola, smaller, is also called 'tiple requinto.' He also mentions that both can produce 'delicious' melody and harmony, a concept he corroborates in the title where the possibility of performing 'duos' is included.⁶⁴ Here D'Alemán recognizes that the tradition of guitar ensemble playing (represented by various small guitars or tiples) has merged—at least in the central provinces—with that of the bandola (previously influenced by the bandurria's).

In 1909, Eugenio Telésforo D'Alemán (probably Telésforo's son or nephew) describes in a new tutor a definite change in the tradition relating to the bandola, including a plate (Fig. 14b) that shows an instrument with six double courses of strings and a design reminiscent of the square-shoulder sound box of the 18th- and 19th-century bandurria. He calls it indistinctively 'bandurria o bandola,' but in a note he clarifies that the difference between the two is that the 'bandola has a sound box similar to that of the guitar or tiple while that of the bandurria has a heart shape.'⁶⁵ D'Alemán is clearly referring to the new situation created after the conformation of the Lira Colombiana. He still considers the bandola to have a guitar shape and fewer courses, but also acknowledges the new instrument that he identifies with the bandurria because that was the name it had in Spanish 'estudiantinas.' It is symptomatic, however, that the three prominent Bogotá musical figures whose promotional paragraphs about his method he quotes refer without any hesitation to the 'bandola'—for them, perhaps, the bandola was no other than that adopted by Morales Pino a decade earlier.⁶⁶

⁶² José Viteri, *Método completo para aprender a tocar tiple y bandola sin necesidad de maestro*, Bogotá: Imprenta de Nicolás Pontón, 1868, plates 2 and 5.

⁶³ Telésforo D'Alemán, *Método completo para aprender con perfección a tocar la bandola*, Paris: Delanchy et Cie., 1885, pp. 34, plates.

⁶⁴ Telesforo D'Aleman, *Nuevo sistema para aprender fácilmente a tocar los tonos, acordes, dúos y rasgados en el tiple... corregido y aumentado. Segunda edición*, Bogotá: Imprenta de Silvestre, 1895, pp. 3-7.

⁶⁵ Eugenio Telésforo D'Alemán, *Método moderno para aprender a tocar con perfección la bandola o bandurria de cinco y seis órdenes de cuerdas*, Bogotá: Librería Americana, 1909, p. 5, n. 1: 'Se diferencia la bandola de la bandurria por la forma de la caja armónica, pues la bandola tiene la forma de la guitarra o tiple y la bandurria la de un corazón.'

⁶⁶ D'Alemán, p. 3. The writers were Jerónimo Velasco, composer and conductor; Manuel Conti, Conservatory teacher and band conductor, and Antonio Páez, a recognized musician.

Morales Pino's synthesis

Coming back to the 1898-99 events and the *Revista Ilustrada* photograph (Fig. 15), probably taken by Morales Pino's fellow artist and friend Peregrino Rivera Arce (1868-1940), a detailed commentary is worth. At the center, a large painting—invisible and serving simply as a source of reflected light—illuminates the artist, whose face is also visible on a small mirror. Morales Pino holds a bandola in his hands while a tiple neck rests on the edge of the table in front of him. Another artist works by his side against a wall canvassed with many of Morales Pino's portraits, his specialty as a painter. Overseeing the whole scene is Rivera Arce, who distinguished himself as author of the only drawings of the 1899-1902 civil war—the bloodiest of Colombian 19th-century ones—in which he participated as a soldier on the Liberal (defeated) side.⁶⁷

In those very years, Morales Pino and his new Lira Colombiana abandoned the old guitar-shaped bandola (as the one he is holding) and began playing their new melodic instruments—pear-shaped, mandolin-like bandolas like those shown in Figs. 1 and 16—and also adopted the violin and the violoncello as backing instruments, following Spanish *estudiantina* usage. What was the purpose of this change? Maybe Morales Pino and his group were trying to 'remedy' the problems of the low prestige of the *bandurria* (or *bandola*). In his undated *Escuela de mandolina española*, Baldomero Cateura (1856-1929) also tried to transform the Spanish *bandurria* around 1896-98 by changing its double stringing to single strings and adopting the pear shape of the Neapolitan mandolina, arguing that double courses were inadequate for the contemporary melodic purpose of the instrument and modifying once again the characteristics of the Spanish ensemble of plucked chordophones.⁶⁸ The channels for acquiring this information, that certainly Morales Pino had, were, on the one hand, the deeply rooted 'hispanismo' of Colombian culture—exacerbated by the 1892 celebrations—and, on the other, the frequent visits of Spanish actors, dancers, zarzuela singers, and bullfighters. The *Estudiantina Fígaro*, as well as their followers, employed several types of *bandurrias*, some with traces of their 18th-century square shoulders. So the bandola designed for Morales Pino (and his circle) can be seen as original or, at least, as only partially coming from new Spanish developments of the late 1880s and early 1890s.

In those very years, Morales Pino and his new Lira Colombiana abandoned the old guitar-shape bandola (as the one he is holding) and began playing their new melodic instruments, pear-shaped, mandolin-like bandolas as those shown in Figs. 1 and 16, and also adopted the violin and violoncello as backing instruments following Spanish *estudiantina*

⁶⁷ Bermúdez, *Cien años*, pp. 94-96.

⁶⁸ Baldomero Cateura, *Escuela de mandolina española*, Barcelona: J. Ayné, n.d.; Navarro, pp. 133-34. There is a discussion on the publication date, that can be located between 1891 and 1900. See *guitarra.arte pulsado.com* in <guitarra.arte pulsado.com/foros/showthread.php?8808-T%E1rrega-dirigiendo-una-rondalla>.



FIG. 15. 'Pedro Morales Pino en su habitación,' Private collection.
Reproduced in *Revista Ilustrada*, I, (nov. 1898), p. 90. Photo Jaime Cortés.

usage. It seems that several forces –technological, commercial and cultural- are behind this development. Modernization became the main trend in politics, society and technology and seemed to have reached as far as the design of musical instruments. In the National Exhibition of 1899 –whose main objective was to show the nation's progress in 'agriculture, arts and sciences'- there was a small section on music and musical instruments inaugurated in August that year when armed clashes had already erupted in the northeastern provinces and censorship and repression of Liberal party members became fiercer in the capital⁶⁹. A report on the music section by Gumersindo Perea –renowned composer and teacher at the National Academy of Music- illustrates how local luthiers were striving to innovate in their field particularly aiming at replacing imported instruments. He also praises the new 'lira colombiana' by Manuel Montoya as well as the new 'bandolina' by the Amado Brothers, both featured at the exhibition and intended by their authors as substitutes of the 'old bandola'⁷⁰. The 'lira colombiana' was exhibited with a tiple and guitar as an ensemble that –following

⁶⁹ Alvaro Medina, *Procesos del arte en Colombia*, Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1978, pp. 25-31.

⁷⁰ I thank Jaime Cortés for kindly referring to me this important source and additional information on Montoya and his association with Morales Pino. Gumersindo Perea, 'Informe del Jurado de Calificación en el ramo musical', *Exposición Nacional de 1899. Catálogo de las diferentes secciones. Informes de los jurados de calificación y fallo dela junta organizadora*. Bogotá: Imprenta de Luis M. Mogollón, 1899, pp. 114-15.



FIG 16. *Carte de Visite*, Lira Colombiana, New York, c.1903. Private collection. From left to right: Gregorio Silva (guitar and violoncello), Carlos Escamilla (tiple), Pedro Morales Pino (bandola and director), Carlos Goldsworthy (bandola), and Blas Forero (bandola and violin). Photo Jaime Cortés.

Perea's description- probably used the new barring system for guitars designed in Spain by Antonio de Torres (1817-92) in the 1860s⁷¹.

What was the purpose of this change? Maybe, Morales Pino and local luthiers as Montoya and the Amado Brothers were trying to modernize and update their technology and at the same time 'remedy' the problems of the low prestige of the bandurria (or bandola in our

⁷¹ On this developments on guitar making see José L. Romanillos, 'Catalogue/Catálogo', *The Spanish Guitar. La guitarra española*, Madrid: Sociedad Estatal del Quinto Centenario, 1992, pp. 149-59.

case). Around 1896-98 in Spain, in his *Escuela de mandolina española*, Baldomero Cateura (1856-1929) also tried to transform the Spanish bandurria by changing its double stringing to single strings and adopting the pear shape of the Neapolitan mandolina arguing that double courses were inadequate for the contemporary melodic purpose of the instrument and modifying once again the characteristics of the Spanish ensemble of plucked chordophones⁷². The channels for acquiring this information, that certainly Morales Pino and his circle had, were in one hand, the deep rooted 'Hispanismo' of Colombian culture –exacerbated by the 1892 celebrations- and on the other, the frequent visits of Spanish actors, dancers, zarzuela singers and bullfighters. Moreover, Perea mentions that Montoya –the maker of the instrument named 'lira colombiana'- had traveled, 'visited and probably worked at musical instrument workshops abroad' and there is documentary evidence of a probable commercial agreement between Montoya and Morales Pino that can be at the source of the name of the ensemble and of his decision of substituting 'old bandolas' for Montoya's new instruments for his foreign tour⁷³. On the other hand, the Estudiantina Figaro, as well as its Latin American emulators employed several types of bandurrias, most of them, with traces of their 18th-century square shoulders. Therefore, the bandola designed for Morales Pino can be seen as really original, or at least, only partially coming from new Spanish developments of the late 1880s and early 1890s.

Moreover, I have argued elsewhere that, in spite of being considered by later writers as champion of Colombian 'national music,' Morales Pino was always more interested in European music (already labeled 'universal' in those years) and in its adaptation to Colombian instruments, as shown by the predominantly European repertoire performed in his first public concerts, the later repertoire of the Lira Colombiana, and his own few publications.⁷⁴ His repertoire was indeed the same as that performed by the Estudiantina Fígaro all over Latin America, mainly based on international music with very few 'national pieces.'

The *Carte de visite* (Fig. 16) used around 1902-03 in New York by Morales Pino and his Lira Colombiana reveals clearly the design of the new instruments and their fidelity to the estudiantina formation, with violin and violoncello added to the core of plucked instruments. The careful detail in the design of these new bandolas is revealed by the use of the image of the Greek classical lyre—as string holder below the bridge—visible in one (lower right) of the three bandolas of the ensemble. Morales maintained the name Lira Colombiana for several ensembles he conducted until his death in 1926. Moreover, most authors consider that the visit of the Lira Colombiana to Medellín in early 1899 was at the origin of the Lira

⁷² Baldomero Cateura, *Escuela de mandolina española*, Barcelona: J. Ayné, n.d.; Navarro, pp. 133-34. There is discussion on the publication date that can be located between 1891 and 1900. See *guitarra.arte pulsado.com* in <http://guitarra.artepulsado.com/foros/showthread.php?8808-T%Elrrega-dirigiendo-una-rondalla>

⁷³ Perea, p. 115. 'El Señor Montoya ha vistado fábricas extranjeras de instrumentos musicales y creo ha trabajado en algunas...'

⁷⁴ Bermúdez, *Cien años*, pp. 102-08.

Antioqueña, an ensemble that a decade later also traveled to the United States and recorded the first Colombian *estudiantina* repertoire in New York in 1910.⁷⁵ Finally—and significantly again—, a lyre-shaped flower garland was placed in front of his coffin during his funeral in Bogotá. There his former and then his present tomb in Cartago—his native town—were both decorated with sculpted lyres.⁷⁶ Most likely, this was symbolic in a personal way and naturally went beyond the general association of the lyre as a symbol of music or arts.

In conclusion, the instrument called ‘bandola’ went through several transformations in 19th-century Colombia, documented in iconography and other sources. It remained, however, a melodic instrument plucked with a plectrum, with *bandurria* tuning and five or six double courses of metal strings. From its original 18th-century low status and rounded sound box with square shoulders, in the 1860s it acquired a small guitar shape in order to become a ‘national’ salon instrument for the performance of European music. This new shape was an attempt to nationalize and gentrify the Spanish *bandurria*, abandoning its plebeian connotations—as it was attempted in Spain with the creation of the ‘*laúd español*’—, modifying its external contours, but maintaining its stringing and tuning.⁷⁷ Curiously enough, it is possible that this process of gentrification of the plebeian instrument appeared extreme to Morales Pino, who had his own ideas on ‘*música nacional*’ and was familiar with instruments like the above-mentioned rounded or pear-shaped plucked chordophones common in western Colombia. The new pear-shaped *bandurria* (without its former square shoulders) comes along with the Spanish *estudiantina* influence in the mid 1880s and early 1890s, strengthened by ‘hispanist’ cultural fashions spurred by the celebration in 1892 of the IV Centennial of Colon’s first voyage, as it had happened in Spain itself in 1881 for the Centennial of Calderón.⁷⁸ For Morales Pino, the instrument came already vested with prestige, but at the same time resembled the pear-shaped instruments we have described above and he had known—and perhaps played—since his own youth, so he accepted the new Spanish model without hesitation. The *bandurria* shape came with the respected Hispanic lineage and heritage, but for him it clearly had also a long local tradition. With its new design and its ‘*música nacional*’ repertoire, the *bandola* consolidated as a key element of the development of ‘*música colombiana*’ during the first half of the 20th century. As a compelling paradox of the workings of cultural dependency and nationalism, in order to become fully Colombian the existence of the new *bandola* had to be sanctioned first in New York, Paris, and Madrid.

⁷⁵ Marulanda, p. 64; Rico Salazar, pp. 38, 108-14.

⁷⁶ Photographs in Marulanda, pp. 127-29. As a general symbol for music, a medal with a lyre was presented by the local Firemen Corps to the *Estudiantina Figaro* in Santiago (Chile) in 1886. See Ramón Andreu Ricart, *Estudiantinas chilenas. Origen, desarrollo y vigencia (1884-1955)*, Santiago: FONDART/Ministerio de Educación de Chile, 1995, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁷ Navarro, p. 79.

⁷⁸ Navarro, p. 83.