



From Elite to *Popular*: Estudiantinas in La Paz, Bolivia, 1880s to 1940s

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Abstract

In recent years, the *estudiantina* (a type of plucked-string orchestra of Spanish origin) has become a topic of increased interest among music historians, including Latin Americanists. The Bolivian case, however, has not been the focus of detailed historical research, even though music scholars long have acknowledged that in the early-to-mid twentieth century the *estudiantina* represented one of Bolivia's most popular ensemble types and served as an important vehicle for the performance of typical *criollo-mestizo* musical expressions. This article traces the trajectory of La Paz's *estudiantina* tradition, from its emergence in the 1880s as an upper-class *criollo* form of music making that centered on European repertoire, to its peak of popularity in the late 1930s and mid-1940s, when working-class *mestizo* musicians predominated in the milieu and most ensembles performed local genres (e.g., *huayño*, *cueca*) and *indigenista* (Indigenist) works. The principal goal of this essay is to document this major shift. In the pages that follow, I discuss various groups, but devote special attention to the Orquesta Típica La Paz. Founded in 1945, this *estudiantina* represents the earliest instance of a Bolivian state-sponsored music group whose establishment formed part of a broader state attempt to court urban blue-collar workers.

Keywords: *estudiantina*, La Paz, Orquesta Típica, *indigenista*, *huayño*, *cueca*, *bailecito*, *criollo*, *mestizo*

The *estudiantina* (a type of plucked-string orchestra) recently has become a topic of increased interest among music historians. While most of these studies examine the tradition in its original Iberian context, a growing number investigate its history in Latin American sites (e.g., Luna Muñoz 1993; Andreu Ricart 1995; González Ríos and González Ríos 1998; Jurado Noboa 2006: 241–49; Torres 2007; Ponce Valdivia 2008; Rendón Marín 2009; Cornejo Díaz 2012: 381–88; Mullo Sandoval 2014). The Bolivian case, however, has not been the focus of detailed historical research, even though music scholars long have acknowledged that in the early-to-mid twentieth century the *estudiantina* represented one of Bolivia's most popular ensemble-types, and served as an important vehicle for the performance of typical *criollo-mestizo* musical expressions (e.g., Alejo 1925: 360–61; Fernández Naranjo 1948: 273; Céspedes 1984: 218; Auza León 1985: 94; Cárdenas 1986: 39–40; Sánchez C. 1994: 6; Rossells 1996: 107–08; Bigenho 2002: 126–28).

In this article, I trace the trajectory of La Paz city's *estudiantina* tradition, from its emergence in the 1880s as an upper-class *criollo* form of music making that centered on European repertoire, to its peak of popularity in the late 1930s and mid-1940s, when working-class *mestizo* musicians predominated in the milieu and most ensembles performed local genres (e.g., *huayño*, *cueca*,

bailecito) and *indigenista* (Indigenist) musical works. The principal goal of this essay is to document this major shift. In the pages that follow, I discuss the activities of various groups but devote special attention to the Orquesta Típica La Paz. Founded in 1945 during the administration of the RADEPA-MNR coalition government, the Orquesta Típica La Paz represents the earliest instance of a Bolivian state-sponsored music group whose establishment formed part of a broader state attempt to court the political support of urban blue-collar workers.

The Spanish *estudiantina* tradition and its dissemination to Latin America

In Spain, *estudiantinas* (also known as *tunas*, *rondallas*, and *liras*) first appeared in the Renaissance era in the university setting, hence the name of the groups (*estudiantes* = students). It was not until the late nineteenth century, though, that the tradition spread outside of the country (see Christoforidis 2017). At the time, Spanish *estudiantinas* usually consisted of several *laúd* players (who realized the melody, often with tremolo technique), *bandurria* performers (who played in harmony with the laudes), and guitarists (who executed bass notes and occasional flourishes, and strummed chords), along with a smaller number of violinists, cellists, flutists, and/or other instrumentalists; some ensembles included *pandereta* (tambourine) and castanet players.¹ Their repertoire, meanwhile, encompassed an array of traditional Spanish genres (e.g., *jota*, *seguidilla*, *malagueña*, *pasodoble*), internationally fashionable dances (e.g., waltz, habanera, mazurka), selections from popular operas and *zarzuelas*, and arrangements of orchestral pieces. The Renaissance-inspired outfits that Spanish *estudiantinas* adopted as their performance attire in the nineteenth century constituted one of the most visually distinctive aspects of the ensembles (*ibid.*).

It was largely through the efforts of Spain's *Estudiantina Fígaro* (named after Mozart's Spanish-themed opera buffa *The Marriage of Figaro*) that the tradition expanded to Latin America and beyond (Christoforidis 2017: 11–14). A professional (rather than student) group founded in 1878 in Madrid under the direction of Dionisio Granados, in 1880 *Estudiantina Fígaro* launched an ambitious tour of the Americas, which over the next six years would take the musicians to almost every country in the region (Martín Sárraga 2014). One legacy of this impressive feat was that the ensemble inspired the rise of *estudiantinas* in most if not all of the Latin American countries that it visited (for Chile, see Luna Muñoz 1993: 49–65; Andreu Ricart 1995: 15–169; for Venezuela, see Torres 2007: 21–34; for Colombia, see Rendón Marín 2009: 32–37).

Estudiantinas in La Paz, 1880s to 1920s

Near the end of *Estudiantina Fígaro*'s 1880–1886 tour, the ensemble traveled to Bolivia, where it offered concerts in the cities of La Paz, Oruro, and Cochabamba (*El Heraldo* [Cochabamba], July 31, Aug. 28, 1886). A newspaper columnist for *El Heraldo* could barely contain his enthusiasm for the

¹ Similar in construction and size to the mandolin, the *laud* and *bandurria* are double-coursed, steel-stringed instruments that are played with a plectrum. *Laudes* and *bandurrias* usually have six unison pairs of strings.

upcoming engagements in Cochabamba, which Fígaro apparently had added to its itinerary at the last minute, “without prior announcement” (July 13, 1886). The journalist, for one, only had learned that the group soon would be in town after spotting several “large billboards” in the city center that advertised the shows (ibid.). He also remarked, “we will have the immense pleasure of knowing what an *estudiantina* is” (ibid.). As the latter statement accurately suggests, prior to *Estudiantina Fígaro*’s 1886 visit, Bolivians had limited exposure to Spain’s plucked-string orchestras, and thus the prospect of experiencing an *estudiantina* performance certainly would have aroused curiosity and great anticipation among local audiences.²

Despite the Bolivian public’s unfamiliarity with this musical tradition, the repertoire that Spanish *estudiantinas* presented abroad in this period would have been well known to elite *criollos* and middle-class *mestizos* in Bolivia’s major cities (i.e., La Paz, Sucre, Potosí, Oruro, Cochabamba). As Soux documents for La Paz (1992: 87–125), excerpts from operas and zarzuelas, along with piano reductions of European orchestral works, and dance genres of non-Bolivian origin such as the waltz, habanera, and pasodoble, comprised the types of music that the city’s *criollo-mestizo* sector most favored in the nineteenth century. Satiating the local demand for this kind of entertainment were the many foreign touring soloists (vocal and instrumental) and music-theater companies that regularly spent a month or two in La Paz and nearby cities in the mid-to-late 1800s, after having fulfilled engagements in Peru or Chile (ibid.). The shows of *Estudiantina Fígaro* therefore characterized the kind of artistic experience that upper- and middle-class *paceños* (urban La Paz residents) long had been accustomed to, even though the group’s format and attire represented novelties.

Within a few years of *Estudiantina Fígaro*’s stay in Bolivia, the *estudiantina* tradition had taken root in elite *criollo* society. In La Paz city, an early performance by a local *estudiantina* occurred in 1889 at a recital organized by the Sociedad Filarmónica (Philharmonic Society) (*El Imparcial* [hereafter *El*], Feb. 21 and 27, 1889). Led by a Mr. Polar, an unnamed *estudiantina* consisting of five bandurrias, eleven guitars, six violins, one mandolin, and a banjo opened the third portion of the program with a “Král March” (by Prince of Liechtenstein Johann Nepomuk Král).³ The group contained many of the same individuals who, earlier in the show, had sung in the choir that interpreted selections from the zarzuela *El Anillo de Oro* (The Golden Ring) and *opéra comique* *Haydée, ou Le Secret* (Haydée, or the Secret). The concert also featured various instrumental and vocal soloists, including a soprano who performed an aria from Vincenzo Bellini’s *La Sonnambula* (The Sleepwalker), and a piano-four-hands duo who played Louis Moreau Gottschalk’s *Radieuse* (Radiant). The *estudiantina*’s rendition of the march, meanwhile, elicited an animated response from the audience, as reported in *El Imparcial*.

² In her thorough studies on La Paz city musical life from 1845 to 1885, historian María Eugenia Soux makes no mention whatsoever of the presence of Bolivian or non-Bolivian *estudiantinas* (see Soux 1992, 1997, 2002).

³ The banjo player in the *estudiantina* was Mr. W. Olphert, who may have been a North American expatriate.

The estudiantina pleasantly surprised the public. ... The spectators experienced something of a frenzy of delirium: the public shouted, applauded, and even asked for an encore. The estudiantina complied: it repeated the Král March, in the midst of the enthusiasm [of the audience] (EI, Feb. 27, 1889).

Comparable to what transpired in the capitals of Chile, Peru, Nicaragua, and Guatemala (see Andreu Ricart 1995: 59, 72, 107–11, 119; Rendón Marín 2009: 34), women of upper-class socio-economic background had a strong presence in La Paz's estudiantina circles in the late 1880s and 1890s (see EI, Dec. 20, 1888; Feb. 8 and 26, 1897). In the aforementioned ensemble, nine of the eleven guitarists, three of the six violinists, and all five of the bandurria players were female (EI, Feb. 21, 1889). By the turn of the century, all-female estudiantinas also could be found in La Paz city (*El Diario* [hereafter ED], June 7, 1905). That most of the women who joined these groups were unmarried indicates that upper-class sectors viewed this type of music making as a socially respectable pastime, no doubt because of the tradition's European pedigree and ensembles' predominantly elite membership. At some point in the early decades of the twentieth century, though, female participation in La Paz's estudiantina scene experienced a sharp decline, perhaps as a consequence of the tradition's growing association with unionized male laborers of working-class background (see below).

Estudiantina Paceaña may have been La Paz's earliest stable estudiantina. Zenón Espinoza, a violinist, headed the group (Alejo 1925: 360),⁴ which was active since at least 1889 (EI, Jul. 23, 1889). Mazurkas, jotas, polkas, waltzes, and Italian opera excerpts seem to have made up the core of its repertoire (ibid.; EI, July 12, 1891). By the early twentieth century, Estudiantina Española La Paz also appeared on the scene. Suiting its name, the group dressed in the manner of Spanish ensembles (ED, July 12, 1904), a Renaissance-style garb that in all probability the members wore when they paraded throughout the downtown in the Carnival processions of 1904 and 1905 (Rossells and Calatayú 2009: 295).⁵ Like Estudiantina Paceaña, Estudiantina Española La Paz cultivated the genres that most appealed to the elite. Accordingly, even when the group paid homage to its home city, as occurred in 1904 at a concert attended by President Ismael Montes and other state officials, the tune it presented, "Bella Paceaña" (Beautiful Woman from La Paz), was set to a non-Bolivian musical form, the mazurka (ED, Sep. 10, 1904).

Estudiantina Verdi was a contemporary of Estudiantina Española La Paz; the two marched in Carnival in the first decade of the twentieth century (Rossells and Calatayú 2009: 295). Established circa 1903, and directed by Juan Barragán, Estudiantina Verdi sported a uniform that was very similar to the one already used by Estudiantina Española La Paz, as noted by a columnist who mildly criticized Estudiantina Verdi for its lack of a distinctive outfit (ED, Jul. 12, 1904). At this moment in the

⁴ Outside of La Paz, Bolivian students established estudiantinas in Sucre and Cochabamba in the late nineteenth century. In Sucre, an estudiantina affiliated with the university's medical school was active by 1897 (Rossells 1996: 181–82), while in Cochabamba, the Colegio de San Alberto instituted its own ensemble in 1899 (Sánchez C. 1994: 6).

⁵ In the early twentieth century, carnival exclusively was an elite affair in La Paz city (Guss 2006; Rossells and Calatayú 2009). When estudiantinas became part of the main procession, the groups may have been emulating Spain's tradition. Since the nineteenth century, Carnival processions in Spain often featured estudiantinas (Christoforidis 2017: 2).

ensemble's trajectory, originality appears not to have been a major concern. Verdi also followed in the footsteps of Estudiantina Fígaro, by interpreting the famed Spanish group's hallmark number "Aires Españoles" (Spanish Airs), a *fantasía* by Dionisio Granados (ED, Apr. 11, 1905).⁶ The membership of Verdi, meanwhile, included the bandurria virtuoso Federico Otero de la Peña (who also played the laud and piano), and guitar soloists Nataniel Bravo and Federico Arancibia (EI, Aug. 9, 1904)—three of Bolivia's most acclaimed plucked-string performers of the day (see Alejo 1925: 361; González Bravo 1961: 94; Rossells n.d.). In addition to the presence of these esteemed artists, the size of the group also was an impressive feature. In the 1910s, approximately forty musicians made up Estudiantina Verdi, as this was the total number of artists who took part in the ensemble's tour of Oruro, Potosí, and Sucre circa 1912–1914 (Rossells n.d.: 6). After making a mark on the Bolivian music scene, the group disbanded sometime in the late 1910s or early 1920s (see Alejo 1925: 360).

Unlike the *estudiantinas* Verdi, Española La Paz, and Paceaña, another group of the era, the patriotically named 6 de Agosto (August 6th; Bolivian Independence Day), was composed of *obreros* or "workers" (i.e., blue-collar laborers), a distinctive facet of the group that newspaper writers repeatedly pointed out when discussing them (e.g., ED, May 31 and Jun. 12, 1908).⁷ This characteristic of 6 de Agosto caught the attention of the organizers tasked with arranging President-Elect Fernando Guachalla's birthday celebration for 1908, who strategically invited the group to perform at the incoming head of state's personal residence as part of the festivities. In the late hours of May 29, 6 de Agosto "interpreted beautiful and [tastefully] selected musical pieces" for the Liberal Party leader and his many guests, according to an *El Diario* writer, who also maintained that 6 de Agosto's performance that evening "symbolized the affection that blue-collar youths [*la juventud obrera*] feel toward Doctor Guachalla" (ED, May 31, 1908). The journalist reported, furthermore, that the President-Elect not only pronounced his appreciation of the ensemble's artistry but also personally requested that the musicians play a few "national airs," to which the group obliged (*ibid.*).⁸ From the fawning tone of the article, to the very presence of Estudiantina 6 de Agosto at Guachalla's party, the whole affair functioned as a promotional piece for the new administration. It also foreshadowed how subsequent Bolivian political regimes would express their affinities with *el pueblo* (the people) through state patronage of subaltern-associated musical expressions (e.g., RADEPA-MNR government).

By the 1920s, working-class *paceño* *estudiantinas* like 6 de Agosto no longer were such a rarity, as clearly seen in the portraits of photographer Julio Cordero (see Cárdenas 1986: 269–71;

⁶ In 1886, Estudiantina Fígaro played "Aires Españoles" at their debut in Santiago, Chile (Luna Muñoz 1993: 20).

⁷ The appearance of *obrero* *estudiantinas* also occurred elsewhere in Latin America in the early twentieth century. In Chile, Estudiantina La Aurora (founded in 1901) seems to have been the first example in the Santiago context. By 1905, numerous blue-collar ensembles were active in the Chilean capital, so much so that it prompted the Santiago Municipality to stage a Concurso de Estudiantinas Obreras (Andreu Ricart 1995: 125–28). Meanwhile in Arequipa, Peru, Centro Musical Obrero, a working-class *estudiantina*, emerged on the scene in 1905 (Cornejo Díaz 2012: 384).

⁸ On this occasion, 6 de Agosto had a musician from a higher social strata at the helm, Juan Barragán (ED, May 31, 1908). As noted above, Barragán was the director of Estudiantina Verdi.

Estudio Archivo Cordero: Bolivia 1900–1961 2004: 38–41, 58–59).⁹ One of the period’s most-remembered *estudiantinas*, 1° de Mayo (May 1st; May Day), formed part of this trend. Whereas 6 de Agosto appears to have had an ephemeral existence, 1° de Mayo’s years of activity lasted from the 1920s to the 1950s.¹⁰ Instead of calling themselves an *estudiantina*, the members preferred the designation *filarmónica* or philharmonic, that is, Filarmónica 1° de Mayo—which illustrates the local *estudiantina* tradition’s ongoing indebtedness to the European orchestra model (other *paceño* *estudiantinas* called themselves *orquestas típicas* or *conjuntos orquestales*). In the official commemorative volume for Bolivia’s first centennial of political independence, music critic Benjamin Alejo’s overview of notable musical institutions mentions Filarmónica 1° de Mayo.¹¹ He underscores the group’s socio-economic position twice in the same sentence, first by referring to the ensemble as “Filarmónica Obrera 1° de Mayo” (*emphasis added*), and then by praising it for its “beautiful cultural work among the obrero sector” (Alejo 1925: 360–61). Evidently, in mid-1920s La Paz the *estudiantina* continued to be mainly associated with the elite and upper-middle class, otherwise Alejo probably would not have felt the need to highlight the social-class standing of the members of 1° de Mayo. Yet even if he had not brought up the group’s obrero status, the readers of the entry in the commemorative volume surely would have assumed it anyway, given that the name of the ensemble referenced May Day, also known as International Workers Day. As for the musical repertoire of 1° de Mayo, by the late 1920s it included the *cueca* and *huayño* genres, as evidenced by the recordings that the ensemble made in 1928 for RCA-Victor at the U.S. label’s Argentine branch in Buenos Aires (see Gobierno Municipal de la Ciudad de La Paz Oficialía Mayor de Cultura 1993: 65, 69; Arauco 2011: 157).¹²

Estudiantina Centro Artístico Haydn (Haydn Artistic Center) similarly recorded traditional Bolivian *criollo-mestizo* genres under the RCA-Victor brand in 1928 (Gobierno Municipal de la Ciudad de La Paz Oficialía Mayor de Cultura 1993: 66–67, 69–71, 73). Of these tracks, the sole one I have been able to access is the *bailecito* “Ancha Chiri” (RCA Victor 30202-B).¹³ By A. Ferreyra, “Ancha Chiri” (Quechua for “Very Cold”) follows standard *bailecito* form (the *bailecito* is closely related to the *cueca*), that is, AABA (preceded by a brief introduction), with the tune repeated three times (see Music Example 1). The mandolins and *bandurrias*, played with tremolo on the long notes, carry the melody in unison and parallel thirds for much of the piece, while the guitars strum chords and supply a bass line. Dynamic changes offer variety and mark sections. The ensemble plays the introduction at medium volume, rises to *forte* for the A section (repeated once), drops to *piano* for the B section, and ends the piece back at full volume. Further differentiating the B section, the piece shifts to 4/4 time at

⁹ In Ecuador, the 1920s also saw the emergence of numerous obrero *estudiantinas* (see Mullo Sandoval 2014).

¹⁰ La Paz’s *estudiantina* scene of the 1920s included a group named 6 de Agosto (see Rossells 1996: 191), but in all likelihood it was an unrelated group. The renowned mandolinist and composer José Lavadenz Inchauste led this iteration of 6 de Agosto, which also counted in its ranks the guitarist Nataniel Bravo (of *Estudiantina Verdi*) (*ibid.*).

¹¹ *Estudiantina Verdi* and *Estudiantina Paceña* are only other *estudiantinas* listed in Alejo’s chapter (1925: 360).

¹² Bolivia would not have its own record label until 1949, which is why 1° de Mayo made the trip to Argentina.

¹³ On the opposite side of the disc, Orquesta Centro Artístico Haydn—the allied symphonic orchestra of *Estudiantina Centro Artístico Haydn*—performs Manuel Elías Coronel’s *cueca* “Soledad” (Solitude) (RCA-Victor 30202-A).

this point in the selection, an unusual occurrence for a bailecitos, as the genre traditionally fluctuates (only) between 3/4 and 6/8 meter.

Introduction
♩ = 160

Mandolin

Guitar
(Bass Line)

A Section

7

B Section

14

A Section

20

26

Example 1: Bailecito “Ancha Chiri” as performed by Estudiantina Centro Artístico Haydn.
Transcribed by Matthew Samson.

Throughout Latin America, elite and middle-class interest in locally distinctive musical genres experienced a major upsurge in the early decades of the twentieth century, as part of a wide-ranging search for region-specific traditions that demonstrated the nation’s cultural uniqueness (Turino

2003). The entrance of bailecitos, cuecas, and huayños into the paceño *estudiantina* repertoire in the 1920s, even among elite-affiliated groups with Eurocentric names like *Estudiantina Centro Artístico Haydn*, thus corresponds with a broader Latin American pattern. Nativist artistic currents in Peru, namely the criollo-mestizo movement termed *indigenismo* (Indigenism), in all likelihood also guided the localization of La Paz's *estudiantina* tradition. When Bolivia developed its own *indigenista* movement in the early twentieth century, it drew heavily from the Peruvian counterpart.¹⁴ In the realm of Bolivian *estudiantina* practices, the adoption of the so-called Incan fox-trot genre or *fox incaico* by paceño *estudiantinas* and brass bands in the 1920s (see Cárdenas 1986: 57–58) represents a clear instance of Peruvian *indigenista* influence.¹⁵

Estudiantinas, indigenismo, and the working-class in the 1930s

The flowering of Bolivian *indigenismo* in the 1930s was linked to the rise of the Chaco Generation. Bolivia's defeat by Paraguay in the Chaco War (1932–1935) provoked widespread outrage and soul-searching and led to the emergence of new political actors who rejected the conservative stance of the traditional parties and conceived of a different Bolivia, one in which the masses had greater say in governance. In large part because indigenous people made up most of the Bolivian soldiers who fought in the war, the military debacle motivated prominent criollo-mestizo intellectuals, novelists, artists, and politicians to revisit the unresolved issues surrounding the so-called “Indian problem” (Klein 1969; Salmón 1997; Bigenho 2002: 25–28, 130; Sanjinés 2004: 107–36), in a manner similar to how Peru's defeat by Chile in the Pacific War (1879–1883) spurred the consolidation of Peruvian *indigenismo* (see De La Cadena 2000).

Under the sway of *indigenista* ideology, as the 1930s advanced La Paz's *estudiantinas* increasingly complemented their repertoire of standard criollo-mestizo genres with arrangements of indigenous wind-consort, or *tropa*, pieces (e.g., panpipe tunes), along with new works that referenced Andean indigenous culture through pentatonic melodies and titles/lyrics in Quechua or Aymará. Many ensembles further localized their practices by adding the *charango* (mandolin-sized stringed instrument used in the Andes) and *kena* (end-notched Andean flute) to their line-ups.¹⁶ It also became commonplace for the names of *estudiantinas* to express an imagined connection to indigenous people and pre-Columbian civilizations, especially the Inca Empire.

Lira Incaica (Incan Lyre, or Incan *Estudiantina*) embodied this *indigenista* current. The criollo-mestizo composer and multi-instrumentalist Alberto Ruiz Lavadenz founded the group in the early

¹⁴ In my forthcoming book, I detail the links between the Bolivian and Peruvian *indigenista* music scenes. For discussions of Bolivian *indigenismo* from various perspectives, see Salmón (1997), Bigenho (2005), Qayum (2011), Kuenzli (2013), and Wahren (2014). For the Peruvian case, see De la Cadena (2000), and Mendoza (2008). For a comparative discussion of Latin American *indigenista* movements and their precursors, see Earle (2007).

¹⁵ For discussions of Peruvian *estudiantina* performance practices, see Turino (1993: 126), González Ríos and González Ríos (1998), Ponce Valdivia (2008), Cornejo Díaz (2012: 381–88), and Tucker (2013: 46–49).

¹⁶ Locally distinctive stringed instruments also made their way into *estudiantinas* in Peru (*charango*), Venezuela (*cuatro*), and Colombia (*tiple*) (Torres 2007; Ponce Valdivia 2008; Rendon Marín 2009). In Chile and Ecuador, in contrast, artists did not localize the tradition in this manner (see Andreu Ricart 1995; Jurado Noboa 2006: 241–49; Mullo Sandoval 2014).

1920s, and by the mid-1930s, his *estudiantina* had risen to the summit of La Paz's music scene (various documents, courtesy of Carola Cobo de Ruiz, the widow of Alberto Ruiz Lavadenz).¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, in January 1936 Lira Incaica obtained a privileged spot in the recital that closed the 2nd *Semana Indianista* (Indigenist Week), a large-scale indigenista exhibition staged by the elite civic association *Los Amigos de la Ciudad* (The Friends of the City).¹⁸ At this prominent event, Lira Incaica played Ruiz Lavadenz's original work "Capricho Incaico" (Incan Capriccio), along with three pieces that incorporated rural indigenous tunes, "Huacacari" (Quechua for "Sacred Plant"), "Motivo Vernacular" (Vernacular Theme), and "Danza de Cullawas" (ED, Jan. 11, 1936). For "Danza de Cullawas," Lira Incaica set aside their usual mandolins, *bandurrias*, and *charangos*, for a consort of *tarkas* (wooden duct-flutes) and *caja* drums, to emulate the musical style of carnival season Andean indigenous music making.¹⁹

Ruiz Lavadenz's recent sojourn in Argentina played an integral role in fostering his indigenista impulses. From 1929 to 1934, he set up base in Buenos Aires, where a niche market existed for stylized enactments of Andean indigenous music (see Kuon Arce et al 2009; Chamosa 2010). During this stay, Ruiz Lavadenz joined forces with Argentine and expatriate Bolivian musicians in small to medium-size ensembles, for which he often revived the name "Lira Incaica"—although these groups seldom approximated the number of members found in typical *estudiantinas*. In promotional materials, Ruiz Lavadenz's ensembles of this period invariably are pictured in ways that match conventional Argentine stereotypes of Bolivians (i.e., "Bolivians are Indians"), by showing the musicians wearing ponchos and *lluchus* (Andean wool caps with ear flaps), and holding traditional instruments, most often the *charango* (usually ones made from armadillo shells) and *kena* (various documents, courtesy of Carola Cobo de Ruiz). A vivid example appeared in 1933 in the Buenos Aires newspaper *Crítica* (Aug. 20, 1933). Under the heading "A Touch of Native Soul" (*Un Poco de Alma Nativa*), Ruiz Lavadenz and three of his bandmates, arrayed in indigenous garb, posed alongside *kena* flutes while the members consumed *chicha*, the maize-based alcoholic beverage popular in the Andes since pre-Columbian times. The caption accompanying the photo asserts, "[i]t is necessary to have a

¹⁷ An early Lira Incaica performance took place on December 1923 at La Paz's most prestigious venue, the Municipal Theater. On this occasion, the group interpreted Belisario Zárate's *Serenata Campestre-Tres Motivos Indianistas* (Countryside Serenade-Three Indigenist Motives)—then one of the most celebrated examples of Bolivian indigenista art-classical music, and Peruvian composer N. Zamudio's *Ccori Occlu* (Quechua for "Interior of Gold"). Recalling the initial direction of the *estudiantina* tradition, Lira Incaica also played excerpts from the operettas of the Austro-Hungarian artist Franz Lehár, and non-Bolivian dance genres that were popular internationally such as the *maxixe* or Brazilian tango (e.g., "Tristeza do Caboclo"; A Peasant's Sorrow) (Lira Incaica Program, Dec. 1, 1923).

¹⁸ The purpose of the 2nd Indigenist Week, according to a spokesperson from *Los Amigos de la Ciudad*, was to bestow value on "the enormous richness of the vernacular themes upon which will be based the national art of the future" (ED, Jan. 5, 1936). President José Tejada Sorzano's Liberal Party regime provided logistical support for the event (ED, Jan. 6, 1936). The 1st Indigenist Week transpired five years earlier. At the inaugural recital in December 1931, *Filarmónica 1º de Mayo* entertained the audience with "arrangements of indigenous melodies" (Wahren 2014: 103).

¹⁹ In Andean indigenous communities, though, the *cullawas* or *cullaguas* genre (a *huayño* variant also known as the *cullawada* and *cullaguada*) is traditionally played with a *tropa* of transverse flutes (i.e., *pifanos*, *pitus*), not *tarkas*.

drink of chicha before playing the kena,” and declares that doing so infuses kena melodies with “the soul of the mountain” (ibid.).²⁰

Whereas in 1936 Lira Incaica represented the vanguard of indigenismo among La Paz-based *estudiantinas*, by 1939 this nativist orientation had thoroughly permeated the scene. The Concurso Popular de Arte Folklórico (Folkloric Art Contest for the Masses) provides an illustration of this development, as the following commentary from the prize committee reveals:

It is interesting and worthy of applause to note that the majority of the *orquestas típicas* [i.e., *estudiantinas*] who participated in the competition turned to the roots of indigenous music, by using autochthonous rhythms and motives, and instruments that impart greater local flavor, such as *kenas*, *charangos*, etc.; unlike what previously had occurred, when the *estudiantinas* of the working-class sector thought that it was in good taste to assimilate music from abroad, making the centerpiece of their concerts [Spanish] *pasodobles*, [U.S.-style] *fox-trots*, and [Argentine] *tangos*, with instruments solely of European origin (guitars, mandolins), while ignoring the vernacular (ED, Nov. 4, 1939).

A state-sponsored music competition, the Concurso Popular de Arte Folklórico featured the participation of many of La Paz’s leading *estudiantinas*, including *Kollasuyo* (named after the Inca Empire’s designation for Bolivia’s Andean territories), *Inca Huasi* (Quechua for “House of the Inca”), *Centro Artístico Illimani* (named after La Paz’s Illimani mountain), *Inti-Karkas* (Quechua for “Fortress of the Sun”), and *Huiñay Inti* (Quechua for “Eternal Sun”) (ED, Nov. 4, 1939). The use of Quechua rather than Aymará (the indigenous language most widely spoken in the La Paz region), and presence of the word “Inti” (Sun) in the latter two ensemble names (which reference the Inca ruling class’s worship of the Sun deity), reflects the enduring influence that Peru’s Inca-centered *indigenista* movement exerted on *paceño indigenista* musicians.²¹

After finalizing its deliberations, the prize committee awarded first place to *Kollasuyo*.²² With a line-up comprised of mandolins, guitars, *charangos*, *kenas*, and a concertina, the group had impressed the judges with its “faithful interpretations of indigenous music,” most of all the numbers “*Aire Italaqueño*” (Melody from Italaque)—which evoked the *panpipe tropa* style of *Los Sikuris de Italaque* (Bolivia’s most renowned rural indigenous ensemble tradition), and “*Pusipía*”—a selection that took its name from the four-holed, end-notched Andean indigenous flute of the same name (ibid.). *Centro Artístico Illimani* obtained the third-place prize and special *plaudits* from the jury for its original compositions, among which the judges singled out “*Chiriguano*,” a piece that simultaneously

²⁰ In late 1936, Ruiz Lavadenz returned to Buenos Aires, where he remained until 1939. During his two stays in the Argentine capital, he recorded numerous tracks for RCA-Victor, often with ensembles named “Lira Incaica.” His compositions comprise the vast majority of these selections (various documents, courtesy of Carola Cobo de Ruiz).

²¹ For a discussion of some key factors that gave rise to Bolivian *indigenismo*’s Inca-centrism, see Kuenzli (2013).

²² The acclaimed musicians Adrián Patiño Carpio and Eduardo Calderón Lugones, along with an unidentified representative from *Los Amigos de la Ciudad*, formed the jury at the 1939 Concurso Popular de Arte Folklórico.

referenced highland and lowland Bolivian “Indians.”²³ The fourth-ranked group, Inti-Karkas, also alluded to Andean indigenous wind ensemble traditions, through the instrumentals “Kena-Kena” (Aymará for “Large Kena”), “Sicuri” (alternate spelling for “sikuri,” or panpipe player), and “Kaluyo Italaqueño” (Kaluyo from Italaque).²⁴ Inti-Karkas’ unusual *estudiantina* configuration, which included five charangos and an unspecified number of kenas, foregrounded locally distinctive instruments, to the point that the kenas and especially the charangos must have drowned out the guitars and mandolins.²⁵

The 1930s also mark the moment when working-class musicians came to outnumber their elite counterparts in the *paceño estudiantina* tradition, to the extent that by the end of the decade the expression *conjunto obrero* or “worker’s group” operated as a synonym for *estudiantina* (e.g., ED, Sep. 17, 1939; May 4, 1940). This dramatic change in the socio-economic background of *estudiantina* members occurred as the labor movement was undergoing major expansion, and experiencing political radicalization (see Lora 1977; John 2009).²⁶ In December 1939, the *estudiantinas* 1° de Mayo, Kollasuyo, Inti-Karkas, and Lira Andina made their political sympathies clear when they chose to unveil the Liga Matriz Folklórica Departamental—an entity that would oversee *paceño estudiantina* activities—at the Sociedad de Obreros ‘El Porvenir’ (Workers’ Club ‘The Future’) (ED, Dec. 18, 1939). A mutual aid society for blue-collar workers, the Sociedad de Obreros ‘El Porvenir’ was strongly associated with radical-Leftism, ever since the club had organized Bolivia’s first public celebration of May Day in 1908 (Lora 1977: 52, 98).

The radical-Leftist political dispositions prevalent among *paceño* trade-union members most likely influenced their decision to select the *estudiantina* as their favored ensemble. As Bolivian radio listeners of the day knew full well, the plucked-string orchestra format recently had acquired a new association internationally, communism, as a result of the activities of Eastern Bloc ensembles.²⁷ La Paz radio stations often broadcast recordings of these state-sponsored professional “folk” groups in the late 1930s, leading one journalist to complain in 1939 about the frequency with which Radio Illimani transmitted recordings of Russian *balalaika* groups and other Eastern European ensembles (ED, Mar. 8, 1939). By this period, then, for *paceños* the plucked string orchestra configuration no longer primarily called to mind the mischievous and apolitical university students who gave rise to Spain’s *estudiantina* tradition.

²³ A highland indigenous panpipe genre, the *chiriguano* or *chiriwano* references the lowland chiriguano people.

²⁴ The *kaluyo* or *kjaluyo* is a variant of the *huayño* genre that Bolivian musicians normally play at a slower tempo.

²⁵ *Conjunto de Cuerdas Arteaga* (Arteaga String Band) earned the second-place prize. The article that details the contest provides little information on them, beyond noting that the members were musically literate (ED, Nov. 4, 1939).

²⁶ By the late 1940s, Bolivia’s principal syndical associations would espouse their allegiance to Trotskyism and its notion of “permanent revolution” to a scale only comparable to the cases in Vietnam and Sri Lanka (John 2009: 4).

²⁷ For detailed discussions of Eastern European plucked-string orchestras, see Olsen (2004) and Buchanan (2006).

The Villarroel-MNR administration and the Orquesta Típica La Paz

On December 20, 1944, state-run Radio Illimani devoted a full day of programming to commemorating the one-year anniversary of Colonel Gualberto Villarroel's presidency. In the late evening portion of the broadcast, top-ranking RADEPA-MNR government officials addressed the nation.²⁸ Before President Villarroel's lecture, a military brass band played the National Anthem, while the talk offered by MNR chief (and future President) Víctor Paz Estenssoro was followed by Filarmónica 1° de Mayo's rendition of "Danza Guerrera" (War Dance), the opening movement of José Salmón Ballivián's *Suite Aymara*. 1° de Mayo also presented the rest of this indigenista art-classical composition ("Danza Religiosa," "Auki Auki," "Cuando Florecen Las Habas"), interspersed between the following three speeches. Next, the group performed the cueca "Raquel" (Rachel), and to round out its set, the *taquirari* "Alianza" (Alliance)—a piece that likely alluded to the freshly restored Villarroel-MNR alliance.²⁹ 1° de Mayo then ceded the stage to another *estudiantina*, Los Andes (The Andes), who closed Radio Illimani's transmission that night with "native music and dance" selections (ED, Dec. 20, 1944).

Besides simply reflecting the *estudiantina* tradition's popularity, 1° de Mayo and Los Andes' prominent roles in the broadcast, combined with their overtly indigenista repertoire, aligned well with the populist rhetoric of the RADEPA-MNR government, and more specifically, with the regime's mounting overtures toward urban blue-collar workers and rural indigenous people (see Gotkowitz 2007: 164–232). Of the two sectors, capturing the support of the urban working-class proved to be the greater challenge. At the time, the bulk of this heavily unionized segment of the population had joined the ranks of Bolivia's leading communist party, the Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (Party of the Revolutionary Left; PIR). The PIR formed part of the opposition to the RADEPA-MNR regime, whom it considered to represent a moderate-reformist, rather than truly revolutionary, administration (ibid.: 165). If Radio Illimani were to feature only one ensemble format in its nationally transmitted homage to Villarroel's first year in office, therefore, the *estudiantina* made the most political sense for the state-operated station, because of the extent to which the unionized blue-collar workforce identified with the tradition.

A few months after the broadcast, in July 1945, the Orquesta Típica La Paz was born.³⁰ A state-sponsored *estudiantina*—the first of its kind in Bolivia, the "Typical La Paz Orchestra" exclusively interpreted Bolivian works/arrangements, mainly those in the indigenista vein. The repertoire of the ensemble thus possessed more than a passing resemblance to what 1° de Mayo and Los Andes had presented on the December 1944 Radio Illimani show described above. The task of conceptualizing

²⁸ RADEPA is the acronym for the short-lived military order Razón de Patria (Cause of the Nation). MNR is the abbreviation for the then leftist Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement).

²⁹ In March 1944, the Villarroel/RADEPA regime had expelled MNR members from top state positions, as a result of U.S. pressure to do so. The MNR officially rejoined the administration in December 1944 (Klein 1969: 372–77). At the Radio Illimani transmission described above, the *estudiantina* 1° de Mayo performed the *taquirari* "Alianza" moments before MNR founding member Hernán Siles Zuazo gave his address in the program (ED, Dec. 20, 1944).

³⁰ In the 1940s, Bolivians also used the compound term "orquesta típica" for tango ensembles (e.g., ED, Aug. 22, 1942). The context usually clarifies whether the person is referring to an *estudiantina* or a 'typical' tango band. In Venezuela, local *estudiantinas* similarly were sometimes known as *orquestas típicas* (Torres 2007: 43).

the Orquesta Típica La Paz fell to José Salmón Ballivián (of *Suite Aymara* fame), Eduardo Calderón Lugones (who served on the jury at 1939's Concurso Popular de Arte Folklórico), and Radio Municipal director Luis Lavadenz (a relative of Alberto Ruiz Lavadenz), in their capacity as the “Music Committee” appointed by the La Paz Municipality's Consejo Departamental de Cultura (Regional Council of Culture) (ED, May 3 and 11, 1945).

To lead the group, the committee hired the German émigré Erich Eisner, whose duties included creating musical arrangements for the ensemble (ED, Jul. 11, 1945).³¹ An art-classical musician, Eisner recently had taken over the position of conductor with the National Symphony Orchestra (ED, Apr. 26, 1945). It is doubtful that Eisner possessed much knowledge about Bolivian indigenous music and criollo-mestizo genres, given his training and foreign birth, which would seem to make him an odd choice to direct the ensemble. However, like their upper-class counterparts around the world, the Bolivian elite tended to unproblematically view Western art-classical music as the ultimate musical expression. Accordingly, for the society figures that made up the Consejo Departamental de Cultura, Eisner must have seemed exceptionally qualified for the task of heading the Orquesta Típica La Paz. Expressing their agreement with the appointment, music critics in the major newspapers frequently commended the Orquesta Típica La Paz and its German-born conductor for “elevating” national folkloric music (e.g., ED, Jan. 13, Apr. 6 and 25, 1946). Comments such as these sprang from the art-classical music aesthetics that pervaded the group's interpretive approach (see *ibid.*), a style of performance that represented somewhat of a return to the nineteenth-century roots of the paceño estudiantina as an upper-class criollo tradition.

The live broadcasts of state-owned Radio Municipal functioned as the main venue for the Orquesta Típica La Paz (e.g., ED, Jul. 6 and 16, 1945; Jan. 13, 1946), although the ensemble made public appearances as well from time to time. One of the first took place on Día del Indio (Day of the Indian) at the salon of the Ministerio de Educación, Bellas Artes, y Asuntos Indígenas (Ministry of Education, Fine Arts, and Indigenous Concerns) (ED, Jul. 31, 1945). The concert also featured recitations of indigenista poems, carrying titles such as “The Red Poncho” and “Homage to the Indian.” The Orquesta Típica La Paz, in its set, offered renderings of Simeón Roncal's “Kaluyo Indio No. 2” (Indian Kaluyo No. 2), Ismael Zeballos's “Chokolulu” (named after an Andean plant), and the latest Salmón Ballivián work, *Trilogía India* (Indian Trilogy). Made up of the movements “Plegaria Copacabana” (Copacabana Prayer), “Sikuri Thokoñani” (Aymará for “Sikuri Dance”), and “Marcha Militar Indio” (Indigenous Military March), *Trilogía India* rapidly would join the pantheon of acclaimed Bolivian compositions.³²

By the next year, Eisner had substantially expanded the group's repertoire, with his arrangements of Belisario Zárate's *Wara Wara* (Aymará for “The Stars”) and *Serenata Campestre-Tres Motivos Indianistas* (Countryside Serenade-Three Indigenist Motives), José Lavadenz Inchauste's *Alma*

³¹ Unfortunately, contemporaneous accounts do not mention the names of the musicians who formed part of the ensemble. In all likelihood, the Orquesta Típica La Paz drew its members from several local estudiantinas.

³² To my knowledge, the Orquesta Típica La Paz never recorded, so I am unable to address how the group interpreted these works. In recent years, the orchestra-estudiantina Música de Maestros (discussed below) has recorded some of the same repertoire (e.g., *Trilogía India*), often after making modifications to the compositions.

de la Montaña (Soul of the Mountain), Armando Palmero's *Poema Indio* (Indian Poem), Humberto Viscarra Monje's *Canción Lejanías* (Song from Far Away), and Jorge Parra's *Escenas Incaicas* (Incan Scenes), among other works. To lighten up the program, the Orquesta Típica La Paz also interpreted danceable criollo-mestizo genres, especially the cueca, albeit in the stylized renditions crafted by Bolivia's foremost composer of the genre, Simeón Roncal (e.g., "Huérfana Virginia"; The Orphan Virginia), and art-classical musician Teófilo Vargas (e.g., "Los Farristas"; The Partyers) (ED, Apr. 2, Apr. 6, and May 13, 1946).³³

As the previous two paragraphs suggest, the Orquesta Típica La Paz focused its energies on the oeuvre of Bolivia's most praised indigenista composers, in particular those who enjoyed name recognition in elite circles. The artistic inclinations and upper-class backgrounds of Salmón Ballivián and Calderón Lugones no doubt steered the Orquesta Típica La Paz to specialize in this repertoire, considering the role these figures played in the group's conceptualization. Born into an illustrious paceño family that included former Bolivian presidents, Salmón Ballivián was an eminent politician who composed music as a hobby, while improvising on the piano. He never learned to read musical notation, so it fell to his daughters to transcribe/arrange *Suite Aymara* and *Trilogía India* (Rivera de Stahlie 1995: 71–73). Calderón Lugones similarly was an avid composer and proponent of indigenista musical works, but unlike Salmón Ballivián, had extensive formal training in music. A graduate of the National Conservatory, where he had studied violin, in the 1920s he assumed the position of violin professor at his alma mater, and by then already had written pieces for his instrument that integrated "Aymara motives" (Alarcón A. 1925: 376). In the 1930s, Calderón Lugones authored *Canción de la Puna* (Song of the Mountain) and *La Sombra de los Llameros* (The Shadow of the Llama Herders), which established his reputation as an indigenista art-classical composer (ED, Jul. 13, 1937; Cárdenas 1986: 50).

For Salmón Ballivián and Calderón Lugones, Potosí's Orquesta Sinfonklórica Arte y Trabajo (Folk-Symphonic Orchestra Art and Labor) may have been a source of inspiration for the Orquesta Típica La Paz. Founded in the 1930s, and alternately known as the Sociedad Arte y Trabajo (Bigenho 2002: 127–28), the Potosí ensemble made a few appearances in La Paz in July 1945 (ED, Jul. 21, 22, and 24, 1945), the very month when the Orquesta Típica La Paz had its debut. Along with the conventional Bolivian *estudiantina* instruments (i.e., guitars, mandolins, *bandurrias*, *charangos*, *kenas*), the group's format included flutes, violins, cellos, clarinets, saxophones, trombones, piano, *bandoneón*, and various other instruments. With over sixty musicians, the Orquesta Sinfonklórica Arte y Trabajo truly approximated the size of a Western European-style orchestra, as a photograph taken at one of its recitals documents (ED, Jul. 22, 1945). Bolivian compositions seem to have made up the majority of its repertoire, particularly the works of Potosí's most celebrated composer, Humberto Iporre Salinas (e.g., "Oración del Mitayo," cueca "Tu Orgullo").

The following year, the Orquesta Típica La Paz directly appealed to blue-collar paceños, by offering a "free concert for the workers" at the prestigious Municipal Theater (ED, May 13, 1946). It

³³ The Orquesta Típica La Paz performed all of the pieces listed in the above paragraph at the Municipal Theater in mid-1946 (ED, Apr. 2, Apr. 6, and May 13, 1946). President Villarroel attended the recital held on April 6.

would be one of the group's last public appearances before the July 21, 1946 coup d'état that not only deposed the RADEPA-MNR government, but also shockingly ended the life of Villarroel, at the hands of a mob that moreover desecrated the President's cadaver by hanging it on a lamppost in the main plaza, Plaza Murillo. Notwithstanding the administration's numerous efforts at obtaining the support of diverse sectors, by mid-1946 few Bolivians backed the regime, outside of the Andean rural indigenous population (see below). The obrero class, for one, largely was unmoved by the populist overtures of the RADEPA-MNR government, and what is more, it played an active part in the overthrow of the regime (Gotkowitz 2007: 191, 233).

The Orquesta Típica La Paz ceased to exist soon after the fall of the RADEPA-MNR government, perhaps because the ensemble was too closely associated with the ousted administration. Whatever the case may be, La Paz's *estudiantina* tradition began to decline in its popularity in the late 1940s, while the brass band usurped its place as the ensemble of choice for the urban working class. Yet in 1949 the *estudiantina* scene still boasted a large following among this segment of *paceños*, as evidenced by the fact that President Mamerto Urriolagoitia and other top state officials took the trouble to announce to the public that they would be donating the "valuable prizes" that would be awarded to the winners of the Concurso de Música Folklórica Nacional, an *estudiantina* contest hosted by the militant Sociedad de Obreros 'El Porvenir' (ED, Jul. 4, 16 and 24, 1949). The Urriolagoitia regime had brutally suppressed mine workers' strikes earlier in the year (Klein 1969: 389–90), and as a consequence of this hostile action, the conservative administration was in dire need of mending its relations with the obrero sector.

Epilogue

In the late 1980s, *paceño* musician Rolando Encinas launched a new artistic endeavor, the *estudiantina*-orchestra Música de Maestros (Music of the Masters). Over the next two decades, the La Paz-based group would record many of the signature works of Bolivia's "master composers" from the early-to-mid twentieth century, including, on more than one occasion, Salmón Ballivián's *Suite Aymara* and *Trilogía India* (Bigenho 2002: 122–34). From the ensemble's mission of valorizing the output of the country's pioneering "nationalist" composers, to the *estudiantina*-inspired instrumentation the group employs, Música de Maestros bears a striking resemblance to the Orquesta Típica La Paz. However, when Encinas created Música de Maestros, Potosí's Orquesta Sinfolklórica Arte y Trabajo served as his primary model (ibid.: 127–29), seemingly because he was unaware that the Orquesta Típica La Paz had ever existed.

That the Orquesta Típica La Paz was short-lived, while the Orquesta Sinfolklórica Arte y Trabajo remained in operation for several decades (1930s to 1960s), partially accounts for why the former ensemble's place in Bolivian music history slipped the notice of Encinas, as it also has for many other equally dedicated Bolivian folkloric-popular music researchers, artists, and enthusiasts. Another factor that possibly has contributed to the lack of local consciousness about the Orquesta Típica La Paz is the group's connection with a failed state initiative, that is, the RADEPA-MNR government's attempt to win over the urban working-class. The regime's proposed alliance with Andean indigenous leaders and communities, on the other hand, reached fruition, and moreover paved the way for

future coalitions between the Bolivian state and indigenous people (Gotkowitz 2007). Of the RADEPA-MNR government's initiatives involving musical practices, it is therefore not surprising that the only one that scholars usually mention is 1945's Concurso Vernacular y Folklórico, a state-sponsored festival that showcased Andean indigenous tropas from numerous provinces of the La Paz region (e.g., Paredes 1949: 31–32; Buechler 1980: 339; Paredes Candia 1984: 170; Céspedes 1993: 99; Sánchez 1994: 7).

Some of the other La Paz *estudiantinas* that were active in the 1940s persisted into the next decade, including the venerable Filarmónica 1^o de Mayo (ED, Jan. 12, 1953). Newly established *paceño* groups were few and far between in the 1950s, though, and none came close to attaining the recognition of their precursors. As the public increasingly viewed the tradition as being old-fashioned, a number of *estudiantina* musicians bade farewell to their bandmates, to form part of other ensemble-types, with which they hoped to maximize their career possibilities.

Two longstanding members of *Estudiantina Huiñay Inti*, Estéban del Río and Nicolás 'K'auquita' García, chose this course of action.³⁴ A Western transverse flutist whose musical arrangements include settings of Andean indigenous music (e.g., "Sicuris"), Del Río gained a nationwide audience in 1954 when he joined Radio Illimani's newest house band, Conjunto 31 de Octubre (October 31st). Later in the decade, K'auquita García, who played the charango, teamed up with *kena* soloist Jaime Medinaceli in Conjunto Kollasuyo (unrelated to the *estudiantina* of the same name), for its tour of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and China with the *Fantasia Boliviana* delegation.³⁵ Conjunto 31 de Octubre and Conjunto Kollasuyo presaged an important direction in Bolivian music, the *criollo-mestizo* tradition known as the Andean conjunto or pan-Andean band. Four-to-six-member groups of this variety (i.e., *kena/zampoña-charango-guitar-bombo*)—whose indigenous-themed repertoire exhibits many parallels with that of the *indigenista estudiantinas* of the 1930s and 1940s—largely have come to define Bolivian "national folkloric music" from the late 1960s onward (e.g., Los Jairas, Savia Andina, Los Kjarkas). *Paceño estudiantinas*, therefore, played a critical early role in popularizing the practice of interpreting or stylizing Andean indigenous genres, within the field of *criollo-mestizo* music.

Nowadays, the *estudiantina* has experienced a resurgence in Bolivia. Two directions characterize the scene. The first one, which takes after the example of *Música de Maestros*, is defined by an ethos of nationalist-revivalism, and primarily encompasses groups of fairly recent origin (e.g., *Estudiantina Primavera*; *Orquesta Típica Nacional de Bolivia 'Teófilo Vargas'*). However, older ensembles whose trajectories date back to the tradition's heyday sometimes perform alongside these newer groups, as they are similarly invested in restoring Bolivia's traditional music of yesteryear (e.g., *Estudiantina 10 de Febrero*, *Estudiantina Challapampa*). The second direction in Bolivia's

³⁴ Founded in 1936, *Huiñay Inti* (also spelled *Wiñay Inti*) quickly established its reputation in the *estudiantina* scene, as evidenced by the many trophies they won at music contests (e.g., ED, Nov. 6, 1939; Jul. 11, 1940; Jul. 21, 1941; Feb. 21, 1942). Member Walter Guerra Peñaranda composed their theme song, the eponymous *cueca* "Huiñay Inti"; *Música de Maestros* recorded this tune in 1994, 1998, and 2005. In a recent interview, Rolando Encinas recalled that his uncle, Antonio Vázquez, played in *Estudiantina Huiñay Inti* in the 1960s (*Últimas Noticias*, Feb. 12, 2017).

³⁵ For more on Conjunto 31 de Octubre and Conjunto Kollasuyo, see Chapter 5 of my forthcoming book. The nickname of Conjunto Kollasuyo's Nicolás García, *k'auquita*, references a traditional type of Bolivian bread.

estudiantina scene has nothing to do with musical nationalism. Instead, this cohort of ensembles is devoted to recreating the original performance style of Spanish estudiantinas, through their repertoire, apparel, and instrumentation. Most of these groups are attached to universities, and prefer to be called tunas, apparently to distinguish themselves from local estudiantinas belonging to the nativist-revivalist current. The Eurocentric and nationalist orientations in Bolivian estudiantina practices that I have outlined in this essay thus exist side by side today in urban La Paz and the country's other major cities.

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