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Essay 1

ANDEAN MUSIC, SYMBOLIC DUALISM AND COSMOLOGY

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Members of Indian societies constitute more than half of the population in Bolivia's central Andes¹. Most live in small rural settlements on mountain plateaus (*altiplano*) and in the valleys of the *cordilleras* at an altitude of 2,500 to 4,500 meters above sea level, for which reason they are sometimes called "highland Indians." The Spanish term *indio* (Indian) is a denomination from outsiders and refers today primarily to the semantic, cultural, and social feeling of solidarity among these groups. The Indios speak at least one of the Indian languages as their mother tongue, and feel bound to the traditional Andean cultural heritage. Following the land reform of 1953, the term *Indio* was replaced in Bolivia by the now customary term of *campesino* (peasant or farmer). The majority of this rural population lives from farming and stockbreeding. They grow various kinds of potatoes, corn, wheat, *quinoa* (a kind of barley), and beans. These vegetables and livestock such as llama, sheep, cows and pigs today make up their staple diet.

The numerically largest language groups of the Andean Highlands are the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking farmers. For the sake of simplicity, Indios or indigenous peoples who speak one of these languages are designated here as Quechuas or Aymaras, using the Spanish plural. In Bolivia Quechua is primarily spoken in the departments of Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosí, and Chuquisaca, as well as in some provinces of the department of La Paz. Quechua is the *runa simi* (language of the people), which has evolved from the classical Quechua of the Inca Empire (1438-1537). The Aymara language has survived in the vicinity of the pre-Inca ritual sites at Tiwanaku near Lake Titicaca. The Aymaras or Kollas live primarily on the altiplano of La Paz and Puno as well as in relatively large areas in the departments of Oruro and Potosí. Many musical terms and concepts stemming from Aymara seem to have been transmitted to the Quechuas, who also use them (cf. Baumann 1979, 1982a, [forthc]).

In addition to the Aymaras and Quechuas, a smaller group of Indios known as the Chipayas still survive near Lake Coipasa in linguistic and cultural isolation. Today their language, Chipaya, is spoken by less than a thousand people. It is assumed that the Chipayas, together with the Urus of Lake Titicaca, were among the first settlers of the Central Andes (Baumann 1981b:171). The Callawayas (Kallawayas in Quechua) hold a unique position within the Quechua-speaking provinces of Bautista Saavedra, Muñecas and parts of the provinces of Tamayo and La Paz. Among the Callawayas, ap-

proximately two thousand use their own esoteric language, Machchaj-Juyai (literally, "language of the compatriot or companion"), but otherwise, in general, they speak Quechua. The Callawayas differ culturally from the Quechuas and Aymaras, although many reciprocal influences can be observed, appearing especially in the realms of music and musical instruments (cf. Baumann 1985b:146–8).

1. Musical Instruments and Ensembles

Typically, the traditional music of the Indios of the Central Andes uses a large variety of wind instruments, a smaller number of different kinds of drums, and a few idiophones. With the exception of the one-stringed musical bow (*arco selvatico/musical* or *arco de boca*), no stringed instruments were known in pre-Hispanic Latin America (Baumann 1985a:158f.). It was with Spanish colonialization that various guitar types, such as *vibuelas*, lutes, and *bandurrias*, spread throughout the affluent mine centers of the Andean region. Through the mediation of the mestizos, the *guitarrillo*, *jitarrón* and *charango* (Quechua: *charanku*) were introduced to the *campesinos* of the *altiplano* and adapted and transformed there (Baumann 1979:603f.).

Unlike the urban folklore ensembles (*conjuntos*), which like to mix stringed instruments with some or all of the three basic types of flutes, the rural ensembles of the Indios (*tropas*)—with some few exceptions—consist of a set of only one type of melody-carrying instrument. The wind instruments of a *tropa* are found in "choral" formation, that is, one can normally divide the musical groups of the *campesinos* into the three main types of flute ensembles, according to native categorization: the panpipe ensembles (*sikus*), the notched flute ensembles (*kenas*) and the duct flute ensembles (*pinkillos*). Referring to the rhythmical accompaniment, one might also, from the notative point of view, subdivide the *tropa* ensembles into flute ensembles without drum accompaniment and those with accompanying drums. Wind instruments obviously hold the most important position within the Andean tradition of the *campesinos*, followed by the drums, which are used primarily as accompaniment.

Musical instruments and ensembles often have particular regional and individual names, varying according to the specific areas where they are played. This applies in particular to those musical terms classifying the different sizes or tonal registers of one generic type of instrument in one particular ensemble. In a duct flute ensemble from the Arque Province, the various *charkas* or *pinkillos* are divided into four categories according to their tonal register—similar to the idea behind divisions of soprano, alto, tenor and bass. Each instrument is assigned an individual name according to the register group to which it belongs. For example, the deepest and longest flute is called *charka machu*, the instrument belonging to the next higher register (about one fifth

higher) is called *charka mala*. One octave higher than the *charka machu* is the *charka tara*. The instrument belonging to the highest tonal register is called *charka ch'ili*; it is also the smallest instrument, sounding one fifth higher than the *charka tara* and one octave higher than the *charka mala*. *Machu*, *mala* (also *malta*), *tara* and *ch'ili* symbolize at the same time the societal hierarchy: *machu* means "honorable" and is, as a rule, associated with the oldest and most experienced musicians, *mala* or *malta* means "intermediate one," while *ch'ili* refers to the "smallest" instrument, which is usually played by the youngest and least experienced musician.

2. Musical Characteristics

Generally speaking the melodies produced by the various panpipe types are played most often in two to five parallel octaves. Parallel octaves also occur in some duct flute ensembles and in some *kena* ensembles. In ensembles of double-row panpipes, as well as in some duct flute and notched flute ensembles, parallel octaves will often be embellished by parallel sounds of fifths and/or fourths lying between the deepest and highest octave registers or, somewhat less often, by parallel intervals approximating a tritone.

Most instrumental and vocal melodies possess a pronounced anhemitonic pentatonic structure. Although certain flute types have a diatonic tuning and therefore could be theoretically played in a diatonic way, the scales actually played by the *campesinos* are predominantly pentatonically oriented. These scales are certainly more traditional and are, in terms of quantity, the preferred ones as well. Of course many melodies with half-tone steps do exist, in particular in melodies with a wide range. Such melodies seem to be transposed by shifting a fourth to a lower register or a fifth to a higher one; this occurs, for example, in some *sikura* ensembles. Such hexa- and heptatonic scales can be explained in terms of the combination of two anhemitonic pentatonic scales whose tonal centers are arranged in layers of a sequence of intervals built up first on the finalis and then on the upper fifth. Because of having to play Western-like compositions such as national and regional anthems, in addition to the influence of urban folklore groups, traditional ensembles are more often adopting melodies tuned in major and minor keys.

In formal terms, the traditional melodies of the Indios are marked by phrases that are relatively short and few in number. These phrases are repeated individually, and the melodies in their complete form are constantly repeated from the beginning (e.g., AA BB CC—*da capo* several times). The instrumental pieces often begin with a drum introduction (*qallaykuy*), and after the often repeated main section (*tukana/kantu/wirsu*), there is a shorter coda section at the end (*tukuchana*).

From the point of view of rhythm, a binary character predominates. This is related to the countless forms of the *wayñu* dance (Spanish: *huayño*). These

dances can consist of such steps as a rather forceful striding forward (as in processional music), small steps, steps with a trochaic character, a simple alternating step, or hopping in place from one foot to the other (cf. Baumann 1983).

The singing (*takiy*) of men and women is mostly accompanied by one or several *charangueros* and is combined with particularly lively and rhythmic dances that have their own stamping sequences (*tusuna* or *zapateo*). To the most important song genres belong *wayñu*, *tunada* (*tonada*, *copla*), *yaravi*, *bailesitu* (*bailecito*), and *kwika* (*cueca*). In contemporary Bolivia, these are mainly performed in connection with the Christian festivals, such as carnival, Easter (*paskua*), Santa Vera Cruz (May 3rd), Todos Santos (November 1st), or Christmas (*Navidad*). There are solo singers performing *lari-wayñu* and *burruqhatiy* songs who accompany themselves on the *charango* while journeying through the countryside, as well as ensemble singing (*taki*, *tusuna*) and antiphonal singing between two contesting singers or groups of singers (*takipayanaku*). The individual melodies (*tunadas*, *wirsus*) and types of instrumental ensembles (*tropas*) are tied to specific festivals with specific terms, such as the carnival music of the *puka uma* or *pujllay* ensembles (*tonada del carnaval*), the *tonada de la Cruz*, the *cosecha wirsu* (harvest melody), etc. (cf. Baumann 1982b).

Songs, dances, and music are associated with festive occasions such as the sowing and harvesting seasons, family celebrations (*comprades*) and weddings, communal celebrations in honor of the patron saints, and other occasions special to each *ayllu* (ethnic groups bound by religion and territory). The festivities and music making reach their zenith when celebrating the various offering rites, such as offering drinks (*ch'alla*), incense (*q'oa*) or animals (*wilancha*), as well as during the animal branding ceremonies (*k'illpa*). Music, song and dance always stand in close relation to and are an inseparable part of the diverse fertility rites directed towards superhuman powers and to nature.

The most elementary figure of the dance ensemble (*tropas*) is the circle formation, in which participants dance in single file, the oldest first, the youngest last. In the traditional ensembles instruments are played by men. Women take a leading role in dance and song. They often wave colored flags (*whipalas*) in rhythm to the music. The dances always begin in a counter-clockwise direction and after a certain time symmetrically change to the opposite direction. At this point the musicians make a half-turn on their own axis and continue dancing in the same formation, one behind another. This fundamental pattern can be observed in many dances, as in the *charangeada*, the *sikuriada*, the *chúkaru-baile* of the *julajulas*, the *ushnizatni* of the Chipayas, etc. The circle dance is also combined with dancing in single file (*linku linku rayku*, such as serpentine movements in the *julajula* dances) or with dancing in double rows as in *lichibwayu* dances. All of these formations belong to the main dance structures. The leader of the music group is the *tata*

mayor (*cabeza de baile*), who is responsible for the musicians, their food, and the schedule of the festivities, as well as for the decorations and dance formations. As a sign of his dignity as the dance leader, the *tata mayor* sometimes plays a *pututu* (signal horn) and holds a whip in his hand. With the whip he sees to it that nobody dances out of step.

3. Music, Ritual, and Dance

In the Central Andean Highlands, music, dance, song, and ritual are closely intertwined. Dance is present in almost all group-oriented forms of music making. The Quechua term *taki* (song) does not just contain the idea of language that is sung, but also rhythmic melody and dance. The three key terms, *takiy* ("to sing"), *tukay* ("to play"), and *tusuy* ("to dance"), each emphasize only one aspect of the musical behavior as a whole. These three elements are complementary to one another and signify the inherent unity of structured sound, movement, and symbolic expression.

Musical behavior is always embedded in a particular context within the ritually and religiously oriented cycle of the year. Music making and singing are determined by the agricultural cycle of the two halves of the year, the rainy season (when the seed is sown and the harvest is brought in) and the dry season (when the earth is tended and ploughed). The seasons also determine in general the kinds of musical instruments, melodies and dances that should be performed. Numerous festivals are celebrated for the deities belonging to the earth. During these festivals, offerings are made of smoke, drink and animal sacrifices when the ground is tilled, the seeds are sown, as the plants grow, and as the people pray for a rich harvest. Each celebration has its own set melodies (*wirsus* or *tonadas*) and its own musical instruments. Music and dance are, on the one hand, expressions of joy and at the same time offerings to honor Father and Mother Earth (Pachatata and Pachamama).

Today, the various festivals must also be considered in connection with the historical layers and traditional re-interpretations that have been superimposed through time. Often, for example, the old astronomical (or Inca) calendar, the Christian (or Gregorian) calendar, and the annual agricultural cycle simultaneously influence such celebrations. All these different elements and fragments play their own roles and are often mingled together.

The cosmological-religious world view of the altiplano Indios seems to be partially syncretistic. The traditional Central Andean beliefs still survive in part and have, at most, mixed with the Christian conception of faith and worship in a relationship of reciprocal influence. The Virgin Mary is associated with the concept of Pachamama (*pacha* = earth, *mama* = mother). Pachamama, interpreted generally as the Virgin Mary, manifests herself on the local level as individual virgins (*mamitas*), such as the Virgen de Cande-

laria, Virgen de Copacabana, Virgen del Carmen, and Mamita Asunta (Virgen de Asunción). The female concept of Pachamama is the timeless and female aspect of the Mother Earth. Throughout the centuries, incoming religious figures such as the Virgin Mary have been reincarnated as an element of this fundamental principle. Pachamama became reborn as *wirjin* (virgen).

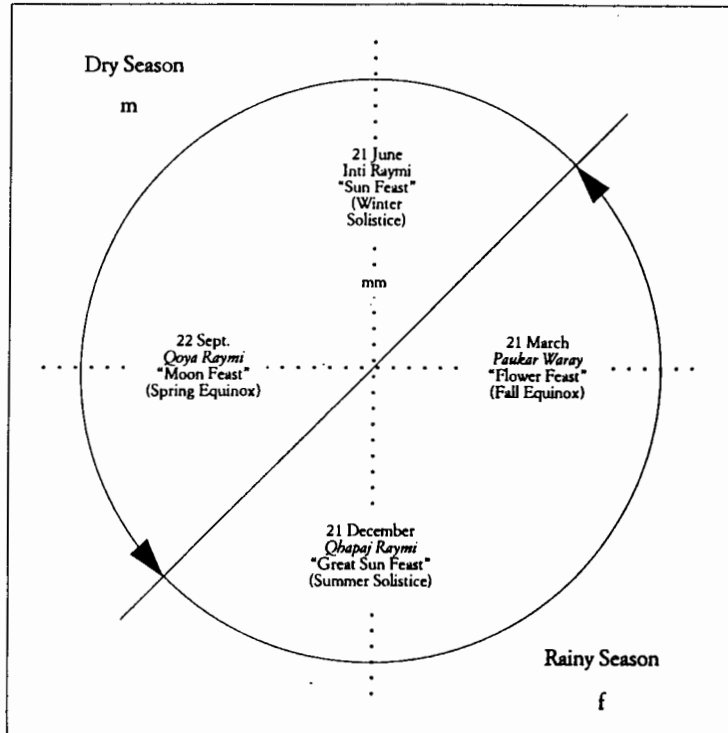


Fig. 1: Solistices, equinoxes, dry season/rainy season and the main feasts of the old Inca calendar (the year of the agricultural calendar begins on June 21st, the year of the ritual calendar at the summer solstice, i.e., December 21st).

Within the belief system of an Andean farmer, the local manifestations of Pachamama/Wirjin are expressions of the one principle of Pachamama. Pachamama is the mother of humans, the source of all fertility, and the symbol for growth and decline within the overall concept of time and space. For example, in the department of Oruro during the rainy season, *charkas* flutes are sounded in honor of Pachamama in order to express thankfulness for the first good harvest of the season. The *charkas* are duct flutes of various sizes (built similarly to the recorder) which are played by men to accompany the dances, together with a cow horn, or *pututu*. Unmarried girls accompany

these instruments with a high falsetto voice, singing "*Takisun pachamamaman mañarisun*" ("Let us sing and call to the Pachamama").

Various other duct flutes such as *pinkillos/pincollos*, *mohocños/aymaras*, *ch'utus*, *tokurus*, and *tarkas/anatas* are traditionally played mainly during the rainy season, that is, starting on All Saints' Day (Todos Santos, November 1st) until the carnival season in February or March. These instruments belong to the "female" cycle of the year. The distinction between "female" and "male" times of year can be partly seen as a remnant of the old Inca calendar (see Figure 1). According to this calendar, the sun festival of the king (Inti Raymi), which was the main festival of the dry season, was followed by the festival of the queen (Koya Raymi). The wooden duct flutes symbolize the female principle of irrigation, of becoming fertile after the quiet and dry time; they express joy over the sprouting seeds and the harvest. The connection of these instruments with the element of water is emphasized by the fact that they are sometimes filled with water before being sounded so that they can become saturated and thus airtight. Because of the superimposition of the festivals by Christian religious concepts, the duct flutes are also closely related to the numerous festivals of the Virgin Mary that occur during the rainy season, such as the Fiesta de la Concepción (December 8th) or the Fiesta de Candelaria (February 2nd). The instruments proclaim delight over the Christmas season and the New Year. The Bolivian summer solstice (December 21st) coincides with the highpoint of the rainy season, as well as with Christmas festivities. Varying somewhat in length according to latitude, the rainy season (called *paray mit'a* in Quechua and *jallu pacha* in Aymara) lasts from around the beginning of November to the end of March or beginning of April.

In contrast to those instruments played during the rainy season, there are musical instruments—panpipes and notched flutes—which are made of hard bamboo and are played predominantly during the dry season. These instruments are closely tied to the mainly "male" festivals taking place during the other half of the year, such as for Santa Cruz (May 3rd) and Corpus Christi (end of May or beginning of June), as well as during the numerous festivals honoring particular (male) saints. These feasts are all linked to the concept of Pachata or Tatapacha (*tata* = father; *pacha* = earth). The dry season, called *ruphay mit'a* in Quechua and *thaya* or *awti pacha* in Aymara, reaches its zenith at the Bolivian winter solstice on June 21st (Inti Raymi); soon afterwards, the great festival of San Juan takes place on the "coldest night" (June 24th). During this dry season, the instruments predominantly used are the notched flutes made of bamboo (*kenas*, *chokelas*, *kena-kenas*, *lichwayayus*, *pusi-ppias*) and panpipes (*sikus*, *sikuras*, *antaras*, *julajulas*, *laqitas*). These instruments are associated with the male principle, represented also by the sun, the dry season and the wind (see also Section 5).

4. Everything is Man and Woman—Pachamama and Pachatata

Pachamama and Pachatata symbolize the concept of pair formation as a basic principle that underlies all phenomena in nature. The principle of complementary masculinity and femininity symbolizes in its basic features Andean thinking, as in the saying, “*tukuy ima qbariwarmi*”—“Everything is man and woman” (Platt 1976:21). The living earth (*pacha*) as holistic conception is man-woman. Everything that is, as well as each thing individually observed, is composed of both complementary poles of female and male basic characteristics. The one does not exist without the other, no light (*sut'i*) without darkness (*laqba*), no day without night, no sun without moon, no dryness without wetness, no above without below, no thing that moves without that which is moved, no thing that begins (*ira*) without that which follows (*arka*). In addition, each individual body, each thing that exists, is assembled from complementary opposites. The right side of the human body is masculine, the left side is female. The front side of the body facing the sun is masculine, the back side in shadow is female; this applies correspondingly to the head and feet. Even the highest principle of creation, *Wiraqucha*, composed of the two invisible aspects *Pachakamaq* or *Pachayachachiq*, is man and woman. It is an evolutionary principle that is to be understood as androgynous, from which all polar opposites emanate². Everything that exists in the heavens, on the earth, and everything that is created is bound together with everything else and is composed in microcosmos as in macrocosmos—on all levels of reality—of their male and female characteristics, which complement each other (Kusch 1986:30f.; Andritzky 1989:299–304). According to an Aymara saying, everything in this world is an individual reality (“*Taquipuniw aka pachanx mayaki*”). Everything is related to everything else in a mesh of hierarchically ordered relationships of exchange between complementary opposite pairs (van den Berg 1990:158).

One of the prayer hymns (*jailli*) written down by Cristóbal de Molina from Cuzco around 1575 characterizes in a few verses how everything that exists is created in dual form (Lara 1980:37f.):

*Tijsi Wiraqucha,
Qaylla Wiraqucha,
Tukapu ajnupuyuj,
Wiraqucha.
Kámaj, chúrjaj,
Qbari kachun,
Warmi kachun,
Ñispa rúraj.*

Origin of Being, Wiraqucha,
always present principle of creation,
elegant and beautifully clothed,
principle of creation,
that blesses and gives life,
and the becoming of man
and woman
through a word produces.

A profound poem transmitted by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui around 1613 bears witness to something similar, a poem that poses questions about such bipolar, all-pervasive and mutually dependent evolutionary sources: “Where are you?”—“*maypin kanki?*”—“oh, power of life, root of all things?” (Harrison 1989:92–5).

*Ah, Wiraqocha tiksi qbapaq
kay qari kachun
kay warmi kachun*

...
*Maypin kanki?
manachu rikuykiman
hananpichum
urinpichum*

...
*intiqa killaqa
punchawqa tutaqa
poqoyqa chirawqa
manan yanqachu
kamachisqam purin*

Oh, power of life, root of all things, highest power,
you say, let man become,
you say, let woman become

...
Where are you?
Can I not see you?
Above?
Below?

...
Sun, moon,
day, night,
rainy season, dry season
not without meaning,
to the (highest) order, they follow their path.

All creations follow the primary principle of polar opposites. Above is masculine, below is feminine. Complementary are the pair of constellations of Father Sun (*inti*) and Mother Moon (*killa*). There are masculine and feminine stars: the masculine morning star *achachi ururi* and the feminine evening star *apachi ururi* (Harrison 1989:66). In the vertical order, heaven above is masculine, the earth below feminine. In the horizontal order, the earth is divided into the masculine mountain chains (Wamanis, Apus or Cerros) and

the feminine pampas (Earls & Silverblatt 1978:319). The water of the oceans and seas is feminine, but the rain from above that fecundates the earth is not. There are masculine and feminine stars, plants and animals (van den Berg 1990:161). All are aspects of two concepts of energy that are mutually complementary: from above to below, from below to above, from left to right, from right to left (Arnold 1986:4), from light and dark, day and night, air and earth, fire and water, hot and cold. The law of complementary opposites affects all forms of flowing existence, which are united in pairs. It works on the earth, in the sky, and during annual cycles. The dimension of sky spreading over the earth (*hanan pacha* or *pata parti*) is represented by the pair Tata Inti and Mama Killa. One finds its analogous equivalent in “this world” (*kay pacha*)—between heaven and earth—in the human pair of man and woman (*qbari, warmi*). And the chthonic forces of Pachatata and Pachamama apply in the dark Below (*ukhu pacha*), and in the inner parts of the earth, in the mountain mines, where they are called Tío and Tía (Arnold 1986:2, 7).

Pachatata and Pachamama refer in general to the earthly realms, to the plains and to the mountain peaks. Within this cosmologically oriented concept built up in pairs of opposites, humankind lives **here** on the edge of space, between sky and earth, and **now** on the cutting edge of time, between past and future (Figure 2). Past, present and future refer to each other and form a whole, the all-emcompassing cosmos, “*pacha*.”³

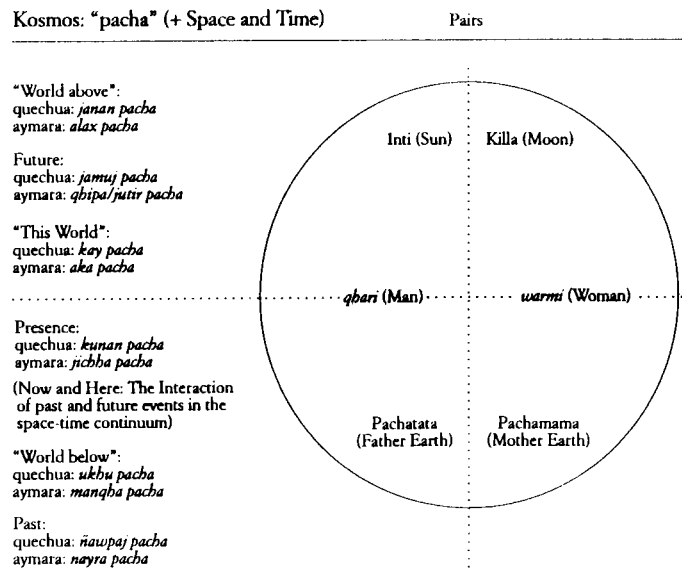


Fig. 2. Pacha as space-time-concept and the central pairs related to pacha.⁴

Pacha means in a narrow sense earth, including space, time, history, world—in a broader sense, however, also cosmos. *Pacha* expresses in its spatial and chronic aspects the inner connectedness of the whole on all levels of world constructs. This connectedness is derived also from linguistic terms (Firestone 1988:36f.). In the assemblage of the words *pacha* plus space construct (Above, Here, and Below) as well as *pacha* plus time construct (Past, Now and Coming), everything is centered on Here and Now. The past and not-yet-occurred is nothing more as another spatial aspect of above and below, or of front and back, just as vice versa, space appears as an aspect of time. *Kay pacha* symbolizes the transition from world below to world above, that is to say, between the feminine and masculine spheres lies the present world. It is in this world that the unification of polar fundamental forces is accomplished; these forces are the basis for each continuous act of reproduction (Vokral 1991:317). The *pacha* space-time construct is contemporarily (re-)interpreted from today’s point of view in a mandala-like representation of the annual calendar (*mara/wata*) (Figure 3).

Each of the four cardinal points referring to the level of earth represents among other things one of the four parts of the Inca empire (*tawantinsuyu*).

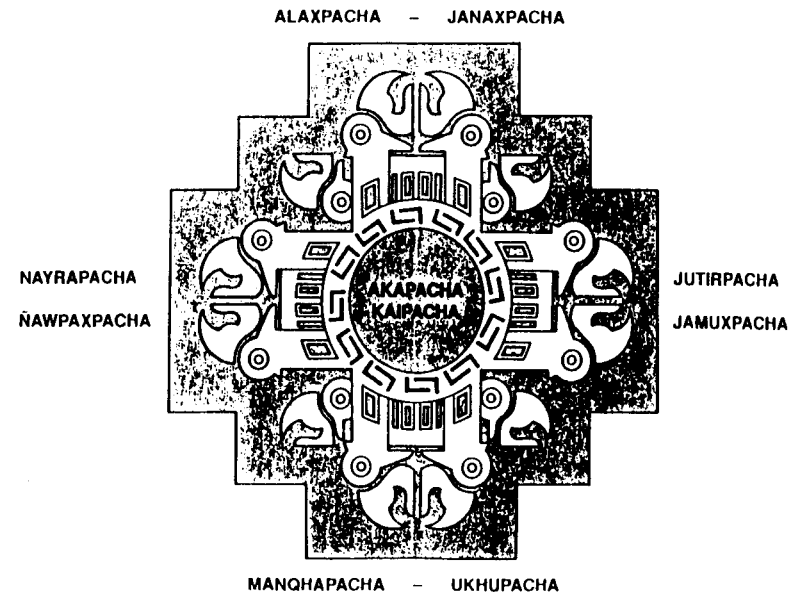


Fig. 3. Pacha concept as contemporary reconstruction of Tiwanaku Wiraqala (Tbola 1992)—*mara* (Aymara)/*wata* (Quechua): annual calendar.

However, the quarters themselves are each divided up in the next higher hierarchical level into complementarily assembled halves on the left and right side, or else the upper and lower halves of the emblem, symbolized through the vertical or horizontal imaginary line between the double-headed condor heads. Duality (*dualidad*) can be read from this view: Above and Below (*hanan, ukhu*) are divided by a horizontal boundary line. These meeting points of both oppositions, the *chawpirana*, cuts the halves and allows them simultaneously to meet each other. Each of the halves, the upper and lower and the left and right sides, are connected to each other to form a whole from two times two halves, or two times two pairs. It is in each case the masculine and feminine characteristics that form one pair. Like man and woman (*qhariwarmi*), they belong together as equal partners in a higher unit. They are *yanantin*, “tied to reciprocal help,” comparable to the symmetrical halves of each body (Platt 1976:11, 27). The symbolic representation of the entire unit opens up three-dimensionally to the observer of the emblem, as a view from above as well as from the front. From the perspective of “sky above” and “earth below,” the light of heaven is attributable as the masculine and the darkness of earth as the feminine element. Both spatial halves, however, divide themselves again according to their own polar characteristics in such a way that the horizontal relationship of the pair (Inti-Killa, Pachatata-Pachamama) is symmetrical, while the vertical relationship is asymmetrical:

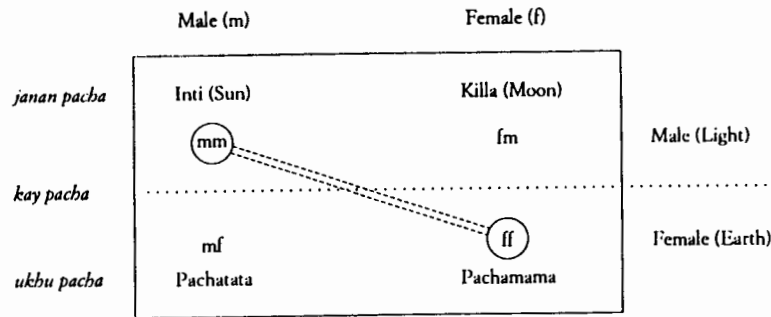


Fig. 4. Cosmological quadrants as a result of creating pairs (cuatropartismo cosmológico).⁵

Referring to the “earth below,” *mama* in Pachamama specifies the female aspects of being, procreation, growth and passing away, whereas *Tatapacha* or *Taytacha* (also *Tayta Orqo*, *Apu* or *Wamani*) designates the masculine aspects, to fecundate, organize and to kill. They are the seemingly timeless principles of the earth which form all existence and become polar opposites and which manifest themselves individually and collectively in analogous ways. These principles have ruled through the centuries, also spreading to Christian images in later times. In the mother aspect, timelessness manifests

itself as a concrete manifestation of the historically restricted. The principle of Pachamama is reborn in the process of historical superimposition as Mother God (Mamita) or as the Virgin Mary (*wirjin, ñusta*). It is celebrated repeatedly and during the local and individual feasts as an expression of a time-spanning principle of life and fertility. The numerous integrated concepts of the Virgin Maria, such as seen in the celebration of a particular festival, should be interpreted from their historically concretized aspects removed from space and time based on the general principle of Pachamama. It reveals itself as a concrete manifestation in local form during a specific period. The numerous “Marias” accentuate, through their individual characteristics, local aspects of time and space of the general feminine principle that underlines them. In addition to this principle of effect there also exists, however, the masculine principle of cause. In their complementarity, both polar fundamental forces complete each other, creatively guaranteeing in their coming together the persistence of all that is. This applies especially to “this world” of humankind, which comes out of the encounter between the “world above” and the “world below” and which remains continuously in their spheres of influence.

“*Pachamama también tiene su esposo*”: Earth Mother also has a man (Firestone 1988:26). The masculine counterpart in the complementary principle is Pachatata. Pachatata is—as already mentioned—the creative aspect to the polar counterpart of the receiving aspect of Pachamama. Superimposed with Christian symbolism is *Tata Krus* (= Father Cross), a manifestation of the masculine principle in the concrete form of Christ. The great feasts of the dry season such as *Santa Vera Cruz* (on May 3rd) and *Corpus Christi* (end of May or beginning of June), as well as the other numerous feasts honoring the (masculine) saints such as *Tata San Juan*, *Tata Santiago* or *Tata Agustín*, are embedded in a special context of local aspects of the Pachatata cult. *Tata, tayta, taytacha, tatala* (= a synonym in Quechua also for phallus), *tatitu*, and *tatalitu* indicate the diversity of forms of the masculine principle of formation and cause. Other connections with the name Christ or with saints demonstrate in a similar way the encompassing masculine principle that contains in its local forms of expression a specific designation (Rocha 1990:78f.). *Maria* and *Christ* are simultaneously raised to a god-like pair of the earthbound numina.

For the world above, the moon and sun gates were already known as an opposite pair in the pre-Incan temple of *Tiwanaku*. *Félice Guaman Poma de Ayala* wrote down around 1530 a sung hymn (*jailli*) with which the *Indios of Inca* times prayed to *Mama Killa*, the wife of the god-like sun, for rain (Lara 1980:41; Sichra [ed.] 1990:6):

*Killa Quya Mama,
Yakuq sallayki,
Unuq sallayki,
Aya uya waqaylli,
Aya uya puypulli.*

Queen and Mother Moon,
Give us your water as a cloudburst,
your flood of rain in streams,
Cry, ah!
Let flow, ah!

This and similar *jailli* verses were sung during the tilling of the fields and breaking of the soil. Such verses also report, in alternating singing of men and women (*takipayanaku*), how the sun rains gold and the moon silver (*Inti qori paran/Killa qolqe paran*; Lara 1980:44).

Tata Inti of the Inca times was reinterpreted by the “christianized” peasants as Tata Santísimu (Holy Father/Spirit), and Mama Killa became Mama Santísima (Holy Mother) (Platt 1976:22). All principles stand however for the same symbolic dualism that stretches as a historically developed structure. In the plant world, the potato is, as a tuberous root of the dark earth, an expression of the dominant feminine principle of form, and corn, growing in the direction of the sun, is an expression of the dominant masculine principle. In this division, however, each species or form is divided again into its polar sub-species or polar pair formations (Andritzky 1989:265). For example, potatoes are divided according to their ritual names into masculine and feminine forms or principles of creativity (*jach'a mallku* and *imill t'alla*; van den Berg 1990:129). Symbolic dualism applies to all forms of existence, to humankind as well as to its society, to the animal and plant worlds, to the realm of ancestors and the deceased (an ancestress is called *awicha* and her masculine companion *achachi*). This structural thinking transmits itself to within the division of labor: it is the man who tills the fields and breaks up the earth with a digging stick or plow, so that the woman can place the seeds in the earth. It is the men who play musical instruments, and the women who sing to them.

The mountains contain the life-giving principle and enclose as *tata*, *apu*, *machula*, *achachila*, *wamami* or *mallku* (which means Condor or Master of the Mountains) the center of energy of the consecrated peaks, in contrast to the feminine energies of the plains and valleys (*awacha*, *awila*, *mamita*, *t'alla*). The specific names and deities or saints are categorized according to the local centers of power. They are called up on specific occasions, music and dance are presented to them as offerings in thanks for a good harvest or with the request for a fertile year.

Pachamama and Pachatata embody in a diversity of symbolic forms and variations the basic structure of Andean thinking. They personify themselves in further sub-aspects at smaller levels (*lugarniyoj*). Among the Chipayas, the protective spirits Mallkus and Samiris play an important role in the fertility of land and cattle. Sajama, the godly-masculine mountain, is honored with

offerings so that he will give the water necessary for life and thus fecundate the feminine principle of the fields, the Mother Earth. The holy places (*wakqs*) are integrated in the masculine mountain peaks (*jurq'u*) and have their counterparts in the feminine water holes (*warmi jurq'u*), out of which the spring water flows (Platt 1976:22). According to an old mythical narrative, the sun people are supposed to have emerged out of the love between the mountain Illampu and the Lake Titicaca.

Human beings live within this dualistically conceived cosmology in *kay pacha*—between the skies and earth. On the one hand there is the wise man, called *yachaj* by the Quechuas and *yatiri* by the Aymaras, who individually functions as a knowing intermediary. He creates a connection, through prayers and songs, between humans inhabiting this world and the deities. On the other hand there are the collectively celebrated music rituals and festivals of the Indians which create, by means of honoring and offering, a common bridge between the profane and sacral, between above and below, between growing and dying, between Pachamama/*wirjin* Maria and Pachatata/Tata Krus (Father Cross). Such collectively celebrated occasions are known as *tinku* or *tinka* (Spanish: *encuentro*), and include fertility rites, weddings, processions and other festivities, some influenced by Christianity. The *tinku* ritual of the Quechuas is sometimes a mock battle between two groups. It is a powerful, forceful event. The *tinka* ritual of the Aymaras is also a meeting of contrasting groups, but it might be at a peaceful occasion. *Tinku* and *tinka* themselves represent a unity of complementary parts: “*Tinka* is the important ritual action of bringing together separated or contrasting parts, such as the meeting during ritual of the highlands and lowlands, the vertical kin group and the horizontal kin group, and the living and dead” (Bastien 1978:121f.). It is the symbolic union “to express a bond of unity, distinction, and reciprocity,” which represents a third whole unit formed through an interlocking principle. This new third unit, in turn, emanates power, energy, and reproduction.

In the following section, this symbolic dualism will be illustrated through the ideas behind the panpipe ensembles as a particular paradigm of the anthropomorphic cosmology mentioned earlier. This paradigm also involves the *tinku*, here meaning the hocket technique of playing in complementary pairs of female (*arka*) and male (*ira*) instruments. Particular attention will also be given to the interlocking of various methodological approaches which lead to some theoretical considerations (cf. Section 5.1 and Footnote 7).

5. The Concept of Pairs in Panpipe Ensembles as Paradigm for the Expression of Symbolic Dualism

The traditional panpipe ensembles of the Indios in the Central Andes use the playing technique of interlocking pairs. Each ensemble contains several pairs of instruments, each pair combining a female instrument and a male counterpart. The pairs can be multiplied in several ranges of two to five different voice registers.

Playing by pairs is encountered in specific panpipe ensembles such as *maizus*, *julajulas*, *julu-julus*, *chiriwanos*, *lakitas*, *antaras* or *sikus*, *sikuras* and *phukunas*, that is, in the most traditional ensembles of Aymara-, Chipaya- and Quechua-speaking population groups.

In addition, the individual rural music ensembles (*tropas*) of the Bolivian Indios consist, with only few exceptions, of identical melody-playing panpipe types. All panpipes appear in a "choral" setting as uniform panpipe pairs. As already mentioned, in opposition to the urban folklore groups of the mestizos, the *campesinos* do not mix panpipes with other instruments such as the notched flute (*kena*), the duct flute (*pinkillo/tarka*) or with stringed instruments.

Name of the panpipe ensemble	Pair of stopped pipes	Distribution
<i>maizus</i> (or <i>chiriwanos</i>)	<u>(3)</u> and <u>(2)</u>	Chipayas
<i>julajulas</i>	<u>(4)</u> and <u>(3)</u>	Quechuas/Aymaras
<i>julu-julu</i>	<u>(4)</u> and <u>(3)</u>	Aymaras
<i>chiriwanos</i>	<u>(4)</u> and <u>(3)</u>	Quechuas/Aymaras

Table 1. Number of pipes in different ensembles of single-row panpipes (without drum accompaniment). Underlined numbers indicate closed pipes (see Footnote 9).

Name of panpipe ensemble	Pair of double-row panpipes (stopped + open pipes)	Distribution
<i>lakitas/sikus</i>	(6+6) and (<u>5</u> +5)	Aymaras/Quechuas
<i>lakitas/sikus</i>	(7+7) and (<u>6</u> +6)	Aymaras/Quechuas
<i>lakitas/sikus</i>	(8+8) and (<u>7</u> +7)	Aymaras/Quechuas
<i>phukunas</i>	(7+7) and (<u>6</u> +6)	Callawayas
<i>ayarichis</i>	(7+7̄) and (<u>7</u> +7̄)	Quechuas
<i>sikuras/sikuris</i>	(17+17) and (<u>17</u> +17)	Aymaras/Quechuas

Table 2. Number of pipes in different ensembles of double-row panpipes (with drum accompaniment).

Panpipe ensembles can be classified as either *tropas* containing single-row panpipes and without drum accompaniment or *tropas* with double-row pan-

pipes and accompanied by drums. Most panpipe ensembles have, as a rule, several pairs of different sized instruments, that is, in different registers. It is often the case that several registers are played by more than one pair of panpipes. Exceptions include the *maizu* ensemble of the Chipaya and a few others in which pairs of panpipes appear only in one register.

In most cases, one pair is composed of one instrument with an odd number of pipes and another one with an even number of pipes. In some ensembles, the pair consists of panpipes with an equivalent number of pipes. In either case, when the pair is expanded through the addition of other instruments, those instruments maintain the same numerical composition. The pipes of each instrument are usually bound together in raft form according to size. Each member of a pair is played by one musician.

Tables 1 and 2 show the particular pairs of panpipes as they occur in the most usual ensembles in Bolivia.

Each counterpart of a panpipe pair has a female or male connotation. This interpretation is provided by the native terminology as well as by the emic explanation of the musicians. *Ira* is the dominant male-oriented instrument that usually starts the melody and leads the panpipe playing, while *arka*, its complement, follows. *Ira* and *arka* are blown by two players in a hocket-like technique, that is, when *ira* plays one to four notes, *arka* rests and then continues the melody while *ira* rests, and so on. In this way *arka* and *ira* combine their notes to create a particular melody that results from an interlocking and complementary interplay. Playing in complementary pairs can be found in almost all traditional panpipe ensembles: among the simple *maizu* flutes of the Chipayas, among the diverse panpipe ensembles of the Aymaras and Quechuas, such as the *julajulas*, *julu-julus*, *chiriwanos*, *lakitas*, *antaras*, *sikus* or *sikuris*, as well as among the *phukunas* panpipes of the Callawayas.

The Aymara word *ira* or *irpa* denotes "leader" or "the one who leads," and represents a male principle, according to the *campesinos*. Other names used for this same concept are *sanja*, *pussak/pussaj* (from Quechua *pussay*: "to lead") and the Spanish *guía* (leader) or *primero* (the first).

The Aymara word *arka/arca* denotes the female and weaker counterpart, "the one who follows." Other names for *arka* with the same meaning are the Quechua *khatik/qhatij* (from the infinitive *qhatiy*: "to follow", "to go after"), and the Spanish *trasguía* ("the following") or *segundo* ("the second"). It is quite likely that *arka* and *ira* are both Aymara words, but they are also used among Quechua-speaking Indios⁶.

Three of the most common types of panpipe ensembles will be described in detail, with particular attention to the tuning and distribution of the pipes and with respect to the individual voice ranges. For this purpose, a *julajula* ensemble, a *siku* ensemble, a *lakita* ensemble and a *sikuri* ensemble are selected as paradigms to illustrate the complexity of different panpipe orchestras.

5.1 Julajulas: *The ira-arka Principle of Single-Row Panpipes*

The reciprocal relationship, in which each element is dependent upon the other, finds its simplest expression in the music of Andean *julajula* panpipe playing. These traditional pan flute ensembles are played predominantly during one half of the year, the dry season, and are governed by the hocket technique between an instrument of four pipes and another of three pipes. *Ira* and *arka* are alternately blown by different players (Figure 5): while the first player plays one or two tones, the second player is silent and continues the melody when the first player pauses, and so forth. In this way the two instruments complement each other through subsequent interlocking tones and create in hocket-like fashion a *julajula* melody of seven notes.

Both the terms *ira* (Span. *macho*) and *arka* (Span. *hembra*) are used for Aymara and Quechua *julajula* panpipes alike. The interlocking playing technique of panpipes is regarded as a kind of competition (Span.: *contrapunto*). Some Quechua-speaking Indios call it *purajsikinakuy*, literally “we catch up with each other.” Among the Aymaras the technique is known as *jaktasiña irampi arkampi* (Valencia Chacon 1989:36), meaning “to be in agreement with *ira* and *arka*.” The character of the encounter or the coming together of a pair is also expressed in the description of the playing technique as *tinku*⁷.

A descending pentatonic scale without half-tones (e'-d'-c-a-g) underlies the seven tones of both of the *julajula* panpipes, which are tuned to each other (for example, e'-d'-c-a-g-e-d) (Figure 5). The name of such a melody, which is handed down only through oral tradition, is “wild dance,” *chúkaru-*

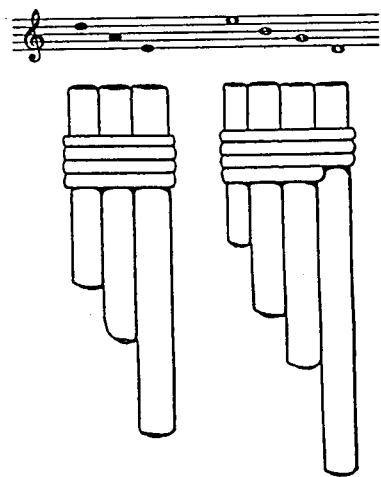


Fig. 5. A pair of *julajula* panpipes (female *arka* instrument with 3 stopped pipes; male *ira* instrument with 4 stopped pipes) in middle *liku* register.

baile, an example of which is given here in transcription (Musical Example 1). The tones played by the *ira* instrument are symbolized with notes whose stems point downward; those of the *arka* instrument are shown with stems pointing upward. The first Phrase A and the second Phrase B of the melody are each individually repeated and lead into the shorter part C, whose content is made up of individual notes of the (masculine) Phrase A and the (feminine) Phrase B. In the coming together (*tinku*) of *ira* and *arka*, first the “leading” melodic Phrase A is played, which is “followed” (after its repetition) by the second melodic Phrase B. After this phrase is also repeated, the closing Part C is derived from the two repeated phrases. This melodic formal procedure (AA-BB-C) is repeated “da capo” innumerable times during the performance and in ritualized form to the dance of the whole ensemble (cf. Baumann 1985b:160).

Mus. Ex. 1. *julajula* panpipes—hocket playing of *ira* (4 stopped pipes) and *arka* (3 stopped pipes). Transcription of *chúkaru-baile* (in the middle register of the *liku* pair).

As already mentioned, a *julajula* ensemble is composed of several pairs of diverse octave registers (see Figure 6). The individual melodies sound simultaneously in parallel octaves, divided over four to five registers. The pan flute pairs are tuned identically to each other in their respective octave ranges. According to the Andean principle, they are conceptualized as equivalent pairs (*ira* and *arka*) on the horizontal level. In their vertical order, the pairs are arranged hierarchically, according to which the biggest panpipe pair (the *ira-arka* pair *machu*, which is as long as 1.2 meters) is blown by the two eldest and most respected musicians. The next biggest pair, which is half as long and called *mali* (or *mallta*), is played by the next oldest musicians, and so on; the smallest pair (*ch'ili*) is played by the youngest and therefore least experienced players. The hierarchical order of pairs is arranged beginning with the “old,” “honorable” pair of *machu*, to the “middle-big” pair of *mali*, the “third” pair *liku*, the “delicate” pair of *tjili* and the “little” pair *ch'ili* (Baumann 1980:158ff.; 1990:276f.):

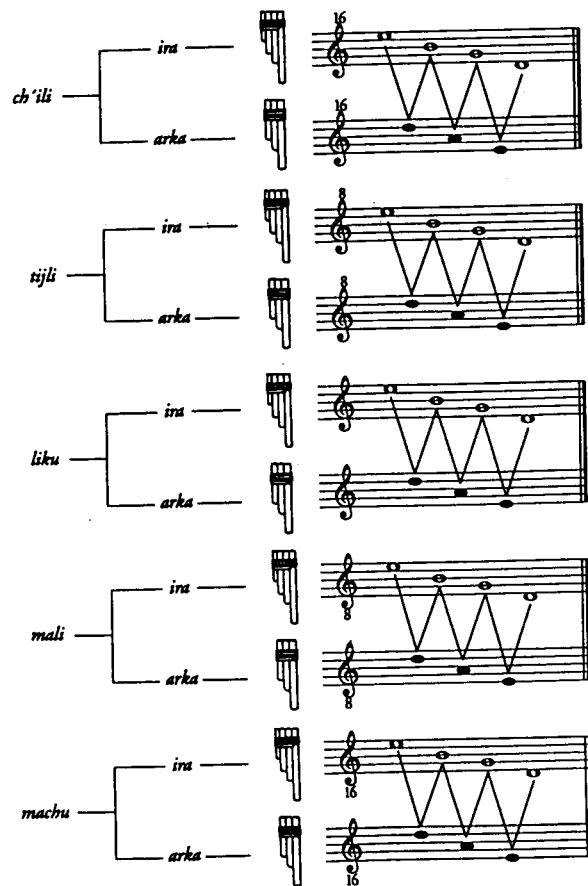
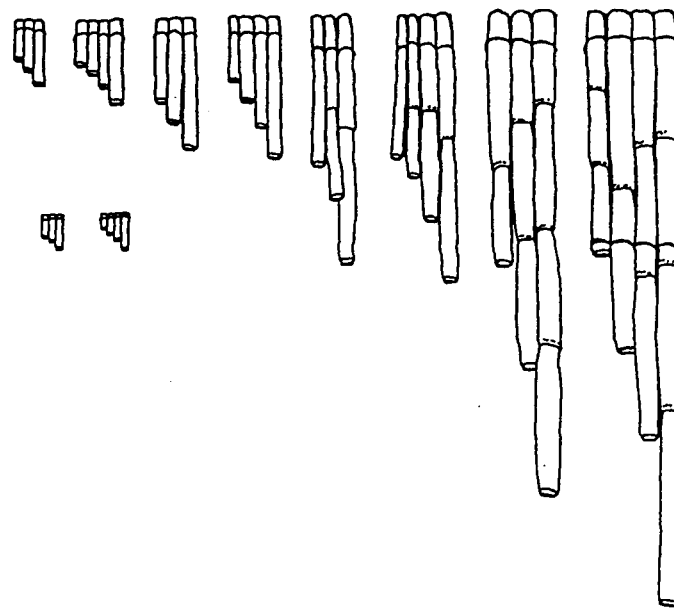


Fig. 6. Ensembles of julajula panpipe pairs and their different registers (each with an interval of one octave)—from deepest (or biggest) to highest (or smallest) pair: machu (ira-arka), mali (ira-arka), liku (ira-arka), tijli (ira-arka), ch'ili (ira-arka). An ensemble with 16 musicians is represented as an example here (that is, 8 pairs of instruments), in which the liku pair is doubled and the tijli pair is tripled.⁸

5.2 Sikus: The ira-arka Principle of Double-Row Panpipes

The same *ira-arka* relationship also appears among the double-row panpipes. The general terms for most double-row panpipe instruments are *siku*, *antara* or *lakita*. Among these are included various types, each of which has a different number of double-row pipes. The individual instruments have, as a rule, a row of stopped pipes of differing lengths, in front of which is tied a second row of evenly sized, open-ended pipes. The most often used *sikus* (or



lakitas) consist of a pair whose *ira* instrument has 7 stopped and 7 open-ended pipes (7+7) and whose complementary *arka* part consists of 6 stopped and 6 open pipes (6+6). The stopped melody pipes of *ira* and *arka* complement each other in the tuning of a "diatonic scale" with a range of 13 tones (Figure 7). This scale is sounded using the hocket technique and occurs mostly in two different pair sizes, for example in a small ensemble of two larger *liku* pairs together with a *ch'ili* pair that is half as big. The *siku* panpipes are in this case accompanied by a large drum (*wankara*) and a small drum (*wankarita*).

The thought structure of complementary pair formation is also discernable in the *siku* ensembles. Each of the individual double-row panpipe instruments, the *ira* as well as the *arka*, are further divided into two polar parts (Figure 8). These are the stopped pipes (*qharis*) of the melody row (*tukanan*), which are understood as the masculine element, and the open pipes (*chinas*) of the second row (*kacharisqa*), which provide the "breathy sound" and are considered the feminine element. Each individual open and stopped pipe of the same length forms a (conceptually) bound pair (*qhari-china*). Additionally, each of these pairs has a special relationship to the *qhari-china* pair of the other panpipe instrument.

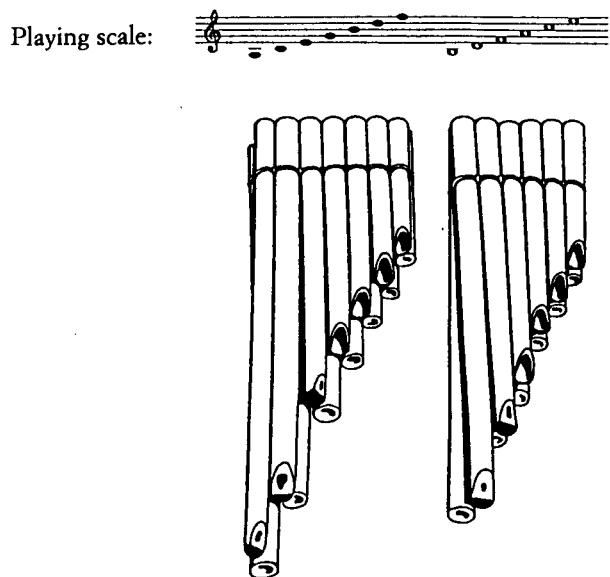


Fig. 7. Example of a double-row sikus pair: ira (7+7) and arka (6+6), with a correspondingly complementary distribution of single tones.

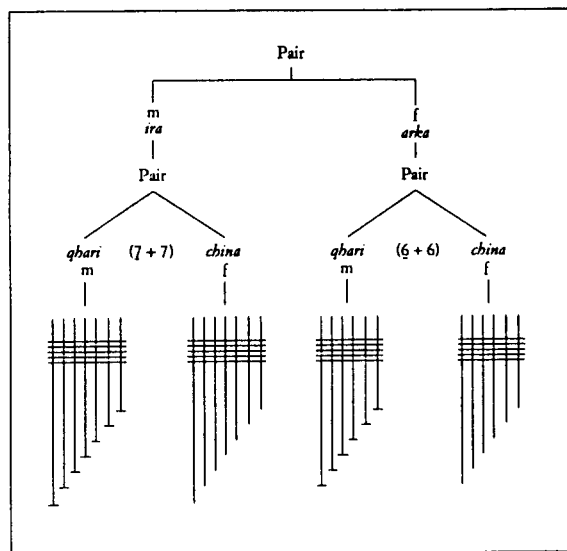


Fig. 8. Double-row ira instrument (7+7) and arka instrument (6+6) and corresponding subdivision in 7 or 6 pipe pairs, each made up of one masculine (stopped) and one feminine (open) pipe (qhari-china). Comp. also Figure 7.⁹

5.3 Lakitas: The ira-arka Principle of the "Chosen Ones"

The same *ira-arka* principle which underlies the *sikus* similarly affects the *lakita* ensemble. The *lakitas* are double-row panpipes of (8+8) and (7+7). Basically, the second equal row of pipes serves only for resonance. The pipes of this row are cut off at an angle at the bottom, and thus sound softly as open pipes and an octave higher than the stopped melodic pipes. The individual

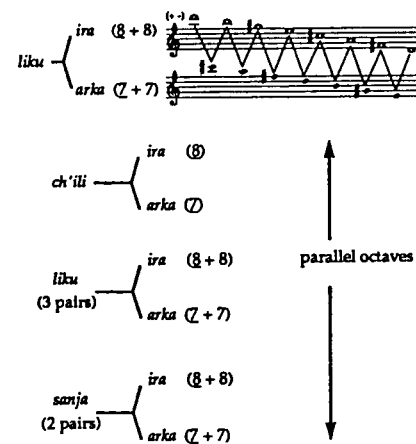
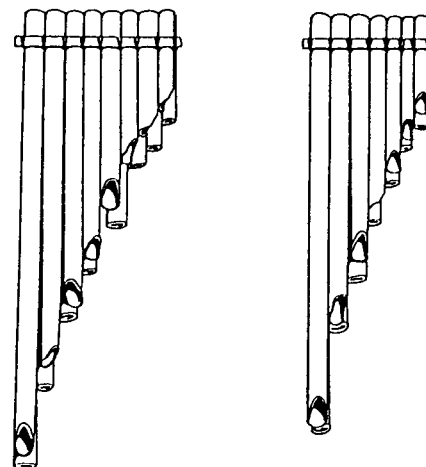


Fig. 9. Pair of double row lakita panpipes (ira: 8+8 and arka: 7+7), tuning and three octave registers (ch'ili, liku, sanja).

tones are divided between *arka* and *ira* in intervals of major and minor thirds (Figure 9). The pairs *ch'ili*, *liku* and *sanja* are tuned an octave apart and are played in the same *hocket* technique as the other panpipe ensembles, accompanied by four *wankara* drums.

According to informants, the stopped pipes are named in Quechua *tokanan* (playing the melody), *tapasqa* (stopped) or *qhari* (man). The open pipes have different names in different languages: in Aymara, *phalleja* (fork) or *q'asa* (notch/nick), in Quechua, *kacharisqa* or *china* (little women), and *compañía* in Spanish. Again, conceptualization in terms of a complementary pair of opposite parts is expressed through these terms.

The *lakitas* ("the chosen ones") are played during the dry season as is usually the case with most panpipes. The *lakita* dancers express the ritual purification and preparation of the land before the sowing begins, thereby entreating Pachamama to grant a good harvest. The musicians dance around the Mallkus and T'allas (male and female heads of the communities). Two pairs of women dancers dance around the musicians, spinning llama wool by hand into a ball of yarn with a small wheel (*k'apu/rueda*).

Mus. Ex. 2. Lakitas: musical transcription of the hocket technique of the middle register liku pair. (Llauro Llokolloko, Department of La Paz)

5.4 Sikuris: The Hocket Technique of the Sun Dancers

One can easily discern from the *sikuri* panpipes how the dualistic *arka-ira* principle similarly functions. The *sikuris*, also called *sikuras* or simply *sikus*, belong to the large type of double-row panpipes (Figure 10). The individual instruments have, as a rule, 17 stopped melodic pipes, which are bound together in raft form. A second row of open pipes of the same number and

Fig. 10. Sikura panpipe (*ira* or *arka* with the same tuning) and registers of *ch'ili*, *tarke* and *liku*.

lengths is bound in front of the first row. Although the pipes are “tuned” in diatonic intervals, the scale is not used in this quasi-major way; most of the tunes are pentatonically oriented. Among the *sikuris*, both counterparts of the *arka-ira* pair have the same tuning and construction, this in sharp contrast to the other panpipe ensembles.

The equal pairs play their melody in three different registers, that is, the *ch'ili* pair and the *liku* pair sound in parallel octaves, and between them the *tarke* pair plays a parallel fourth below *ch'ili*, what means at the same time a parallel fifth higher than the *liku* pair (Figure 10).

sikuris (likus)
4 cajas
pututu

pututu

dal segno

pututu

pututu

Mus. Ex. 3. Sikuris (wayño) from Chilca Grande (Tapacari, Department of Cochabamba): musical transcription of the liku pair and drums.

Ira and *arka* play not in a real hoquet-like technique, but rather in an alternating technique (Musical Example 3), so that *arka* always echoes the same note played by the leading *ira*.

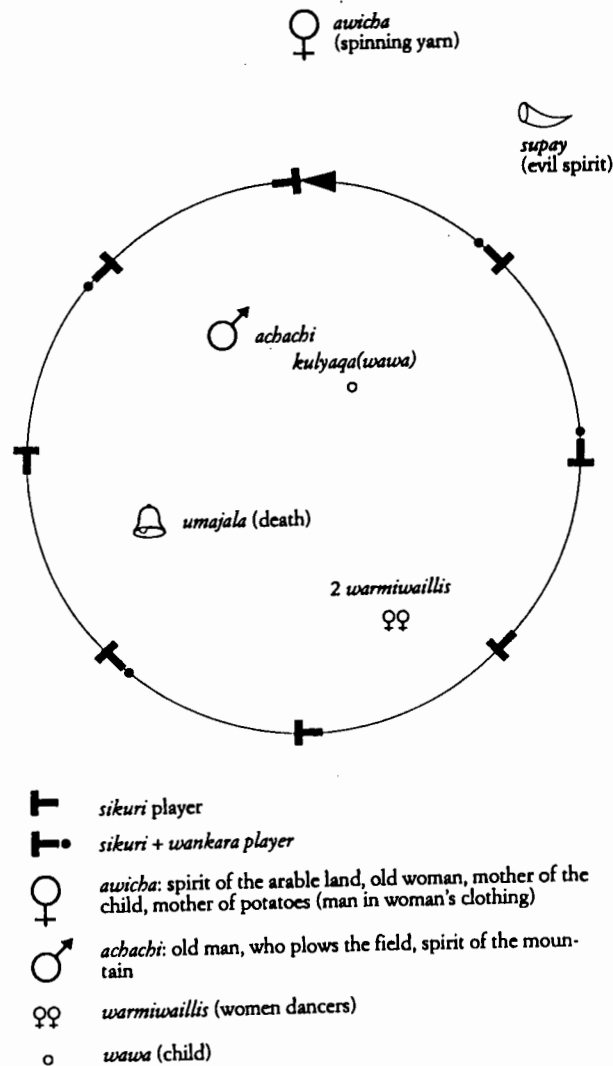


Fig. 11. Sikuris: dance circle with Achachi and Awicha (Tapacari).

The panpipe players, who accompany themselves with four *caja* drums, dance in a circle (Figure 11) around three dancers. These represent an old man *achachi* (*abuelo*), his small child (*kulyaqa/wawa de los abuelos*, child of the ancestors), and the *umajala* (lit., “naked head,” perhaps symbolizing death), who rings a llama bell (*campanilla*). Outside of the circle is an old woman, called *awicha* or *abuela*, who is the mother of the child and repre-

sents the spirit of the arable land. She is played by a man in woman's clothing, who spins yarn with a spindle and is pursued by an evil spirit (*supay*) wearing a “devil's” mask and carrying a cow horn (*pututu*). The *awicha* is anxious to prevent any mishap to the child and thus leads the evil spirit astray. Within the safe area of the *sikuri* circle, there are also two women dancers (*warmiwaillis*).

The Achachi adopts the symbolic role of the “old man” (ancestor) who plows the field, and the Awicha symbolizes his woman who sows; both are constantly surrounded by danger. Achachi represents the male spirit of the mountain, Awicha that of the female arable land. Awicha is at the same time the mother of the potatoes. In addition, some dancers dance next to the threatening death, the Umajala, wearing a stuffed female *vicuña* on their sombreros and also a (male) condor (*kuntur*). The dance re-actualizes in a symbolic way the past world of the ancestors and enforces at the same time the present through the commemorating of the fundamental forces. In binding together the past with the present through ritual, offering and symbolic performance, and in the re-enactment of the past through the present actualization, the future will be guaranteed.

Most circle dances of panpipe ensembles are related to the dry season of the agricultural calendar and represent the giving of thanks for the past harvest as well as a petition for the next season. They are directed to Pachamama (Wirjin) and Pachatata or to the female and male spirits of the ancestors (Awicha and Achachi).

6. Tinku: Festival of Encounter

The Bolivian Indians of Arampampa, a small village in the north of the Department of Potosí, celebrate the Feast of Mary's Ascension, the Fiesta de Mama Asunta (or Virgen de Asunción), each year on the 15th of August and during the following week¹⁰. Christian folk piety is syncretized with the traditional belief system of the Andean world to become a colorful religious cult which presents in its essentials the fundamental features of the Andean concept of symbolic dualism. This festival will be described here as a paradigm for panpipe playing in the context of ritual.

The Indians set out on a pilgrimage to this festival from the surrounding farming settlements and from the highlands, making trips of two or three days on foot to Arampampa. From all directions, from above (that is, from the altiplano, or *puna*) and from below (out of the valleys, or *valles*), the groups flow together and meet in the small village of Arampampa, which is normally home to about 500 people and, as a former Spanish settlement, contains a church. This church is for the rest of the year abandoned but receives the visit of a priest during the week of its protective patroness, the Virgen de Asunta. Once a year he reads masses and holds weddings and christenings.

The Indians announce themselves from the heights with blasts of dynamite and move into the village playing music. First the pack mules trot in, carrying on their backs the things most essential for survival and urged on by the oldest Indio, the *tata mayor*, followed by a dancing pair and finally by men playing the panpipes. The Indios come from four regions of the altiplano (*aransaya*) at different times with *julajula* panpipe ensembles (cf. Section 5.1). One after the other, four more groups reach Arampampa from four other villages in the valleys, nearby in the lower surrounding area (*urinsaya*), each leading a *siku* ensemble with it. It is always the same ritual. The *siku* ensembles play while walking around the church plaza (cf. Section 5.2.). The musicians dance around the plaza in a counterclockwise direction and from one corner to another, along with the women and men who follow them, dancing in stamping *huayño* steps. Each *siku* group brings along a large cross, the one a Tata Marcabi, another the Tata Sank'ani or Tata Quillakas, another a big stone upon which a cross is drawn. After the dancing around the church plaza, each individual group goes into the church, where the cross is placed next to the statue of the Virgen de Asunta. The upper point of the large wooden cross is (as the head) decorated with a sombrero or a helmet. Over the arms of each cross hangs a poncho that is bound to the cross with a lasso or a whip.

Clearly, the masculine insignia suggest here Pachatata as the father of agriculture (with sombrero and lasso) and Pachatata as father of war (with *tinku* leather helmet and whip) (Figure 12). In a symbolic as well as a real sense, the Tata Kruz and Mama Asunta are brought together at the Feast of Encounter. The fundamental principles remain Pachamama and Pachatata (or

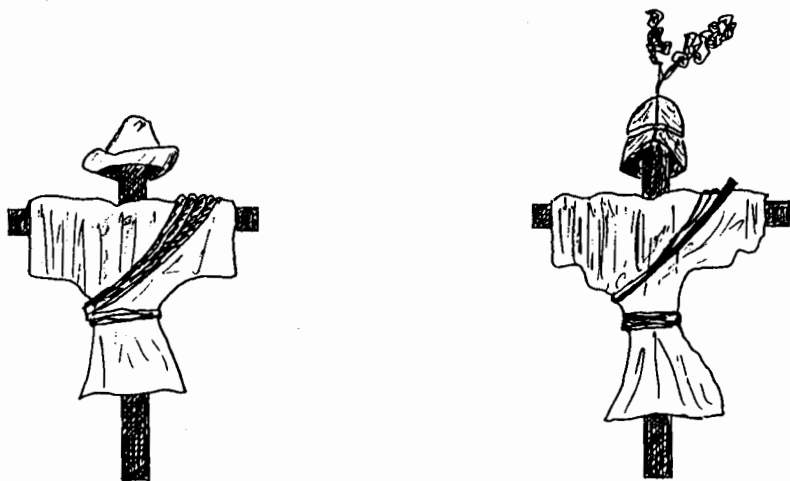
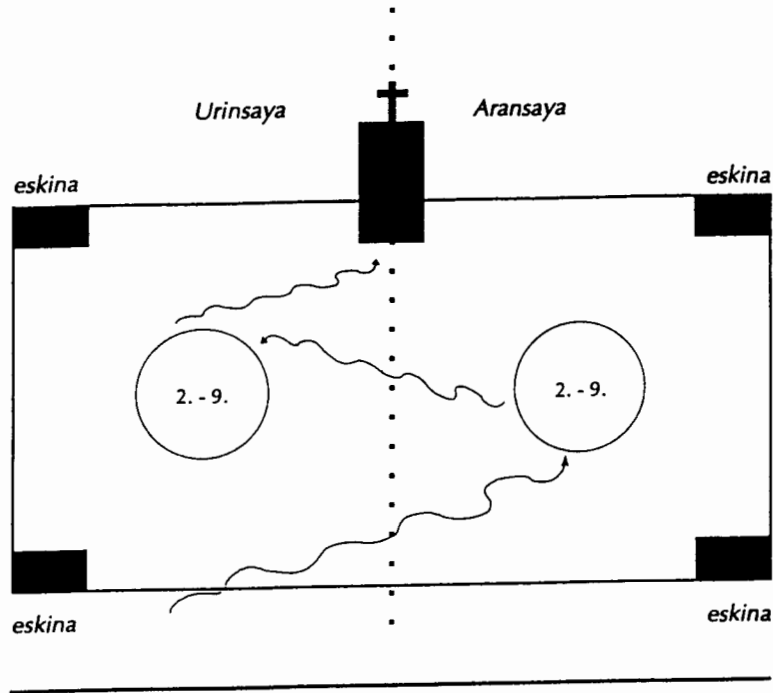


Fig. 12. Tata Marcabi (with sombrero) and Tata Sank'ani with montera (helmet).

Mallku or Apu), though also mixed in part with Christian elements. One meets at a central place of action, coming from every direction. Here, in the center of above and below, in exchange between the *ayllus*, between village and land, between social and ritual encounter, the new power is obtained in thanks for the past and to solicit for the future. This can only succeed if the polar forces come together and interact. In this "time outside of time," Arampampa becomes symbolic, on a small scale, for the navel of the world, just as Cuzco was once on a large scale the center of the Inca empire (*tawantinsuyu*). Here as well, the state of everything being bound together is reflected, in the large as well as in the small, and vice versa.

Upon their arrival in Arampampa, the Indios coming from *aransaya* (above) and the *julajula* players walk to the church plaza in their own manner. In a serpentine, zig-zag movement (*linku linku rayku*), the musicians march one after the other onto the plaza (Plaza T'alla, *t'alla* meaning "woman") and take possession of it through their dance. To the sounds of the "wild dance" (*chúkaru-baile*), they dance with stamping steps first to the "upper half" (also *aransaya*) of the plaza. The serpentine formations of the dancers then change into a circle dance, which begins in a counterclockwise direction. Women dance along, next to the *julajula machus*, making their colorful flags (*whipalás*) flap in figure-eight patterns. The circle of panpipe players, dancing one after the other, closes and revolves several times. Then the oldest *ira* panpipe player (with the *julajula machu*) begins an about face, leading the players outward and in a clockwise direction. The circle moves in this new direction. After a while, everyone comes to a halt and directs their eyes to the middle of the circle, where the group leader, the Tata Mayor, stands. He holds a whip in his hand and keeps an eye on all musicians and dancers, ensuring that everyone keeps in line. After halting, the musicians continue to play until all panpipe players, starting again from the beginning, dance one after the other in counterclockwise direction. This is repeated once more, this time with the oldest *arka* player (*julajula machu*) leading the change in direction. He breaks the circle so that he, as the second leader of the line, leads the circle once more in a clockwise direction, but towards the inside of the previous circle. This is followed as earlier with the dancers coming to a halt, concentrating on the middle of the circle, and then continuing to dance one after the other in counterclockwise direction. From then, the circle changes again into a winding movement, which brings the musicians diagonally across to the other half of the plaza (*urinsaya*), where everything is repeated symmetrically (Figure 13). At the end the players move towards the church tower (*Torre Mallku*) in a line formation. The musicians kneel in front of the entrance to the church, playing a gentle panpipe melody (*a copla* or *plegaria*), in order to appeal to Mama Asunta or Pachamama for forgiveness for the upcoming highpoint of the festival, the bloody *tinku* fight. At the *tinku* all groups, from the *ayllus* from above to the *ayllus* from below, will fight each other with all their strength.












1.  Serpentine line dance, one column (*linku linku rayku*)
2.  Circle dance in counterclockwise direction (*ira* direction)
3.  Circle dance that opens to the outside (*arka* movement)
4.  Circle dance in clockwise direction (*arka* direction)
5.  Standing still while looking towards center
6.  Circle dance in counterclockwise direction (*ira* direction)
7.  Circle dance that opens to the inside (*arka* movement)
8.  Circle dance in clockwise direction (*arka* direction)
9.  Standing still while looking towards center

Fig. 13. Julajula dance procedure—"wild dance" (*chúkaru-baile*).

The dances are repeated in this manner over several days. Individual masses and processions are also held. The groups are given accommodations by acquaintances living in the surrounding area (*amistad*). Each group defrays the cost of their room and board with a sponsoring *pasante*, *preste* or *alférez* and ensures that a procession is carried out in connection with the read mass. After a first stop close to the front of the church (as the central point of the four directions), the procession moves to the first corner of the plaza in counterclockwise direction, amidst the sound of panpipes. At this corner, as well as the other three following corners (*eskinas*), a simple or sometimes decorated offering table is set up as an altar (*altar*). The statue of Mary and the wooden cross that has been brought along are each set down here for a short stop. The priest says a prayer, noisemakers are set off and the music begins again, setting off the continuation of the procession, until the next corner is reached.

During the night from the 18th to the 19th of August a *cabildo* (*kawildo*), or gathering, is held at the nightly fire. Fires are set on each half of the church plaza, diagonally across each other. The various groups of *aransaya* and *urinsaya* each gather around a fire to music, conversation, dance and the drinking of corn beer. Offerings of smoke and drink are made in honor of Pachamama, to Mallkus and to the saints of the four directions. The first (Christian) high point takes place on the *octava*, that is the eighth day after Mary's ascension. This begins with a mass held with all groups and a procession afterwards. The *julajula* ensembles and the *siku* ensembles form the processional music. The *julajulas* play the *tonada* of their "wild dance," the *sikus* play their *wayñu*. In the heat of competition, they try to outdo each other musically. This time the statues of the Virgen de Asunta and San Isidro are brought out of the church. Isador is the saint of the peasants and is represented with an oxen yoke and plow. At each altar in the four corners, a halt is called with the tower bell in order to present a smoke offering (*q'oa*). On top of the small corner altars, which are decorated with wooden arches, grains, corn, bean seeds, and perhaps even a chicken. What might be interpreted as a thanksgiving offering in terms of Christianity is for the *campesino* an offering to Mamita Asunta and Tata Isidro (or sometimes to Pachamama and Tata Kruz), praying for a successful harvest. The life-giving pair is honored in a symbolic way. This is also the time when several pairs celebrate their marriage.

The second (ritual-traditional) high point of the festival begins directly following the general procession. The *tinku*—the free-for-all—begins, setting up opposing parties in a battle against each other. This is a fight between the different *ayllus* (village societies), or *sayas*. In the confrontation of groups, peasants wearing leather helmets and armor attack each other, hitting and pushing each other with metal knuckle rings and leather gloves (*ñuk'us*), tugging and pushing with hands and feet until blood begins to flow, spurred on by the previous music of the *chúkaru-baile*, encouraged by alcoholic drink

and driven by the shrieking cries of the women. When not kept under control by lookouts, the battles can claim a high toll in blood, sometimes even in dead. It is said that a *tinku* without a death brings an unfortunate year (Baumann 1982a:2f.). It appears that an old blood offering lies at the basis of this annual custom. In addition to its relation to the ideas of initiation and fertility from the time of the Incas, the *tinku* also consolidates the political structure and strengthens the rights of one *saya* in relation to the others and in relation to land and kinship ties¹¹. *Tinku* signals the territorial boundaries as well as the boundaries of power that are formed between two groups belonging together. The *tinku* simultaneously divides and binds both halves, setting free energy and creating also a balance in the changing relationship. The word *tinku* derives from the verb *tinkuy*, which means “to pair,” “to create balance,” “to accommodate two equal halves which are set up opposite each other,” “the dynamic bringing together of masculine and feminine principles” (van Kessel 1982:286; Randall 1982:54). *Tinku* is the place in space and time where two opposite powers meet, where two concepts exist or mix with each other (Harrison 1989:103). It is the place and time of transition, where the *ira* and *arka* principles set free their power in dynamic interplay, whether this is in a binding (productive) or in a separative (destructive) sense. The goal of these efforts is dynamic balance, the creative collaboration of balanced opposites. The ritualization of dual forms on all levels of thinking and acting produces the symmetrical match in *yanantin*, in the experienceable identification of two elements as parts of the whole (Platt 1976:27), or as the *campesinos* say: “Even the worm in the earth has his *yana*, and even a thread consists of two strands...” (Müller & Müller 1984:164).

The actual meeting reproduces the symbolic dualism of the female and male principle in the following levels and ways:

- (1) in space—moities: *aransaya/urinasaya* (four directions: two by two; dance figures on both sides of the *plaza*),
- (2) in time—during the dry season: the melody is related to a particular fiesta
- (3) in the transcendental world: Pachamama/Pachatata; Santísima/Santísimo; Mama Asunta/Tata Kruz (musical ritual as appeal for fertility)
- (4) in the human world: the men (*qbari*) are the musicians, the women (*warmi*) are the dancers with the flags (*whipalás*); panpipe players (*arka/ira*)
- (5) in nature: bamboo instruments (wind/dryness); wooden instruments (rainy season),
- (6) in the order of social hierarchy: *ira/arka*: *machu, mali, liku, tijli, ch'ili*, and
- (7) in the musical form: AA and BB and the combination of A and B in the reproduction (*tinku/encuentro* in C)

7. Panpipe Representations in Pre-Columbian Times

Ethnohistoric data, such as that provided by early Spanish chroniclers, can enable us to better understand actual field research data, and vice versa. Thus, with the knowledge of contemporary ethnographic data, the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) concerning panpipes can certainly be interpreted as one of the earliest descriptions of the hocket techniques described above:

De Música alcanzaron algunas consecuencias [consonancias?], las cuales tenían los indios Collas, o de su distrito, en unos instrumentos hechos de cañutos de caña, cuatro o cinco cañutos atados a la par; cada cañuto tenía un punto más alto que el otro, a manera de órganos. Estos cañutos atados eran cuatro, diferentes unos de otros. Uno de ellos andaba en puntos bajos y otro en más altos y otro en más y más, como las cuatro voces naturales: tiple, tenor, contralto y contrabajo. Cuando un indio tocaba un cañuto, respondía el otro en consonancia de quinta o de otra cualquiera, y luego el otro en otra consonancia y el otro en otra, unas veces subiendo a los puntos altos y otras bajando a los bajos siempre en compás. No supieron echar glosa con puntos disminuidos; todas eran enteros de un compás (Garcilaso [1609] 1976:113).

[Each instrument consisted of]...four or five double pipes of cane. These were bound together so that the pitch of each pipe would successively rise a degree above its neighbor, after the manner of organs...Their way of playing was this. One member of the quartet would start by blowing a note. Then another player would blow a pipe sounding at the distance of a fifth or any other desired consonance above or below the first note. Next, still another player would blow his note, again at any desired consonantal distance. Finally, the fourth played his note. By keeping up this sort of thing they ranged from lowest to highest notes at will, but always in strict time. They did not know how to vary their melodies with small-value notes but always stuck with whole notes (Garcilaso 1609: fols 52v-53 recte, 51v-52; translated in Stevenson 1968:277).

In addition, we find early representations of playing in pairs in figurines or relief paintings on vessels and in drawings on ceramic pieces. Interestingly, numerous archeological findings, vessels, relief representations and illustrations from the pre-Inca times already show this symbolic dualism, such as objects from the Chavin and Moche cultures, among others (Kutscher 1950:31; d'Harcourt & d'Harcourt 1925:98). Paired panpipes made of ceramic have also been found by archeologists in Nazca. The probability that they were played according to the hocket principle of *ira-arka* is shown in the fact that panpipes are also represented in pairs on ceramic vessels and illustrations. Often the *ira* and *arka* instruments are even tied together with a string. The practice of tying two instruments together with string seems to have been usual up to recent times (Vargas 1928 I:8; Valencia Chacon 1989:33, 35). The following illustrations (Figures 14–17) have been selected to show how the *ira-arka* principle was in all likelihood quite widespread in relation to Andean panpipe playing and to all appearances is older than the Inca tradition.

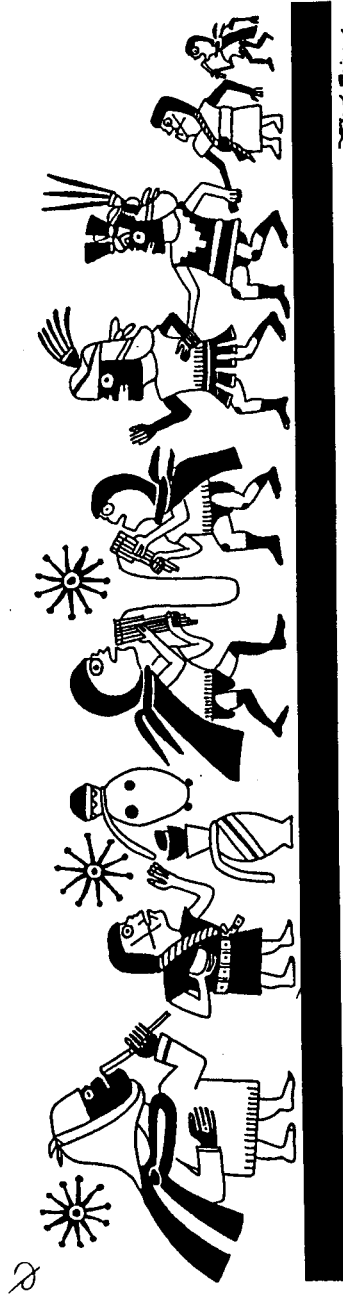


Fig. 14. Festival of the Spirits of the Dead. In the center are two musicians, each with a siku instrument (ira with 7, arka with 6 stopped pipes). Mochica 0-800. From Kutscher 1950:31.



Fig. 15. Musicians with panpipe pairs (ira 5; arka 5) and ceramic trumpet (pututu). From Kutscher 1950:30.



Fig. 16. Ceramic vessel with two panpipe players (arka: 6 and ira: 7). Moche culture, northern Peru, 400-600 A.D., Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Abtl. Altamerikanische Archäologie, VA 17 625 (Photo: Waltraut Schneider-Schütz).



Fig. 17. Panpipe players. Relief picture on a vessel from Moche Art, Northern Peru, 400–600 A.D. Clay/Ceramic. Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Abtlg. Altamerikanische Archäologie VA 17 881, Berlin (Photo: Waltraut Schneider-Schütz)

Based on this general information, we can set up the following hypotheses concerning pre-colonial panpipe ensembles:

- (1) Panpipes of clay and bamboo have been well known since pre-Inca times.
- (2) They have played an important role in ritual life and were often buried with mummies or associated with ancestors, skeletons and death.
- (3) Double-row panpipes made of bamboo are also pre-colonial.
- (4) Early artistic representations of panpipe players in pairs, as well as the discovery of early paired instruments, suggest the use of the hocket technique.
- (5) Individual panpipe instruments had from two to twelve pipes, with odd- or even-numbered pairs of pipes or compound pairs of odd and even numbered pipes.
- (6) Playing in octaves and parallel fifths was already known in pre-Inca times.

8. Symbolic Dualism, Complementarity and Cosmivision

The concept of the *arka-ira* principle fits into the anthropomorphic world view of pre-colonial Andean cultures, based on the concept of dualism and quartipartition. According to this cosmology, everything consists of two complementary parts, with the human body used as a metaphor. The right and left sides are associated respectively with the male and female principles. These are divided again into two different and opposite moieties: the head above is associated with birth, the feet below are associated with death. Everything in existence has an element of life and an element of death that interlock with one another; the proportion of one element to the other changes in the course of living. "In the Andes almost everything is understood in juxtaposition to its opposite" (Duviols 1974) or, as Bastien (1978:104) states:

Lineages, for example, are distinguished between the man's and the woman's kin group; siblings are classified into youngest and oldest; and communities have upper and lower sections. Ritualists always serve two plates to each earth shrine. For example, if a shrine is male, then a plate is also set for its female companion. Shrines are usually served in pairs, such as young and old, mountain and lake, and helper and owner. Ritual teaches Andeans the complementarity between contrasting pairs...

Bastien's investigation further describes how the macrocosm of the Andean mountains is symbolically reflected in the microcosm of the human body and vice versa. This symbolic dualism is also a metaphorical expression for the local society, the individual and the life cycle, i.e., all being is marked by the interchanging powers of symbolic dualism.

The dualistic principle is related to men and women, to society, to nature, animal and plants in this human world (*kay pacha*), to the transcendent dimension above (*janan pacha*), as well as to the interior world below (*ukhu pacha* or *ura parti*; cf. Platt 1976:23). In the middle dimension where human beings exist, music and musical instruments have their determined function, as both a part and a manifestation of this cosmological order. The symbolic duality of *arka* and *ira* reflects an overall underlying structure which expresses the unity of its opposite poles.

In addition, the principle of double dualism of time and space is also related to the hierarchical order of the life cycle. The principle of complement and opposition, uniting and dividing the halves at the same instant, offers a four-fold asymmetrical equilibrium. As in a year, with its dry and rainy seasons, each part has its growing and dying half.

In general, the male authority is occupied with organization, the female authority with production. Both elements together provide the security for reproduction in time and space, in the natural and the social order, and in the music itself. During festivals, the bringing together of opposite elements is always the fundamental part of the ritual, which functions as the intermediation between the *ira* and *arka* opposites.

To sum up, the uniting concept of *ira* and *arka* is based upon a symbolic dualism and its further division into quarters. Everything is tightly bound up with the anthropomorphic world view of the Andean cultures. According to this cosmology, everything that exists develops out of its two complementary opposites. Everything is originally rooted in a physical metaphor of the individual, of the pair and of the interrelationships that are themselves derived, in pairs, from the original pair. The feminine and masculine elements are each opposite power poles complementing each other and belonging together like death and life. All that exists shows both characteristics as aspects of a unit that belongs together. The acts of becoming and persisting in continuity define themselves through energetic tension and in the creative interchange of two basic polar energies. The proportion of one in relation to the other changes in the course of existence. "In the Andes one can understand almost everything as the collaboration of its opposites" (Duviols 1974). In addition, Bastien's research describes how the macrocosm of the Andean mountain chain is reflected symbolically in the microcosm of the human body, and vice versa. Symbolic dualism is a metaphorical way of thinking that interprets the reality of the individual, of the society, of the life cycles, of the entire universe on the basis of two opposite powers which nonetheless belong together.

[In the Andes and elsewhere]...ethnographers should look deeper than the empirical realities of behavior and kinship; they should include the symbolic patterns by which people understand themselves and their society. It is by becoming engaged with Andeans in their way of life that one can see beneath their surface violence to the symbolic system of the 'real life.' The Andean symbolic system is not the explanatory model of the anthropologist but the people's own metaphors of society. It is an analogous process by which a people understand themselves in terms of their land. Furthermore, violence is merely a symbol of tension within the metaphor, when the people and their land are not analogous. Ritual provides the occasion when people and land look together at each other (Bastien 1978:197).

In Huayñopasto Grande, in what is today the department of Oruro, the Indios play the *sikuris* panpipes during the dry season. These are double-row panpipes, each with 17 stopped and 17 open pipes (17+17). Although the masculine and feminine instruments are identical, they are described as *ira* and *arka* and are also played using the hocket technique. In my presence, the musicians once laid out the instruments on the ground in the form of a human being after they finished playing. The meaning of the pair as the embodiment of the individual, referring to the entire body of the ensemble, is illustrated here in a convincing way, just as the sum of the parts always is related to the whole of reality (Figure 18).

The physical metaphor of the *sikuri* instruments makes it clear how everything can be understood as an expression of halves that belong together. The upper part of the body and the lower part of the body—including the center of the heart (*sonqo*)—frame the middle of the being. The heart, as the seat of



Fig. 18. Sikuri panpipe ensemble in the form of a body, laid out by Indios from Cantón Sepulturas, Province Cercado de Huayñopasto Grande, Department of Oruro (Bolivia): 13 sikuris (each 17+17), made up of 10 liku and 3 tarka instruments, in addition to 1 cowhorn (pututu) and 7 drumsticks (wajtanás) of the 7 great drums (wankaras), to which they belong.

life and blood, is surrounded by the two times two *sikuri* pairs, which 1) in horizontal separation shows the male heaven as arches above and the female earth as arches below and 2) in vertical separation, marks the two halves of (male) right side and of (female) left side (*cuatropartición*). At the same time, the number four symbolizes the four directions of the wind. Analogous to the four directions of the old Inca empire (*tawantinsuyu*), the metaphorical unity is represented, which here means the heart as center, Cuzco, once "the navel of the world." The right side of the *sikuri*'s physical representation is additionally marked through the blue color of the drumsticks as the heavenly light, in contrast to the dark, red color of the left side (earth). The horizontally laid drumstick symbolizes the (female) breast and stands in opposition to the (male) sex organ of the *pututu* horns. The whole entity can also be understood in this sense as a ("paired") human being, which means in a metaphorical sense the godlike principle of Wiraqucha, as it is represented in its original form as the double aspect of *ira* and *arka*.

According to Rodolfo Kusch (1986:34), Wiraqucha is that first principle which convincingly conveys the creation. With reference to the hymn of Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui, Kusch interprets the creation principle of Wiraqucha as a holy source which came from the mountains (*wilka ulka apu*). Kusch explains the combined concept of *orcaraca*, with which Yamqui paraphrases the creation principle, as *urqo rhaka* or *ulla rakba*, as phallus-vulva, which is expressed in an analogous way to the “linga-yoni” principle of tantrism. Jorge Miranda-Luizaga (1985:198, 210) interprets Wiraqucha (or Pachakhamak) as symbolically close to the Chinese yin and yang, as an inner relationship of two polar, basic powers, or as “the single light with the power impulse of duality”¹². Wiraqucha or Pachacamac were represented pictorially by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui through the Unachan symbol (Figure 19), a cosmic-oval egg topped by a cross of stars.

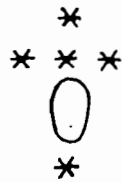


Fig. 19. Dual Wiraqucha symbol (oval and cross): *Unachan* (from *unachay*: to decide, to foresee, to foretell the future, to proclaim prophetically). From Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (around 1613).¹³

The dual principle can be found in a similar concept in the ruined city of Machu Picchu, where the Mallku as “condor and master of the mountains” fertilizes the opened egg of Pachamama (Figure 20).



Fig. 20. Mallku/Pachamama: sacred sacrificial stone in Machu Picchu.

When one surveys the visual bases of symbolic dualism as the structure of “Andean” thinking in reference to the Fiesta de Mama Asunta and to the other facts mentioned, the principle of *ira* and *arka* can be summarized on all levels of reality as a model with the following connotations:

ira principle (the leader)

- right side, front
- sun (*inti*), dry season
- east, light, day
- mountains, cold regions (*chirirana*), above
- (*aransaya*), land of man (*jatun ayllu*)
- counterclockwise direction
- birth of the sun, upwards direction, awakening
- organization, cleansing
- plowing
- to begin, dominant, leading
- larger, male
- *qhari*, Pachatata, Tata Krus
- Santísimo, Achachi
- condor, Mallku, Torre Mallku
- corn
- bamboo, panpipe (*siku*), notched flute (*kena*)
- circle dance that opens outward

arka principle (the follower)

- left side, back
- moon (*killa*), rainy season
- west, darkness, night
- plains, valleys, moderate region (*patarana*), below
- (*urinsaya*), land of woman (*masi ayllu*)
- clockwise direction
- death of the sun, downwards direction, dying
- production, planting
- sowing
- to follow, subdominant, to end
- smaller, female
- *warmi*, Pachamama, Wirjin
- Santísima, Awicha
- puma, Plaza T’alla
- potatoes
- wood, duct flutes (*pinkillo*, *tarka*)
- circle dance that opens inward

In addition, all aspects of complementariness can be interpreted in terms of their interplay with each other. They refer to space and time as well as to the hierarchical order of the whole cosmos, to nature and to humans and their society. In general, the male principle is concerned with organization, the female with production. But only when both elements are integrated, when they balance each other in a cooperative exchange, is a constant reproduction through space and time ensured. In the cycle of the year, in the cycles of life, in the course of tradition, in ritual and in music, in the small as well as the large, creation is repeated continuously as a space-time construction: as the creative interplay and continuous coming together of complementary opposites, i.e., the *tinku* of *ira* and *arka*.¹⁴

Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui showed around 1613 this dual form from his cosmological view of the Inca interpretation of the world. One can read the dual basic structure from the illustrations with which he illustrated the inner rooms of the sun temple of Cuzco, Qorikancha (Figure 21). According to the

reports of the chroniclers, a giant golden and oval "sun" was supposed to have stood in the westernmost corner of the temple, decorated with emeralds and other precious stones. On the ceiling of the temple, sparkling crystals symbolized the firmament with its most important stars. In the morning the rising sun was reflected in the oval "sun," during the night, the bright light of the moon.

The illustration represents the complementary One-Being in Wiraqucha's great golden oval of dynamic balance. Wiraqucha subsumes the wholeness of all complementary opposites and the unification of all time and space polarities. Wiraqucha represents the absolute dynamic balance between above and below, right and left, between outside and inside, male and female, between light and darkness, time and space, spirit and material. Everything emanates

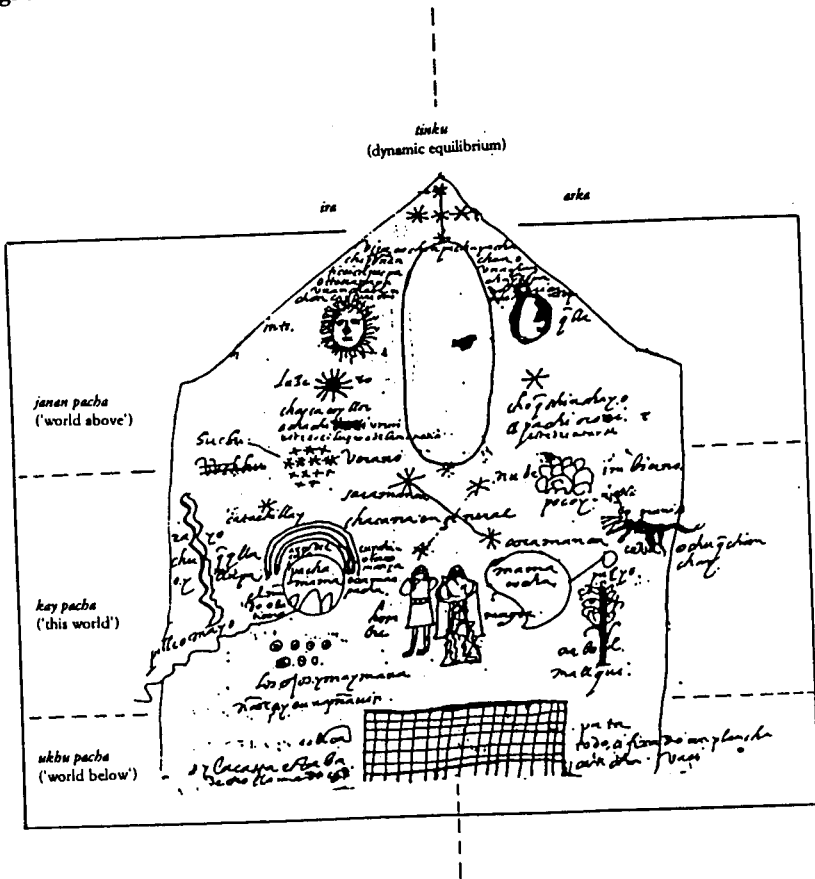


Fig. 21. Cosmological concept in the temple of Coricancha (Cuzco) according to Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (about 1613). Cf. Urton (1981:203).

from the totality of this dynamic basic principle (*tinku*), and everthing divides itself (*pallqa*) in its dual form of masculine *ira* principle and feminine *arka* principle (cp. Earls & Silverblatt 1976:312). *Ira* and *arka* are parts of a system that cannot be comprehended if one only describes its individual parts. In the interaction of both energy poles, something new is created on the next lower order and this strenghtens at the same time the double aspect of reality in its higher order (Figure 22).

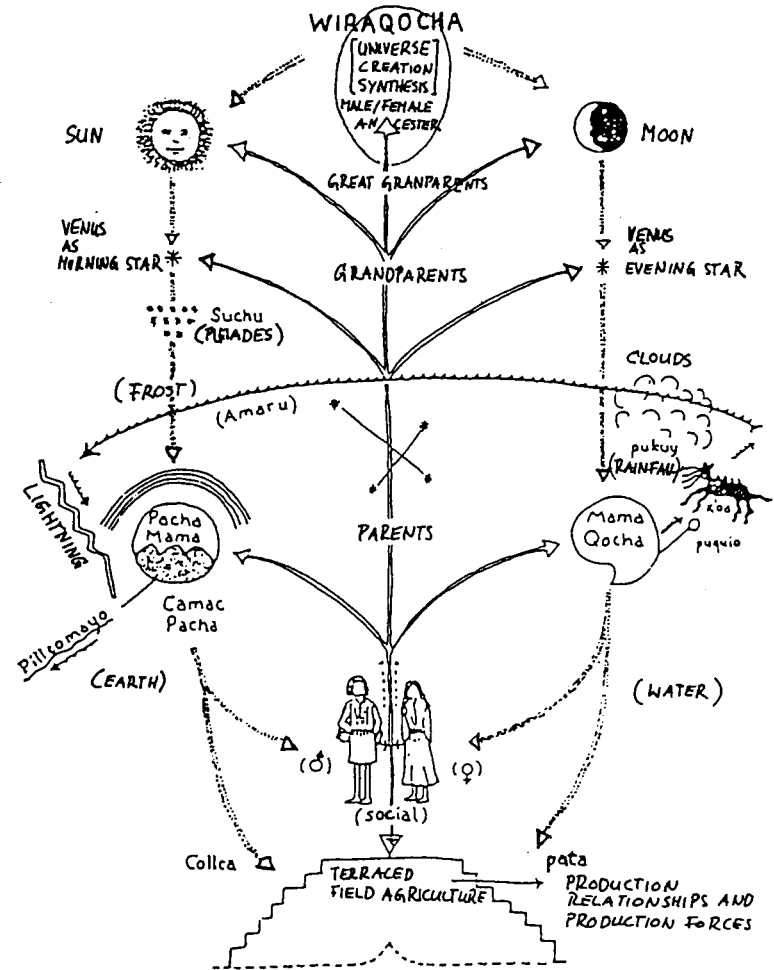


Fig. 22. Circulation of ita-arka energies in the universe according to Pachacuti Yamqui (cf. Figure 21). Stylized interpretation according to Earls and Silverblatt (1978:320, Figure 7).

Wiraqucha brings forth as the first heavenly double aspect the sun and the moon: the anthropomorphic great-grandparents (*bis-abuelos*) of humanity. They produce in their interaction on the next lower order their two children, the pair of sisters as morning and evening stars, that is, the grandparents (*abuelos*) of humanity. Together with the stars that in turn sprout out from them, they metaphorically describe the “world above,” which is set off from the “world below” and remains symbolically divided through the snake *amaru*, which is both dividing and connecting. This snake is the between-region of fulguration, which puts the heavens in touch with the earth and which creates a creative exchange of opposite energies through the means of rain and rainbows, frost and fog, lightning and hail.

On the “world below,” earth (*kamaq pacha*) and water (*mama qocha*) are distinguished from each other as polar fundamental elements. The earth as a whole divides itself again into its double aspects of masculine mountains (*kamaq pacha*) and feminine plains (*pacha mama*), as the water as an entirety is divided into the feminine elements of the seas and oceans (*qocha*) and the masculine rivers (*mayu*).

The world of humankind is the edge of all of these, between above and below, between heaven and earth, between left and right, between sun and moon, between earthly ground and water. Humanity symbolizes the dynamic balance of social order under the heavens on the one hand and over the agricultural planting terraces (*pata*) and the laid out corn storage areas (*qollqa*) on the other. At the dynamic crossing point of both diagonals—represented in the quadrants of the *tinku* cross of the South—lives the (first) human pair (*padres*) in the middle of “this world.” It forms the approachable middle point of all polar opposites and is exposed to all complementary interaction. The human being is all and one, a product of time and space, he/she is the microcosmos which reflects itself in the macrocosmos, he/she is the part and the whole at the same time. He is *ira* and she is *arka* and as metaphoric whole, they are more than only the sum of their parts, since everything that is, is Wiraqucha, and Wiraqucha is man and woman...

9. Some Methodological Considerations: Synchronic, Diachronic, and Comparative Approaches

Ethnographic data are often incomplete and reflect more the fragmentary nature of research material and the pointillistic emic view of a few informants than the ideal cosmological structure of a complex traditional pattern. This is true especially for the Andes, where the acculturation processes have a long history and pre-colonial concepts are hidden by re-interpretation and syncretism related to the colonial impact. The general dualistic concept of anthropomorphic *arka* and *ira* was often blended with the Christian male/female concept of Christ and the Virgin Mary.

In contrast to this, the triadic social organization of the Inca empire (priests, warriors and farmers, equalling knowledge, power and fertility) came to an end, which meant the disappearance of the sacerdotal and martial classes. But agricultural life has continued and still expresses in some ways the pre-colonial world view of the Andean peoples. As a result of the acculturation between the pre-Columbian traditions and the Christian belief system in particular areas, the cultural self-understanding of many informants might often be partial and fragmentary, in the usual explanation: “*así es costumbre!*” In addition, it seems that—as in other dualistic societies—the individual, as well as a particular group, usually has knowledge of only one moiety (Ortiz 1969:xvi).

Thus a full cosmological view becomes the result of an etic reconstruction of a synchronic concept (cf. Baumann 1990, 1993). In interpreting the ethnographic data, complemented by the ethnohistorical and archeological facts, the construct of a native cosmovision finally emerges. The actual ethnographic data highlights the past discrepancies and even misunderstandings with respect to the two competing sets of cultural concepts, that is, between the native and the Spanish views. The comparison of synchronic and diachronic, of structural and functional methodological approaches leads to an understanding of a holistic view that takes into account both cultural components and both methodological approaches by transcending their individual points of view.

A synchronic approach to the ethnographic data leads to an understanding of the emic conceptual view of the actual musical behavior. These emic concepts can be interpreted in the cosmological context of an “ideal” and “timeless” structure, that is in the interpretation context of present mythology and theory of anthropomorphic dualism. Bringing together the ethnographic and cosmological data, preliminary understanding becomes a symbolic interpretation on a synchronic level. Abbreviated, it can be called **synchronic reconstruction**. This ideal synchronic reconstruction is an etic jigsaw puzzle primarily based on emic data.

The second step is the diachronic approach. Archeological and ethnohistorical approaches add a historic dimension to symbolic interpretation. The ethnohistorical and archeological data together shape an historical understanding through a hermeneutic view. Bringing together ethnohistorical and archeological data, the second preliminary understanding becomes a historical interpretation on the diachronic level. Abbreviated, this can be called **diachronic reconstruction**. This “ideal” diachronic reconstruction is again an etic jigsaw puzzle but this time based on predominantly etic data of cultural and social changes.

Synchronic and diachronic reconstruction together form then the next step: the analysis and interpretation of the differences within on-going syncretism or transculturation using the comparative method.

Through the comparison of symbolic and historical reconstruction, the comparative approach shapes the hermeneutic key vital for understanding the present cultural system as syncretism. Comparison reveals structural, cultural and sociological parallels between different cultural systems (e.g., the worship of Pachamama/Virgin Mary). Based on the “double interpretation” of the same phenomenon, in the comparison of “ideal” synchronic and diachronic reconstructions, the differences and discrepancies perceived in ethnographic data become intelligible as an expression of culture in crisis or transition¹⁵.

Within the framework of a dialogue between cultures it may be added that symbolic dualism, the concept of complementariness itself, has to become a part of methodological considerations. Understanding is the creative interplay of polar oppositions, reconstructions and interpretations, of understanding and of misunderstanding. By the acceptance of the “double interpretations” that complement each other, the “other part” becomes already in the premises the relevant part of oneself. The flexibility of so-called “Andean thinking” and structure of behavior and understanding seems to be rooted in the fact that the “other,” the “alien” that comes as a contrast from the outside, can principally be understood as complementary to the “own” and “known.” This contrasts to Christian-oriented thinking which—according to its claim for truth—is bound to exclusivity. If the Andean world concept principally is dual and interprets polar oppositions and truths as two complementary parts of the all-encompassing whole, Christian-Cartesian thinking, with its rigid approach and claims for unique truth, then seems still to be predominantly excluding and monistic (Baumann 1994a:274).

Notes

- 1 This paper is an expanded version of the article “*Das ira-arka-Prinzip im symbolischen Dualismus andinen Denkens*” (Baumann [ed.] 1994). The basic concept introduced here goes back to a paper given at the Conference of the Mid-Atlantic Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology (MACSEM) from 11–13 April 1986 at Pittsburgh, with the title: “Hocket Technique in Bolivian Panpipe Ensembles” as well as to an unpublished manuscript prepared for the *Universe of Music: A History* (finished 1989). The ethnomusicological data predominantly refer to field research carried out in several phases from 1977 to 1991 in Bolivia.
- 2 Based on mythical narratives, Wiraqucha and Pachakamaq are understood in certain interpretations as a complementary pair of creation, from which emerged the gender unification of Pachamama as daughter (cf. Rocha 1990:73). Wiraqucha designates in general, however, “the highest creation principle,” which, according to some authors, is a composite of *pachakamaq*, the first basis of creation (“the principle governing the cosmos”) and *pachayachachiq*, the second basis of creation (“the principle instructing the cosmos”). The concept *pacha*, when broadened to include the infinitives *kamaq* (to order, to command, to govern), or *yachay* (to know, recognize, learn), could mean in this connection the masculine-feminine first aspect of implicit order of an all-penetrant creation energy, which would be settled on the other side of time and space.
- 3 The three-part division into heaven (*banan pacha*), earth (*kay pacha*) and hell (*ukhu pacha*) reflects already, according to Izko (1985:74) and Rocha (1990:106) the Christian world view. It seems that the older two-part division of *pacha de arriba* and *pacha de abajo* presented the basis of the pre-Hispanic cosmivision. The reality of humanity constituted itself in the implicit order within the margin of tension between the two basically different opposites. In the Christian interpretation, the “world below” became the Underworld (*ukhu pacha*), where the degraded gods of the inner earth (*supaykunas*) settled with the

(Christian) devil. According to Andean concepts, all “spirits” or “numinosa” could embody both good as well as bad aspects. Decisive is the balance of the respective double characters. Because of the deeply rooted belief in Pachamama and the syncretic closeness to the Maria cult resulting from that belief, the concept of Pachamama could be maintained in the Christian view. Due to the close tie between Maria and Pachamama, it became impossible for the priests themselves to damn the Mother Earth to the realm of “hell.” Many authors therefore puzzle over the strange ambivalence as to whether Pachamama should be categorized as belonging to *ukhu pacha* or *kay pacha*, a question which is often left unexplained.

- 4 Cf. Platt 1976:23; Llanque Chana 1990:88–90; Thola 1992.
- 5 Cf. Platt 1976:Fig. 16, 17; compare Ansión 1987:143.
- 6 *Ira* is always that instrument that begins. In Quecha-speaking areas it is as a rule that member of the panpipe pair that displays one pipe more (Baumann 1982a:6ff.). In the Aymara region this seems to be more often the exact opposite.
- 7 *Tinku* designates the powerful coming together of two sides or partners that are oppositional but still connected with each other. It contains the carnival games that resemble the fighting sports of ritual whip lashing (*uaja tinku*) or slinging of whips (*uaraq'a tinku*), as well as the (sexual) unification of two partners, animals or things, such as of llamas or rivers (*llama tinku*, *mayu tinku*; Baumann 1982a:3f.). Additional principles of interaction are *ayni*, *mita*, *pallqa* and *amaru* (cp. Earls and Silverblatt 1976:321).
- 8 The composition of the ensemble, which is variable in size, and the local designations of hierarchically ordered pairs, which differ only negligibly from each other, will not be discussed further here. In this article only the transregional principle will be illuminated, which however is always characterized by local variations and dialects in terms of melody, tuning of pipes and terminology (cp. Baumann 1981a, 1982a, 1990). The pair principle of *ira/sanja* and *arka* can be found, incidentally, in all traditional panpipe ensembles (Baumann [forthc]).
- 9 In Quechua, *ira* is often designated with the term *ñaupaj* (front, the one who goes first), and *arka* with the term *qhepaj* (behind, the one who goes later). The stopped pipe row, that is, those pipes that are closed at the bottom, is characterized hereafter with the underlining of the corresponding number; the open, equal-numbered second row of open pipes with the corresponding number without underline: thus, *ira* is (Z + 7). The acoustic meaning of the “sympathetic,” simultaneously sounding open pipe row will not be discussed here. For more information, see Baumann 1981a:190; 1985b:152f.
- 10 This data refers to field research documentation made during the fiesta from August 15th to 23rd, 1978, in Arampampa. The *julajula* ensembles came from Oberjerria, Pararani and Sarkura (30, 26, and 24 musicians, respectively), the *siku* ensembles from Asanquiri, La Fragua, Mollevilque and Charka-Markabi/Taconi Caine (6, 6, 6, and 12 panpipe players, each group with a *wankara* and a *wankarita* player). The fourth *julajula* group arrived too early in Arampampa and left again because they believed that no other groups were coming to the *tinku*.
- 11 Cf. Cereceda 1978; Platt 1976:18; van den Berg 1990:101ff.
- 12 He translates *pachakamaq* from the following meaningful Aymara syllables: *Pa(ya)* = two, *Cha(cha)* = power, *Qha(na)* = light, *Ma(ya)* = one, alone (Miranda-Luizaga 1985:210).
- 13 Cf. Harrison (1989:80, 83); Kusch (1986:34); Miranda-Luizaga (1985:168).
- 14 The terminology of *ira* (the principle that leads) and *arka* (the principle that follows) is used here consciously, in order to get away from the one-sided connotations of the terms “masculine” and “feminine.” One compares thereby also Miranda-Luizaga (1985:194f.), who however speaks in regard to the “geocmancy of the Andes” about the *arka-kamachita* (“defining” principle) and the *ira-kamachita* (“following” principle). Miranda-Luizaga uses the Aymara concepts of *ira* and *arka* wrongly, having obviously transposed the meanings.
- 15 For the methodological discussion of the multiplicity of reference systems, the processes of participation and interpretation, and the spiral of feedbacks which reinforce the polarities of *ira* and *arka* in their complementariness, see Baumann 1993.

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TARA AND Q'İWA—WORLDS OF SOUND AND MEANING

Henry Stobart

I. Introduction: Categories of Sound

One of the most remarkable characteristics of rural music in the Bolivian Andes is the strong association of certain musical instruments, tone colours, genres and tunings with the agricultural cycle and festive calendar. Music should only be played in its appropriate context and, until recently, performance of musical instruments outside their specified season was likely to be punished by community authorities (Buechler 1980:358). In some cases musical sounds are considered to have a direct and concrete effect on climatic conditions, and specific instruments are played to attract, for example, the rain or frost (Stobart [forthc]).

Ethnomusicological studies in other parts of the world have noted correspondences between sound structure in music and social structure (e.g. Feld 1984). Similarly, I shall suggest that specific sounds used in musical performance, by certain peasant farmers in highland Bolivia, both appear to reflect and are perceived to manipulate social and cosmological structures.

In this paper I shall analyse the terms *tara* and *q'ıwa* which are used to describe two reciprocal and opposing categories of sound or timbre. I originally encountered these words as the names for paired sizes of *pinkillu* duct flutes, so called due to the contrasting tone qualities associated with each instrument. The terms, or concepts, are also found in many other contexts. I shall suggest that through comparison of their varied semantic images it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of these categories of sound and their use in musical performance.

Although these concepts appear to apply to a variety of highland regions of the Southern Andes, the majority of my examples will be drawn from fieldwork in a Quechua-speaking community of *ayllu* Macha, Northern Potosí, Bolivia. The terms *tara* and *q'ıwa* are also widely used by Aymara speakers from other parts of the region.

As a starting point and a common thread throughout this paper I shall discuss the *pinkillu* duct flute ensembles of Northern Potosí, which are made from wood and perhaps based on the recorder consorts introduced from Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries.

2. Pinkillus—the Flutes of the Rainy Season

Pinkillus, *flawtas*, *lawutas*, or *tarkas* are some of the more common generic terms for the consorts (or *tropas*) of duct flutes, played by peasant farmers throughout Northern Potosí and in a few other surrounding provinces. They are played exclusively during the rainy season, from shortly before the feast of Todos Santos in November until Carnival in February or March. Their sound is said to attract the rain and to discourage frost and hail, and sometimes in periods of drought they are played all night long until dawn.

As Olivia Harris has also remarked, *pinkillus* are especially associated with the dead, who, as a “collective” presence, are said to help the crops to grow through the rainy season (1982:58). The *sirinus* or sirens, also called *yawlus* or devils, who are associated with musical creation and enchantment, are also said to sound “just like *pinkillus*”. *Sirinus* live in certain waterfalls, springs, gullies or large rocks—places which represent the points of communication between the inner earth, or *ukhu pacha* and this world or *kay pacha* (see Martínez 1989:52; Sánchez 1988). At the end of Carnival, when *pinkillus* are dramatically hushed, the dead and devils are said to return back into the earth (*jallp'a ukhunan*). I was told that if *pinkillus* are heard after this time it would be the “ancestors playing” and anyone who continues to play is likely to grow horns, like a devil.

2.1 The pinkillu tropa or Consort

A *pinkillu* consort usually consists of four sizes (but may include up to six) which play together in parallel octaves (Figure 1). For the larger flutes in particular, the melody is divided between paired instruments pitched a fifth apart, using hocket technique (see Musical Example 1). For example, the largest size, the *machu tara*, can only play three different pitches and thus relies on its partner, the *q'iwa*, to supply the remaining notes. The smaller sizes are usually able to perform a wider range of notes, and the *q'iwita*, pitched an octave above the *q'iwa*, can play the complete scale. However even with these smaller sizes, players often choose to leave out certain notes of the melody.

It is only on the final note or *terminación* of the dance songs called *wayñus* that the instruments of the consort all play together on a long pause note, before a new cycle begins. For this note the *tara* instruments play with two fingers, making a buzzing sound that is rich in harmonics called “*tara*”, while the *q'iwa* instruments play with five fingers (or one hole open), which produces a thin sound with few harmonics referred to as “*q'iwa*”.

Mus. Ex. 1. Pinkillu wayñu. Hocket technique between tara, qiwa and machu tara pinkillus. Recorded at the Fiesta of Candelaria in Pocoata (7.30 am, 3.2.91). Performers from Qullqa Pampa.

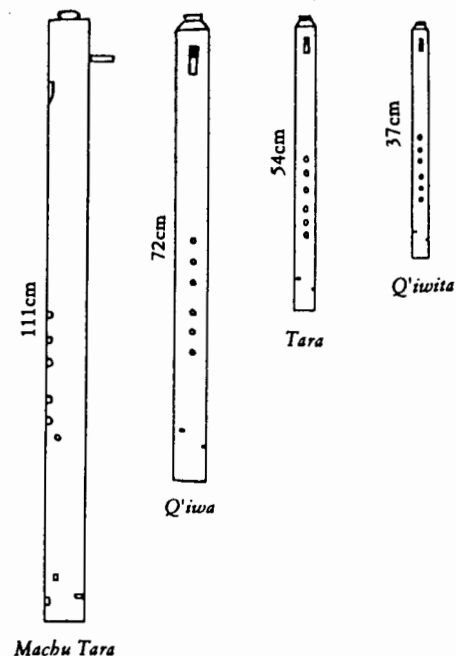


Fig. 1. Pinkillu consort

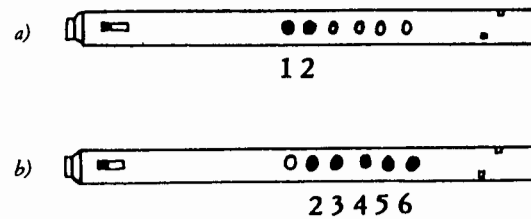


Fig. 2. a) Tara fingering and b) q'iwa fingering

In other words the terms *tara* and *q'iwa* refer to the way in which each instrument is played rather than to its form of construction or voicing. *Tara* and *q'iwa pinkillus* can only be distinguished from one another by their relative pitch within the context of the other instruments of the consort.

2.2 The Sounds tara and q'iwa

The sound *tara* was described to me as “mezclado” or mixed. More specifically *tara* was said to be “two sounds” or something that sounds with “two mouths”¹. This contrasts with *q'iwa*, which is described as a clear sound² and was specified to be single and without a double³.

A hoarse voice or hoarse-sounding animal cries and certain other sounds were described as *tara*. These included a llama in extreme distress or in heat, the bark of a dog or fox, the bray of a donkey, the croaking of a toad and the sound of running water. Similarly Bertonio gives the entry *Tarcaca cunca* as *voz ronca*, or hoarse voice (1984/1612 I:338).

In contrast, examples of *q'iwa* included bird song and the high pitched whining or bickering sounds of llamas. I was told that anything, when it weeps, is *q'iwa*—*tukuy imata waqasban*—in particular this refers to animals or young children who constantly weep, the English notion of “crybabies”. Although the verb *waqay*, to weep, is used generically to refer to the sound of any musical instrument, in the context of *q'iwa* it is closer to the English sense of the word and specifies weeping from disturbed emotions, such as pain or separation.

2.3 Aesthetics and Performance Practice

Pinkillus are blown extremely strongly and alongside the practice of wetting, the block is frequently adjusted in order to achieve a rich, dense sound and a *tartamuliata*⁴ or “stammering” quality. This vibrating sound is caused by strong difference beats which are an aesthetic ideal much sought after by

the players. *Tara* thus encompasses both notions of space, as breadth of sound, and time, as in the discontinuous stuttering quality of the *tartamuliata*.

The preference for a “dense” tone quality that is rich in harmonics is found in *pinkillu* performance in other parts of the Andes. I discovered it particularly important to the south of Potosi where it is also called *tara*. Similarly, for the Aymaras of Conima, Southern Peru, Thomas Turino describes how certain players within an ensemble play slightly sharp or flat of the mean pitch series in order to produce a rich abundance of overtones and combination tones—which he refers to as “dense unison” (1989:12).

In the context of the *pinkillu* consort the *q'iwa* sound of an instrument was not specifically judged as a “bad sound”, it was just inferior to *tara*. However a poor *charango* that will not play in tune or any other instrument that will not tune with the others is referred to as *q'iwa*. This is most definitely a negative aesthetic but it does not necessarily mean that the instrument in question cannot sound good in another context. For example in the instrument-making village of Walata Grande (Prov. Omasuyos, Dept. La Paz), when discussing the possibility of playing my recorder together with a consort of *tarkas*, I was told that my recorder would either be “*igualado*”, in tune, or else “*q'iwa*”, out of tune with the other instruments.

TARA	Q'IWA
Double Sound	Single Sound
Dense/Mixed Sound	Clear/Pure Sound
Broad/Fat Sound	Thin Sound
Energized/Vibrant Sound	Weak Sound
Discontinuous	Continuous
Positive Aesthetic	Negative Aesthetic
(In Tune?)	Out of Tune
Hoarse Voice	Weeping

Table 1. Aural associations of tara and q'iwa

By looking beyond the specifically aural context, we are able to discover more about the semantic fields of these two words and their broader meanings.

3. Tara and q'iwa in Other Contexts

(a) Number

I came across *tara* in reference to things which have an aspect of being two or double in some way on many occasions. Typical examples were the broad central section or cradle of a sling (Figure 3), woven with a central slit to facilitate the placing of a stone missile (also see Zorn 1980:8), and the paired

ear flaps of a *ch'ullu* (knitted hat), but the most common was a double potato, which significantly was also often called a *tarka* (Figure 4). My host explained that *tara* was *parenintin*, which means “always paired”, and that even multiples of two, such as the numbers four and eight were also *tara*. Similar explanations were given to me in Aymara speaking areas, including Department La Paz.

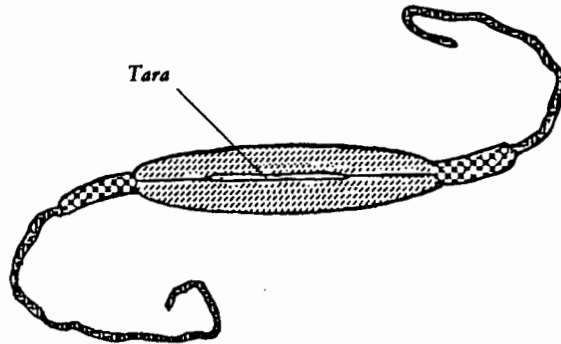


Fig. 3. A Sling (*warak'a*)

Q'iwa, on the other hand, was always said to be *ch'ulla*, meaning “single” or “alone”, a concept which refers to objects that belong in pairs but have become lost or separated from their partner—for example, a single eye or shoe³. Sometimes when explaining this term, people would relate it to the sadness of being alone or to death. Libations for the dead are drunk from a single cup but for all other ritual drinking in the Macha region paired cups are used. The dead are *ch'ulla*, I was told, because they die singly. But once they reach *alma llajta*, the world of the dead, they live as we do, in couples or families and are no longer *ch'ulla* or sad. Weeping, sadness and loneliness pervade this aspect of *q'iwa* reflecting the lonely and troubled journey between the world of the living and that of the ancestors.

I was assured that the dual notion of *tara* is not the same as *yanantin*, or the concept of a mirror image referred to by Tristan Platt (1986:228). The hocketing between the paired *tara* and *q'iwa* instruments was however classed as *yanantin*. But more relevant is the opposition *allqa* and *suwamari* mentioned by Veronica Cereceda (1990), in her fascinating analysis of the plastic language of colour. This has much in common with opposition *tara* and *q'iwa* and the dual, opposed and discontinuous colours of *allqa* as a positive value contrast with the single, continuous and negative associations of *suwamari*.

SOUND	COLOUR
Tara	Allqa
double	double
positive aesthetic	positive aesthetic
discontinuous	discontinuous
Q'iwa	Suwamari
single	single
negative aesthetic	negative aesthetic
continuous	continuous

Table 2.

Whilst the similarities between these oppositions from the aural and visual worlds are striking, it is important to note that in practice no connection is made between them. On every occasion that I attempted to associate the two, people were quick to point out that they belonged to different categories.

(b) Vibrancy and Production

Often when talking about the sound *tara*, the vibrant quality of the “r” would be emphasized by making an “arr” sound with rolled “r’s”. Similarly, Bertonio gives us the verbs *tarrtatha* and *tarrthapatha*, with triple “r’s” to refer to the sound of an object being thrown or two rocks smashing together⁴. These verbs clearly refer to the onomatopoeic sound of objects vibrating on impact, and Hornberger as well (1983) gives the Quechua verb *tarantachay* “to tremble”, for example from fright. This echoes the vibrant, buzzing sound of *pinkillu tara*.

In contrast to the multiple vibrations of *tara* and its associations with multiplicity, the ejective “q'i-” in *q'iwa* brings about a shortening of the vowel sound. As Bruce Mannheim points out, the ejective concentrates the energy discharge into a reduced interval of time (1991:193). Mannheim goes on to establish a series of semantic categories or associative sets based of this form of sound imagery. For Quechua words with an ejective he notes that the semantic core of the set is smallness, narrowness or thinness (1991:195).

Appropriately in this linguistic context, perhaps the most common uses of the word *q'iwa* is to refer to a person, animal or object that is unproductive or gives very little. A castrated llama, a white potato plant without chlorophyll or a homosexual are all unable to reproduce and are termed *q'iwa*, as is a person who is mean or ungenerous. If you fail to offer food or to buy drinks or constantly press for bargains you are likely to be accused of being *q'iwa*. In short, *tara* is productive and *q'iwa* unproductive.

(c) Density

There are many references to *tara* as wide or *ancho*, but we also find that the word *tar*, without the final “a”, is used by both Lara and Lira in their Quechua dictionaries to refer to excessive tightness or density in the former, and extreme congestion, in a textile for example, in the latter⁷. Besides acting as a good description of the *tara* tone quality, this information suggests that the root of the verb is “tar” without the final “a” and that we should not limit ourselves to verb stems that include this final “a”. Furthermore, apocopation, by which the final vowel of a stem is dropped before the addition of a suffix, is a common feature of Aymara grammar.

(d) Energy

The Quechua dictionary glosses for the root *tar-* as congestion or tightness find echoes in the notion of stretching in Aymara. Bertonio translates *tartaatha* as to stretch out a skin with ropes (II:338), which immediately suggests a drumskin, tensed and vibrant. In the same entry Bertonio includes its opposite: *Ecaptaatha. Su contrario, Afloxarse* [loosen] (II:338). Significantly, the Spanish word *flojo* was one of the most common translations of *q'iwa*, meaning “loose, lax or slack”. The low energy of *q'iwa* thus contrasts with the vibrant and energized associations of *tara*.

(e) Balance/Tuning

Following this idea of tightness and stretching, Bertonio translates *tarakhtaatha* as to tie a load on firmly (II:338). Here, he clearly refers to the loading of animals, and most especially llamas. As I discovered on the annual journey to the valleys with llamas to collect maize, loading llamas is a job which demands both considerable skill and strength. The load must be perfectly balanced and tied very firmly. If the rope is not tight the bundle quickly loses balance and falls to one side; in resignation or annoyance a llama herder will refer to an overbalanced load as *q'iwasaqa*. It is doubly *q'iwa*; both the ropes are loose and the load out of balance.

Significantly, Bertonio also uses the word *tartaatha* in reference to tuning the strings of a guitar: *Quitara tartaatha: tirar las cuerdas de la guitarra* (II:338). Here, as in loading a llama, he is not merely referring to the action of tightening the strings but also to that of bringing the instrument into tune. One of the musical terms used in the countryside to express tuning string instruments today is the Spanish verb *igualar* (*iwalalar*). This word implies the action of bringing things into balance, as in retying the load on a llama's back. Similarly, as I mentioned earlier, an instrument that will not play in tune or constantly slips out of tune is referred to as *q'iwa*.

We now note a direct correlation between the use of energy or force as *tara* and the maintenance of balance or equilibrium. This is contrasted by *q'iwa*, which is characterized by low energy, imbalance and disequilibrium.

(f) Equilibrium

Tara often suggests the image of an object in the process of binary division where the two halves remain connected, as in the case of a double potato (Figure 4a). This is again reflected in the use of *tarka yurus* in the Macha region and several other parts of the Andes. These are paired earthenware ritual drinking vessels, where the two halves are connected by a tube enabling the liquid to pass freely between each side (Figure 4b). The connecting tube ensures that when drinking takes place from one of the two mouths equilibrium between the paired vessels is restored. I am grateful to William Sillar for introducing me to these vessels.

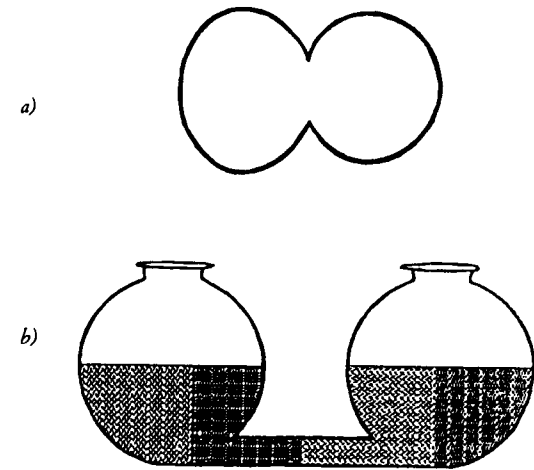


Fig. 4. a) “Tara papa” or “tarka papa” (double potato). Ayllu Macha, Northern Potosí, Bolivia.—b) “Tarka yuru”. Ayllu Macha, Northern Potosí, Bolivia (pers. comm. William Sillar)

In contrast the word *q'iwa* is often used to describe uneven objects or shapes. My host referred to the uneven lengthed tuning pegs of a *charango* as *q'iwa* and Bertonio (1984/1612) gives *qhehua hanko* for a person who is lame with one leg shorter than the other or who limps due to illness⁸. Similarly a field of uneven shape, where one end is longer than the other, is termed

q'iwa. Such fields are unpopular as they present considerable difficulties when it comes to ploughing with oxen.

(g) Culture

Following its associations with duality and balance, it is tempting to assume that *tara* is perceived as purely a cultural value. This would imply that the relationship *tara/q'iwa* for sound is analogous to the opposition *allqa/suwamari* for colour that has been demonstrated by Veronica Cereceda (1990) as "cultural/non-cultural". However, although *tara* is unquestionably involved in the maintenance and construction of cultural equilibrium, its associations are sometimes also linked with the negation of cultural values. For example Bertonio (1984/1612) refers to *taraca tarma* as a person who is disobedient, hard or obstinate (II:338) and *taraca cunca*, a hoarse voice (II:338), implies a voice that is out of control. This is echoed by the modern derogatory term *t'ara*, which I was told, with this addition of an ejective, is used to refer to a coarse, harsh or ignorant person. Furthermore, this contrasts with *q'iwa*, which was commonly translated as "coward", "crybaby" or someone who does not want to fight.

(h) Sexuality and Gender Mediation

In the context of the *pinkillu* consort, the paired terms *tara* and *q'iwa* are said to be a couple, or *qhariwarmi* (man and woman). But when I asked which was male and which female the ambivalent responses quickly made me realize that the question was inappropriate⁹. It would appear that the gender opposition between *tara* and *q'iwa* does not concern male versus female, but rather the degree of gender or sexuality. In this context *tara* seems to refer to heightened sexuality: the dynamism, vibrancy and uncontrollability of the sexual urge, which may be masculine or feminine¹⁰.

Perception of sexuality is linked to the countless daily tasks, rituals and social practices that are differentiated according to gender, whereby men and women are perceived both as complementary and as polar opposites. This notion of male space contrasting to female space reminds us of the image of the *tarka yuru* above (Figure 4), where *tara* implies the balancing of paired elements. In practical terms society is viewed to be at its most productive and harmonious when men and women both accomplish their respective, but differentiated, roles equally and individually.

The balanced opposition and separation of the sexes, although culturally productive, as demonstrated by the many associations of *tara* above, is perhaps perceived to be uncreative in terms of sexual reproduction and regeneration. Accordingly, excess sexuality is perceived to be uncreative. As Denise Arnold writes that if a woman has too much wet, female substance as warm blood or contact with the female-gender earth, her womb will rot. But if a

man has excess male substance, his hollow, dry penis will blow empty breath and his semen will be said to be frozen (1988:126)¹¹. These images reflect the most radical position in the polar opposition between the sexes, where contact between them is impossible and gendered substances are unable to mix and generate new life.

Whilst in the towns *q'iwa* is commonly translated as *maricón* or homosexual, in the countryside it is used in a less specific way to refer to a variety of aspects of gender mediation. A man with a high-pitched voice is *q'iwa* as is a woman who speaks in a low-pitched voice or acts like a man. Similarly the term is used to refer to men when they dress up in women's clothes for certain rituals. But more specifically, on several occasions I have been told that *q'iwa* is *khuskan qhari*, *khuskan warmi* or "half-man, half-woman". As such, *q'iwa* represents the conjunction of male and female, where the opposing sexes mix together equally. Summary:

TARA	O'IWA
vibrant/energized	loose/low energy
positive aesthetic	negative aesthetic
broad sound	thin sound
(rich in harmonics)	(few harmonics)
hoarse sound	weeping/crying
in tune (balanced)	out of tune (out of balance)
discontinuous	continuous
stretched/taut	slack/lax
broad/productive	mean/non-productive
equilibrium/even	disequilibrium/uneven
dual (joined/paired)	single (separate/without partner)
highly gendered	mediated gender
arrogant/harsh/obstinate	cowardly/non-aggressive

Table 3.

4. Conclusions

These various images of *tara* and *q'iwa* paint a complex semantic canvas, the full implications of which are well beyond the scope of this short paper. To sum up, I shall limit myself to a few points specifically relevant to music and cosmology.

The associations of *tara* would seem to represent the sometimes violent exertion necessary for the maintenance of equilibrium and harmonious human existence, through the definition and balancing of opposed and complementary concepts, such as:

male/female
 living/dead
 upper world/lower world
 sound/silence, etc.

In contrast *q'iwa* occupies a marginal or mediatory position between such opposed concepts, which, whilst permitting contact and the exchange of energies to occur between them, at the same time represents the creation of imbalance and disruption of binary order.

Thus, for example, the *q'iwa* sound is thin, lacking in energy and perceived as a negative aesthetic. It lies midway between silence and the dense, dynamic sound of *tara*. As weeping, the thin continuous sound of *q'iwa* is associated with the margins between life and death, such as the crying of young children and women's wailing for the dead. Both young children and the dying are, like *q'iwa*, weak and unproductive to society but are linked with regeneration. It is healthy, strong and sexually active adults, grown to their full stature, who, in the same way as *tara*, are most dynamic and potentially productive. But, like the obstinacy and uncontrollability associated with adolescents in our own society, this very strength, if mishandled, is potentially destructive.

silence	<i>q'iwa</i> sound	<i>tara</i> sound
silence	weeping	hoarse voice
dead	newborn/dying	strong/sexually active

I was told that the world of the dead, as the inversion of our own, is permanently green, and that the souls who live there constantly sing and dance the *wayñu* dance-songs of the rainy season, but they never perform the dry season genres¹². By extension we may perhaps assume that if contact between these worlds did not take place, the world of humans would be permanently dry. It is therefore essential that transference of substances occurs between the worlds of the living and dead in order to bring liquidity to the world of the living and generate new life.

Central in this process of exchange seem to be the lonely souls from recent deaths, on route to *alma llajta* (the world of the dead) and the *sirinus* who, like other *yawlus* (devils), live in the marginal regions between the inner earth and the world of humans. Significantly, I was told that all *sirinus* are *q'iwa* which, besides implying that they are half-man, half-woman, suggests a mediatory position as half-human, half- non-human. On many occasions I have been told that *sirinus* may appear as humans or transform into a variety of different creatures. In other parts of the Southern Andes *sirinus* or *sirenas* are especially associated with the image of a mermaid: half-woman, half-fish (Turino 1983, Giesbert 1980).

It is from the *sirinus* that the new tunes necessary to bring about regeneration each year are collected and whose enchanting music breaks down the barriers between men and women¹³ and between the worlds of the living and dead, drawing them creatively together. These marginal beings and the sound "*q'iwa*" seem to represent the fertile conjunction or engendering of male and female, living and dead, dry wind and still water, etc., bringing rain and new life to the world of the living. In order to acculturate and socialise this new life, and to stop or control the rain, the vibrant and duplicating en-

ergy of *tara* appears to be necessary, serving to control the flow of creative substance and restore equilibrium.

When the peasant farmers of Northern Potosí alternate the *tara* and *q'iwa* sounds of their *pinkillus*, many of them do so with the strong belief that their music has the ability to influence climatic conditions. Players did not specify that *q'iwa* attracts the rain or that *tara* controls or halts it¹⁴, but a distinction of this type is made between two types of duct flute played during the rainy season in several regions of Department La Paz. The thin, high-pitched sound of cane *pinkillus*, matching our description of *q'iwa*, is played specifically to call the rain. In contrast, the dense, buzzing sound of wooden duct flutes called *tarkas*¹⁵, is used to attract dry spells, when the rain becomes too heavy, and at Carnival to halt the rains in preparation for harvest.

Although the cane *pinkillus* and *tarkas* of Department La Paz are never played together in the same ensemble, as in the case of the *tara* and *q'iwa* sounds in the *pinkillu* consorts of Northern Potosí, it seems possible that these two contrasting categories of sounds are perceived to perform similar functions. In these examples, weak, thin and continuous sounds would appear to be associated with generating the flow of substances, instability and transformation, while strong, dense and vibrant sounds seem to be linked with controlling the flow of substances and the maintenance of binary equilibrium and stability.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the British Academy and St John's College Cambridge for funding a year of fieldwork in Bolivia and research in the U.K. towards this paper. Special thanks to Olivia Harris, Elayne Zorn, Ruth Davis and Ian Cross for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

Notes

- 1 "Cuando se oye con dos vocas".
- 2 "Se oye bien clarito, eso se llama q'iwa".
- 3 "Un solo sonido: no tiene doble".
- 4 From the Spanish "tartudear" - to stammer.
- 5 Cchulla: Lo que esta sin su compañero que avia de tener.
Cchulla nayra: Ojo sin compañero (Bertonio 1984/1612 II:96).
- 6 Tarrttatha: Hazer ruydo las cosas que arrojan.
Tarrtrthpataha: Encontrase dos piedras y hazer ruydo, y otras cosas semejantes (Bertonio 1984/1612 II:338).
- 7 Tar: adj. Tupidísimo, demasiado apreto (Lara 1978:235).
Tár: Expresión usada par indicar lo muy congestionado de un tejido (Lira 1982:282).
- 8 Qhehua hanko, Quelo, Cayu pilla: Coxo que tiene una pierna menor que otra, o coxea por enfermedad que tiene (Bertonio 1984/1612 II:286).
- 9 Certain friends considered *tara* female whilst others opted for male or avoided the issue.
- 10 The associations of *tara* with high energy, stretching and harshness would appear more strongly linked with common perceptions of male, rather than female sexuality. However, paired and firm breasts might possibly be seen as a manifestation of *tara* as female sexuality.

- 11 Similarly, a *pinkillu* which is too dry will not sound properly and literally blows empty breath. Players constantly wet their instruments with *chicha* or water during performance and commonly make allusions to the phallic shape and function of *pinkillus*.
- 12 The ambiguity between the association of the dead with silence on the one hand and *wayñu* dance songs on the other was not a problem for my hosts. To the living the world of the dead is silent but for the dead themselves it is full of music. It would be interesting to discover if the world of the living is also perceived to be silent for the dead.
- 13 Young men take their instruments to places called *sirinus* (or *sirenas*) late at night in order to imbue them with special musical powers that no woman can resist (see also Turino 1983, Mariño Ferro 1989).
- 14 I did not actually ask what now seems this obvious question.
- 15 Squared off wooden flutes played in many parts of the Southern Andes. It seems likely that the name for these instruments (*tarka*) is derived from the stem "tar" and concept of *tara*. Significantly, amongst the Chipayas *tarka* duct flutes of similar construction are referred to as *tar pinkayllu* (Baumann 1981).

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF DUALISM

Pre-Columbian Instruments and Sounds as Offerings?

Ellen Hickmann

When approaching the airport of Guayaquil, my fantasy sometimes deceives me. Tired and jet-lagged, I imagine countryside houses and villages to be like those west of the two big Rios Daule and Guayas—which provided fertility to the region still 30 years ago—to be present close to the border of the capital of trade and money. But on the east bank, the formerly green marshland has been replaced by the cement desert of a the huge centre of modern communication—the airport.

Just before the authorities started their plans for the international airport “Febres Cordero” by draining the area, Ecuadorian archaeologists quickly unearthed pre-Columbian settlements near the swampy fields (Parducci 1970). They excavated many ceramics, mostly shards, and amidst them countless well-preserved small artifacts, including a considerable amount of vessel flutes and variously shaped whistles. Thus they accidentally gained certainty about the fact that musical instruments were part of the inventory used by the settlers. Further, in later archaeological excavations whistles were stated to be part of the garbage of settlements, though they were found less often in tombs, and only very specially designed ones were discovered at offering places. I will come back to this point.

In the history of Andean archaeology it has rarely occurred that the context of the findings was so reported, that is entered into the records and published. Besides, musical instruments were—and are—not always identified as sounding objects. These facts complicate the work of the music archaeologist, who aims at reconstructing not only the shapes and sounds but also, if possible, the former functions and meanings of the instruments. Early societies of the Andean region do not provide any direct messages about these complex problems—what is natural, since they were illiterate. Written tradition began only with the Conquista.

Above any other type of information, iconography appeals first to the researcher. The design of the mere shape appears to be as important as that of the painted or modelled decoration in helping to understand symbolism or even metaphors, if this is at all possible.

Examining the Andean heritage of musical remains, some spectacular objects attract our attention, especially when reflecting on the topic of this conference. First of all we can consider a double-headed trumpet (Figure 1) of the Moche (200 B.C.–700 A.D.), a two-faced rattle with an animal at one end

and a human head at the other, also Moche (Figure 2¹) (both of these instruments of clay), and a double-sided rattle of wood (Figure 3), probably of the Chimú (1100–1400 A.D.) or early colonial. Our synaesthetically functioning mind is spontaneously captivated by imagining a very special sound effect, for instance of the trumpet, but its sound resembles that of the one-headed animal trumpets of the Moche. The three objects are unparalleled, so no basic interpretation is possible. What remains are speculations: the instruments might recall mythological ideas of religious dualism as current in pre-Columbian regions, and their double shapes would suggest this. Religious dualism was already shown to be exemplified by the wooden rattle 25 years ago (Zuidema 1967), and the trumpet and the man-animal rattle might have a similar meaning that we can vaguely approach, but not more. This has also to be accepted for Ecuadorian statuettes of musicians. Fabricated in moulds, some of them appear quite often. They are richly dressed and decorated, and they hold a big panflute in front of their body that reaches from their mouth or chin down to their feet (Figure 4, Jama-Coaque, 500 B.C.–500 A.D.). Symmetrically shaped, with the longest tubes at the two ends, they are obviously not meant to be played at all. The enormous pieces of jewellery fixed to the musicians' faces would prevent sound production. Other musicians are holding or playing two instruments at the same time, some combinations being traditional for the Andean regions up to recent ages, such as panpipes and drums or rattles, or a rattle and a tortoise shell. Do these combinations perhaps have a meaning that goes beyond the sound? Were they designed also referring to mystical dualism (Figure 5)? These remain, for today, unanswered questions, as the various interpretations form a puzzle that cannot yet be solved. I will confine my paper to two subgroups of sounding objects, namely to rattles and whistles.

Rattles are, as we know, American Indian instruments par excellence. Double-headed sound boxes, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, mostly owls or felines, were quite common among the Moche and Chimú. Many rattles were formed like drug containers (Figure 6) and are often involved with them in literature. Rattling mostly accompanied rituals in which drugs or sniffing played a significant role, such as in shamanism, and the ancient Peruvians stressed this important relationship by designing their rattles in this way.

No clay rattle of the types mentioned are to be found in the files of archaeologists. Our interpretation derives from nothing but the iconography of the pieces. The deep significance, though, of rattles in ancient Peru and Ecuador has been revealed by tombs of so-called "kazikes" or "shamans"², which contained metallic rattles and rattling devices as headdresses or jewellery personally attributed to the "Lords", thus seeming to have nothing to do with mythology or religious rituals—if their owners were not the representatives of the deities on earth. The characteristic of gift-offering is obviously related to

this material; they were made to be broken after use in ritual contexts of the religious practice.

In the large class of whistles there is one group that also permits this interpretation. Before dealing with them, I must consider the larger range of instruments.

Whistles were significant instruments of all pre-Columbian cultures. In Ecuador they are even "leading fossils" for the classification of objects in general, and thus also for a relative chronology.

Four-, three- and double-headed whistles are to be related to early cultures such as Chorrera (1200–500 B.C.) and to the earliest phases of internal cultural dynamics, as in Pre- or Chorrera-Bahía (Figure 7). A double mouth-piece and two wind channels are to be observed in early periods. Later cultures and horizons seem to prefer small instruments, precise and very high in pitch, in form imitating human and animal figures, birds, fish, opossums, frogs and the like in Manteño (Figure 8, 500–1400 A.D.), dogs and snails in Ica-Chincha (1100–1400 A.D.) or Chimú.

Whistles have been found in the vicinity of private places, as explained earlier, just like vessel flutes. But there are exceptions which involve, for instance, the most spectacular whistle types, such as the Moche instruments consisting of a relatively large anthropomorphic relief showing a warrior, a priest or a musician with a conical tube fixed horizontally to the flat back of the relief (Figure 9). The sound is developed in one or two globular applications below or beside the tube. These objects are reported to have been deposited at offering plateaux near the *templo de la luna* or the *templo del sol* of the Moche area, together with clay trumpets with animal heads or with figures of warriors, prisoners, priests or musicians, all or most of them broken (Figure 10). The procedure of breaking musical instruments before they were dedicated to the gods or deposited as offerings is well known from many other ancient cultures. This might prove that the sound simply had to be loud, rough and penetrating, which is indeed the fact for the Moche whistles and trumpets. The mere musical possibilities, such as the capability of producing a certain number of notes or a wide range of different sounds were obviously not important.

The iconographical evidence of Ecuadorian rattles and whistles is less clear and distinct in terms of a possible former function. But a large group of artifacts common in all coastal Peruvian and Ecuadorian cultures show a kind of correspondence in iconography with a differing imagination of sound. The objects concerned are anthropological, mostly female figurines of clay, about 15–30 cm high. Peruvian devices of this kind have pebbles inside. They were fabricated by the Nazca people (200 B.C.–700 A.D.), as well as by the Moche and Chimú. They appeared as the result of real mass production in the middle coastal region and spread there widely up to the Chankay Empire (Figure 11, 1100–1400 A.D.). Ecuadorian figurines have attachments so that they can function as single or double whistles or as vessel flutes (Figure 12). All coast-

al cultures of the so-called Regional Development horizon (500 B.C.–500 A.D.) possessed them. A comprehensive typology (Hickmann 1987/1991) reveals their many sizes, forms, shapes, decorations and sounds and, above all, their variations in organology. Anthropomorphic figures were common also in the earliest times of Ecuadorian prehistory, such as Valdivia (ca. 2700–1700 B.C.), where they appeared in mass, and also later, just before the Conquista, as in Manteño, but at neither time with whistling devices. Many were hollow, others solid. All pre-Columbian cultures of Ecuador provided figurines with or without a sound function at obvious places of worship, up to now traditionally called “offering places”. Many of them were broken, a large amount very well preserved and still sounding. Private environs and places of danger contained these objects. Less is known about the contexts of Peruvian rattling figurines.

The human shapes, often showing women with babies, indicate most probably devices of fertility cults, the sounds being symbols of life. They were not musical instruments in their primary meaning. Compared to the sounds of vessel flutes and even whistles, the voices of the figurines are poor, thin, not very flexible and sometimes shrill, and thus were obviously not designed to play a part in the everyday music of the societies nor to fit in the frame of the soundscape that characterised the regions of pre-Columbian peoples.

We know that unusual sounds were created for extraordinary occasions, not only in the Americas. This might have been the case also for these puzzling figurines, which were pieces of devotion as much as toys and whistling instruments—or all at the same time.

The soundscape of everyday life was quite different—as jingling, rattling and whistling attachments adorned most of objects, a soft noise was created



Fig. 1. Double-headed trumpet. Peru, Moche (300 B.C.–700 A.D.), 1 = 27 cm. Birmingham, Museum and Art Gallery—Credit: Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.

that must never have stopped as long as the persons handling them kept moving. Vessel flutes and panpipes, with their gentle continuous sounds, fitted in perfectly. The voices of the offerings were different, as we have seen—penetrating, too dark or too light to be recognised as part of the usual environmental acoustics. They were apparently meant to be special and to cause fear and create a sense of distance from the holy action.



Fig. 2. Two-faced rattle, man and animal. Peru, Lambayeque-Chimu (1100–1400 A.D.), 1 = 18, 10 cm. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum—Credit: Royal Scottish Museum.

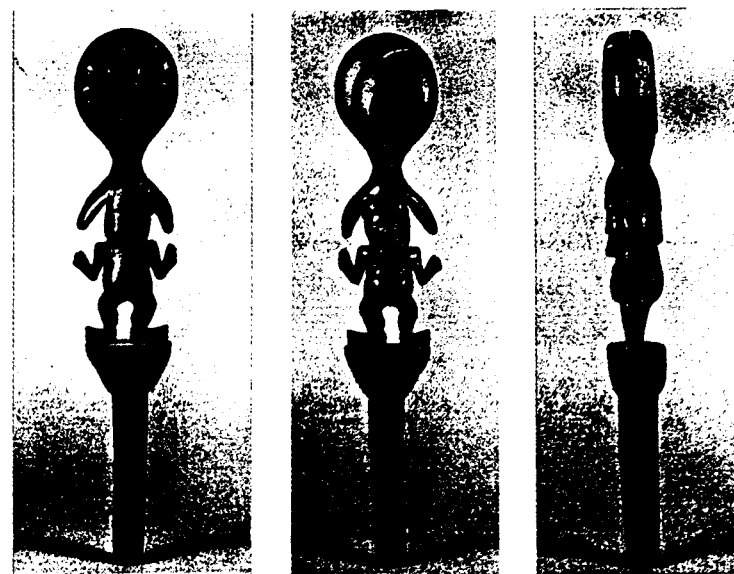


Fig. 3 a–c. Double-sided rattle (Sun and Moon). Peru, Chimu (1100–1400 A.D.) or early colonial period, b = 17 cm. Leiden, Muscum voor Volkenkunde—Credit: Museum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Fig. 4. Musician with big panflute. Ecuador, Jama-Coaque (500 B.C.–500 A.D.), *h* = 28 cm. Guayaquil, Museo Antropológico—Credit: Ellen Hickmann



Fig. 5. Musician with panflute and rattle. Ecuador, Jama-Coaque (500 B.C.–500 A.D.), *h* = 23 cm. Quito, Museo arqueológico del Banco Central—Credit: Ellen Hickmann; drawing from photograph: Boris Eisenberg.



Fig. 6. Rattle, shaped like a drug container. Peru, Chimu (1100–1400 A.D.), *l* = 13 cm. London, Museum of Mankind—Credit: Ellen Hickmann.



Fig. 7 a, b. Double-headed whistle. Ecuador, Chorrera (1200 B.C.–500 A.D.), *h* = 4.2 cm. Guayaquil, Museo Antropológico—Credit: Jorge Massucco, Guayaquil.

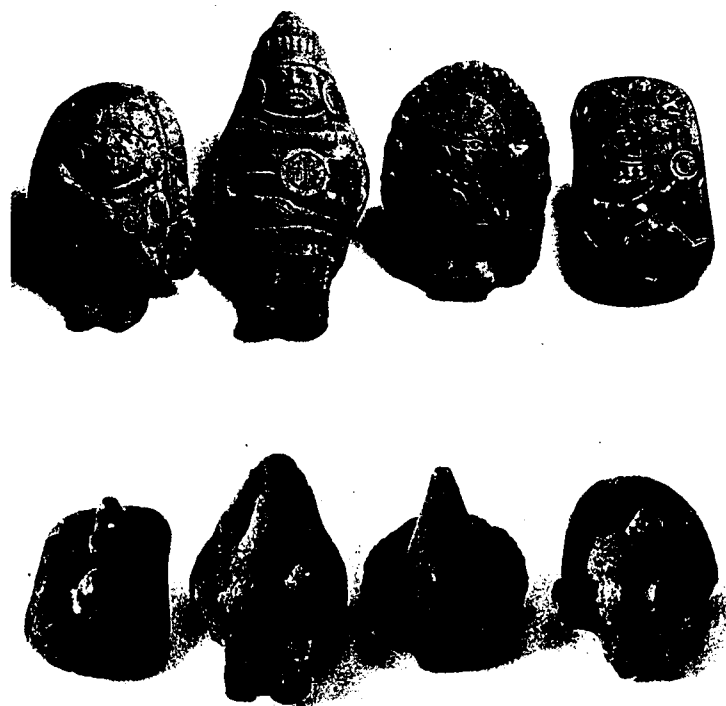
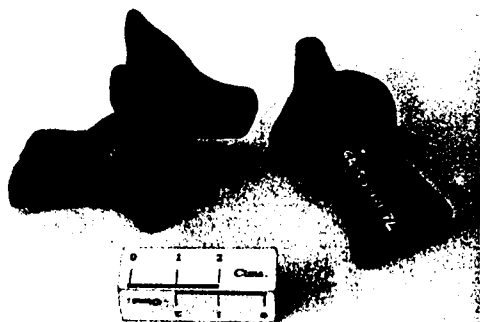


Fig. 9 a-d. Four anthropomorphic whistles in shape of warriors (front and back), with one or two sound generators at the back. Peru, Moche (300 B.C.-700 A.D.), h = 8-11 cm. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde—Credit: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.



Fig. 10 a, b. Trumpet (front and back) in the shape of a prisoner with tube broken off. Moche (300 B.C.-700 A.D.), h = 130 cm. London, Museum of Mankind—Credit: Ellen Hickmann; drawings from photographs: Boris Eisenberg.

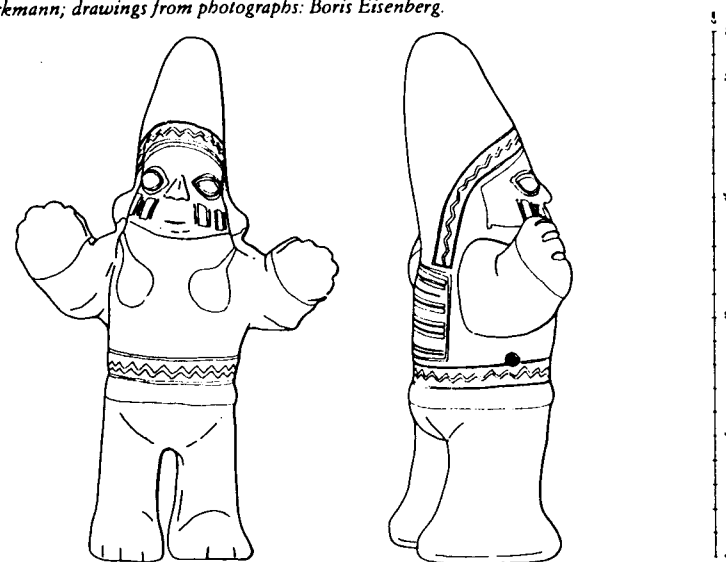


Fig. 11 a, b. Rattling figurine with gesture of adoration. Peru, Chancay (1100-1400 A.D.), h = 22 cm. Bonn, Sammlung des Instituts für Völkerkunde der Universität—Credit: Ellen Hickmann; drawings from photographs: Boris Eisenberg.

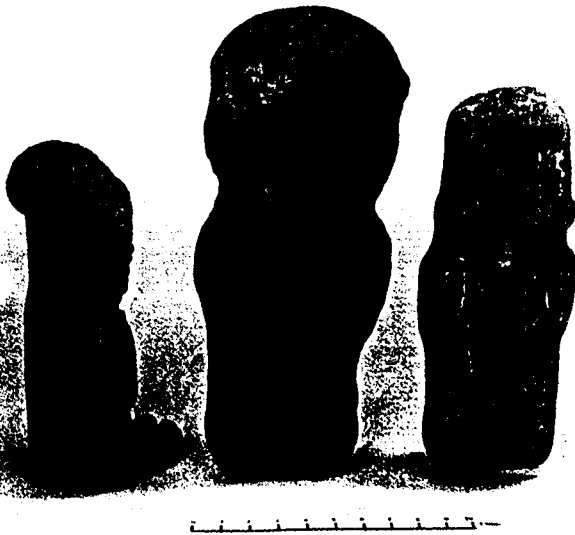
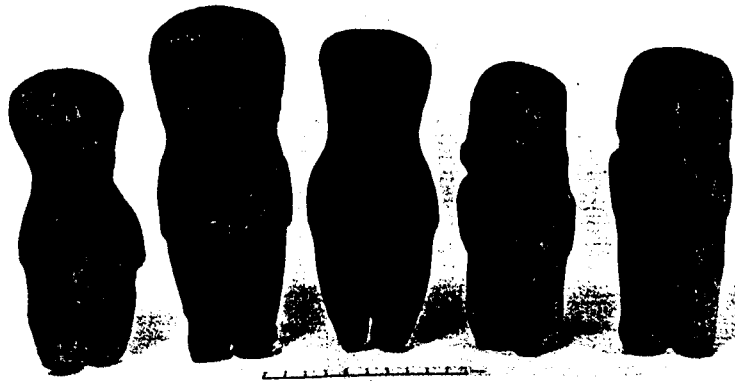


Fig. 12 a-c. Anthropomorphic figurines (front and back [d, b, c]) with two whistles each. Ecuador, Babia (500 B.C.-500 A.D.), b = 11-15 cm. Guayaquil, Museo Antropológico—Credit: Jorge Massucco, Guayaquil.

Notes

- 1 The head-ended part of this piece might originally have been a handle, as was typical for certain types of Moche vessels; the animal head of the opposite side looks like it was attached to it much later, after the handle had broken off. This interpretation was offered during the discussion following my paper by Annemarie Hocquenghem.
- 2 Rich graves were found in North Peru and excavated by W. Alva in the late 1980s (Alva 1988), and similarly comprehensive tombs were unearthed in central Ecuador by Estrada about 1950 (Estrada 1957) and Fresco about 1970/1980 (Fresco 1984). For a descriptive summary of the burial sites and their metallic finds see E. Hickmann (1990:347-69).
- 3 E. Hickmann 1944; see especially the discussion on the ritual breaking of musical instruments, p. 328.

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Essay 4

TRADITION AND DYNAMISM IN ECUADORIAN ANDEAN QUICHUA SANJUÁN: MACROCOSM IN FORMULAIC EXPRESSION, MICROCOSM IN RITUAL ABSORPTION

John M. Schechter

The texts of Ecuadorian highland Quichua *sanjuán* reflect both the macrocosm of regional culture and, on one occasion, the microcosm of a specific ritual, the *wawa velorio* (child's wake, or *velorio de angelito*). In 1980 and 1990, in the Quichua *comunas* on the slopes of Mt. Cotacachi, Imbabura Province, in the northern sierra, close by the cantonal center of Cotacachi, *sanjuán* was a musical expression of both ritual and non-ritual context. Its form was complex litany: amidst the regular repetition of a single, primary motive, one new break, or secondary, motive (which Quichua harpists may denote by the term *esquina*) may be inserted (Lomax 1968:58:9.[a]). *Sanjuán* is most often in simple duple meter, and it is either sung a cappella or with instrumental accompaniment, or performed instrumentally without sung text. *Sanjuán* is known and performed by Quichuas of both genders and of all ages. If it is played on the *arpa imbabureña* (see Schechter 1992b), local performance practice requires a one-handed *golpe* on the harp soundbox. The *golpeador*, a second male Quichua (Imbabura Quichua harpists and *golpeadores* are male), is specially selected by the harpist for his abilities at striking the rhythm on the harp and at singing. Whenever performed with a group of Quichua listeners present, *sanjuán* is danced with a strong back-and-forth stomp, which coincides with the *golpe* on the harp.

Sanjuán is documented in the literature back at least to the 1860s.¹ Bearing on the current complex litany form of the genre, with its dominating primary motive, is Hassaurek's description of a June 28, 1863, San Juan festival in Cayambe: "...they played the same tune, consisting of only a few notes, during the whole of the mortal two hours that the dance lasted. This tune is also called 'San Juan'" (1867:283). The same writer's account of San Juan festival dancing in the same year in Lago San Pablo, near present-day Otavalo, close to Cotacachi, speaks of area Quichua dancing to "monotonous" songs (*ibid.*:266-7). Quichua *sanjuán* is strongly traditional to—and quite localized within—Imbabura Province, a fact claimed by Segundo Luis Moreno Andrade (1972:150) and confirmed in my own fieldwork. Nevertheless, the genre is also close in musical character to the Peruvian *wayno*, which dates back to the early colonial period.

Sanjuán is the prominent vehicle for the musical and textual creativity of Cotacachi Quichua. The substantial variety of *sanjuanes* allows a singer to choose between one *sanjuán* whose text is nearly fixed, traditionally, and another whose text is less fixed, thus permitting more textual improvisation by the singer. As to melodic content, analysis of 302 discrete *sanjuán* performances in 1979–1980 (see Schechter 1982-II:245–6) reveals regular use of alternate pitches in identical *sanjuanes*—even in the same *sanjuán* performance by the same musician. The invariance in *sanjuán*, then, lies not in periodic repetition of the exact same sequence of pitches but in the fact that the rhythmic structure of all segments of the phrase (often two segments) remains identical in every statement of the complete phrase (Schechter 1992a:394–401). In sum, *sanjuán* exists as fixed form, not as fixed melody.

In describing the learning process of the poet-singer in Yugoslav oral tradition, Albert Lord notes that the rhythm and melody are

... to be the framework for the expression of [the singer's] ideas. From then on what he does must be within the limits of the rhythmic pattern. ... His problem is now one of fitting his thoughts and their expression into this fairly rigid form. The rigidity of form may vary from culture to culture...but the problem remains essentially the same—that of fitting thought to rhythmic pattern ([1960] 1978:21–2).

Lord had the further notion (*ibid.*:32) that the oral poet links phrases by means of parallelism and balancing, a notion expanded upon by David Buchan twelve years after Lord, in his discussion of ballad structure and the generative processes of that genre in northeastern Scotland (1972:88). In another writing (Schechter 1987), I examined the ramifications of these ideas of Lord and Buchan² in an investigation of semantic and syntactic parallelisms in Cotacachi Quichua *sanjuán* verse patterning (see also Harrison 1989:20).

In the present paper, I wish to focus not on semantic and syntactic parallelisms, but rather on formulaic expression, per se, in Cotacachi Quichua *sanjuán*. Textual elements of *sanjuán* texts recorded in situ in 1980 embody formulaic expression (the Parry-Lord paradigm).³ Certain lines, words, and phrases appear widely in different *sanjuanes*, regularly interchangeable with other elements of the same order. The pattern is that of Milman Parry's "formula": as defined by Lord ([1960] 1978:4), the "formula" is "... 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea.'" "The most frequent actions in the story, the verbs, are often complete formulas in themselves, filling either the first or the second half of the line, ..." (*ibid.*:34). "The commonest [formulas] which [the poet] uses set a basic pattern, and once he has the basic pattern firmly in his grasp, he needs only to substitute another word for the key one" (*ibid.*:36).

Appendix 1 illustrates this formulaic operation in circum-Cotacachi *sanjuán*. It presents, in Parry's phrase, (substitution) "systems" (Lord [1960] 1978:35), mostly but not entirely verbs, in *sanjuán* lines of from seven to twelve syllables. In each case, any of the words or phrases grouped to the left is combinable in spontaneous *sanjuán* verse-making, with (any of) the word(s) to the right, which are most often verbs. This formulaic substituta-

bility of Quichua nouns, noun-endings, verbs, verb tenses, and moods [indicative; imperative; subjunctive] suggests a textual parallel to the music: as stated above, primary motives of Quichua *sanjuanes* regularly permit alternate pitches. Commenting on the use of formula in the Yugoslav oral tradition, Albert Lord (*ibid.*:34) noted that "The most stable formulas will be those for the most common ideas of the poetry." Since verbs are the principal interchangeable elements in *sanjuán* expression, it is necessary to examine the verbs that are used repeatedly in the substitution systems in Appendix 1. Of the 41 different verbs in Appendix 1, eight appear in four or more groups; these verbs are: *machana* [to get drunk] (four systems); *kana* [to be] (four systems); *tigrana* [to return, or to turn] (four systems); *muyuna* [to go this and that way] (four systems); *nina* [to say] (five systems); *shamuna* [to come] (five systems); *bailana* [to dance] (eight systems); and, *purina* [to walk] (nine systems).

Bailana occurs frequently as a reflection of the festive occasion itself where *sanjuán* is being performed, and it often appears, in the text transcriptions, in imperative form: "Dance!". *Tigrana* is used partly for the same reasons ("Turn! this way, turn! that way," as commands during dancing), partly in a semantic context unrelated to the festive occasion per se: that of returning sad, having been unable to meet one's loved one; as such, it frequently is matched with *wakai wakai*, or *llaki llaki*. *Nina* appears solely in a quotative function, either participially or in second person singular. *Machana* is fixed: to the "fixed" characters, "Taita Manuil" and "Rusa María," of the *sanjuanes*, "Rusa María wasi rupajmi" and "Rusa María Kituaña," respectively; *machana* also appears tied to the *wawa velorio* occasion, in "Achi mamaka machashka." *Kana* facilitates the elaboration of certain static conditions, such as all the sheep's features, in "Nuka llama di mi vida," where it serves to mean "has," or in relation to such phrases as, "Paya jinti," "Rukumari," "Maija apashka," "Sultira warmi," and "Sultira runa," where it identifies life stages or indefinite location.

It is the three verbs, *muyuna*, *shamuna*, and *purina*, often interchangeable among themselves in particular groupings, that: extend beyond the festive occasion itself; are not "fixed" to fixed texts or to the *wawa velorio* occasion; do not reflect static conditions or particular grammatical function. I have described elsewhere (Schechter 1987:36–8) how the verb *purina* functions in a metaphorically positive sense, to express either walking from home to home on behalf of the indigenous or mestizo community, or being responsible by attending ("walking over to—") evening adult education classes. In the *sanjuán* song text, *purina*, in combination with *shamuna* and *muyuna* and, to a slightly lesser degree, *tigrana*, is no longer metaphorical in a political sense or in an educational context; it is now "extended" to the personal realm—of "wandering about," "this way and that way" (*muyuna*), looking for one's beloved, walking about sad at being rejected or at being unable to locate the loved one, going about just because of the loved one, just speaking of the

loved one. It is clear that *purina*, appearing in the largest number of systems, expresses, in Lord's terms, one of the most common ideas in local *sanjuán* poetry: wandering about—thinking of, suffering on account of, speaking of, one's mate.

If one traces *purina* through its various metaphoric dilations, from walking, per se, along Mt. Cotacachi's *chaki ñanes* (footpaths) or roadways—pursuing the daily routine of area Quichua agricultural, domestic, and market labors, all of which require walking; to walking for the community's benefit or for one's own educational benefit; to **wandering, going about** for love, one notes a progression into more and more abstract realms, from physical movement for survival, to movement for broadly social purposes, to movement for personal, emotional reasons. The verb *purina* thus exemplifies broad-based and "extended" cultural metaphor, in James Fernández's sense of persons taking experience from one domain, where the action is concretely conceptualized, and "extending" the term into more abstract domains (1978:185). In Fernández's terms, the domain of *purina*—walking—is "vital" (*ibid.*:205) to Cotacachi Quichua lifeways; thus, that sphere of action is exploited on different levels of abstraction, in different contexts, for different expressive purposes. For the Quichua of Cotacachi, ethnographic data reveal that *purina*—walking—is a vital domain of daily, concrete existence, an activity fundamental to survival, an activity which subsequently is "extended" first into positive metaphor in Cotacachi Quichua verbal expression ("walking on behalf of," "walking for one's educational improvement"), and finally into the more abstract realm of emotional expression, in *sanjuán* text (Schechter 1987:38–9). Thus, the study of Cotacachi Quichua formulaic substitution systems in *sanjuán* texts reveals an emphasis on a vital domain of the local-regional macrocosm: walking.

The traditional character of *sanjuán*, reflected in the generalized operation of formulaic substitutability focusing on prominent domains of behavior and lifeways, is counterbalanced by certain dynamic forces that inject new life into the traditional texts. One of these forces for creativity and innovation is the absorption of ritual behaviors into *sanjuán* texts being performed at the moment. I refer to the effects on established texts of behaviors I and performing Quichua musicians observed at children's wakes on Mt. Cotacachi's slopes, in this case in late 1979 to early 1980.⁴ In the festive child's wake ritual—one whose principal behavioral parameters are shared by diverse Roman Catholic cultures throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, and a ritual that is documented in this Spanish-speaking hemisphere back at least to the late 18th century,⁵ the recently deceased infant is displayed prominently in its home. Festive dancing to prominent local musical genres, played on locally prominent instruments, takes place through the night, accompanied by consumption of food and alcoholic beverage.

The reliance upon formulaic expression, in the on-the-spot creation of *sanjuán* phrases, facilitates improvisation. *Sanjuán* performance in *wawa velorio*, in my experience at four children's wakes—three in 1979–1980, and one in August 1990—is frequently improvisational. Again, there is a historical parallel in Hassaurek. Commenting on Quichua performances in general particularly in the Cayambe area, but suggesting northern highland indígenas in general, he notes: "I soon afterwards had an opportunity to observe that the Indians on such [festive] occasions sing any thing that flashes through their minds, accommodating the words to the melody. ..." (1867:297–8). Today, in Cotacachi Quichua *wawa velorio*, the singer frequently takes textually creative cues from a remark by the harpist, from the current dancing activity or lack thereof by those present, from his knowledge of recent courting activities of the harpist, or from activities of the godparents of the deceased. Please consult Appendix 2 for the following examples.

In the text of NI.5 (that is, the fifth *sanjuán* in my thematic catalogue [Schechter 1982-II:259–86] with title Not Identified), Performance A., at *wawa velorio* 2, 12–13 January 1980, the singer first engages in conversation with the harpist, as he begins to play the *sanjuán*; they note the disappearance of the godmother and the fact that the godfather, drunk, has fallen asleep. Then harpist Sergio improvises the sung text, to his own music: "Where is the godmother? Godmother, make them dance. ..." His singer-companion, Gerónimo, alongside, counters, singing: "The godfather gone, the godmother drunk (They have presumed she has gone to Cotacachi to get drunk)." They have improvised a new text: by means of formulaic expression, they have created a new 8-syllable substitution system (found on page 4 of Appendix 1), matching syllabically the 8 notes articulated in each half of the *sanjuán* NI.5 musical phrase you find at the top of page 1 of Appendix 2. The text springs from the situation, at this particular *wawa velorio*, on this particular night.

Towards the end of the text transcription of *sanjuán* NI.7, Performance A., at this same *wawa velorio* in January 1980, Gerónimo teases in song his musician-partner, Sergio, about the fact that likely Sergio will soon marry the woman he had been courting at an earlier *velorio*: "Sergio Bihuela is suffering greatly." Harpist Sergio shouts a denial, alleging he is about to finish off that affair. Gerónimo responds, again singing, that Sergio is becoming a *Pozuzo* man—suggesting he will be betrothed to that woman. Gerónimo has created another new verse-couplet to fit within another 8-syllable constraint.

In the course of *wawa velorio* 1, 28–29 December 1979, Roberto, singing to the traditional *sanjuán*, "*Ruku kuskungu*," Performance B., discards the traditional text (this text can be seen in Performance A.) and improvises, within the "*Ruku kuskungu*" 10-syllable-line constraint, his thoughts about the relative lack, to this point in the wake evening, of accompanying persons and of dancing people, and about the fact that he is prepared to greet the dawn all alone, if necessary (see Appendix 2). "*Ruku kuskungu*" in fact dates

back at least to the mid-19th century; in 1868 Juan León Mera published a text, "*Atahualpa Huañui*" ("The Death of Atahualpa") (1868:17) that, in its verse-structure and content, is clearly the ancestor of the *sanjuán* I recorded 110 years later (Schechter 1982-II:564–8). This *sanjuán*, which appears to have been in its 19th-century form a lament on the death of Inca Atahualpa, the "Quito Inca" who reigned over Ecuador in the last years of the Inca Empire, is today sung in northern Ecuador without the specific references to the Inca and to his demise. The death is accompanied by the wails of owl and dove in the older rendition; in the 1980 Cotacachi version, the singer (Performance A., *wawa velorio* 1) preserves the owl's wailing a death-wail, but the "dove-child" is now not in a tree but in heaven—perhaps suggesting that the dead child in the *wawa velorio* room is that dove-child, now in heaven. "*Ruku kuskungu*" was performed, with sung text, in two of the three *wawa velorios* I attended in 1979–1980; hence, it might be conjectured that today's Quichua musicians believe this *sanjuán* appropriate for presentation at the death not of a great leader, but of a small infant or child. It is the system of formulaic expression that permits the critical thematic substitution—contextually appropriate—of "*janaj pachapi*," (up in heaven) in 1980, for the 19th-century words, "*janaj yurapi*" (up in the tree). Finally, the Performance A. verse, "*Achi taitaka wakajunmari, Llaki llakilla tiyajunmari*" in Appendix 2 is absent from the 19th-century version; its presence here in the 1979 *wawa velorio* likely springs again from context: here, harpist Sergio interrupts the regular singer, Roberto, to "announce" in song an event pertaining to the godfather's behavior, at this moment: he is seen to be weeping, at his godchild's death. Again, as with the "*janaj pachapi*" substitution, the new text is generated by the *wawa velorio* setting.

Inasmuch as *sanjuán* can be viewed as more a vehicle for expression than a fixed song, improvisation is natural and frequent, especially in natural context such as *wawa velorio*. In all the cited *wawa velorio* instances, the improviser-singer expresses his spontaneous thoughts of the moment within the melodic and line-syllabic constraints of the particular *sanjuán*. The text-music examples of the operation of this child-wake-improvisatory *sanjuán* provided in Appendix 2 demonstrate the ability of this musical genre to accommodate, or absorb, prominent, felt behaviors and events of the *wawa velorio* ritual.

This rite, as I have discussed elsewhere (see Schechter 1988), serves as an emblem—or microcosm—of its particular culture, in Cotacachi, Ecuador, as well as in other Latin American localities in different times and places. The Latin American child's wake embodies local-cultural preferences in instrumental ensemble-types, in dance-types, in verse-types, in game-types, in foods, in drinks, in types of courting behavior—in sum, in both material and expressive cultural aspects. Cotacachi Quichua *wawa velorio* in 1980 and 1990, with musical genres *vacación*, *sanjuán*, and *pareja*⁶; with the *sanjuán* dance-step; with harpist playing *arpa imbabureña* accompanied by *golpeador*-

singer performing both memorized verses and verses improvised under constraints of formulaic expression; with barley and maize gruel, stewed corn, and cane-alcohol *trago*, is a microcosm of Cotacachi Quichua culture of this time period.

To summarize, Andean Quichua *sanjuán* of Cotacachi, Imbabura, Ecuador, is both traditional and dynamic: in its regular formulaic substitutability, *sanjuán* text emphasizes paramount domains in the regional macrocosm, lifeways; in the context of one ritual, *wawa velorio*, *sanjuán* reveals the ability to absorb into its texts prominent behavioral and phenomenal elements of the rite itself, laying the groundwork for textual variants and instilling the genre with a dynamic character. Its sensitivity to its cultural surroundings—both broadly (lifeways) and narrowly (*wawa velorio* ritual) construed—is surely one reason for the durability of *sanjuán* as the musical spirit of the Quichua of Cotacachi, Imbabura.

Notes

- 1 Hassaurek 1867; Jiménez de la Espada 2:1884: XXI; Moreno Andrade 1923:27.
- 2 See also, on parallel and appositional thinking specifically in central Ecuadorian highland Quichua song, Regina MacDonald 1979:236–7.
- 3 See Albert B. Lord, "The Singer of Tales," 1960, and the analyses, based on this paradigm, of Mexican *corrido* and American blues, by McDowell, 1972, and by Tilton, 1977, respectively.
- 4 See Schechter 1983 for a fuller account of this ritual as practiced in Quichua communities in this sector of Imbabura province.
- 5 See Schechter 1988.
- 6 See Schechter 1983 for a full discussion of these genres.

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APPENDIX I: Formulaic Expression in *sanjuán*

A. Substitution Systems in 7-Syllable Lines:

Ayunashka Wakai wakai Tigrashpalla Kanta nishpa Kanmantalla Llaki llaki Na pimanta	} } } } } } }	{ { { { { { {	purini - purinki tigrani muyuni
Shuilla shungu Wakai wakai	} }		chartni
Cyirtupacha Llull'pallami	} }		nijpika

Maitachari	} }	riyasha llujsishisa
ñuka warmi ñuka nira ñuka chula	} } }	yarkani
Paya jinti Rukumari	} }	karkani

B. Substitution Systems in 8-Syllable Lines:

Wakai wakailla Wakai wakaimi Llaki llakilla	} } }	{ { { { { {	purini - purinki - purisha kidarka - kidajun tigranki muyunki shamuni
Mana pimanta Mana maimanta Kantamimanta Kanmantallami Kanmantamari Kanta nishpami Kanta nishpalla Kanmantamanta Paite nishpami Ima nishpalla	} } } } } } } } } }	{ { { { { { { { { {	purini - purinki shamuni - shamujpi - shamushpa muyuni juvani
Llakishamari Juyashamari	} }		nirkanki
Kachigupapash Tragugupapash	} }		illajpi
Llarnagutarni	} }		rutuni jatuni

Yana shimigu	}	kaparka
Chilpi rinrigu		
Chilpi sillugu		
Yana makigu		
Piruru kachugu*		
Chimbulu sikigu*		
Pintadu llamagu*		
Putu chupagu		
Palta lulungu		
Warku lulungu		
Milma sapagu		

* (second and third syllables of first word are treated by singer as one syllable)

Maija apashka Kashpapash - kajpipash

nuka jatushka }
nuka wañushka }

jipaka

Waynandirajmi }
Jillundirajmi }

tukunki

Taita Manuilka }
Taita Man(u)lpash }

mashashkamari
mash'shkamari
mach'shkallami
mach'shkgumi

Manllarishkami }
Manllarishpami }

wakajun

Sirinkapajmi }
Sanja washapi }

rishka nin
rishkanka
rishkami
rishkaña
rishkashi
rishka nin
sirinman
sirinka

Rusa runaka }
Rusitagupash }
Rusa Maria }
Rusitaguka }
Ishkandigumi }

mashashka
machanmi
macharka

Kwidadullata }
Kwidadullapash }
Kwidariyankilla }
Kuñaditagu }
Juizu juizulla }

Rusita
kuñada
kuñad'
kwidanki

Ishkandiguta }
Juyaimantami }
Wasigumanmi }

pusharka
puñuchin

Juyaimantalla }
Llakimantalla }

purini
muyuni

Jari jarilla }

bailasha - bailapai
warmigu
kuyuri
tigrani - tigrapai - tigrashun
muyushun

Ama pinasha }
Ama waglilla }
Urkistagupi }

bailasha

Imanishpalla }
Nishpallamini }

rimanki

Cyirtupallacha }

nijpiyá - nijpika - ninkiyá
pyinsanki

Achi mamaka }

maipichu
bailachi
machashka

Achi taitaka	{ bailachi chinkashka
Karu karuta	purijun – purishpa
ñuka tunupi	{ bailapai – bailashpa tushupai tigrapai
Kunan tutulla	{ kumpañai bailapai
Ima nishpata	{ pinkañán' llakiñán'
Tukuigullata	{ bailashun tushushun jatari
Taita mampash Purikunapash ñañakunap'sh	} yachanmi
Sultira warmi Sultira runa	} kashpachu
Imamantata	{ pinasha machanchi
Urni vichai Ay sulugulla Ishkai ladu	} yalipasha – yalipashun – yalipani

C. Substitution Systems in 9-Syllable Lines:

Ama kushikita ñuka punllagulla	} bailasha
Kanta nishpami Mana pimanta	} shamujuni

Tantanajushpa	{ tiyajushpa purijushpa
---------------	-------------------------------

D. Substitution Systems in 10-Syllable Lines:

Ruku kuskungu	{ jawa pakaipi jana pakaipi
Pipash illajshna	{ shayajurkani purijurkani shuyajurkani
Tukuillamari	{ rikunkapalla uyankapalla
Mana bailashpa	{ ñaupa tyimbupi kaipillayari
Kunankarimpash	bailaju rinki – bailaju rijpi
Kanmantallami Llaki llakilla	} purijunika
Mana piman' Kantamiman'	} shamuni, nigraku
Wambrakunaka Wambrakunapash	{ kwitsakunawan kwitsakunaka

E. Substitution Systems in 11-Syllable Lines:

Jatun waikumán San Juan puyuman	} llujshisha nirkanki
Achi	{ mamita kumari, kumari taitiku kumari, kumari

Tutai punllalla bailashun	}	{	kumari kumpari
Tutai punllaimi bailashun			
Tukui tutami bailashun			
Pakarinkapa bailashun			
Pakarinkapa pakarishu'			
Tukui tutapi bailashun			
Kushi kushilla bailapai			
Gushtu gushtumi bailashun	}		

Manil Moralis tiyuka	}		kaipimi
Sisar Antunyu Biwila			

Patsa naranja nirkanki	}	{	kusagu hijitu nigrita
Chunka naranja nirkanki			

Mamitamanilla villasha	}		nirkanki
Mamitamanmi villasha			
Taitikumanilla villasha			
Taitikumanmi villasha			
Patsanaranja kusagu			
Chunka naranja kusagu			

Taitikutami manllani	}		nigrita
Mamikutami manllani			
Mamitatapish manllani			

Man piman' shamunilla	}		nigraku
Kantamiman' shamunilla			

F. Substitution Systems in 12-Syllable Lines:

Linda wambrita de Peguchi	}		wambrita
Linda wambrita de Tikulla			

Mana pimanta	}	{	kaniyalla runagu Shamunilla runagu Purinilla runagu
Wallaramanta			
Tikumantalla			

APPENDIX 2: Wawa velorio context-cued improvisation in *sanjuán*

All spoken expressions are in italics.
Sung text is not italicized.

NLS.



Performance A., 2nd *wawa velorio* attended, January 1980:

S(ergio) – harpist and singer

G(erónimo) – fellow singer

...(music alone)...	...
S <i>Kaika, achi mamakunapa tunugu.</i>	<i>This is the godmothers' song.</i>
...(music alone)...	...
S <i>Achi mama wañushka, nin.</i>	<i>The godmother is dead, they say.</i>
G <i>Achi mama chinkashkamari-</i>	<i>The godmother's disappeared, indeed-</i>
...(music alone)...	...
G <i>Achi mama kunanka, Cutacachiman</i>	<i>The godmother, now, went to</i>
<i>rishka, nin.</i>	<i>Cotacachi,</i>
S <i>Wawata sakishk'.</i>	<i>they say.</i>
...(music alone)...	<i>She left the child.</i>
G <i>Karikunaka Cutacachi apas-</i>	...
<i>machankapak' rishka chai</i>	<i>Men Cotacachi ----</i>
<i>bailanajun nin achi mamakunaka,</i>	<i>she went to get drunk, that one</i>
<i>kaya muyumunkari.</i>	<i>they all dance, they say, the</i>
...(music alone)...	<i>godmothers will return tomorrow.</i>
S <i>Salvador Huamán, ñuka achi taita</i>	...
<i>tukusha nijunmi!</i> (laughs)	<i>Salvador Huamán, he is saying</i>
...(music alone)...	<i>I'm going to become godfather!</i>
G <i>Achi mamaka illanma tiyajun</i>	...
G <i>Salvador Huamanka-</i>	<i>The godmother being gone, indeed,</i>
S ----	<i>Salvador Huamanka-</i>
...	----
...(music alone)...	...
S <i>Achi mamaka, kanllagu kwida</i>	<i>Godmother, outside care</i>
<i>-agu nin.</i>	<i>----, they say.</i>
...(music alone)...	...
G <i>Achi mamakun'taka, chaki ----</i>	<i>Now the godmother's leg ----</i>
G <i>japishkamimari.</i>	<i>grabbed, indeed.</i>
S <i>Chaki punkishka ni 'mata</i>	<i>A swollen leg and the godfather,</i>
<i>achi taitakari mach'ska puñujun</i>	<i>drunk, is sleeping and says</i>
<i>nin!</i>	<i>nothing!</i>
...(music alone)...	...
S <i>Achi mamaka maipichu</i>	<i>Where is the godmother?</i>
<i>Achi mamaka bailachi,</i>	<i>Godmother, make (them) dance,</i>
<i>Achi mamaka bailachi,</i>	<i>Godmother, make (them) dance,</i>
<i>Achi taitaka bailachi,</i>	<i>Godfather, make (them) dance,</i>
...(music alone)...	...
G <i>Achi taitaka chinkashka</i>	<i>The godfather, disappeared,</i>

Achi mamaka machashka,
Achi taitaka chinkashka
Achi mamaka machashka,
...(music alone)...

The godmother, drunk,
The godfather, disappeared,
The godmother, drunk,
... ..

NI.7.



Performance A., 2nd *wawa velorio* attended, January 1980:

S(ergio) – harpist and singer

G(erónimo) – fellow singer

G Sergio Bihuela
Llaki llakilla kidajun,
S (laughs)
G Sergio Bihuela
Llaki llakilla kidajun,
S *Kanmá, pantashka, tuntu!*
...(music alone)...
S *Kaya* ---
...(music alone)...
S *Gerónimo, ñuka ña Pozuzo-
tukuchinamari.*
G *Na, Sergio Bihuela Pozuzo-*
S *Na.*
...(music alone)...
G Sergio Bihuela
Pozuzo runami tukujun,
S (laughs)
G Sergio Bihuela
Pozuzo runami tukujun,....

Sergio Bihuela
Is suffering greatly,
(laughs)
Sergio Bihuela
Is suffering greatly,
You, indeed, are mistaken, stupid!
... ..
Tomorrow ---
... ..
*Gerónimo, now I am to finish off
the Pozuzo affair, indeed.*
No, Sergio Bihuela Pozuzo-
No.
... ..
Sergio Bihuela
Is becoming a Pozuzo man,
(laughs)
Sergio Bihuela
Is becoming a Pozuzo man,....

“Ruku kuskungu” (“Old owl”).



Performance A., 1st *wawa velorio* attended, December 1979:

César – harpist (does not speak or sing)

S(ergio) – singer

R(obero) – fellow singer

J(ohn Schechter) – ethnomusicologist present, invited by harpist
and harpist's family, to attend the ritual

...(music alone)...

S *Achi taita Roberto Alcázarka
mana bailankapa munanllu,
kunanka tiyata laduman
sakishka tiyajun.*
(several laugh)

...(music alone)...

S *Roberto mashi, Alcázarmi ña
kandankapa kimirijun, achi
taitallata kandagrijun.*
(laughs)

...(music alone)...

R *Sergio Bihuelami kaipi
kandagrín, kai, achi taita
prupiu paika, wawamantap'sb
paika ach' taitalla llujshi-*

S (laughs)

S *Llullandami, ama kriy'nkichu!*
(several laugh)

R *Wawamand-*

J *Kandashpa kandashpa. .
na rimashpa.*

R (laughs)

R *Peru, agwandanki.*

...(music alone)...

S *Roberto Alcázarka,
ñuka achi taitaka
nishka kantagrín ña.*
(several laugh)

R *Mana shinachu.*

...(music alone)...

R *Ruku kuskungu jawa pakaipi
Wañui wakaita wakajunmari,
Ruku kuskungu jana pakaipi
Wañui wakaita wakajunmari,*

[1868: *Rucu cuscungu Jatum pacaipi
Huañui huacaihuan Huacacurcami;*]

...(music alone)...

S *Kanta, kantai.*

R *Urpi wawapash janaj pachapi
Wañui wakaita wakajunmari,
Urpi wawapash janaj pachapi
Wañui wakaita wakajunmari,*

[1868: *Urpi huahuapas Janac yurapi
Llaqui llaquilla Huacacurcami.*]

S *Ama wakankichu!*

...(music alone)...

R *-anita, imata pyinsanki,*

R *Sergio Bi- Bihuelami kani, ñukaka!*
(Sergio and others laugh)

...(music alone)...

S *-anita --- ama wakankichu, peru . . .
kanpa wawakashi wakimpika
wañunkami!*

...(music alone)...

... ..

*Godfather Roberto, Alcázar
does not want to dance,
now he's left the woman off
to the side.*
(several laugh)

... ..

*Compañero Roberto, Alcázar, now
is approaching to sing, the
godfather himself is going to sing.*
(laughs)

... ..

*Sergio Bihuela here
is going to sing; he is the
real godfather; because of the child
he'll go out as godfather himself.*
(laughs)

Lying, don't believe it!

(several laugh)

Because of the child-

Singing, singing. .

not talking.

(laughs)

But, wait.

... ..

*Roberto Alcázar,
my so-called god-
father now is going to sing.*
(several laugh)

Not so.

... ..

The old owl in his nest above
Wails indeed his death-wail,
The old owl in his nest above
Wails indeed his death-wail,
[The old owl in his large nest
With his death-wail was wailing;]

... ..

Sing, sing.

And the dove-child in heaven
It is wailing, indeed, the death-wail,
And the dove-child in heaven
It is wailing, indeed, the death-wail,
[And the dove-child Up in the tree
Was wailing very sorrowfully.]
Don't cry!

... ..

*-anita, what are you thinking,
Sergio Bi- I am Sergio Bihuela!*
(Sergio and others laugh)

... ..

*-anita --- don't cry, please . . .
it seems like your child, all
of a sudden, is going to die!*

... ..

- S *Kantai, taita, achi taita.*
...(music alone)...
- R Puma makiwan-
(Sergio and others laugh)
- R Puma shunguwan atuj makiwan
- Llamata shina tukuchirkami,
Puma shunguwan atuj makiwan
- Llamata shina tukuchirkami
...(music alone)...
- S *Kanta, kantai.*
...(music alone)...
- S *A vir, kikin ñaupa, ñuka katisba.*
R *Ya.*
R *Ña.*
R *Katinkichá?*
S *Ari.*
...(music alone)...
- R Puma shunguwan llama-
R *Chujta! Chai pantachun-*
S *Ama pantaichu.*
R Puma shunguwan atuj makiwan
- Llamata shina tukuchirkami.
Puma shunguwan atuj makiwan
- Llamata shina tukuchirkami,
Kurraljundaila llamakunapa
Illai illami kidajurkami,
Kurraljundaila llamakunapa
Illai illailla kidajurkami,
...(music alone)...
- J *Alimi kantasbpa.*
...(music alone)...
- R (whistles melody)
- S **Achi taitaka wakajunmari**
Llaki llakilla tiyajunmari,
Achi taitaka wakajunmari
Llaki llakilla kumpariyajunmi.
- ...(music alone)...
- S *Allimari, kashna.*
...(music alone)...
- S Rubirtu tiyuka llaki llakilla
---- jatalla shina ----
Rubirtu tiyuka llaki llakilla
---- shinacha nijun,
...(music alone)...
- S *Taita Jusi María Alcázarka,*
rijun ña kuliramanta, mana
utsja shamunllachu nijunmi!
- ...(music alone)...
- S *Kanta, kantayá.*
- Sing, father, godfather.
... ..
With the paws of a puma-
(Sergio and others laugh)
With a puma heart, with a wolf's
paws
(Yet) they did him in like a sheep,
With a puma heart, with a wolf's
paws
(Yet) they did him in like a sheep,
... ..
Sing, sing.
... ..
Let's see, you first, I shall follow.
OK.
Now.
You'll follow?
Yes.
... ..
With a puma heart, sheep-
Damn! That that errs-
Don't make mistakes.
With a puma heart, with a wolf's
paws
(Yet) they did him in like a sheep,
With a puma heart, with a wolf's
paws
(Yet) they did him in like a sheep,
The corral just filled with sheep
None at all remained,
The corral just filled with sheep
None at all remained,
... ..
Singing well.
... ..
(whistles melody)
The godfather is crying, indeed,
He is very sad, certainly,
The godfather is crying, indeed,
He is keeping company (here)
very sadly,
... ..
Real good, like that.
... ..
Roberto very sad
---- like ----
Roberto very sad
---- perhaps like that, he is saying,
... ..
José María Alcázarka, a father,
is going away, now, due to anger,
saying he's just not going to come
back quickly!
... ..
Sing, go ahead and sing.

- ...(music alone)...
- S *Rusa María, uyakataka, hasta*
ñaña ñiñagu kusbi kushigu
---- rikumujun!
...(music concludes)....
-
... ..
Rusa María, listener, even
very angry - very happy
she is looking here!
... ..

- Performance B., 1st *wawa velorio* attended, December 1979:
César – harpist (does not speak or sing)
S(ergio) – singer
R(oberto) – fellow singer
- S -akilla shamujushpami
Wakai wakaiilla tigraturkani,
Ñukata tiyu-shpa rikujushpami
Kikinkapajmi shun- (laughs)
...(music alone)...
- R Kumpaña jinti illaimantami
- Llaki llakimi shuyajurkani,
Kumpaña jinti illaimantaka
- Llaki llakilla shuyajurkani,
Pipash illajshna shayajurkani
- Pipa illajshna purijurkani,
- Pipa illajshna shayajurkani
- Pipa illajshna shuyajurkani,
...(music alone)...
- S *Roberto Alcázarka, tabakutap'sb*
na japi usbashka tiyajun.
R *Tabakuta kashpa, ishka'i maki*
japin.
S *Shinacha achi taita.*
R *Mitsamanta karka, shinacha*
achi taitaka.
...(music alone)...
- R Kumpaňankami yuyashpamari
Ñuka purijurkaniyarika,
Ñukakayari kumpaňankami
Yuyashpamari purijurkani,
...(music alone)...
- R -isti -istimi kunankarimpash
Pakarigrinmi kunankarimp',
-isti -istimi kunankarimpash
Pakarigrinpa kunankarim',
...(music alone)...
- R Tukuillamari rikunkapalla
- coming very sad
I was returning crying very much,
The man looking at me
Your heart- (laughs)
... ..
Due to the absence of
accompanying persons
I was waiting very sadly,
Due to the absence of
accompanying persons
I was waiting very sadly,
I was waiting for whomever,
be they absent,
I was walking about – whomever,
be they absent,
I was standing for whomever,
be they absent,
I was waiting for whomever,
be they absent,
... ..
Roberto Alcázarka is sitting, unable to
grab a cigarette.
There being a cigarette, two hands
grab it.
Like that, eh, godfather.
It was because of stinginess,
it was like
that, godfather.
... ..
Thinking of accompanying, indeed,
I walked over, yes,
I, yes, accompanying
Thinking that, indeed, I walked over,
... ..
---- yes, and now
And yes, now, it will be dawning,
---- yes, and now
Yes, now, it will be dawning,
... ..
Just for seeing everything, indeed,

Tukuillamari uyankapalla
 Tukuillamari rikunkapalla
 Tukuillamari uyankapalla,
 ...(music alone)...
 R Taita Jusi María Alcázar
 Bailankayashpa shuyajurkani,
 Taita Jusi María Alcázar
 Bailankayashpa shuyajurkani,
 Mana bailashpa ñaupa tyimbupi
 Ñaupa tyimbupi tiyjurkallami,
 Ña mana bailashpa kaipillayari
 Rikujunkapa shayajurkalla,
 ...(music alone)...
 R Iriz irizu shayajurkanki
 Irizullami tiyjurka ----
 ...(music alone)...
 R Ima milagrutayariyari
 Kunankarimpash bailaju rijpi,
 Ima milagrutayariyari
 Kunankarimpash bailaju rinki,
 ...(music alone)...
 Someone: *Agwandanki, mastru.*
 R *Kampa na usbanki bailaita,*
 Jusi María Alcázar tiyushka,
 Mastru kari mas ki, jamzi maki,
 Aisajunkallami.
 ...(music alone)...
 R *Piunta bailajunkiya!*
 Someone: *Rijsinkichuyá? Chai.*
 R *Mana rijsinichu.*
 Someone: *Na rijsiin-?*
 R *Mana.*
 Someone: *Chai, ---- tiyagumi.*
 R *Ah, ya. Kumari michuajanawán!*
 ...(music alone)...
 R *Aiyayai, caraju.*
 ...(music alone)...
 R Makai tukushpa kaigupi kaya
 Tiyajunimari hijitagu.
 Makai tukushpa kaigupi kari
 Tiyajunimari hijitagu,
 ...(music alone)...
 R Kumpaña jinti illashpamari
 Nukagullami bailajuni,
 Kumpaña jinti illashpamari
 Nukagullami bailajuni,
 ...(music alone)...
 Someone: Mikunkapalla mikujuni
 Yanka chishata tiyanajunlla,
 R Mikunallata yuyanajuppi
 Diltudumari kulirari,

Just for hearing everything, indeed,
 Just for seeing everything, indeed,
 Just for hearing everything, indeed,
 ...
 José María Alcázar, father,
 I was waiting for him to begin
 dancing,
 José María Alcázar, father,
 I was waiting for him to begin
 dancing,
 Not dancing earlier
 He was just sitting earlier,
 Now not dancing right here, indeed,
 He just stood up to look,
 ...
 ---- you stood up
 There was ----
 ...
 What a miracle, indeed,
 And now, yes, going to dance,
 What a miracle, indeed,
 And now, yes, you are going to dance,
 ...
 Wait, maestro.
 For you, you don't know
 how to dance,
 José María Alcázar man,
 The maestro is a man, even if his _____
 hands are small,
 He's just pulling fine.
 ...
 (Female) worker, go and dance!
 In fact, do you know her? That one.
 I don't know her.
 You don't know her?
 No.
 That one (is) ---- woman.
 Oh, yes. With comadre michuajana!
 ...
 Aiyayai, dammit.
 ...
 Coming to blows here tomorrow
 I am, indeed, girl,
 Coming to blows here man
 I am, indeed, girl,
 ...
 Accompanying persons absent indeed,
 I am dancing alone,
 Accompanying persons absent indeed,
 I am dancing alone,
 ...
 I am eating just to eat
 It's just getting late for nothing,
 Thinking just of a meal
 Get angry completely, indeed,

Mikunallata yuyanajuppi
 Diltudullami kulirari,
 Mikunamanta diskitamaka
 Mana shamunllu hijitagu,
 Di-mikunamanta mana- shamun
 Mikunamanta mana diskita,
 Someone: Diskitankalla yuyai kari
 Yanka rikushpa tiyanajunlla,
 ...(music alone)...
 R Kashna tiyajuna kashpakayari
 Nukallatami tukui tuka,
 Pakarishami ñukagullata
 Sulugullata bailajushami,
 ...(music alone)...
 Thinking just of a meal
 Get angry completely, indeed,
 About the meal, it's said, indeed,
 That it doesn't come, girl,
 About the meal, it doesn't come
 The meal is not spoken about,
 It'll just be said that a man
 Is looking for it for nothing, perhaps,
 ...
 Yes, that being as it may
 Play everything for me,
 I'll greet the dawn all by myself
 I'll dance all by myself,
 ...

Essay 5

SACRED TIME AND SPACE: THE FESTIVAL OF SAINT ELIZABETH OF HUAYLAS (ANCASH, PERU)

Elisabeth den Otter

L'idée même d'une cérémonie religieuse éveille l'idée de fête. Inversement, toute fête, alors même qu'elle est purement laïque par ses origines, a certains caractères de la cérémonie religieuse, car dans tous les cas, elle a pour effet de rapprocher les individus, de mettre en mouvement les masses et de susciter ainsi un état d'effervescence, parfois même de délire, qui n'est pas sans parenté avec l'état religieux (Durkheim 1968:547).

Rituals are important in the life of man: important events are marked by means of coherent actions which often are symbolic. They may be seen as a kind of living theatre in which the participants pronounce fixed texts and act along fixed lines. These texts and actions are the key to the most important norms and values of a culture. By converting ideas, products of the mind, into material objects, we give them relative permanence. These expressive actions are the material representation of abstract ideas, called "ritual condensation" by Leach.

The participants in a ritual are sharing communicative experiences through many different sensory channels simultaneously: verbal, musical, choreographic, and aesthetic 'dimensions' are all likely to form components of the total message. When we take part in such a ritual we pick up all these messages at the same time and condense them into a single experience (Leach 1976:37-41).

Music and dance are forms of ritual condensation which may be observed during festivals, be they profane or sacred, private or public. Through them people find ways of communicating, be it verbally or nonverbally, what is important to them, and of establishing a feeling of togetherness, of belonging to the same kind of people.

The great majority of ceremonial occasions are "rites of transition", which mark the crossing of boundaries between one social category and another.

During a ritual the participants find themselves in the center of the world, a cosmos where order and harmony reign. But this harmonious order cannot exist without its counterpart: chaos.

The Meaning of the Festival

All over the world people mark out their calendars by means of festivals, which are a way of ordering time; the year's progress is marked by a succession of festivals. They may belong to the yearly cycle of economical activities (harvesting, cattle branding) or the yearly cycle of religious festivities. These communal events, be they religious or secular, are "cyclic", e.g. they are

repeated at certain intervals, like the religious festivals or civic holidays. Contrary to this, private events (except birthdays) are "linear" rites of transition that occur only once in a lifetime, like baptisms, weddings, and funerals. The transition is marked by ritual, and the boundaries—in time as well as in space—are ambiguous and a source of conflict and anxiety.

The elements of a religious festival, which are forms of ritual, are sacred as well as profane: masses and religious processions, fireworks, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, and commercial activities. The festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas, which will be discussed below, shows both elements.

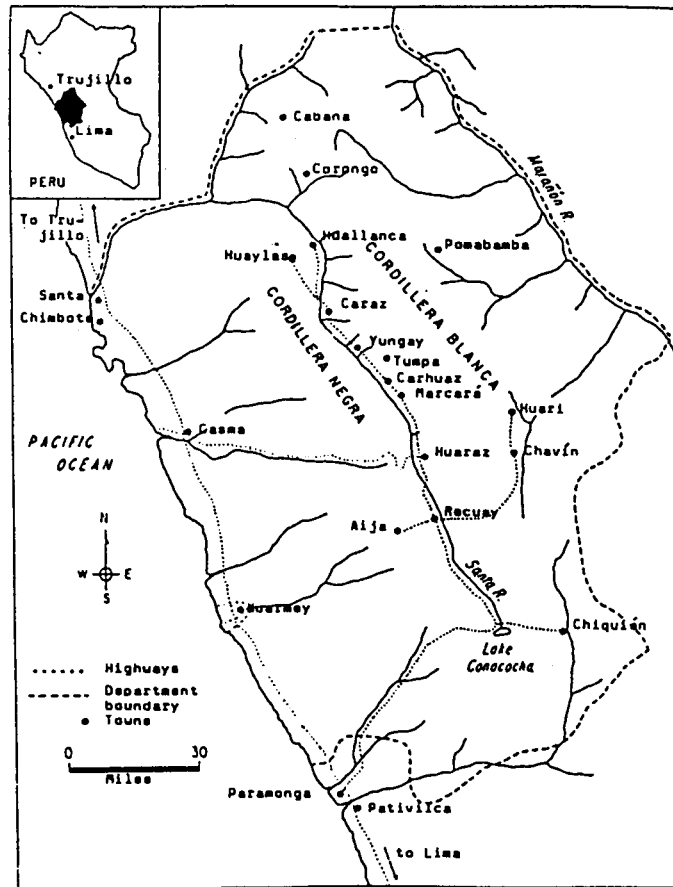


Fig. 1. Department of Ancash, Peru

Huaylas is a small agrarian town in the north of the Callejón de Huaylas, a 150 km-long valley in north-central Peru. It is divided into a number of urban and rural *barrios* (wards), which still reflect the dual system of pre-Columbian times. Delicados, Yácup and Shuyo are the urban wards, formerly the lower moiety, whereas Quécuas, Huayrán, Iscap, Tambo, San Lorenzo and Huaromapuquio are rural wards belonging to the former upper moiety. This division coincides with the division *Mishtis/Indios* (upper class Mestizo/lower class Indian). Between 1960 and 1970 the population of the district of Huaylas amounted to an average of 5,500 persons, 1,200 of which lived "in town". A heavy earthquake in 1970 killed more than 200 people and many survivors migrated to Lima.

Saint Elizabeth: Queen of the Heavens

<i>Reina de los cielos</i>	Queen of the heavens
<i>Reina de los meses</i>	Queen of the months
<i>Santa Isabel</i>	Saint Elizabeth
<i>Reina de mi tierra</i>	Queen of my homeland
<i>Por ti estoy</i>	Because of you I am
<i>Siempre feliz</i>	Always happy.

<i>Tu siempre serás</i>	You will always be
<i>De Haylas la luz</i>	The light of Huaylas
<i>Siempre reinarás</i>	You will always reign
<i>En mi ciudad</i>	In my town

<i>No dejes jamás</i>	Don't ever stop
<i>De ofrecer bondad</i>	Offering goodness
<i>Danos como ayer</i>	Give us like yesterday
<i>Tu bendición</i>	Your benediction

<i>Madre cariñosa</i>	Loving mother
<i>Madre bondadosa</i>	Bountiful mother
<i>Santa Isabel</i>	Saint Elizabeth
<i>Y nosotros Incas</i>	And we Incas
<i>Te damos hoy</i>	Give you today
<i>La adoración</i>	The adoration

<i>Pájaros y flores</i>	Birds and flowers
<i>Te ofrecemos Virgen</i>	We offer you Virgin
<i>Santa Isabel</i>	Saint Elizabeth
<i>Ya nos retiramos</i>	Now we are leaving
<i>Adiós, adiós</i>	Goodbye, goodbye
<i>Reina de amor</i>	Queen of love

("Adoración", composed by David Flores)

This song is sung during the procession by groups of schoolchildren called "Incaicos". Each barrio has its own musicians and dance groups, including the Incaicos. At one particular festival they were dressed in Cuzco-type costumes and carried braided slings that are cracked like whips. They are accompanied by one or two violins, one or two harps, and sometimes a man-

dolin. They participate in the processions as well as in a contest, representing events from the time of the Conquest, such as the murder of the last Inca Atahualpa by Francisco Pizarro. Moreover, they sing and dance “*huaynos*” that describe the beauty of Huaylas and express their attachment to the homeland.



Fig. 2. Saint Elizabeth and Virgin Mary

The official patron saint festival of Huaylas is that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, celebrated on August 15th. However, the festival of Saint Elizabeth, Patroness of the Harvest, is a competing festival that attracts many people. It is an example of the synchronization of Roman Catholic practices with a pre-Columbian agricultural rite. The statue portrays two figures, the Virgin Mary embracing Saint Elizabeth, and together they represent the Visitation of the Virgin Mary to Saint Elizabeth (Figure 2). It is the only statue portraying paired holy figures; in profile they resemble double ears of maize, a symbol for fertility (Doughty n.d.:34–5). Saint Elizabeth is commemorated by Catholics on the 2nd of July, her “true” day. However, because of fights between the Indios and the Mishtis, the authorities decreed that the Mishtis celebrate on the 8th and the Indios on the 2nd of July. Nowadays, the 8th is the principal day of the festival (Doughty n.d.:14), which lasts from July 1st–10th.

Each barrio has its own musicians: a flute and a drum played simultaneously by one man (*caja y roncadora*) or a brass band (*banda*), Incaicos and other dance groups, and Pashas. The Pashas are men dressed in long multi-colored capes with hoods or crowns with plumes, mirrors, and ribbons. They wear masks and carry plaited leather whips of about four meters with a strand of leather or string at the end. Each barrio has about 40 Pashas, who

dance around the plaza cracking their whips and talking in falsetto voices so that they cannot be recognized (Figure 3). They often carry squashes or stalks of maize: this is related to the fact that Saint Elizabeth is the patroness of the harvest. The leading Pasha wears a sash with the name of the barrio on it.



Fig. 3. Pashas: costumed male performers carrying long whips at the fiesta of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas.

The first days of July are assigned to the smaller, mostly Indian barrios: Huaromapuquio, Iscap and Huayrán. They arrive with *caja y roncadora* players, Incaicos and Pashas. The 6th of July “belongs” to the barrio of Quécuas and its sub-barrio Nahuinyacu; their residents come accompanied by *bandas*, Incaicos and Pashas. In the afternoon the *bandas* of all the barrios arrive for the *rompe* (start of the festival) and at night allegorical floats symbolizing the arrival of the Spaniards parade around the plaza, accompanied by their *bandas*. At the end of the evening barrio Shuyo lights fireworks, in anticipation of “their” day.

The 7th is Shuyo’s day, with a mass, a procession, dancers and musicians. In the afternoon, the barrio of Delicados receives the rural barrios with their *bandas* on the outskirts of town and accompanies them to the plaza (square), via an ancient trail behind the church. One by one, the groups of Pashas enter the plaza, shouting and cracking their whips in a haze of dust.

Afterwards, a music and dance contest is held between the barrios and later a public dance is held on the plaza, with all the *bandas* playing. In the evening, a social dance is held in the civic center, organized by the Council of Huaylas. Late at night fireworks are lit by the barrio Delicados.

However, on the 8th—Delicados' day—all barrios participate because it is the Main Day. In the morning a solemn mass is read by the parish priest, and early in the afternoon it is barrio Yácup's turn to greet the rural barrios on the outskirts of town. During the procession each barrio takes the statue of Saint Elizabeth a short distance around the plaza (see Fig. 4).

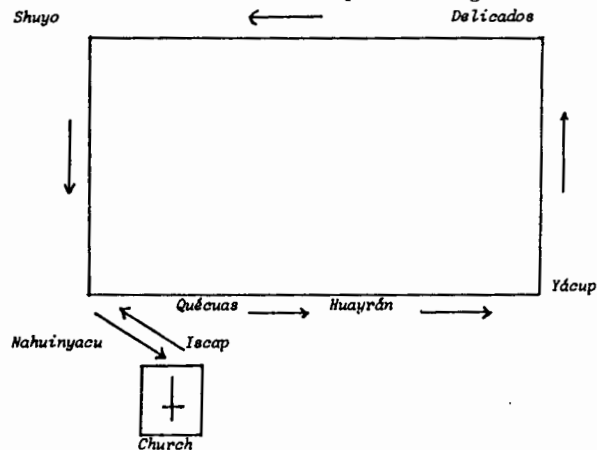


Fig. 4. Processions and barrios

Barrio Iscap takes the image out of the church to the closest corner, a very short distance, from where barrio Quécuas carries it half a plaza-length and barrio Huayrán the other half. From there, the town-barrios of Yácup, Delicados, and Shuyo accompany the image for whole stretches of the plaza at a time. Finally, barrio Nahuinyacu takes it back into the church. The different statuses of the barrios are reflected in the amount of space and time they are allowed to pay homage to Saint Elizabeth: barrio Delicados, being the "owner" of the plaza, gets to take the image on the longest stretch, whereas the rural barrios accompany her on much shorter stretches.

The 9th of July is barrio Yácup's day. In the afternoon the contest is repeated, after which all the barrios receive a diploma. A final public dance is held in the plaza, with all the *bandas* playing.

On the 10th of July everyone goes home and Huaylas returns to its former state: a quiet little town high in the Andes.

Order and Chaos

A festival such as that of Saint Elizabeth is an expression of order as well as chaos. Order in as far as the community is represented and *communitas* is experienced, chaos where expressions of liminality and the accompanying role-reversal may be noticed.

Turner (1969:96) defines *communitas* as "a moment in and out of time" which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition (in symbol if not always in language) of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties.

Lévi-Strauss calls music (and myth) instruments for the obliteration of time, which coincides with Turner's statement:

It is fascinating to consider how often expressions of *communitas* are culturally linked with simple wind instruments and stringed instruments. Perhaps, in addition to their ready portability, it is their capacity to convey in music the quality of spontaneous human *communitas* that is responsible for this (Turner 1969:165).

The central function of the festival is to give occasion for people to rejoice together, to interact in an ambience of acceptance and conviviality. Thus, the festival is (and can be used as) a prime device for promoting social cohesion, for integrating individuals into a society or group and maintaining them as members through shared, recurrent, positively reinforcing performance (Smith 1975:9).

Order is reflected in the music and dance during the procession, which may be seen as a rite of intensification and solidarity.

Communitas is closely related to liminality and role-reversal. Liminality—structural ambiguity experienced during transition from one role to another—is frequently found in cyclical and calendrical ritual, usually of a collective kind, in which, at certain culturally defined points in the seasonal cycle, groups or categories of persons who habitually occupy low status positions in the social structure are positively enjoined to exercise ritual authority over their superiors; and they, in their turn, must accept with good will their ritual degradation. Such rites may be described as "rituals of status reversal". They are often accompanied by robust verbal and nonverbal behavior, in which inferiors revile and even physically maltreat superiors (Turner 1969:167).

The Pashas can be considered a case of role-reversal: they wear masks and speak in falsetto voices, so that they cannot be recognized. Because of this anonymity they are free to make fun of people. They have to register with the authorities, so that they can be apprehended in case of irregularities. The barrio-officials constantly escort them, forming a barrier between the groups of Pashas in order to prevent the break-out of fights reflecting barrio rivalry.

These ritualistic class and moiety confrontations can be seen as examples of chaos. Rivalry between the barrios is also reflected in the length—in time and space—during which they accompany the image in the procession. Their status is visible in the types of music they engage: the rural barrios are accompanied by the traditional *cajas y roncadoras*, whereas the urban barrios engage *bandas*, some of which are considered among the best of the Callejón de Huaylas. Having large groups of Pashas and Incaicos who perform well also reflects favorably upon the barrio.

Sacred and Profane

The sacred is symbolized by the image of Saint Elizabeth and Maria. They may be considered an example of "hiérophanie", the manifestation of the sacred, of a reality which is not of our world, in objects that form an integral part of our "natural" and "profane" world. During the festival the plaza of Huaylas is the Center of the World, a sacred space, where Heaven and Earth are connected by means of the image of Saint Elizabeth and Mary (Eliade 1965:17, 38).

The church and the adjoining plaza are sacred territory during the procession, and the plaza serves as a field of ritual action where the music and dance are manifestations of the sacred. The musicians, dance groups and Pashas participate in the processions, walking slowly backwards, facing the image while slowly bowing. The Pashas form two lines and the Incaicos and other dance groups walk in-between them.

The *bandas* of each barrio play religious music while accompanying the image. When a barrio takes over on its corner, prayers are said, hymns are sung and fireworks ignited. The *bandas* then remain in their respective corners, playing joyful *huaynos*.

The profane is represented by the merchants, food- and ice-vendors and photographers that come to do business in Huaylas during the festival. The profane music and dance consist of the *rompe* on the evening of July 6th, the contest, the public dance and the social dance on the 7th of July.

The contest between the barrios takes place on the plaza, where temporary bleachers are constructed for the audience and the judges. The Incaicos of all barrios perform, accompanied by their musicians: after singing a *pasacalle* and some *huaynos*, a drama is performed that centers on Inca history and myth. After the Incaicos the *bandas* play a number of pieces, as varied as possible: a march, a *marinera*, a waltz, a *huayno* and a *pasacalle*. The Pashas clown around among the onlookers.

These contests were deliberately conceived by the district mayor as a way of diminishing the violence of the festival and to channel the latent rivalries and animosities, under high ceremonial conditions.

The social dance is very much a mestizo affair, with high entrance fees and well-dressed Huaylinos from Lima attending.

Despite the sacred character of the masses and processions, the secular drive of the festival never ceases. The combination of exuberance and piety, of religious passion and secular pleasure contribute to the same ends: the celebration of life's renewal, the community's viability and glorification of the deities.

Past and Present

The folk dramas performed by the Incaicos may represent a longing to forget the Spanish Conquest and may harbour nationalistic sentiments and pride in the Inca forefathers.

Wachtel (1971:65-98) compares dances from the Andes with those of Guatemala and Mexico and concludes that the Conquest is revived in Indian folklore. This folklore preserves the memory of the reactions of the Indians to the Conquest, although not always historically correct, and with this message not always perceived as such by the present-day Indians. The collective memory preserves and transmits the memory of the past.

According to Smith (1975:85-95), ritual drama may indicate an ideological counter-movement from the general exculturative movement of Indian to Mestizo, a search for identity and a rejection of the dominant urban culture.

Van Kessel (1980, 1981) relates the dual organization of Andean society to the choreographic structure of the dances, specifically in the formation of hierarchically ordered parallel rows that occurs in many dances. He postulates that these religious dances are not just an ancient pre-Columbian tradition or a regressive or indigenous movement, but rather a cultural adaptation towards modernization and the integration of a subculture into its surrounding modern society.

Doughty (n.d.:3, 5) argues that Huaylas has maintained its discrete life ways, has adjusted to critical changes, and continues successfully in the context of its historic identity. One of the major signs of such cultural viability and factors aiding continuity is the presence of effective mechanisms of *comunitas* that operate at the community level, in this case the annual fiesta of Saint Elizabeth. He goes on to say that the ceremonial events that are related to religious practice serve numerous integrative, explanatory and expressive functions for individuals, groups, and the community at large. The fiesta of Saint Elizabeth illustrates three of them:

- (1) The expression of the social, structured character and operation of the community, often utilizing what Turner (1969:176ff.) calls the "rituals of status reversal" as the vehicle for such demonstration;
- (2) The theatrical enactment on a calendrical rhythm of acts which reinforce relationships and socialize any neophytes as to the character of the social system, thus revitalizing it;
- (3) The provision of means for the controlled recognition of significant new events, influences or crises, and by these means bringing such affairs into the ongoing context of community life.

The festival shows the structure of the society in question in a compact form, like a blueprint, and is a statement of how things are in a particular year, depending on the economical and political situation: who carries the image, who is at the social dance, and who is at the center of attention. As Doughty (n.d.:24) puts it: "The fiesta not only subjects community officials

and leaders to review, but the whole social order is in effect submitted to a ceremonial inspection."

In a form of "total theatre", the society is enacted, with all its contradictions and particularities, providing a context for an exploration of the cultural identity of the Huaylinos. Music, dance and theatre express how they think about themselves.

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**FROM ESSENTIALISM TO THE ESSENTIAL:
PRAGMATICS AND MEANING OF PUNEÑO
SIKURI PERFORMANCE IN LIMA¹**

Thomas Turino

In most studies of rural to urban migration in Peru, as in my own earlier work, an Andean-*criollo* dichotomy is a constant motif that is based on an overly static, essentialist conception of culture and identity. Scholars' views of Andean migrants in Lima prior to the 1960s were framed in terms of acculturation: the subordinate rural-based Andean group abandoning "their culture" and adopting *criollo* culture after arriving in the capital.² In his 1979 article, "From Homogenization to Heterogenization in Lima, Peru," Richard Schaedel usefully drew attention to a counter trend evident after the 1960s which has been recognized more widely as the "Andeanization of Lima". As Schaedel pointed out, the migrants became a major cultural, economic, and political force in Lima due to sheer numbers as well as the growing crisis within the Peruvian state since before the time of Juan Velasco.

At a general level, Schaedel's and others' emphasis on the "continuity of Andean culture" in Lima seems to be supported by the increased and varied presence of regional highland musical styles in the city, especially after the mid-1950s.⁴ The "Andeanization of Lima" view, however, is simply a reversal of the previous acculturation paradigm with the essentialist "Andino/*criollo*" dyad still lurking beneath the surface. In either case, little attention has been granted to the processes of cultural creation through which new forms, practices, identities, and sensibilities are being forged by highlanders in the city.

1. From Essentialism to the Essential

As I use it here, "cultural essentialism" refers to the belief that a person or members of a group will have a certain essence, a certain identity and cosmology, and will maintain certain practices and ideas simply because of where and to whom they were born—as if such things were natural, stable endowments, rather than social constructions. The overly homogeneous "organic whole," or superindividual, model of culture, so prevalent in earlier anthropology and ethnomusicology, is related to this idea, as are common dualistic frameworks involving "culture contact," "westernization," "urbanization," "acculturation," "modernization," and "cultural continuity and change."

Essentialist views of culture ignore individuals' subjectivity and historically specific relations to external conditions—the precise site of intersection where “culture” is dialectically created, recreated, and transformed (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979). Another danger is that essentialism supports the view of subaltern peoples' position as “natural,” unchangeable, and incontestable. An alternative position, often branded as poststructuralist, emphasizes the ambiguous, situationally relative, and socially constructed nature of identity, social practices, and meaning.⁵

I find much in this line of thinking to be intellectually useful and politically important; Orin Starn's stimulating critique of Andeanist ethnography, “Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru” (1991), is a case in point.⁶ The difficulty is that, in stressing the fluidity and polysemy of identity and social practice, Starn and others writing from this position often go to the other extreme.⁷ Starn seems to almost dismiss the idea that traditions, conventional social meanings, and markers of cultural difference exist for highland Peruvians.⁸ Moreover, he appears to downplay the idea that traditions are often extremely important to, and may not be thought of as the least bit relative for, the people who practice them (see Mayer 1991:480). While I agree that social identities are constructed, they do have real effects in the world and they may not be quite as fluid as poststructuralists claim—witness the difficulty of combating, or escaping, racism in many societies.

From my perspective, it is crucial to distinguish between essentialist ethnographic representations, and the feelings of essentialness that people may have about their own traditions, arts, and identity. This paper is an attempt to find a middle ground between fixed, reified conceptions of “culture” and more recent poststructuralist views.

2. Conimeño Regional Associations

The paper is about people from the southern highland state of Puno who are now residents and belong to regional associations in Lima. They were among the tremendous number of highlanders who migrated to the coastal capital city after World War II. As recently as 1940, Lima-Callao had 645,172 inhabitants (Henriquez *et al.* 1985:12) as compared to about six million by 1985. Migration accounts for a large part of this growth as well as for a series of dramatic transformations of the capital city that was once the bastion of European-oriented *criollo* society in Peru.

Because of discrimination, many highlanders have been reluctant to publicly exhibit cultural markers, including music, that would link them with their place of origin and indigenous ethnicity. By the mid-1970s, however, *serranos* from southern Peru had gained organizational sophistication for dealing with the Lima context, and had come to understand the power of their numbers. They created a variety of relatively successful self-help, grassroots political and economic organizations in the face of the state's and the

formal-economic sectors' unwillingness or inability to deal with them (e.g., see de Soto 1989). This, in turn, led to a positive reevaluation of the importance of highland identity and cultural emblems as social and political resources—i.e., not as personal essences but as foundations of social unity and action. Greater numbers of migrants did not begin emphasizing Andean identity more openly in the 1970s simply because of where, and to whom, they were born. Rather, the constraints hindering the expression of highland identity were reduced simultaneously with a growing recognition among migrants that there was something to be gained from articulating this identity.

Along with unions for street vendors, organizations for land invasions to establish homes, community kitchens, and other grassroots movements, highlanders created a tremendous number of regional clubs (an estimated 6,000 in 1980) as the hubs for social networks in Lima.⁹ The regional clubs greatly differ in terms of size and the nature of their activities, but many are involved with organizing fiestas and other musical occasions, and the clubs that I worked with from the state of Puno were central to the formation of music and dance ensembles. By 1985, local musical styles from all over the highlands were commonly heard on any Sunday in various parts of the capital. Over sixty panpipe ensembles had been formed within regional clubs from the state of Puno alone.

3. Centro Social Conima

Between 1984 and 1986 I worked most closely with four regional clubs in Lima whose members were from the rural District of Conima in the Aymara-speaking Province of Huanacané, Puno, where I conducted comparative research. I will discuss a single club—Centro Social Conima—consisting of around twenty families. The majority of adult members, coming from rural *ayllus* rather than the district capital town, had lived in Lima for about twenty years.

For Conimeños who decided to join one of these clubs—and they are in a minority among all Conimeños who reside in Lima—these institutions have become important self-help community networks in the city. Reasons for belonging to Centro Social Conima are as tangible as child care, help with roofing their houses, an emergency monetary fund, and a community base for important life-cycle events such as weddings, first haircutting ceremonies, and baptisms. The club is also planning a number of future projects including a joint cemetery plot and a communal cottage industry. A site for the furniture making/finishing “factory” had already been obtained in 1988; Centro Social members explained that because of the growing economic crisis in Peru, they felt the need to establish their own economic enterprise to insure the future of their children.

Most of the members of Centro Social Conima took part together in the land invasion that established their *pueblo joven*, Mariano Melgar. The club

was formed in 1970 following the invasion. Centro Social Conima has various offices to which people are elected on a yearly basis. When important issues have to be discussed, a "general assembly" is called by the President. These meetings involve common democratic decision-making processes such as majority voting by secret ballot or a show of hands, rather than the egalitarian consensus method used in highland Conimeño communities. In the meetings, as in all club social gatherings, and even in many homes, only Spanish is spoken. This is striking since the members are native Aymara speakers, but as they themselves admit, after twenty years in Lima, they are forgetting their mother tongue.

In formal club meetings, issues on a written agenda are introduced by the President, and individual members may speak after being recognized in turn. Sometimes the speakers will stand and address the membership in a formal *criollo* style—e.g., "Mr. President and distinguished members"—and some men may argue their points in a formal and forceful speech style. Such formality amazed me at first given the close relationships between the members. The speech style in these meetings certainly contrasted both with their normal ways of interacting and with public speech styles in Conima, which tend to be of a quiet, indirect manner (Turino 1989). Given that only Conimeños were involved in these meetings, it would seem that the migrants had internalized this style of behavior as proper for certain types of occasions.¹⁰

The Shift from Sports to Music

Until 1975 Centro Social Conima's main public social activity was soccer, and after this they turned to the performance of *sikuris* (a large-ensemble double-row panpipe tradition), *pinkillus* and *tarkas* (end-blown flutes) as their main unifying and emblematic activity. They strictly perform the musical style and repertory from their home region.

The rise of Puneño musical performance in Lima is directly tied to a significant change within the working-class Puneño regional clubs generally. Before the mid-1970s, all but a handful of the regional associations from Huancané were exclusively dedicated to sports as their central unifying activity. By 1985, hundreds of clubs had become primarily dedicated to the performance of music and dance.¹¹ People from Huancané explained that by the 1970s, they had reached a critical mass: the large number of *paisanos* lent moral support to musical performances. They also explained that money could be earned for the club with performance activities, whereas they could not really charge for sports matches. This realization came after a vanguard of Puneño institutions (e.g., Asociación Juvenil Puno) had begun to organize performance events in the city. Puneños also frequently commented that many people felt *vergüenza* (shame, embarrassment) about performing highland traditions in Lima before the 1970s; this attitude changed because of

their growing numbers and enhanced social power during and after the era of President Juan Velasco (1968–1975).

Previously, club membership had been based on regional identity, but people felt constrained not to express that identity in public. Soccer was not associated with highland society or any given region, and as such was an unmarked activity around which they could unite.¹² Highland musical styles, however, clearly indicate regional heritage. The change from sports to musical performance, then, indicates the growing positive sentiments that migrants felt regarding the public display of their highland identity, but this change was not reflected in other realms of practice such as language use, public speech styles, and decision-making processes as I indicated earlier. This was not part of a full-blown restitution of highland culture in Lima as much as a strategic and pragmatic selection of an emblematic activity that was efficacious as well as relatively safe for publicly expressing identity. (There were fewer sanctions against framed "folkloric" performances relative to other realms of practice such as coca chewing and indigenous religious practices and languages.)

4. Centro Social: Musical Practice

Playing music in Centro Social's musical ensemble has become a prerequisite for belonging to the institution, since dedication and constant participation in club events are the main criteria for membership and, after 1975, musical performance became the primary club activity.

Unlike the usual depiction of migrants "bringing their culture with them" to the city, only a small minority of the Conimeños currently involved in the club ensemble had performing experience before leaving the highlands. Most did not learn to play until becoming involved with one of the Conimeño club ensembles after years in Lima, a few as recently as 1980. For these individuals, performing panpipes and the other highland flutes does not represent a continuity in their own lives, where else are we to locate "cultural continuity?"

The residents say that their chief musical goal is to "sound like Conima," and through dedication and hard work they have been able to successfully imitate the style and repertory of their favorite hometown ensembles—highland Conimeños agree.¹³ Centro Social's musical values and practices, however, are really quite distinct from the way things are done in the rural *ayllus*. Centro Social members are aware that their success in producing a faithful copy of hometown repertory and style has actually been facilitated by their divergence from various highland musical values and practices, but they also seem conscious that new conditions and problems require new solutions.

For example, given most of the migrants' relatively recent involvement with musical performance, hierarchical control by the more experienced club ensemble director has been accepted to aid them in reaching their musical

objectives of faithfully imitating the hometown groups. In their almost weekly rehearsals, Centro Social's ensemble director as well as other musicians criticize and correct players that are found wanting, and for important contest performances, less skilled players are asked to blow softly so that their mistakes will not be heard.

By way of contrast, in rural Conima there is no explicit hierarchical (and hence quality) control within musical ensembles, and individual players are not singled out for correction or criticism during rehearsals or performances. Likewise, because of the egalitarian, conflict-avoidance style of social interaction within the rural communities, any man is welcome to play with his community ensemble regardless of the impact he might have on the quality of its performance, and this indicates a dramatic difference in aesthetic and ethical priorities (Turino 1989, 1990).

In Conima, only one or two rehearsals are held before any given fiesta, and the primary activity during rehearsals is the collective composition of new pieces, not the grooming of old ones. Original composition is highly stressed in Conima as a sign of a community ensemble's competence and uniqueness. *Ayllu* ensembles are actually ridiculed for allegedly copying the style and repertory of other local groups (Turino 1989).

In Lima, however, the residents' primary method for learning style and new repertory during their rehearsals is through the attentive imitation of cassette tapes of rural ensembles recorded in the home district. Although Centro Social Conima has composed a number of their own pieces, in important public performance contests in Lima they consistently play the compositions of the better known hometown groups—especially those of Qhantati Ururi. Strikingly, between 1984 and 1986 Centro Social Conima became concerned with composing their own music only once. This was prior to a trip home during which they were to perform for the first time as a group in a fiesta in Conima. The residents were clearly aware that they would be criticized if they returned home without their own original pieces, so they created two new ones in the weeks before the journey.

Under normal circumstances, however, Centro Social Conima is more concerned with faithful imitation than with original composition, and this is understandable given the heterogeneous Lima context and what is required to index Conimeño identity there. Several residents actually expressed the idea that, because one's environment affects artistic creation, if they began forging their own repertory and style in Lima they would no longer "sound like Conima," thus undermining, what is for them, a primary function of musical performance—creating an emblematic link with home.

That Centro Social Conima places primary emphasis on the quality of their sound and less priority on egalitarian relations, as compared to highland ensembles, also makes sense in light of the aesthetic dispositions by which music is judged in the festival contests in the capital. In these competitions, during a performance that spans approximately six to ten minutes, ensembles

are judged on the basis of their sound, choreography and costumes alone. This aesthetic disposition, resembling a certain European orientation, involves the distancing and isolation of the artistic "product." It is certainly distinct from the situation in highland Conima, where an ensemble is judged more by its ability to invite participation, to make a fiesta come alive with volume, spirit, and stamina, and where originality is at least as important as musical and choreographic precision. Because of a different type of aesthetic stance, the Lima context requires a distinct *modus operandi* for achieving success.

These differences in musical values and practices have had a discernible effect at the level of musical sound despite the residents' attempts to precisely imitate cassette tapes of highland groups. Stylistic discrepancies between Centro Social's ensemble and Qhantati Ururi, the hometown group that the residents model themselves on, most prominently involve differences in rhythmic feel, and in the density of simultaneous individual variations.¹⁴ These stylistic differences are analogous to those commonly found between the faithful followers of a canon and the originators of a style. Qhantati members have the luxury of taking a freer, less self-conscious attitude toward the music, whereas the residents' concern with correctness, coupled with fewer years of musical experience, has resulted in a stiffer, more precise parallel polyphony.

In the case of the Conimeño clubs at least, the much celebrated "continuity" of Andean music in Lima takes place mainly at the level of musical sound, and even here there are telling, albeit relatively subtle, differences. The residents' musical practices and values, and their very conception of what music is, however, provide much greater points of contrast with musical life in the *ayllus* of highland Conima.

5. Club Networks and Festivals

Like the other Puneño performance clubs, Centro Social Conima belongs to formalized club networks which are crucial for organizing public festivals. The club networks also enhance the political power of individual clubs. For example, obtaining their own locales is a primary goal for many lower/working-class regional associations, but few are able to attain this. The umbrella organization to which Central Social belongs, Central Folklorica Puno (CFP), however, petitioned and, by 1986, was able to obtain government land for a locale to be shared by the affiliate institutions.

Since its inception in the late 1970s, the leaders of Central Folklorica Puno took care to foster alliances with the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC), providing performers when the INC or the government needed Puneño participation. The leaders of Central Folklorica Puno made the case to the central government that their institution could best serve as representative for the Puneños of the "popular" classes. Their success in convincing the gov-

ernment to donate land to working-class residents is a significant example of the increased political power and organizational sophistication of the Puneños by this time, as well as of the state's need to forge alliances with the migrants. It is accomplishments like this that have convinced some highlanders of the value of emphasizing a regional highland identity as a basis for social unity and action.

Within Central Folklorica Puno, each member club has the right to sponsor one "festival folklorico" during the year. The sponsoring institution pays the expenses and collects a cover charge from all participants, both performers and spectators, and earns money from selling food and drinks. These festivals are the major way that the clubs attempt to raise money, and they are the primary context for Puneño musical performance in Lima.

Ayni, the term specifically used by the residents, is the basis for the clubs' participation in these performance events. The term refers to a traditional highland system of reciprocal aid in which a specific type and quantity of labor must be returned in kind. In terms of festival organization, the *ayni* system works as follows. Central Folklorica Puno might have forty member clubs in a given year. Each holds a fund-raising festival within the annual cycle with one or two festivals being sponsored by CFP itself. Centro Social Conima may perform at the festivals of twenty member clubs, and these institutions should reciprocate by performing at Centro Social's event. A club ensemble that performs infrequently will find an empty house on the afternoon of their festival.¹⁵

I attended at least thirty of these festivals and the overall structure was identical.¹⁶ Typically, a few guest clubs begin to arrive around mid-afternoon on Sunday and begin to warm up, playing panpipes or brass band music in their own separate circle in casual alternation with the other groups around them. At about five o'clock, the host club's M. C. announces through the scratchy public address system that the formal performance contest is about to begin. The order of participation is established by the host club, which also provides the judges and trophies. The majority of guest clubs arrive just before the contest begins. After the contest, the trophies are awarded to the winners of the different categories—*trajes de luces* (ornate costumed dances), *sikuris* (a rural panpipe style), and *sikumoreños* (a panpipe style often associated with urban mestizo fiestas). With the awards concluded, the clubs begin performing in different corners of the lot or patio and a general social dance takes place with couples and chains of dancers doing the *wayno* in Puneño style.

Club members consider the formal contest, sometimes before a seated audience, to be the most important feature of these festivals, but the playing and dancing that follow it are the most spirited aspect; it is at this point that the club festivals bear some resemblance to highland fiestas.

Yet large public fiestas in highland Conima are fundamentally associated with religious, agricultural, and formal political occasions; they consistently

incorporate *t'inka* rituals involving coca for the local divinities; and frequently they go on for days, allowing for a different type of social interaction and catharsis. These aspects have not been reproduced in Lima. In terms of both form and meaning, the "festivales folkloricos" organized by Puneño migrants are not a continuity of highland custom in Lima as much as they represent a new type of musical occasion for Peru that draws on a variety of models to reach specific goals.

Regardless of the type of festival occasion, the Conimeño residents do not take an active interest in the spiritual knowledge and practices of the older people in the *ayllus*. Given the importance highland Conimeños place on maintaining relations with the local divinities in the *ayllus*, and Centro Social members' discourse about preserving highland culture and custom, I found this intriguing. One Centro Social member explained it this way:

In Conima, the people depend on nature [*la naturaleza*] for their livelihoods, for their food. Here, we work for salaries, for money, therefore we no longer need these beliefs. Since they [people in Conima] depend on nature, if one year there is no rain, they carry water up the mountain, and it always rains; or if there is a flood, they do a ceremony to stop the rain. The *t'inka* and the *ch'alla* are like prayers. But we work for salaries and no longer need these things.

This is not an articulation of skepticism regarding these highland beliefs and practices, it is simply a pragmatic statement that such things are no longer relevant in the residents' current circumstances. They explain that they no longer speak Aymara for similar reasons, and many take an equally pragmatic approach to musical performance—a number of friends told me that they play *sikus* primarily because they want to belong to the club.

6. Conclusions

Observers have commonly used festivals in Lima like the ones I have described, and the fact that the migrants are playing rural highland music at all in the capital, as indicators of the "continuity of Andean culture in Lima" and the "Andeanization" of the capital. But how do we analyze the nature of the clubs, club networks, the festivals, and the Conimeños' musical practices in terms of an Andean/*criollo* or Andean/Western dichotomy?¹⁷ The residents use resources and models for action that are generally associated with both highland and *criollo* sources: they play panpipes, dance the *wayno*, and maintain *ayni* relations, on the one hand; they have abandoned Aymara and coca use have adopted *criollo* speech styles in formal settings, and they use democratic organizational structures including secret ballots, on the other.

But the residents' entire repertory of cultural resources can not simply be reduced to Andean or *criollo* sources. For example, models for institutional organization among migrants were also learned through experience with trade unions, not particularly a *criollo* institution. Collecting entrance fees for a musical event evolved as an idea among the migrants in Lima, but that guest performers and their families should pay the fee alongside everyone

else is, as far as I know, a custom specific to these club events. The centerpiece of the festivals—a formally “staged” contest for highland performing arts—was a tradition that gained currency in Peru after the 1920s in the context of the *indigenista* movement, itself a complex conjuncture (Turino 1988, 1991).¹⁶ Finally, the Conimeño residents’ greater emphasis on formal music contests over participatory fiestas, in combination with their desire to link themselves musically with their home region, has generated a distinct set of aesthetics and musical practices that are neither strictly Andean nor *criollo*.

Given that individuals’ internalized dispositions—“cosmology,” “world-view,” “culture”—are shaped by life experience, and many of the Centro Social members have lived over half their lives in Lima, yet in circumstances distinct from coastal-born Limeños, why should we consider them to be essentially Conimeño or Limeño? Why use a single cultural baseline to assess continuity and change? Various reasons why Centro Social members construct themselves as highlanders, the enhancing of their social unity and power not least among them, have already been suggested; but these are fodder for analysis, not the basis of one. In the case of the Conimeño residents, we do not have the continuity of Andean culture with changes derived from their Lima experience, nor do we have the reverse. Both views—premised on an essentialist conception of culture and identity as systems that are somehow autonomous from concrete individuals, in actual places, in real time—are illogical.

It would be equally illogical, however, to argue that the situation among the Conimeño residents is best understood in poststructuralist terms as a rupture of cultural coherence and floating, ambiguous identities. For Centro Social members, the emphasis on highland Conimeño identity, on their created community in Lima, and on the musical emblems for this identity and community are not relative matters for reflection or speculation; they are **essential** cornerstones of their social lives.

Certainly the categories of “Indian,” “*cholo*,” “highlander,” “*criollo*,” “Conimeño” are constructions, but they are also part of a hierarchical social reality that profoundly affects peoples’ lives. One strategy to subvert the hierarchy is to attack the discriminatory categories. The path that Centro Social members and many other migrants have taken, however, is to appropriate the constructions that have been foisted upon them in order to forge social unity as a strategic response to oppression and to Peru’s social and economic crisis. Within this strategy, cultural essentialism—an unquestioned belief in who one is—may be necessary along with a healthy dose of pragmatism.¹⁷

Beyond this, however, the consistency of the residents’ festivals, rehearsals, and decision making meetings that I witnessed indicates that, indeed, highly formalized traditions, institutions, and structured forms of action have been created by these Conimeños in Lima. The degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity of sources for the creation of traditions is relative to a given context (e.g., rural Conima versus Lima), but this does not suggest an analogous con-

tinuum between cultural coherence and rupture. Centro Social members’ cultural choices and practices are extremely consistent and coherent; their ethics and practices make sense given the residents’ experiences, situation, and their specific goals which ultimately involve the quest for some kind of order and livable space. This goal, like the desire for dignity and community, can hardly be thought of as a distinctly Andean or *criollo* trait.

Notes

- 1 Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the University of Chicago in May, 1991, and at the Symposium on “Cosmology and Music in the Andes” in Berlin, Germany, June 1–6, 1992. The fieldwork for this paper was supported by a Fulbright Fellowship, which I gratefully acknowledge.
- 2 E.g., Fried 1959, 1961; Mangin 1959; Valdivia 1970; Wallace 1984.
- 3 E.g., Doughty 1970; Nuñez & Llórens 1981; Matos 1984:77–81; Nuñez 1985; Altamirano 1988.
- 4 Although a professionalized style of highland *wayno* music hit the airwaves beginning in the 1950s in response to the growing migrant market, the public performance of village music in contexts controlled by lower-class migrants themselves was rare until the 1970s.
Commercial recordings can serve as one index of the growing presence of highland music in the city. Although some mestizo highland music was produced on 78s as early as the 1920s in the context of the *indigenista* movement (Turino 1988), Vivanco (1973:128–29) states that 1947 marks the true beginning of the Andean music recording industry. In that year, José María Arguedas, head of the section of folklore of the Ministry of Education, urged Odeon Records to publish several Andean music records by performers that might be described as being of the ‘popular’ classes. Other companies entered the market based on the success of these records. Arguedas himself observed that by 1953, Odeon alone had expanded its ‘folklore’ catalogue to include 96 records from the highland state of Junín, 19 from Ancash, 16 from Huancavelica, 14 from Cusco, and 12 from Ayacucho (1975:125). During the 1960s, the number of highland *wayno* records, primarily in professionalized regional-mestizo styles, grew tremendously (Llórens 1983:122, 124). But as Rodrigo Montoya has observed: “If we look at the records and cassettes of music, one can clearly observe that between 1975 and today they began to record the music of Indians. The music that was recorded previously was primarily that of a higher class strata [*senorial*] from all over” (1987:45).
Migrants from the southern state of Puno were relatively uninvolved with the early phase of the *wayno* recording industry. Two of the four regional associations from the district of Conima—the groups I worked with most closely—had produced LPs of their panpipe (*sikuri*) and flute (*pinkillu*, *tarka*) music in the early 1980s. This fits with Montoya’s observation and underlines the growing presence of localized village musical styles in the capital by that time.
- 5 Although Kenneth Gourlay’s article on the role of the ethnomusicologist (1978) was an early forerunner, it was not until around 1990 that ethnomusicological publications began to emphasize the complex of ideas that, accurately or not, fall under the headings of “postmodernism” and “poststructuralism.” In that year in the journal of *Ethnomusicology* alone, Louise Meintjes stressed the polysemy and multiple political uses of a single sign complex, Paul Simon’s Graceland album; Christopher Waterman questioned essentialist notions of Yoruba social identity showing how it was a colonial construct; Veit Erlmann drew attention to problems of essentialism in the rural-urban dichotomy that has been so central to ethnomusicological thought; and I discussed the problems of reporting normative, structuralist accounts of musical practice, and of fixed boundaries for defining ethnographic contexts.
- 6 Following Edward Said’s concept of “orientalism,” Starn coined the term “Andeanism” to refer to “representation that portrays contemporary highland peasants as outside the flow of modern history” (Starn 1991:64). Andeanism is predicated on an essentialist vision of highland peoples with an emphasis on links with an idealized pre-Columbian past and on a series of binary oppositions: “Andeanism/Euro-pean, indigenous/Western, precapitalist/capitalist, pagan/Christian, traditional/modern” (*ibid.*:85) and, I would add, rural/urban. Starn rightly criticizes the symbolic use of Andean people as a romantic foil to the equally essentialist portrayal of “Western” capitalist values and “Euroamerican” alienation from nature and community. Starn writes, “Fifteen million diverse inhabitants of a 3,000-mile mountain range became unspoiled ‘Andean Indians’ for the purposes of a vastly oversimplified us/them dichotomy” (*ibid.*:69). As an alternative, he wants to emphasize the “fluid and often ambiguous quality of Andean personal identity” (*ibid.*:70) as it intersects with the complex, conflictive nature of contemporary Peru-

vian social life, and as it is affected by the multiple historical connections between different types of places and peoples in Peru.

- 7 Reactions among Andeanists to Starn's article have been defensive and at times virulent for a variety of reasons. In part, negative responses have been due to his own strong language and a reading of other people's work that is sometimes unfairly framed to suit his arguments (see Mayer 1991:479-81). Yet, I believe that strong negative reactions also underscore the degree to which we Andeanists are still bound to romantic essentialist visions and structuralist premises. I think that this is particularly true for ethnomusicologists although there are important exceptions (e.g., Romero 1990).
- 8 Starn puts in a disclaimer that, "Recognizing these intricate ties [between the cities and the countryside] does not mean downplaying the persistence of sharp cultural differences in the Andean nations. It does, however, require seeing difference not as the result of distance and separation but as constructed within a history of continuous and multilayered connections" (1991:85). Nonetheless, throughout the paper he seems to be critical of scholars who discuss aspects that mark a unique Andean presence, or that point to a distinct cultural continuity.
- 9 A common phenomenon throughout Latin America and Africa (e.g., Ryo 1986; Little 1973), regional migrant institutions already existed in Lima in the 1920s and 1930s. By some estimates, in 1980 there were around 6,000 different regional associations in Lima. These institutions vary greatly in terms of size, activities and functions according to class and region of origin.
As scholars have suggested for the clubs representing other highland departments, sports, religious fiestas, "folklore" performances, social dances, barbecues, and association business meetings are the main types of social activities around which the club members unite (Doughty 1970:37; Galvez 1981; Altamirano 1984; Nuñez 1985). Researchers usually provide rather sketchy descriptions of the musical and dance activities within the regional associations. What emerges, however, is that while the clubs have had an increasingly major role in organizing events where highland music is performed in the city, the club members from many departments are often not actually involved with performing music and dance themselves. It is on this point that the district and *ayllu* level Puneño clubs differ. The vast majority of Puneño musical and dance ensembles in Lima are formed within the context of regional associations whereas this is often not the case for resident musicians of other highland departments.
- 10 I attended these meetings after becoming an honorary "socio" over the period of a year, hence, I represented a non-Conimeño presence. It seems very doubtful, however, given the length of the time in question and their modes of interaction in my presence in other contexts, that they had constructed this formal meeting style for my benefit.
- 11 The large number of clubs involved with musical performance can be determined by those mentioned on the "Voz del Altiplano" radio program in Lima, the primary medium through which Puneño sports and musical events are publicized.
- 12 In addition, the custom of forming soccer associations had already been established in the capital by *criollo* groups, and thus the highlanders were merely fitting themselves into an established custom (Millones 1970).
- 13 I played cassette tapes of Centro Social's ensemble for friends in Conima who were most impressed with how well Centro Social had "captured" the Conimeño *sikuri* style.
- 14 These and other stylistic differences between Qhantati Ururi and Centro Social Conima are discussed at greater length in my book "Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration" (Turino 1993).
- 15 The success of a given festival is gauged by the number of people that attend, and the general public is certainly welcome. But during the 1984-86 period, the festivals were primarily advertised on radio programs specifically directed to the Puneño resident population (e.g., "La Voz del Altiplano" on Radio Agricultural), on flyers, and by word of mouth; the majority of people that came were either members or were attached to other participating Puneño clubs.
- 16 One major variation in these events is that the clubs that usually perform *sikuris* most of the year play *pinkillus* and *tarkas* during the carnival season. This is based in, and precisely mirrors, highland custom in regard to instrument use.
- 17 In debates surrounding the regional clubs and the "Andeanization of Lima," some suggest that these institutions represent a continuity of Andean community in the city, while others argue that social clubs of this kind are both urban and Western in nature (see Altamirano 1984:17). Either might be true depending on the specific club. Both views are in a sense true for Centro Social Conima, but this type of thinking does not get to the most important issues.
- 18 The residents' very use of the term and conception *folklore* to refer to their events and arts likewise was probably influenced by *indigenismo* and, indirectly, by international academic discourse.

19 I do not mean to imply here that the residents are using a kind of "strategic essentialism." For me this concept is a contradiction in terms since, as I understand it, essentialism is based in an unquestioned belief; while a strategic use of essentialism (*qua* essentialism) requires a reflexive consciousness and distance that belies such a belief.

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