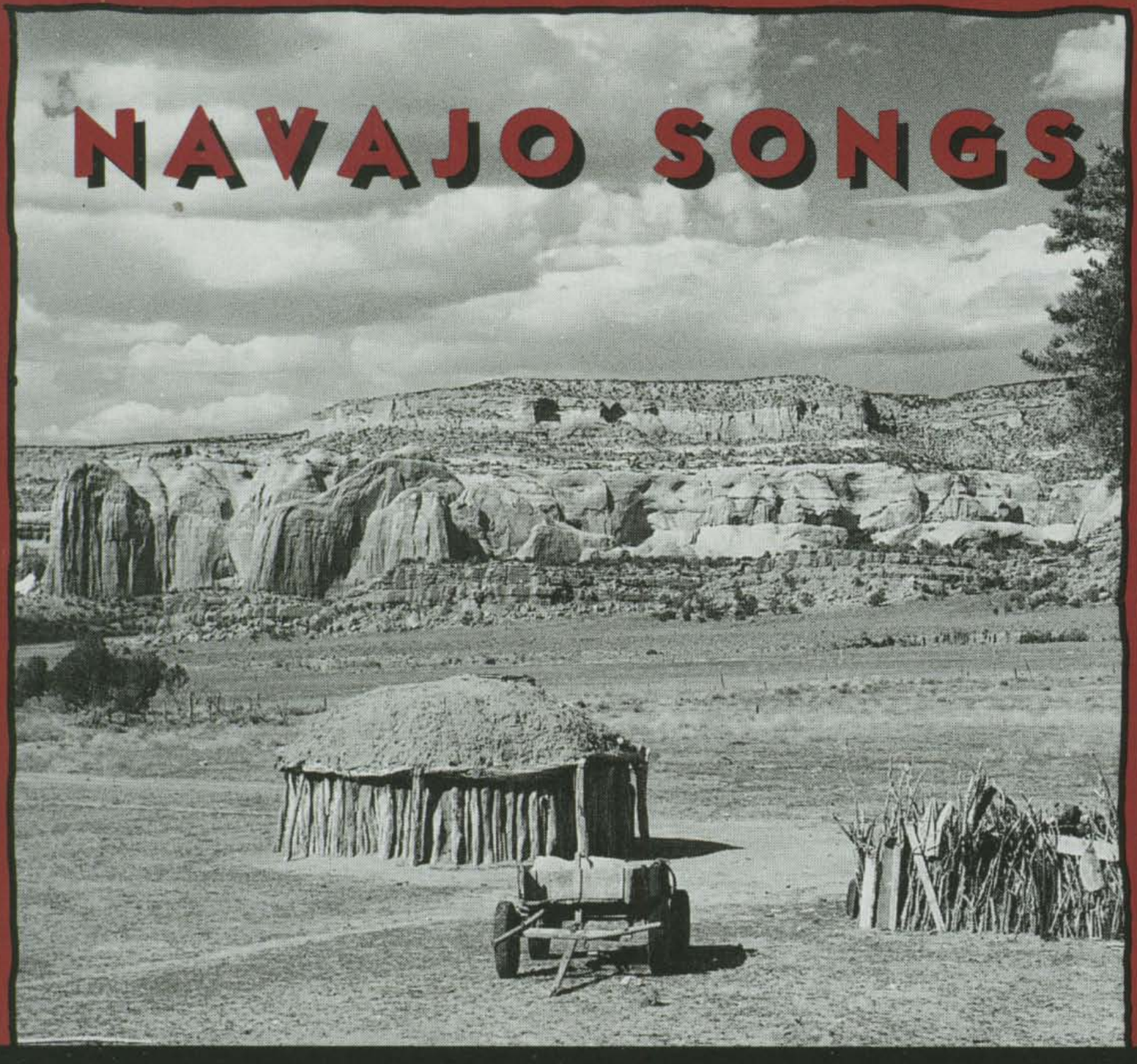
Smithsonian Folkways

NAVAJO SONGS



RECORDED BY LAURA BOULTON IN 1933 AND 1940

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1. Yeibichei Song: Talking God's Song 3:59
2. Yeibichei Song: Calling God's Song 3:21
3. Yeibichei Song 2:51
4. Yeibichei Song 2:16
5. Yeibichei Song 3:34
6. Yeibichei Song 3:14
7. Corn Grinding Song 1:17
8. Corn Grinding Song 1:53
9. 6 Sway Songs 3:09
10. 6 Sway Songs 3:26
11. 4 Circle Dance Songs 2:06
12. 5 Circle Dance Songs 2:52
13. 4 Moccasin Game Songs: Yé'iitsoh song, Counter stick song, The People of Lukachukai, Pinyon Jay song 2:55
14. Moccasin Game Song: Wildcat song 2:02
15. Moccasin Game Song: Chickadee song 1:51
16. Moccasin Game Song [in vocables] 1:36
17. Moccasin Game Song: Cicada or Locust song 1:49
18. Moccasin Game Song: Antelope song 1:26
19. Moccasin Game Song: Crow song 1:14

These previously unreleased recordings from 1933 and 1940 present the ritual dance and game songs of the Navajo. At the time this material was recorded in Navajo settlements in New Mexico and Arizona, these songs were already considered to be a part of the older Navajo repertoire. Recorded on a 78-rpm disc recorder (state of the art for the times), every attempt has been made to preserve the sound of the original performances. Two renowned ethnomusicologists, Charlotte J. Frisbie and David McAllester, present the context of the songs in their detailed liner notes.

Credits:
All songs recorded by Laura Boulton
Compiled and annotated by Charlotte Frisbie and David McAllester
Production funded by a grant from The Laura Boulton Foundation
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Smithsonian Folkways

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Navajo Songs

Recorded by Laura Boulton in 1933 and 1940
Annotated by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David McAllester
Production funded by a grant from the Laura Boulton Foundation, Inc.

1. **Yeibichei Song:** Talking God's Song. 3:59. Ben Hudson Begay and his team, Thoreau, New Mexico. August 13, 1940.
2. **Yeibichei Song:** Calling God's Song. 3:21. Ben Hudson Begay and his team, Thoreau, New Mexico. August 13, 1940.
3. **Yeibichei Song.** 2:51. Lukachukai, Arizona. September 1940.
4. **Yeibichei Song.** 2:16. Lukachukai, Arizona. September 1940.
5. **Yeibichei Song.** 3:34. Lukachukai, Arizona. September 1940.
6. **Yeibichei Song.** 3:14. Lukachukai, Arizona. September 1940.
7. **Corn Grinding Song.** 1:17. Joe Lee, lead singer, Lukachukai, Arizona. August 17, 1940.
8. **Corn Grinding Song.** 1:53. Joe Lee, lead singer, Lukachukai, Arizona. August 17, 1940.
9. **6 Sway Songs.** 3:09. Window Rock, Arizona. September 21, 1940.
10. **6 Sway Songs.** 3:26. Window Rock, Arizona. September 21, 1940.
11. **4 Circle Dance Songs.** 2:06. Window Rock, Arizona. September 21, 1940.
12. **5 Circle Dance Songs.** 2:52. Window Rock, Arizona. September 21, 1940.
13. **4 Moccasin Game Songs:** Yé'iitsoh song, Counter stick song, The People of Lukachukai, Pinyon Jay song. 2:55. Window Rock, Arizona. September 21, 1940.
14. **Moccasin Game Song: Wildcat song.** 2:02. Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. August, 1933.
15. **Moccasin Game Song: Chickadee song.** 1:51. Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. August 1933.
16. **Moccasin Game Song** [in vocables]. 1:36 Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. August 1933.
17. **Moccasin Game Song: Cicada or Locust song.** 1:49. Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. September 1933.
18. **Moccasin Game Song: Antelope song.** 1:26 Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. August 1933.
19. **Moccasin Game Song: Crow song.** 1:14 Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. August 1933.

Introduction

This album presents never-before-released early recordings of Navajo music collected by the intrepid music hunter, Laura Boulton, in 1933 and 1940. Performed with enthusiasm and captured on a large, heavy, 78-rpm disc recorder (state-of-the-art for the time), the songs were digitally transferred from the original discs by the Library of Congress with the assistance of Mickey Hart and Tom Vennum. Joe Gastwirt of Ocean View Digital has attempted to recover the sound of the original performances by digitally removing as much of the "disc noise" as possible without affecting the music. The ravages of time and travel had damaged some of the recording discs, however, and the sound quality varies considerably from selection to selection. The notes were prepared by two of the most renowned ethnomusicologists to work with the Navajo, Charlotte J. Frisbie and David McAllester. The Laura Boulton Foundation made possible the eventual publication of these songs.

Navajo songs have a long history: publications about the Navajo are numerous: and even this album has a long story (see box). The notes below describe these unique recordings and are followed by a bibliography and discography. Specific references are given in parentheses (a name and a date) and are fully presented in the "references cited" section for scholars. The song texts have been printed to help you appreciate the rhythms and melodies created to them. The contexts in which the songs are usually performed have been carefully described.

Folkways Recordings keeps available a wide selection of American Indian music from North and South America – ranging from early wax cylinders to digital recordings made in 1992. For a complete list, write for the Whole Folkways Catalogue, Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, 955 L'Enfant Plaza Suite 2600, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560, or telephone 202-287-3262, or fax 202-287-3699.

The Navajo Nation and Navajo Music

The Navajos are the largest Indian tribe in the United States (currently about 190,000) and occupy a reservation extending over parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah of 25,000 square miles, three times the size of Massachusetts. The reservation is a land of contrasts, including mountains, forests, trout streams, and mile after mile of bleak, dramatic desert. It has been the homeland of the Navajos since they migrated from the north somewhere between 1000 and 1525 A.D. The shape and feeling of the land is reflected in their mythology and in their poetic ceremonial song texts which make constant reference to sacred mountains, lava fields, rocks, springs, and other localities where significant events took place. The Navajo's closest cultural and linguistic affinities are with the Apachean peoples of the Southwest; they are more distantly related to the other Athabascan speakers such as those of northwestern Canada.

Like their land, the Navajo people themselves present striking contrasts, from well-to-do artists and professionals to indigent families in single-room dwellings, some of whom depend on general

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed over a span of almost 60 years to the creation of the present album. First of all to be mentioned are the Navajo singers who, in the 1930s and 1940s, were willing to share with Laura Boulton this music and information about it from the religious and musical treasury of their culture. These included Ben Hudson Begay of Thoreau, New Mexico; Pablo and Frank Huerito of Penistaja, New Mexico; Joe Lee of Lukachukai, Arizona; and the men, unidentified by Boulton, who made up the performing groups or singing/dancing teams that Ben Begay and Joe Lee organized 40 to 60 years ago.

Laura Boulton (1899–1980) was among the early collectors who recognized the value and interest of the music and musical instruments of the world's peoples. Thousands of items, including recordings, photographs, notes, musical instruments, and other materials resulted from her numerous expeditions between 1929 and 1979. At present, Columbia University's Center for Ethnomusicology houses the Laura Boulton Collection of Traditional and Liturgical Music. A separate collection, the Laura Boulton Collection of World Music and Musical Instruments, which was at Arizona State University from 1971 to 1986, is now located at Indiana University—Bloomington. There, the Mathers Museum of World Cultures houses the musical instruments, while the Archives of Traditional Music is the repository for Boulton's field materials and personal papers. Included in the field materials are Boulton's own copies of sound recordings, now on approximately 800 tape reels (Boulton 1969; Frackowski 1989). Selected recordings are also on deposit at the Archive of Folk Culture of the Library of Congress.

Music of Alaskan and Canadian Eskimos, and music of Indians from over thirty tribes in North America, Mexico, and South America is included in the collection. Boulton's first contact with Navajo music was apparently at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition, which opened in 1933 on the newly-made Northerly Island and ran until November 1, 1934 to celebrate Chicago's organization as a city. This great fair attracted numerous visitors and it was there, at the American Indian Village, that both Laura Boulton and George Herzog, under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, shared the use of a Fairchild machine while recording a variety of musicians on aluminum discs. Herzog (n.d.) (Graf 1991) indicates that both he and Boulton recorded two Navajos, Pablo and Frank Huerito, at this exposition and that Pablo, a "chanter" who was 72 years old at the time, was the father of Frank, who was about 30. While Herzog's work was done from mid-July through August, Boulton (n.d.) suggested that she was at the Exposition from June 1 through November 4, 1933, recording mainly Navajo, but also Jemez, Hopi, Sioux, Isleta songs, and Winnebago songs and flute music. Her Southwestern catalog for 1933 shows July-November recording of Navajo, Jemez, Hopi, Winnebago, and Mescalero music at the exposition. It also identifies her total pool of Navajo singers as including six Hueritos: Pablo and Frank [as above], Shorty, Miguel, Dan, and a person only identified as Shaman Huerito. Although Boulton did not clarify the relationships among these individuals, the Hueritos were from Penistaja, New Mexico, a small, off-reservation homesteading community. Established by war veterans in 1920, the community is in the Continental Divide area some 15 miles west of Cuba, New Mexico.

Boulton's field expedition to the Southwestern United States was under the sponsorship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. From July to November, 1940, she made field recordings in Arizona, New Mexico, and California. The following year, she issued the first modern commercial recording of American Indian Music (Boulton 1941); it included representative songs from the pueblos of Hopi, Zuni, Taos, San Ildefonso, and Santa Ana, as well as songs from other tribes, such as the Mohave, Pima, Papago, San Carlos and Mescalero Apaches, and the Navajos.

Boulton's interest in Navajo music places her in a tradition which originated when Dr. Washington Matthews first recorded Navajo songs on wax cylinders in the 1890s. Since his time, other illustrious scholars, including Pliny Earle Goddard, Gladys A. Reichard, Father Berard Haile, O.F.M., Mary C. Wheelwright, Harry Hoijer, and George Herzog continued the work. Today, the tradition continues with Navajos themselves, those who actively contribute to archival holdings at the Ned A. Hatathli Cultural Center Museum, Navajo Community College in Tsaile, Arizona.

Throughout her life, Laura Boulton retained an interest in her Navajo collection and hoped to produce several albums devoted entirely to the music. Over the years she consulted with Navajos and others in order to add to the notes she had made in the field, and to translate more accurately the song texts and snatches of spoken Navajo on her field recordings. These consultants included Douglas Mitchell (197O), David P. McAllester (197O, 1971), and Charlotte J.Frisbie (1972). Frisbie, working with Augusta Sandoval and William Morgan, checked the textual material in detail, wrote out every song text in Navajo and English, and prepared discussions of each musical genre represented in the Navajo collection. In 1973–74, Cecilia Sandoval worked with Boulton at the Boulton Collection, Arizona State University in Tempe, doing further work on the texts.

In the latter part of the 1970s, Boulton chose the songs for the present album and prepared the master tape with the help of Robert G.Mack and Moses Asch of Folkways Records. Only the final editing remained when the project was interrupted by her death in 198O. Boulton's will included a provision for the formation of a foundation to continue the responsibility she felt for making her notable recording and instrument collection accessible to the scholarly world and to the public. A high priority was the Navajo album and in the early 1980s, Frisbie and McAllester were asked to edit all of the materials then in existence. At this point, McAllester worked with Sam Yazzie, Sr. and Margaret Tsosie, both of whom assisted him in identifying and evaluating some of the songs Boulton had chosen, while further checking translations. Theodore Frisbie also helped at this stage.

After numerous discussions, drafts, and delays

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beyond our control, it became clear in the spring of 1991 that this album would finally become a reality. While various individuals at Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings and the Library of Congress supervised the analog to digital conversion of the first generation copies at the Library of Congress, and others at Ocean View Digital Mastering in Los Angeles, California, supervised the remastering, we did the final work on the accompanying notes. During this stage, Marilyn B. Graf at the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University, provided invaluable assistance to us by reviewing Boulton's tapes, personal papers, photographs, and other materials to locate suitable examples of several additional song genres and potentially useful illustrations. Graf also answered remaining questions about the contextual details of Boulton's work, as well as supplied copies of Herzog (n.d.) and Boulton (n.d.).

Boulton left multiple versions of her Navajo field recordings catalog which do not exactly coincide with one another. She did not always indicate in her field journals or other personal papers such critical data as the dates of her recording sessions, the identity of the performers with whom she was working, or the context within which they were recorded. What we have been able to ascertain is that the selections on this album reflect recordings made both on and off the reservation, in two different years, 1933 and 1940. All were made with a Fairchild recorder running at 78 rpm and using 10" aluminum discs. The off-reservation recordings were made by Pablo and Frank Huerito at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition in August and September, 1933; Boulton's catalog lists this site as the Illinois Chicago Century of Progress.

On-reservation field recordings were done of numerous Navajos in a variety of locations in 1940: Ben Hudson Begay and his team on August 13, 1940 in Thoreau, New Mexico, a community 32 miles east of Gallup in the Checkerboard area of the reservation; Joe Lee and a helper who is not identified in Boulton's notes on August 17, 1940 in Lukachukai, Arizona, a community in the northeastern part of the reservation; unidentified singers in Lukachukai, Arizona sometime in September, 1940; and finally, with singers whom Boulton did not identify in Window Rock, Arizona, the capital of the Navajo Nation, on September 21, 1940.

We have pooled our knowledge of Navajo music, and of Laura Boulton and this collection, to produce the present booklet under the joint sponsorship of the Laura Boulton Foundation and Smithsonian/Folkways Records. In addition to those named above, we would also like to thank Dieter Christensen, Joseph C. Hickerson, Thomas Vennum, Jr., Shirley Porter, Lucy Kluckhohn, Christopher Jerde, and Anthony Seeger for their assistance at various stages of this long-term project.

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assistance and other relief programs. Over half of the annual tribal budget ($92.4 million for the 1992 fiscal year) comes from revenues generated from the mining of coal, oil, and gas resources on the reservation. In addition there is income from grants from various federal and state entities, taxation, and several tribal enterprises, including the Navajo Forest Products Industry, Navajo Tribal Utilities Authority, Navajo Housing Authority, and the Navajo Arts and Crafts Enterprise. The tribal college, Navajo Community College, has its main campus at Tsaile, Arizona and another campus in Shiprock, New Mexico. There are also thousands of Navajo men and women each year pursuing undergraduate and graduate degrees in other colleges and universities around the country. *The Navajo Times*, an English-language, weekly newspaper, was started in 1958 and currently has over 15,000 subscribers, both on and off the reservation. It covers news from the Navajo Nation as well as from Washington, D.C., and other regions of particular importance to the Navajo people. Among the issues of current concern to Navajos are the adequate protection of their sacred places and religious freedom rights, and the forced relocation of thousands of Navajos required by the 1974 Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, Public Law 93-531, a decree which has led to many painful tragedies.

Today, on the reservation, radios are everywhere and TV and cassette tape recorders are not uncommon.Navajo disc jockeys, including those at the Window Rock KTNN radio station, mix music with bilingual news reports, community service announcements, and advertisements for a variety of consumer offerings in the towns on and around the reservation. The music requested by Navajos is mostly rock, country, and gospel music, much of it performed by Navajo singers and instrumentalists. There are Navajo composers in all of these genres (McAllester 1981-82).

Most of the lifestyle described above has come into being since Laura Boulton made these recordings in the 1930s and 1940s. But while many roads have been paved, allowing pickups to replace horse-drawn wagons, and while supermarkets and shopping malls have largely replaced old trading posts, many aspects of Navajo life in those earlier decades persist today. Many women make significant economic contributions through their weaving skills. Other older arts and crafts are equally viable. Many families still live in hogans and derive at least part of their subsistence from flocks of sheep and goats, as well as from horses and cattle. Rodeos remain popular in the summer, as do the tribal fairs, held annually in the fall at Window Rock and Shiprock, and at other times of year in Tuba City and elsewhere. The Powwow, with its costumes, dances, and music from the Indians of the Plains, such as the Sioux and Comanches, is a new feature in contemporary Navajo life.

Now there are missions and other churches of nearly every Christian denomination on and near the reservation. The Native American Church, a pan-tribal religion which had its origins in Oklahoma and was spread through Utes at Towaoc to the northern part of the Navajo reservation around 1936, has now attracted thousands of Navajo members.Two other groups, Mormons or the Church of the Latter-day Saints and a variety of evangelical Protestant faiths, have also been rapidly increasing their numbers since the 1950s.

Despite the ongoing, almost ubiquitous changes, traditional values and ceremonialism remain strong and vital as a supportive layer of "the Navajo way." As of 1981, there were over 1,OOO practitioners qualified to perform one or more of the thirty some large ceremonials

and an uncounted number of shorter prayer rituals (Frisbie and Tso n.d.). All of these focus on restoring good health and serenity (*hózhó* - harmonious conditions) to some troubled individual. The great ceremonials like Shootingway, Nightway, and Mountaintopway may take up to nine days and nights to perform and can involve several practitioners and dozens of helpers. The "one sung over" is supported by a wide circle of relatives contributing money, food, and other help. Some of these rituals include public spectacles such as the Corral Dance, the Yeibichei Dance, the Fire Dance, and the Squaw Dance, which continue to attract hundreds of spectators (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940).

The larger ceremonies consist of several nights and days of ritual to exorcise harmful influences, followed by a balancing number of days and nights dedicated to invoke the help of deities and natural forces. The ritual includes long prayers and hundreds of songs. Deities such as Changing Woman, Mountain Woman, First Woman, First Man, Sun, Moon, the Winds, Talking God, Calling God, Enemy Slayer, and Child Born for Water, lend their help as they did for the mythical supplicants in the creation myth (Reichard 1950).

The famous sandpaintings of the Navajos are visual representations of these deities and mythical events. The person to be healed, the "one sung over," is the protagonist in a ritual drama of participation and identification. Part of the religious procedure is to walk onto the sacred design of colored sands and sit on the figure of an appropriate deity while special songs for that moment are being sung. Strong assurance of supernatural help is afforded by such symbolic means (Wyman 1983).

Navajo music

Laura Boulton was recording Navajo music in the 1930s and 1940s, before record companies began featuring "stars" and public entertainers such as Ed Lee Natay and Kay Bennett (Kaibah) and professional Navajo song and dance groups. In Boulton's time, as now, there were numerous kinds of songs which facilitated and enriched daily activities, restored and maintained *hózhó*, and added enjoyment to life. Among them were songs for herding, planting and harvesting, trading, sweatbathing, corn grinding, traveling, silversmithing, riding, hunting, increasing flocks, playing games, blessing hogans, and soothing children.

Traditional Navajo music is vocal, regardless of genre. Although the Navajos have a variety of musical instruments, including several kinds of drums, drumsticks, rattles, a musical rasp, a flute, a whistle, and a bullroarer, most of these are used to accompany the singing of certain kinds of songs, rather than as solo instruments.

The music can perhaps be most easily explained to non-Navajos by reference to two large, western categories, "classical" and "popular" (cf. McAllester and Mitchell 1983). The "classical" music of the traditional Navajo repertoire consists of the most sacred songs, those that Navajos call *diyin*, or holy. These songs, which are used in ceremonial contexts, have narrative texts of epic dimensions and contain the stories of the beginning of the world, outline Navajo phenomenology and morality, and teach how evil may be overcome and positive conditions reestablished. These long songs are usually in two or four parts, balancing the components of a universe made up of complementary pairs such as male and female, earth and sky, night and day. There are buoyant melodic choruses alternating with long series of chantlike verses, each of which ends with a refrain echoing the choruses textually and musically. The songs usually are sung in groups, and the progression of ideas both within an individual song and within the group is cyclic. The life of the principal deity, Changing Woman, is also cyclic as she never dies but grows old in the winter and is forever young again in the spring. The thousands of lines of poetry contained in these songs, and in prayers which may take an hour or more to repeat, constitute a complex and comprehensive religious literature. There are also long myths for each ceremonial which flesh out the origin stories in prosodic form.

Since most Navajos have preferred that recordings of this "classical" music not be made public, the songs on this album are limited to the second category of Navajo music which might be called "popular." Among these are songs for personal use, patriotic songs, songs associated with various kinds of work and recreation, joking songs, and the many kinds of more or less public songs connected with the ceremonials. The Yeibichei and Squaw Dance songs in this album are associated with such parts of the Nightway and Enemyway ceremonials, respectively. Corn Grinding songs are associated with the work of grinding, and Moccasin Game songs, with a specific form of recreation.

The songs in this category are highly melodic, like the choruses in the more sacred music. They frequently have wide intervalic leaps and usually a broad range up to an octave or an octave and a half. In structure they are rarely composed of more than four or five different phrases, but the ways in which these phrases can be repeated, divided, and combined are intriguingly complex. Short songs can follow each other without a break to give the continuity needed for dancing, grinding corn (an extended labor), or the long sessions of the Moccasin Game.

Navajo woman brushing the hair of a young girl

Unlike the sacred songs with their long, narrative texts, the popular songs are mostly made up of vocables (untranslatable syllables like our own "fa-

la-la"), many of which are specific to particular genres. They may contain snatches of satiric or humorous text as well, but most of the artistic invention in them goes into the fluid patterning of the vocables and melodies.

Yeibichei Songs: Songs from the Nightway Ceremonial

These lively and complex songs are performed by groups of about a dozen masked dancers who impersonate male and female deities, led by Talking God, also known as Grandfather of the Gods (*Yé'ii Bicheii*). They may appear in the performances of Nightway, Mountaintopway, Plumeway, or Coyoteway ceremonials. The songs Boulton recorded are from the Nightway (Matthews 1902; Faris 1990). The ceremony can be performed in two, five, or nine night versions and, like most ceremonials, should be repeated four times for the "one sung over" to achieve its full curing effect. These repeats may happen over a period of months or even years.

Most of the ceremonial, which includes long hours of chanting, sandpainting ritual, prayers, and prayer offerings, takes place in private in a specially consecrated hogan (the Navajo word for house which has now come to mean their traditional, eight-sided log house with a domed, earth-covered roof). The last night, however, may include the public appearance of the *yé'ii* wearing painted and decorated masks and male and female costumes. Each holds a gourd rattle in the right hand and a wand or spruce twigs in the left. While singing, they dance in front of the hogan in single file and then in a double line with repeated casting off figures. Accompanied by the principal practitioner, the "one sung over" stands in front of the hogan to receive the blessing of the *yé'ii*.

The performers are usually all men. Occasionally a woman dances the role of a female *yé'ii* in which case she carries a spruce wand in her right hand instead of a rattle. They prepare the ritually prescribed songs, dances, and costumes as a team and compete through the night with other teams who may have traveled long distances for the event. The hypnotic songs are unlike any other Navajo music. The singers begin with a rattle tremolo, making a sweeping gesture from the ground to their mouths, first on one side and then the other. Sometimes, as in song 1, this sound is punctuated with the *"Wu-wu!"* of Talking God who also signals later in the song when it is time to begin the last repeat. The dance area is lit by several bonfires. On the last repeat of the song the dancers go back into the night toward the east for a brief rest before they sing and dance again. Another feature of the dance is the sacred clown, "Water Carrier," who dances along behind the other performers making the people laugh with his antics. He gets lost, tries to find the other dancers' tracks, and imitates Talking God.

After the potential rattle tremolos and opening calls of Talking God, the singers begin with a characteristic vocable formula, all sung on the tonic or base note of the melody. The phrase is some variation of:

3/8 *hohowo ho ihiyi hiye hiye,*

or

2/8 *hohowo ho ihiyi hiye hiye.*

After this introduction the song leaps up to begin its melodic section, extending even higher in the second phrase, sometimes in a piercing falsetto, then cascading down back to the tonic. The melody alternates with the staccato Yeibichei formula; strong vocal pulsations and shifting syncopations add to the mercurial complexity of the form. There is also a characteristic Yeibichei ending on the *"ihiyi hiye hiye"* part of the formula. Since this phrase usually introduces other melodic material, the effect is of an abrupt break-off.

The spectacular music and dance of the *yé'ii* are appreciated by Navajos for aesthetic as well as ceremonial reasons. In recent years Yeibichei dance teams have been seen and heard at tribal fairs and other festivals, and numerous recordings of this dramatic music have been released.

1. Yeibichei Song (Talking God's Song).

Thoreau, New Mexico, August 13, 1940. Singers: Ben Hudson Begay and his team.

The vocable text is given here to help the listener follow the melodic patterning. Rattle tremolos and Talking God's call, *"Wu-wu,"* which is given several times, are followed by the introductory Yeibichei formula: two phrases that could be labeled AB, AB. The melodic part of the song, C, overlaps the second AB on the first time through. The signal, *"Wu!,"* for the last repeat of the song comes just before the seventh rendition and the song ends on B' (reduced B). At the end one of the singers apparently forgot the signal and voiced an extra *"ho."* A voice can be heard saying in English, "That's it."

[X] *Wu!Wuwu!Wuwu!Wuwu!Wu!/* [A] *Hohoho ho!/* [B] *Hiye hiye hiye/* [A] *Hohoho ho!/* [B] *Hiye hiye hiye/* [C] *Ho ye, ho ye- ho-!/* [C] *Ho ye, ho ye-ho-i!/* [D] *Howe- ye, howe- howi ho, hoho hi-yi!/* [B'] *Hiye hiye/* [E] *Yowe owe owe o—we!/* [E] *Yowe owe owe o—we!/* [D] *Howe- ye, howe- howi howi ho, hoho hi-yi!/*[B'] *Hiye hiye!*

The whole shape of the song can be shown in brief with the letters assigned above to each phrase: X (call of Talking God)/ AB AB CC DB' EE DB' (repeat six times)/ *"Wu"* AB AB CC DB' EE DB'.

2. Yeibichei Song (Calling God's Song).

Thoreau, New Mexico, August 13, 1940.
Singers: Ben Hudson Begay and his team.

The second song is similar to the first and has been ascribed to Calling God, the companion to Talking God. This was said to be an old song and slower than more recent ones.

The next five Yeibichei Songs were recorded in September, 1940, in Lukachukai, Arizona by singers Boulton did not identify.

3. Yeibichei Song. Boulton's notes say this song is the "old, slow type." It is slower and a minor 3rd lower than song 2, to which it is similar.

4. Yeibichei Song. This song is missing the usual initial rattle tremolo. Boulton's notes say that this song is the "new, fast type, most common now [1940]."

5. Yeibichei Song. In this "new type" song the singers rise to a powerful falsetto, characteristic of much Yeibichei singing. The complete melody is sung through four times.

6. Yeibichei Song. Another "new type" song which Sam Yazzie, Sr. identified as the last one sung near dawn, when the *yé'ii* get ready to depart.

Corn Grinding Songs

When the Navajos learned to grow corn from their Pueblo neighbors, several hundred years ago, they also adopted the use of milling stones. The hard corn kernels were crushed into meal between a heavy, flat under-stone (metate) and a lighter, movable upper-stone shaped like a flattened cylinder (mano). This hard work is now reserved for corn grinding "in the old, traditional way," during the *Kinaaldá* or girls' puberty ceremony, one of several forms of Blessingway (Frisbie 1967; Begay 1983). The girl being initiated into adulthood grinds corn to endow her with strength, good nature, and good health for her future life.

A distinct genre of Navajo music developed to accompany corn grinding (Johnson 1964). One or more men might help to lighten the labor with strongly rhythmic songs in time with the backward and forward milling motion. Many of the songs are entirely in vocables, but others make humorous allusions to the work and help set a tone of playful banter between workers and singers. There may be a percussion accompaniment, the thumping of a moccasin or a doubled up belt on an inverted basket. There is a melodic and textual formula at the beginning and end of most corn grinding songs that sets them apart from other Navajo song styles, some variant of:

he, ne ne aghei or *hane hane ha na nehaghei*

The songs are very Navajo in their intricate use of repetitions and partial repeats and the shifting syncopation in what is basically a work song with a strong, regular rhythm. These songs are also now heard as popular, traditional songs on the radio and during corn grinding exhibitions and competitions at tribal fairs, boarding school open house programs, Indian heritage programs, an occasional powwow, and sometimes during the annual Miss Navajo contest when the contestants demonstrate their traditional skills.

7. Corn Grinding Song.

Lukachukai, Arizona, August 17, 1940.
Lead Singer, Joe Lee, with one other unidentified male.

This song, not recorded in a corn grinding context and sung without percussion accompaniment, has a text which is all vocables; it is given below to show patterning:

Aghei ha yana ghei aghei/ Aghei ha yana ghei aghei/
Aghei yolei yolei hanei- hana/ Aghei yolei yolei
hanei- hana/
O - - weya hena a nana/ O - - weya hena a nana
ghei aghei/
Aghei ha yana ghei aghei/ Aghei ha yana ghei aghei.

AA BB CC' are sung through three times and the song ends on a final AA.

8. Corn Grinding Song

Lukachukai, Arizona, August 17, 1940.
Lead Singer, Joe Lee, with one other unidentified male.

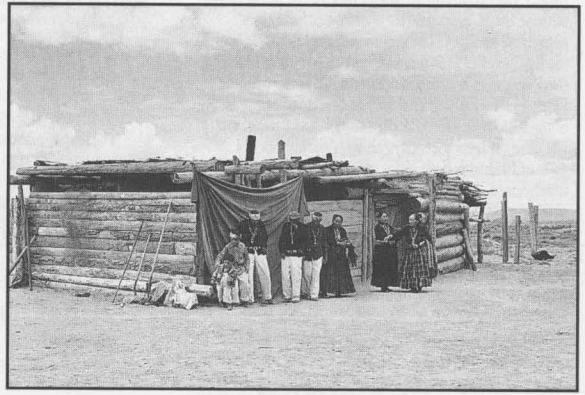
Percussive accompaniment is provided by beating on an inverted basket in this song. Some view the text as entirely vocabalic; others say that in addition to vocables, the song concerns the cradleboard.

The Enemyway Ceremonial and its Music

One of the most commonly performed of the Navajo ceremonies is *'Anaa'jí* (Enemyway). It may be in three or five night versions and is used to restore the "one sung over" from the influence of the spirits of slain enemies. The ceremony reenacts, dramatically, two great mythical conflicts waged by the Twin Heros (Haile 1938; McAllester 1954). In one case they attacked the Pueblo of Taos and brought back great wealth to Navajoland. In the other more religiously significant story, they rid the world of the monsters who were disrupting all human life. Today the ceremony is used to rehabilitate Navajo men or women who have had harrowing experiences in the United States armed services or who have otherwise been exposed to malign spirits of deceased non-Navajos.

The ritual is shared by two groups, the home camp of the person needing the ceremony and that of the Stick Receiver, the person chosen to receive a specially decorated stick and to perform the important, associated duties. Tokens of participation are carried from the former to the latter, and the ceremony begins there with singing and dancing. The next day the Stick Receiver's group moves nearer to the home camp, and there is singing and dancing again. On the third morning they make a sham attack on horseback on the home camp with gunfire, shouting, and general exuberance. Then they make camp close by, after which food and gifts are exchanged. Rivalry between warring parties is represented, as also is reconciliation.

Interspersed among the sacred, private rituals of Enemyway is the public singing, some of which provides the only occasion in traditional Navajo life when men and women may dance together. The public singing includes Sway songs, Circle Dance songs, Gift songs, Trotting or "Two-step" songs, and Skip Dance songs. These, taken all together, have been popularly called "Squaw Dance songs" and the entire ceremony is often referred to in English as a "Squaw Dance." Though ritually concerned with driving away harmful spirits, some of the dancing also provides



Many-legged hogan and corral near Lupton, Arizona

entertainment and opportunities for courtship. Family and neighborly solidarity are expressed in the large amounts of food and labor needed to provide hospitality for the crowds of several hundred that may gather. Of the song genres mentioned above, Sway songs and Circle Dance songs are presented on this album.

9. Six Sway Songs.

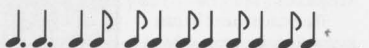
Recorded at Window Rock, Arizona, September 21, 1940.
Unidentified male singers.

Yikáh sin ("Sway songs") are sung by a group of men (and women, too, if they choose to join in). One or two of the singers accompany the voices by tapping, softly, on a small water-drum, a clay pot half full of water with a buckskin membrane lashed tightly over the mouth. The singers sway from side to side in time to the music. Most of these songs, especially the older ones, have texts entirely in vocables. The songs are short and lively, and the first notes of each one overlap the last notes of the preceding one. A strong singer, solo, gives the opening formula, "*He- nai-ya*," and the first few notes of phrase A of the melody to establish what song is to be sung. The rest of the singers then come in with enough variety in their individual renditions to give the music the unrehearsed, individualistic quality of most Navajo choral singing.

Each evening of the Enemyway begins with a long succession of Sway songs until it is time for the dancing to begin. The wood for a bonfire has been stacked up and is now lighted. After an hour or more of dancing to several different kinds of dance songs, the Sway singing is resumed and may continue until dawn. As such, Sway songs provide the bulk of the evening public music during an Enemyway; many view them as the oldest of the public "Squaw Dance" songs.

During the long hours of Sway singing, the people representing the home camp and those representing the Stick Receiver's camp engage in a certain amount of competition. As the two factions alternate in the singing there is rivalry in the choice of songs and in ability of musical performance. Gradually, the pitch placement rises and the volume of the songs increases. There is an exuberant feeling of excitement in the singing and swaying of participants, the undercurrent of conversation among the spectators, the bursts of quiet laughter, and the rumbling of truck motors as new spectators and performers arrive. Other incidental sounds like the neighing of horses and the barking of dogs add to the excitement.

Song A. This song is in triple meter as in the first two phrases shown schematically here:



The text is written out to help the listener follow this new kind of song. The first syllable of the next song overlaps the final "*ya-*" of this one, providing the continuity described above.

He- nai- yana/ Eyo eyo eyo eyo eyo/ Wheyo ha- hi- na- ya-/
Eyo eyo eyo eyo eyo/ Wheyo ha- hi- na- ya-/
Eya ha- weya ha-/
Weya ha- weya ha!/ Eyo eyo eyo eyo eyo/
Wheyo ha- hi- na- ya-/
Weya hane yaha weya ha-/ Weya hane yaha weya ha-/
Eyo eyo eyo eyo eyo/ Wheyo ha- hi-na-ya-.

B. As in the first song, a leader begins and the rest of the chorus comes in as soon as other singers recognize the melody. The vocabalic text follows to help the listener get used to following the song and to show how different the second is from the first of these subtle melodies:

He- nai ya/ Ya'e - - - i na e- nai/ Ya'enahe- ya-, he, nai ya/Ya'e - - - — nai/ Ya'enahe- ya-, he, nai ya/ Eya ha-ne ya-he he— nahe- ya-/ Eya ha-ne ya-he he— nahe- ya-/ Ya'e - - e - - - nai/ Ya'enahe- ya-, he, nai ya.

C. By now the listener can hear the introductory formula, the two repetitions of opening phrases that could be called AB AB, and then the development on "*Weya hane yo...*"

D. The first time phrase A is sung, one can hear "*Yoshi, yoshi, yo—*". Some Navajos translate this as "(female) partner"; others say it is just vocables. As in the previous song the melody has reached the octave above the tonic and the power of Navajo group singing begins to be felt as in the Yeibichei songs on Bands l-6.

E. In the fourth melodic phrase we hear "*Tsé*hootsooní (the one [woman] from Fort Defiance [*Tsé*hootsooí] *shanaha'ah* (makes plans for me). This kind of joking text, which sounds the note of courtship and adventure already mentioned, makes audiences laugh.

F. This vocabalic text shows a slightly different pattern from those of the preceding songs:

He na ya/ Yo-ho-hi-neya/ Yo-ho-hi-neya/ Yo-ho-hi-neya/ He, nai ya-/ [then repeat from Yo-ho-hi-neya]/ He- hahe- ne/ He, hahe- na-/ Yo-ho-hi-neya/ He- na-.

10. Six Sway Songs.

Window Rock, Arizona, September 21, 1940.
Unidentified male singers.

Unlike the preceding Sway songs, these are in double meter. The opening and closing formula is also different:

Song b in this group has two different leaders competing to establish which song is to be sung. The overlap characteristic of all of the preceding Sway songs is not consistently used among these. At the end of this group the songs break off and a male voice says, in Navajo, "That's enough — build the fire!" One of our Navajo consultants observed that Song f is a standard song with which to end the Sway singing.

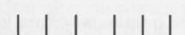
11. Four Circle Dance Songs.

Window Rock, Arizona, September 21, 1940.
Unidentified male singers.

At dusk on the third day of the Enemyway ceremonial a group gathers at the Stick Receiver's camp, now located close to the home camp, and for an hour or more performs a special kind of dance intended to help drive away the alien spirits. As one Navajo put it, "Every drumbeat drives the bad influences into the ground." A circle is formed of singers: those on one side represent the

home camp while the others represent the Stick Receiver's camp. Each side has a drummer who drums from inside the circle with the same kind of pot-drum used in the Sway songs. During the singing, the people join hands and move sidewise around the circle. The two teams alternate in singing the songs; those who are singing move with a double bounce on each step while those in the other section of the circle simply walk until it is their turn to sing again. The circling changes direction as each new song begins. The songs in this group are thought to be very old and are all vocabalic in text.

The Circle Dance songs (*názhnoodahí sin*) are prevailingly in triple meter and can be identified by a three-beat figure:



he nai ya or *he nai ya*

with which they begin and end. Some internal phrases end on this figure as well, giving the songs a strong, stylistic unity.

A. The recording omits all but the last note of the introduction. The text, in vocables, is given to help the listener follow this new type of song:

> *(Hi nai) ya/ Owhe 'a-a owhe 'a-a whe—/ Hoi-ya-hoi-ya'e hya/ Hi, nai-ya/ Owhe 'a-a owhe 'a-a whe—/ Hoi-ya- hoi-ya'e hya/ Hi, nai-ya/ He-yahe- ya-/ Hi, na-ya/ He- yahe- ya-/ Hi, na-ya/ Owhe 'a-a owhe 'a-a whe—/ Hoi-ya- hoi-ya'e hya/ Hi, nai-ya.*

B., C., AND D. Navajos are famous for their sense of design which is just as apparent in their music as in their silversmithing, rug weaving, and sandpaintings. In these songs, one can follow the subtle use of only two or three phrases and the Circle Dance formula,"*Hi, nai-ya*" in a coherent musical pattern. Note that throughout this set the songs are all in three-beat figures expressed entirely in the note values:

Another song is started briefly after d, but then the spoken Navajo, "That's all, boys, that's all, that's all" prevails.

12. Five Circle Dance songs.

Window Rock, Arizona, September 21, 1940.
Unidentified male singers.

As in the previous set, the songs follow one another rapidly, but do not overlap. The lead singer's strong voice carries the others of the group along with him. The range and rhythmic freedom of the songs are reminiscent of the similarly complex Yeibichei songs on Bands 1-6.

At the end of the set there is a short speech in Navajo: "That's how our forefathers used to sing! Goodbye, boys; start getting your women out to dance, but don't start dancing if you don't have enough money when the singing begins!" The speaker is referring to the Navajo custom which requires that men pay their partners at the end of the social dancing. This is in commemoration of the Hero Twins' return from the war on Taos. On the way they met some young women of their home country and established the precedent for dancing in the Enemyway ceremony. In payment they shared their war-booty with their partners.

The Moccasin Game and its Songs

Késhjéé'sin (Moccasin Game songs) accompany a gambling game which comes down from creation times when the night creatures and the day creatures played to decide whether day or night should prevail. That original game was attended by all living beings. However, because the sun rose before the game was finished, the contest remained undecided. Consequently, the alternation we now have between day and night continues.

The chief function of the game is recreational. It is usually played at night and may take place when crowds are gathered for a ceremonial, and there are long interludes between ritual activities. The game is forbidden during the summer. Both it and the songs are of mythological origin and are considered as "songs with a story," one of the Navajo categories of sacred music.

Players divide into two teams, one of which sits on the north side of the hogan, and the other, on the south. Each team has four moccasins placed in a row in front of them. A blanket is held up to conceal the action while one team hides a small stone or a ball carved from yucca root in one of its moccasins. People on the hiding team start a song during this process, continuing to sing the same song while a member of the other side gets up, "goes across," and guesses its location by tapping (striking or "killing") the moccasin with a short stick. When the guessers are successful within the alloted number of attempts, they become the hiders and start a different song. Score is kept with a large number of yucca stick counters; all must be won by one side or the other before the game is decided.

There are many hundreds of Moccasin Game songs since every living creature is said to have created at least one. Some have only vocabalic texts. Of those that can be translated the largest number refer to the appearance and often humorous behavior of animals and birds. Other songs refer to places, the comic behavior of certain deities or to features of the game itself, such as the moccasins, the counter sticks, or something ridiculous about the players on the other side. These "stories" often go back to the prototypical handgame played between the day and night creatures described above.

Moccasin Game songs have a character all their own; they are short, unaccompanied, and are sung with numerous repeats. They have texts which are fashioned either entirely with vocables, or with words interspersed with vocables. When words are used, they are often humorous. Both the repetition and the humor are said to help confuse the guessers.

13. Four Moccasin Game Songs.

The first four Moccasin Game songs presented here were recorded for Boulton in Window Rock, Arizona on September 21, 1940, by singers she did not identify. Although her notes do not specify the context, the singers are talking about the game and clearly enjoying the humorous text of the first song.

A. *Yé'iitsoh* Song. Conversation: "Come on, my in-laws, start placing your bets!" "Give the stick to the one who is betting with me!" Song text: "The Giant says, crying as he strikes the moccasin: 'Put it back in the same shoe for me!' he says, crying." Context: This song ridicules *Yé'iitsoh* for starting to cry and beg when he became frustrated with his own incorrect guessing. According to Sam Yazzie, Sr., at this point in the original game, Gopher tunneled under the moccasins and nibbled through the soles until it was clear that the token was not in any of them. Then they all realized that it was hidden in Owl's claws. After the token was knocked out of Owl's grasp, the game went on. "Since then we often have holes in our moccasins." Other Navajos position this incident later in the original game.

B. Counter Stick Song. Conversation: "I say it's right here; Let me be the one to hide it, let me be the one to hide it!" Song text: "Four, four, with these I am going across." Context: There were only four counter sticks left for the night people to win. The day people got them back and thus, the game was undecided when the sun came up. The singers stop amidst the third repeat of this song, and then one hears these words: "There, there, put it somewhere! It is my turn to strike. I say it is in here — here, give it to me!"

C. The People of Lukachukai. Text: vocables and these words: "I am homesick for the people of Lukachukai as I wander about." This song is followed by these words: "Look, I took it out again. Hey, boys, don't leave! Let me be the one to do it. I took it out a long time ago, but you boys keep leaving. What are you trying to do? You're not placing your bets at all!" "Don't say that to me, I have already placed my bet."

D. Pinyon Jay song. Song text: "Pinyon Jay has small feces; [Pinyon Jay] is silly." Context: This song ridicules Pinyon Jay.

The next six Moccasin Game songs were recorded in 1933 by Pablo and Frank Huerito while they were at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition; all of the songs were recorded in August except for the Cicada Song, which was recorded in September.

14. Wildcat song. Conversation: "There, boys, you will look for it after I hide it. Here, here, let me kill it. No, no, you had better do it, my in-law, you kill it. Maybe it is in the moccasin on the farther side of the line. I don't know; maybe it is on the outside of the line of moccasins. It is better for you to do it, my in-law; you had better kill it. I think it's really in the one on the farther side of the line. My in-law, hurry and kill it. There, there, that is where I said it is!" Song text: vocables and the words, "Wildcat's feet hurt." The song is repeated a number of times and the Hueritos obviously enjoyed singing it. Context: The song ridicules the way Wildcat walks, picking up its feet as if they are sore and painful.

15. Chickadee song. Text (interspersed with vocables): "The small birds, in a flock, are moving forward, the chickadees are moving forward to the waterhole." Sam Yazzie, Sr., provided the following context: "When the birds were flying, long ago, they could not find water. Chickadee knew of a spring and showed the others the way: they came circling in as a flock. The birds thought Chickadee had done well, making Chickadee happy."

16. Moccasin Game song. The text is vocabalic. Sam Yazzie, Sr., said this song can be sung either to start the game or used later, to precede the Cicada Song, "to make a person well."

17. Cicada or Locust song. Interspersed with vocables, one hears the words, "Cicada, Cicada, Cicada! That one's nostrils are missing!" Context: When the various creatures were arriving for the first Moccasin Game, they looked at it and tried to identify Cicada. They saw that this being had eyes and a mouth like everyone else, but no nostrils. The other participants thought that Cicada must have lost them somehow (Matthews 1889:12-13).

18. Antelope song. Spoken: "Somebody stand up, somebody stand up and drop the paper so we can look at it. I'm going to do it. Here, here, here; look at it. It's gray, it's gray." Song text: "It's gray; it's gray; exactly in plain view [way] over there, Antelope is walking about." Context: At the beginning of the Moccasin Game, a paper (or chip, coin, small piece of cornhusk, or as Frank Huerito thought was an earlier practice, a piece of moccasin) is tossed to see which team will start. In the case of the chip, paper, or cornhusk, one side has been blackened with charcoal, while the other has been rubbed with ashes. Each team chooses a color. If the gray side lands upright, the side choosing that color starts with this song, which some call the "Gray song."

19. Crow song. Song text: "Crow Boy got blackened by the soot of the smoke. That's why he can't guess the moccasin the ball is in." The song ends when the words, "They've got it" announce that the other team has successfully guessed the location of the ball. Context: This song pokes fun at Crow.

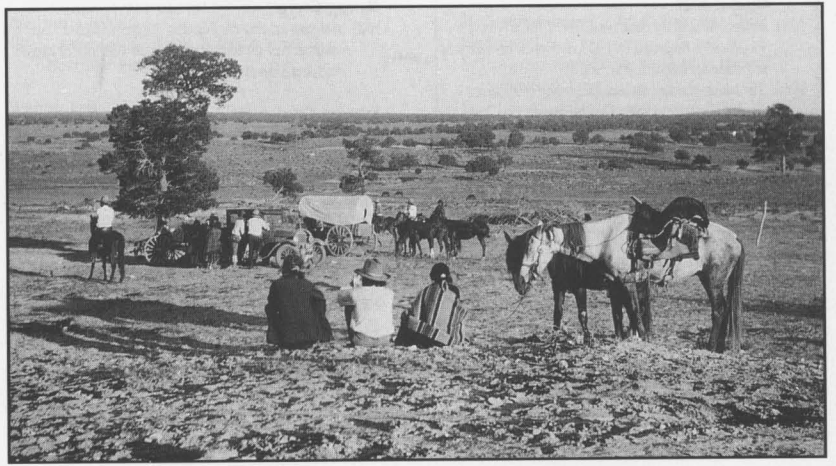


Photo from the collection of Lucy Kluckhohn

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Charlotte J. Frisbie, currently professor of anthropology at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois, has been involved in Navajo studies since 1962. Her publications include *Navajo Medicine Bundles or Jish: Acquisition, Transmission, and Disposition in the Past and Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); *Gender and Navajo Music: Unanswered Questions. In Women in North American Indian Music: Six Essays.* Richard Keeling, ed. Society for Ethnomusicology Special Series 6:22-38 (1989); "Vocables in Navajo Ceremonial Music" (*Ethnomusicology* 24 (2):347-392 [1980]); and "An Approach to the Ethnography of Navajo Ceremonial Performance." In *Ethnography of Musical Performance*, Norma McLeod and Marcia Herndon, eds. pp. 75-104 (Norwood: Norwood Editions, 1980).

David P. McAllester, professor emeritus of anthropology and music at Wesleyan University, began his Navajo research in 1950. His books include *Enemy Way Music* (Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 41 (3) [1954]); *Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell (1881-1967)*, edited by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978); and *Hogans, Navajo Houses and House Songs*, with Susan W. McAllester (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1980).

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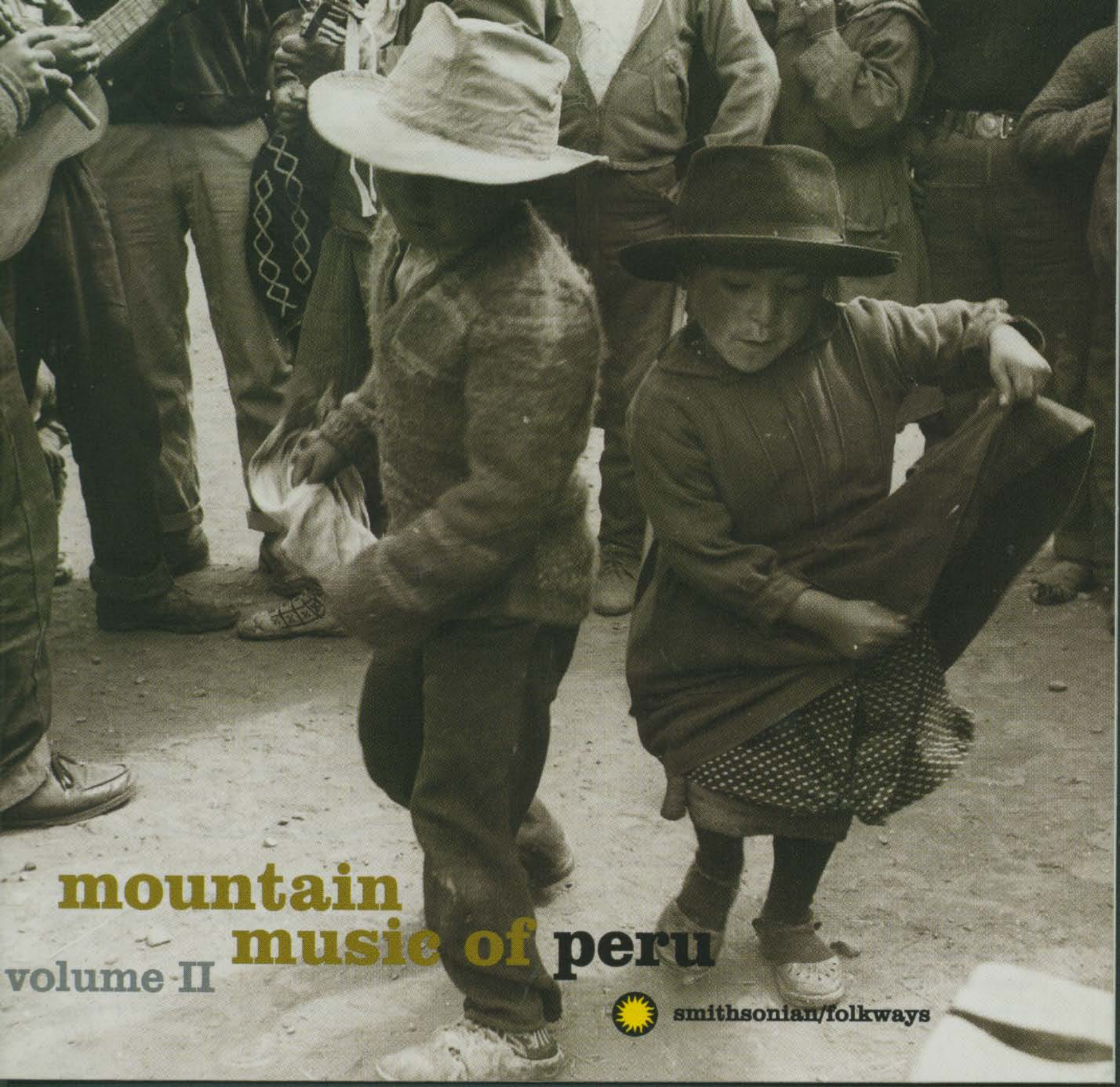

mountain music of peru

volume II

smithsonian/folkways

mountain music of peru volume II

Selections 1– 21 recorded, compiled and annotated by John Cohen. Selections 22–29 recorded, compiled and annotated by Thomas Turino. Selections 1–19 originally issued in 1966 on Mountain Music of Peru *(Folkways FE 4539). Selections 20–29 are previously unreleased.*

Santiago Music from Huancayo, Junin: Quechua and Spanish

1 *Corneta de cachu* (cowhorn trumpet) and metal trumpet 0:49
2 Women sing at Sacsamarca near Huancavelica 1:13
3 Women sing *Chirimoya* at Sacsamarca 2:22
4 Wooden tube trumpet, drum and singing at Pucara, Huancayo 1:10
5 Flutes and singers at *Concurso* Radio Broadcast, Huancayo 3:08
6 Guitar, fiddle, man sings at *Concurso* 2:20
7 Fiddle, young girl sings at *Concurso* 2:56
8 Trumpet, woman sings, fiddles, dancers at *Concurso* 3:43
9 Fiddle and saxophone at *Concurso* 1:13
10 Street Band: Clarinets, saxophones and harps at Huancayo 2:06
11 Women and *tinya*: *Belaunde* and *Haya de la Torre* 3:41

Music from Chucuito and Chimo, Puno: Aymara and Spanish

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mountain music of peru volume II introduction

These recordings present the music of Andean people as it is performed within their own communities. *Mountain Music of Peru* (Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings SF 40020) dealt with folk and popular music, including both commercial and more traditonal forms, and gave an in-depth look at a single Quechua-speaking community, Q'eros. This recording documents a single festival from the Mantaro Valley, as well as music of the Aymara in southern Peru as recorded by John Cohen in 1964, released on Folkways FE 4539. To these earlier recordings, ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino has provided additional recordings of panpipe, flute and tarka music from his 1980s research in the Aymara-speaking region. Tracks 1–21 were recorded John Cohen; tracks 22–29 were recorded by Thomas Turino. Each researcher has annotated his own section of this new compilation.

Santiago Music from Huancayo and Huancavelica John Cohen (1966, revised 1991)

The *fiesta* of Santiago occurs in the third week of July in the Mantaro Valley around Huancayo, in the Department of Junin in Peru. This *fiesta* is held in conjunction with the marking of the cattle: cows and sheep, alpacas and llamas. The marcation ceremony is concerned with fertility and birth as well as with the identification of the animals as property. Although "Santiago" is the name of a Catholic saint, the rituals bear little relation to European ceremony.

The Huancas were an Andean nation that preceded the Inca and the Spanish conquest. The names of major centers in this region reflect the Huanca presence: Huancavelica and Huancayo. The Santiago festival can be seen as a reaffirmation of Huanca identity for the Mestizo and Indian communities.

Today, Huancayo is one of the most active commercial centers in the highlands. It is a major food supplier for the coastal city of Lima, and serves as trading center for the many small towns along Peru's central valley. At 8,000 feet above sea level, Huancayo is separated from the coast by a high range of snow-capped mountains which are crossed by roadway and railroad (the highest standard-gauge railroad in the world—going up to 16,000 feet). Huancayo's commercial development includes new shops, modern advertising, transistor radios, European- and Japanese-made cars, some suburban development and even one television station.

Within a few miles of the outskirts of town, the natural landscape returns and life goes on in a rural and agricultural manner, with architecture and farming techniques

reminiscent of seventeenth-century Spain. The people live in adobe houses with tiled or thatched roofs. They raise cattle, plow with oxen, and thresh grain with horses. On the hills and mountains on either side of the valley agriculture gives way to grazing lands and the older, indigenous ways of peasant life are practiced. In the highlands, or *puna*, nothing grows but potatoes, and only llamas and alpacas pasture here. In 1964, when these recordings were made, the mountain land was owned by wealthy people who had homes in Huancayo, operating their *haciendas* from a distance. The agricultural reform of the 1970s has rearranged this pattern and more recently, since 1985, the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas have attempted to disrupt the city and the surrounding farms in a program designed to cut off Lima from its food supply.

Although the Santiago festival was originally a rural fertility ritual, today it is equally significant to mestizos in Huancayo and with migrants in Lima. During the festival, ancient forces from the *puna* are celebrated in town. There is drinking and revelry; the wealthy have private parties, the people celebrate in the street, and at *concursos*. On the final morning of the festival to give thanks for the fertility of the cattle, the animals are forced to chew coca leaves and drink chicha beer; they are held with their heads pulled back and colored tassels are sewn into their ears.

For several weeks before the festival the only music to be heard is Santiagos. This distinctive music is based around a set of notes that are produced by blowing and overblowing a tube of a fixed length, resulting in a 3- or 4-note sequence from a trumpet-like instrument. This music is played on a variety of instruments. The indigenous trumpet used (as in track 4) is a hollow tube of wood about 1 1/2 to 2 inches in diameter and from 6 to 10 feet long. Instruments similar to this are found in the mountains of Tibet, Switzerland and the Balkans.

Coiled trumpets made from cow horns (*corneta de cachu*, track 1) are common. A modern version of this trumpet is fabricated from sheet metal cylinders, complete with conical bell at one end and a conventional modern mouthpiece at the other.

Santiago music is also played on the saxophone, clarinet, fiddle, mandolin, flute, guitar and harp. In fact, the 4-note melody is performed on any instrument available.

Similar music is used for *entrada* (entrance) fanfares during bullfights throughout Peru. This musical structure (with its unaccented regular rhythm) exists in Carnival music from Apurimac (as heard on Arhoolie Records' *Huayno Music of Peru Volume One*) and in other parts of the southern Andes. Most commercial Peruvian LPs of *huaynos* (an Andean social dance) from Huancayo include a Santiago song, listing it as "Folklore."

The underlying rhythm of the Santiago music is always an unaccented, regular pulse. Indigenously the sound is produced by a small drum (*tinya*) played only by women, but in modern bands, a harp or guitar substitutes. Singers and instrumentalists often disregard the beat, and start their measures wherever they see fit.

The *tinya* is from 8 to 12 inches in diameter, about 4 inches thick, covered with two skin heads held in place with a leather lacing. Sometimes a snare effect is achieved by tying several strings across one drum head. The drum alone often serves as accompaniment to a song or to the corneta de cachu.

The songs of Santiago cover a distinct range of subjects. They are largely sung by women. Specific symbols are associated with these songs. Certain flowers have power of fertility, the fruit of the *chirimoya* is always mentioned in the songs of a girl's lament. Other plants give voice to a child who hasn't yet spoken, or to an animal that hasn't yet given birth. Most of the songs find expression in lyrical poetry, and are sung in both Quechua and in Spanish, or a mixture of the two. Each town along the valley has its own specific Santiago songs. In neighboring areas (like Huancavelica) the fiesta takes a somewhat different form—in fact, such celebrations are held seasonally throughout the mountains of Peru. (See *Mountain Music of Peru Volume 1*, tracks 27 and 28.)

All the Santiago music of Huancayo follows the same pattern; it has the recognizable trumpet melody and the regular unaccented drum pattern. The range of sounds, textures, embellishments and harmonies as well as the instrumental accompaniment is extremely diverse. The qualities of musical texture and coloration are crucial to an understanding of Peruvian music.

Nearly thirty years after these recordings were made, the Santiago tradition remains strong in Huancayo. There is also an immense Huancayo community within Lima that maintains the festival with its music, and I have witnessed Huancayinos in Lima celebrating and dancing with sheep on a stage in the city. Truly, they love their animals. In the countryside the animals are central to their lives, and in the city they have become emblems of their rural past. Peruvian migrants carry their culture with them, and there are reports of Huancayo Santiago festivals held now within New York City.

The Santiago recordings were made in 1964. They are presented (and were recorded) sequentially, to show the music leading up to the festival itself, and to present the different combinations from solo trumpet to a stage full of dancers, singers and musicians playing for their community at a radio performance contest.

For a full survey of this regional music in various other contexts, listen to *Musica Tradicional del Valle del Mantaro* issued in Peru by the Project of Preservation of Traditional Andean Music—at the Universidad Catolica in Lima. Commercially issued recordings of Santiago music can be found on the Arhoolie Record *Huayno Music of Peru Volume Two, Discos Smith*. The Smith recordings were only sold to the Andean market in Peru and were labelled *costumbrista*, *tipica* or as *Santiago*.

1 *Corneta de cachu* (cowhorn trumpet) and metal trumpet

In the marketplace of Huancayo, men demonstrate their trumpets (*corneta*) that are for sale. Two types are heard: one of coiled cow horns (*wakrapuko*) and the second, a long straight metal tube. At the market, women are selling the drums, and on locally decorated gourds one sees depictions of the ceremonies and dancing.

2 Women sing (at Sacsamarca, near Huancavelica)

3 Women sing *Chirimoya* at Sacsamarca

Recorded in Sacsamarca, a town above Huancavelica. School children and women from the village are the singers. Similar Santiago songs were collected in Pucara (track 4), a few miles from Huancayo. By Thursday evening, people from the small towns were seen loading their long wooden trumpets on top of busses and

departing for Huancayo where there was a *concurso* (a concert display) that was presented by a radio station that night.

Translation: *I have eaten the chirimoya and the seeds I have spit out.* (Verse 2 in Quechua): *I have come from a long way off, asking for your name./ This you don't consider, pretentious countryman/ Mama Juana, give me a drink, and don't tell me there isn't any./ Have I arrived or haven't I arrived at the house at which I wanted to arrive?/ Or am I confusing myself with the dust of the road?*

4 Wooden tube trumpet, drum and singing at Pucara, Huancayo

These singers, *tinya* (drum) and wooden tube trumpet players were recorded on a roadside at Pucara.

5 Flutes and singers at *Concurso* Radio Broadcast, Huancayo

6 Guitar, fiddle, man sings at *Concurso*

7 Fiddle, young girl sings at *Concurso*

8 Trumpet, woman sings, fiddles, dancers at *Concurso*

The *concurso* recorded on tracks 5-8 took place before an audience of working class people in an enclosed arena with an earth floor and wooden benches, with a raised platform for the performances. This building, which was used for livestock sales, was a fitting site for celebrating the fertility of cattle in songs and dances. The radio station supplied a master of ceremonies, and broadcast the entire affair. More than twenty-five different bands played. Each group was from a different small town, and there were no professional musicians. Farmer-performers were dressed in their everyday clothes and the dancers' basic costume was of the same nature, with the exception of large plain ponchos that were worn. All were heavily decorated with flowers stuck in their hair and hats. Many of the women wore garlands of fresh vegetables around their necks, consisting of cabbages, carrots and little loaves of bread all strung together. At the end of each dance they would hurl the vegetables with full force into the audience.

Although the event was advertised as a contest, it was conducted with the reckless abandon of a celebration. The musicians moved about the stage playing far from the microphones, or with their backs to the audience. Dancers rushed at the microphone to holler out a few words or whistle loudly. Often short skits or monologues preceded the songs, and children acted out harsh caricatures of the drunken adults. One little girl danced with an infant strapped to her back. Many of the bands included a man playing the long wooden trumpet, almost never played in the same pitch or tempo as the other musicians. This unwieldy instrument would get in the way of the dancers and singers. One band performed with several trumpets of cow horns which were played in tune and in time together.

Each village group had its own songs and dances, and the audience cheered local favorites. When members of the audience were displeased they would whistle loudly and drown out the performer. Few of the songs and tunes had any formal ending except in the rare cases where a small group had something "worked out."

9 Fiddle and saxophone at *Concurso*

This instrumental duet shows different ways of decorating the basic Santiago melody. Note how the saxophone follows the melodic ornamentations of a singer, while the fiddle makes melodic elaborations that come from Santiago instrumental tradition.

10 Street Band: Clarinets, saxophones and harps at Huancayo

The following afternoon, musicians arrived in Huancayo with harps, saxophones, clarinets and fiddles. They were semi-professional bands from as far as fifty miles away that had been hired to play at the festival. The distinguishing Huancayo sound is centered around saxophones, which are used for every kind of regional music, including *Huaynos*, *Huaylas* and *Mulizas*. For Santiago the bands come to play at private parties at night. Almost everyone, rich and poor, was dressed in the costume of the working class mestizos, with ponchos and shawls. The hosts, however, made their identity clear to us, explaining that "this was only a costume" and thereby established their own social status to the visitors. Large crowds of uninvited people stood outside in the streets, listening to the music and merrymaking.

Around midnight, the parties moved from indoors to the street. The bands played their music while walking up the streets, and the harp players held their instrument upside down on their shoulders in order to play while moving. Swarms of dancers snaked around them, doing a shuffle step in rapid time. Within a half hour we encountered almost thirty such groups winding their way through Huancayo. Most automobile transport was brought to a standstill. As the night progressed the drunkenness and shouting increased.

This music was more "arranged" than that of the previous night. None of the bands used the drums; rather, the harp provided the regular beat while fiddles, saxophones and clarinets played the Santiago melodies with sweet harmonies. All the bands had this same sound, and it was difficult for us to differentiate one from the other, although the differences were clear to the local folks.

11 Women and *tinya*: *Belaúnde* and *Haya de la Torre*

Along the edges of the crowds of dancers were a few of the people from the small villages. Some were beating *tinyas* and singing. The final selection from the 1964 recordings is from these older women who were just outside the Hotel Turista. Their song was a mixture of Spanish words with Quechua suffixes. The subject is the 1964 elections in Peru in which Belaúnde was elected president; Haya de la Torre was the leader of the Apristas, another political party. John Rowe, who translated this, believes that the song could be a modernized version of an older topical song from the Huancayo region. The reference to soldiers' cartridge bags is interesting, for during that time there was no war in Peru, but the grandparents of these women probably were part of the war with Chile, fought in the last century. Several fierce battles were fought in this high central valley.

Señor Belaúnde/Vive en el palacio/Haya de la Torre/.../Muchachos valientes/ Vamos a la guerra/ Lleven las muchachas/ En la cartuchera

*Señor Belaúnde/Lives in the palace/Haya de la Torre/.../*Brave boys/Go to war/Carry the young girls/In your cartridge belts.

Later: Brave Apristas, go to the war (etc.)

Aymara and Quechua Music in Puno
Thomas Turino

In 1943, José María Arguedas, the celebrated Peruvian novelist and ethnographer, wrote : "No one knows how many types of indigenous dances there are in the [southern highland] Department of Puno; we only know that it is the richest region in Peru in regard to indigenous dances." In the southern Peruvian highlands rural communities have maintained an especially pronounced social and cultural separatism in relation to the dominant society. People identified as "Indians" by the state and Hispanic-oriented elite have been the targets of exploitation and prejudice. In self-defense, peasant communities in Puno have maintained and continued to create their own distinct social, religious, and musical practices to bolster local community unity and identity. The resulting variety of unique Puneño dances and instrumental traditions—alluded to by Arguedas—was still evident in the 1980s. Since the 1960s, however, integrative processes such as urban migration, agrarian and educational reforms, and the ubiquitous use of transistor radios have changed the fabric of rural Puneño life, especially among young people.

The primary indigenous language of Peru, Quechua, is spoken in most provinces of Puno. Aymara is the second most important Andean language. It is spoken widely in Bolivia and in northern Chile, but in Peru the Aymara-speaking minority is located only in three provinces of Puno: Huancané, on the north side of Lake Titicaca; Chucuito, to the south of the lake; and in the Province of Puno, where both Quechua- and Aymara-speaking communities exist. Most of the Puneño music presented here comes from Aymara-speaking communities that surround Lake Titicaca. They represent some of the most important instrumental traditions of the Peruvian Aymara.

In the Peruvian Titicaca region as in Bolivia, large communal wind-drum ensembles are at the center of musical and ceremonial life. Indigenous communities in the area play a variety of double-row panpipe styles (e.g., *ayarachis, sikuris, chiriguanos, sikumorenos*), different types of vertical duct flutes (*tarkas* and *pinkillus*) and vertical notched flutes (*choquela*), as well as side-blown flutes (*pitus*). The different wind instruments, associated with specific festivals and times of year, are not mixed in ensemble. Stringed instruments, such as the *charango* and guitar, do not accompany panpipes and flutes as they do in urban Andean folk revivalist music that appears on records, in nightclubs, and on the street internationally. In indigenous peasant communities in Huancané stringed instruments, originally a colonial innovation, are a rarity. To the south of the lake, in the provinces of Puno and Chucuito, the *charango* is the primary stringed instrument used by rural Aymara musicians. The peasant *charango* of the region (approximately the size of a ukulele, with between ten and twenty thin metal strings) sometimes accompanies songs and courting dances (e.g., the kh'ajhelo), but it tends to be reserved for more informal semi-private occasions (tracks 16, 18, 19). In rural Puno, only men play musical instruments; women join festival performances as dancers and sometimes as singers. In contrast to Quechua-speaking communities throughout Peru, where song traditions are often central to musical life, vocal music is relatively rare during public festivals among the Aymara.

Tracks 12-19: notes by John Cohen

Tracks 12 through 19 were recorded in the villages of Chucuito and Chimo on the edge of Lake Titicaca. Because previous recordings had focused on public ceremonies, we were looking for music from the daily life cycle: lullabies, weddings or work songs. The idea of seeking out music about the lake came from the setting itself where so much of local life is centered. This is the area where anthropologist Harry Tschopik did his work and recordings (Folkways 4415) around 1948. Tschopik reported "Music is one of the chief aesthetic interests of the Aymara. It is used in all festivals and some ceremonies. It is almost invariably accompanied by dancing and drinking. Musical instruments are played only by men. Most music is instrumental, songs being relatively unimportant" (*Handbook of South American Indians* volume I: 555).

While songs are relatively rare in traditional public Aymara festivals, both Cohen and Turino have found that Aymara speakers, especially women, know locally-based songs and can sing when asked to do so. This and the Aymara songs on this recording suggest that there may be important traditions of domestic singing and other private songs among women that have yet to be well documented because of a former emphasis on male instrumental traditions and public occasions in Andean research. One well-known Aymara song tradition in the Peruvian region south of Lake Titicaca, however, is the *kh'ajhelo*. The *kh'ajhelo* is a courting song-dance accompanied by charango and performed in semi-private occasions by young men and women in ways similar to the *kashwa* songs among Quechua youth in Canas, Cuzco (see Felix Paniagua, *"el kh'ajhelo," Tarea* 6; and Thomas Turino, "The *Charango* and the *Sirena*: Music, Magic, and Power of Love" *Latin American Music Review* 4/1 1983).

12 Music from Carnival: Three flutes and drum

13 Song of Lake Titicaca: Three Women
The women sing "Coming out the Lake, cutting *totora*, and the waves are almost turning us over." *Totora* are reeds that grow in the water and are used for building boats and making mats. The tender roots are also eaten.

14 Music from the *Choquela* ceremony: Flutes and voices
The *Choquela* ceremony represents the ritual hunt of the *vicuña*. The community walks from the village by the lake, up into the hills, singing all day long. The ceremony is held high on a mountain. It takes place after the harvest and is designed to produce large crops the following year. This singing was recorded from two old people who knew it from memory (For a description of this Aymara ceremonial see Tschopik in *Handbook of South American Indians Volume* 2, Smithsonian Institution, page 567.)

15 Los jilacatas: Panpipes from Chimo
Panpipe orchestra at rehearsal in Chucuito. The style of melody and playing resembles *sikumoreno* panpipe style from the Aymara, south of the lake. This is not a complete ensemble—it is without the snare drum. You can clearly hear how the musicians divide the melody between different instruments, playing in hocket. The panpipes used are arranged in double rows. Jilacatas represent the village authorities. Compare this recording to Harry Tschopik's *Music of Peru* (Folkways 4415), side 2,

track 2, for another panpipe performance of this name as played in this same village before 1949. The melody is different.

16 Love song of the animals: *Charango* and men
Love song to the animals, titled "Alpaca" in Aymara, imitates the songs of snakes, llamas, frogs, birds, alpacas and viscachas. The *charango* that accompanies the song is a mandolin-like instrument created in the Andes, and is popular with the Aymara.

17 Lullaby: One woman
This chant says, "If your father is getting drunk he'll come and beat us up, so go to sleep my little girl, I'll cover you with my blanket. "Go to sleep," another similar lullaby says, "Demons are pursuing the babies and the women try to put them to sleep." *Chi, chi, chi* is a comforting sound, and *wawa* is the word for baby.

18 Song for a dead baby: *Charango*, man and woman
The death of a baby is looked on as different from that of a grown person. In some ways it is joyful that the child has gone directly to heaven without enduring the troubles of life.

19 Que vamos al lago: *Charango*, woman and man
The text is: "Let's go to the lake to cut totura reeds, which will be fed to the animals." It is sung with *charango* accompaniment. Notice the sense of harmony introduced with the man's voice, which stresses intervals of parallel fourths and fifths.

20 *Choquela* ceremony: At Mukaraya, Acora
A recording of an actual *Choquela* performance (edited to show the two musical parts) in 1983, in the village of Mukaraya near Chucuito. At a hill nearby, the entire community gathers, forming a large circle. Within it the male musicians play flutes and drum, while the women, swirling in place, sing the long text of the *vicuña* hunt. They hold tall decorated poles representing the fence used to trap the *vicuña.* The men, disguised as *choquela* (hunters) with animal masks, crack long whips and speak in high animal-like voices. They run around the circle, chasing the *vicuña* (a stuffed animal carried by one man), and finally trap it in ropes, and (symbolically) cut it open. They throw the entrails up to the wind. Then the *vicuña* runs off. After this, the second part of the melody with the ai, ai is sung.

The Aymara text can be translated in different ways, for the song exists on several metaphorical levels. Yolanda Lopez, Aymara instructor at the University of Florida, states, "The *Choquela* is a very old dance and the exact meaning of many of the phrases are unknown to the present generation. This recording contains place names whose significance is known only to the participants or perhaps only to their ancestors."

21 Singing, flutes and drums at lakeshore, Chimo
This music accompanies women as they dance by the lake.

Panpipes and Flutes from Conima, Huancané and Acora (Aymara)
Tracks 22-29 annotated by Thomas Turino

22 Qhantati Ururi: Easter Music
Qhantati Ururi of Conima, performing a *choclo* piece in the *sikuri* panpipe style, recorded during the Easter festival, 1985, in the plaza of Conima, Province of Huancané. Fifty-two panpipe players performed while moving in three concentric circles accompanied by western snare and bass drums (located in the center of the circles).

The term *sikuri* refers to one of the most important panpipe (*siku*) styles of Puno, as well as to a specific genre played by these ensembles. Depending on the specific region, an ensemble's consort of instruments is comprised of different sized panpipes that are played in parallel polyphony (corresponding tubes on the different instruments produce harmonic intervals). *Sikuri* groups may use three different sizes of *sikus* tuned in parallel octaves, or six different sizes tuned in parallel fourths, fifths and octaves. The Conimeño style differs in that there are nine potential panpipe voices (three parallel octave groups of three voices each, tuned in thirds). This style with parallel thirds apparently dates from the 1920s in Conima; the use of thirds creates a sound relatively familiar to Western listeners. (See Thomas Turino, *Moving away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*, University of Chicago Press, 1993.)

As in all double-row panpipe performance in Puno (e.g., the *ayarachi, chiriguano, sikuri,* and *jilacata* performances on this recording), the pitches of a single instrument are divided (and systematically alternated) between two rows of tubes (the *ira* and *arca* rows) and between two players who interlock their pitches to create a melody. Ideally, the *ira* and *arca* players overlap their pitches slightly so that there will be no "holes" in the melody. Conimeños say that a *siku* cannot be performed correctly as a solo instrument, and this is in keeping with their basic orientation toward musical performance as a collective activity. As in many places in the Andes, Conimeños articulate the aesthetic preference for a dense, rich ensemble sound produced by the multiple overlapping of instrumental parts; this is well illustrated in Qhantati's performance.

In Conima and generally, *sikuri* ensembles are usually accompanied by three to eight large double-headed drums known as *bombos* or *wankara.* The Easter celebration is the only occasion in Conima when a bass and a snare drum are used to accompany sikus, and it is the use of these drums that distinguishes the choclo genre from *ligeros*, another genre of fast sikuri dance pieces. The same piece may be designated as a *choclo* or a *ligero* depending on the drum accompaniment and context. As illustrated on this recording, *choclos*, like *ligeros*, end with a faster rendition of the melody. This rapid concluding section is known as the *fuga* section in Puno (elsewhere in Peru *fugas* are concluding sections that have melodies and texts that are distinct from the main body of the piece).

In the 1985 Easter celebration, *sikuri* ensembles representing various villages from the District of Conima came to the town plaza to play for dancing until dawn. As in other Conimeño festivals where a number of com-

munity groups perform side by side around the plaza, competitions emerged to establish the best performers. Ensemble size, energy, and volume are important for winning in these informal competitions. Village ensembles, based on voluntary participation, are somewhat ad hoc but typically they have around eighteen to twenty-four players. During Easter 1985, however, Qhantati Ururi was particularly large, with fifty-two players, and the group was considered very successful by the people of the district. Ensembles also gain prestige for the quality of their original compositions. The best groups compose two or three new panpipe pieces for every important *fiesta* and there is a fairly rapid turnover of repertory. Frequently pieces do not have names, but they are remembered by the year and *fiesta* for which they were composed. Conimeño ensembles sometimes compose collectively, but the *choclo* piece heard here was created independently by Filiberto Calderón Villasante of Qhantati Ururi, one of the best *siku* players, makers, and composers in Puno.

23 Qhantati Ururi: Social dance
Qhantati Ururi of Conima performing a piece in the *lento* or *sikuri* genre in *sikuri* style. The recording was made in a rehearsal in Conima, May, 1986 as the group prepared for a contracted performance for a mestizo-organized *fiesta* in a neighboring district. Here, twenty-two *siku* players performed all but the largest two panpipe voices (because of a shortage of cane of sufficient length, see the diagram of panpipe voicing in Turino 1989), and four of the *siku* players accompanied the group on *bombos*.

The *lento* genre (literally, slow; also called *sikuri* or *calmado*) is considered the most emotionally profound and important type of piece played by *sikuri* groups. In *fiesta* performances they are typically alternated with *ligeros* (fast pieces) for social dancing. These two genres differ in tempo and genre-specific formulas. For example, in *ligeros* (as in the *choclo* on this recording) a melodic motive that rapidly alternates pitches between the two (*ira* and *arca*) panpipe rows is used for the introduction, conclusion, and systematically at the end of each of the three sections of the piece (the vast majority of Conimeño music is in AABBCC form). This melodic formula (known in Conima as *Chuta Chuta*), however, is replaced in *lentos* by the long sustained chord heard as the introduction, at section cadences, and at the conclusion; *fuga* sections are not used for the lento genre. In both *lentos* and *ligeros* a scale with six or seven pitches (often with an initial minor third, and a flatted seventh) is most common. The overlapping of the various panpipe voices can be heard clearly on this recording as can the wide tuning variance that characterizes the locally preferred quality of a panpipe consort—i.e., corresponding pitches on different instruments are tuned slightly sharp and flat from "perfect" unisons so as to create a relatively wide pitch area and a dense sound.

24 Tarkas de Putina: Carnival music
Tarkas de Putina (District of Conima) performing a piece in the carnival or *tarkiada* genre in their village celebration during Carnival, 1985. The fourteen tarka players, and the snare and bass drummers, are from Putina (many of the same musicians play in Qhantati during occasions when panpipes are called for). This composition was created by Tarkas de Putina collectively in 1985.

The *tarka* is a wooden duct flute (with a whistle mouthpiece). The mouthpiece is made so that forceful blowing partially splits the tones creating the instrument's dense, reedy timbre. A consort is ideally comprised of three sizes with the middle size tarka (*ankuta*) playing a fifth above the largest tarka (*tayka*), and the smallest instrument (*suli*) playing an octave above the tayka. In this recording, however, only *ankutas* and *taykas* are played.

Tarka music is performed throughout the week-long celebration of Carnival; the instrument is only played during Carnival. During the first two and last two days of the festival, community ensembles from all over Conima come to the district capital's plaza to celebrate, compete and play for dancers. The dancers, either in pairs or in a single chain, move with a forward shuffling step in a circle around the ensemble of their choice—the ensemble that draws the most dancers and onlookers "wins" the informal competition, according to local consensus.

During the central days of Carnival each community celebrates in its own village. The musical ensemble is invited to a number of homes where it performs and officiates at a *t'inka* ceremony with coca, alcohol and prayers. This is an act of reciprocity with the local spiritual forces (e.g., certain mountain divinities, the Earth, and the ancestors) to ensure health and a good harvest. The rainy season (November-March) is an important time for earth fertility and ripening rituals in many places in the Andes and, as in Conima, the Carnival celebration often assumes this significance.

25 Pitus de Cambria: Fiesta de la Cruz
Pitus de Cambria (*pitu* ensemble from the community of Cambria in the District of Conima) performing the music for the *achach k'umu* dance on twelve *pitus* (side-blown flutes), snare and bass drum. This piece is in the public domain in Conima and, unlike the other examples from the district presented here, it is not associated with specific composers, community ensembles, or a particular year.

Achach k'umu (hunchbacked old man) is a costumed dance-drama tradition in which the male dancers simultaneously represent the *achachilas* (local mountain divinities), and parody (through costume and choreography) the colonial Spanish. In Conima *achach k'umu* is performed for the Fiesta de la Cruz (May 3) and is always accompanied by pitu ensembles. There are a number of different pieces that can be used for the main body of the dance—parts of which resemble European line dances, other parts are in circle formations—but each piece ends with the same distinct concluding section that is heard at the end of this performance. As with most music in Conima, different *achach k'umu* pieces closely resemble each other because of the ubiquitous use of genre specific formulas (e.g., compare the section cadence motives in the main body of this piece and the cadences in concluding section). *Pitus* are played in parallel fourths, fifths, and octaves (again, ideally, three different sizes of flutes comprise a consort); the flutes are consistently overblown to create a dense, breathy timbre and the high pitched sound that is so central to Andean musical aesthetics.

27 Pinkillus de Lloquesani: Carnival music
Pinkillus de Lloquesani performing a carnival or *pinkillada*. The ensemble consisted of fifteen five-hole *pinkillu* players and twelve *caja* players (large, indigenous, snare drums played with two mallets and the heads perpendicular to the ground). This piece was composed by Lloquesani as their emblem piece for Carnival in 1985.

Lloquesani is a community in Moho, the district bordering Conima within the Province of Huancané. Moho is known for its *pinkillu* musicians just as Conima is famous for its *sikuri* ensembles. This same type of *pinkillu* music is used for Carnival, Candelaria (February 1 and 2) and Todos los Santos (November 1 and 2) in Moho, Conima, and elsewhere in Huancané. Like the *tarka*, *pinkillus* (cane duct flutes) are primarily associated with the rainy season. Unlike the other instruments discussed for Conima, only one size of the five-hole *pinkillu* is used. An ensemble's flutes, often purchased together, are usually tuned in a close unison but, in keeping with the Andean preference for a dense sound, some of the musicians blow their instruments slightly harder (sharper) or softer (flatter) than the median pitch gamut thereby creating what could be called a "dense" or "wide unison." The thundering caja accompaniment—fluctuating between an eighth note triplet and an eighth and two sixteenth note figure—also adds to the density of sound. The flutes are consistently overblown. Six or seven tone scales are used most frequently, with pentatonic scales heard less often. Like most of the music in this region, five-hole *pinkillu* pieces are in AABBCC form and feature a number of genre-specific formulas.

During Carnival five-hole *pinkillu* groups play for community dancing in the villages and the district capital town. The dancers do a forward shuffle step, men and women alternating in a single file circle around the ensemble. A piece may be played for forty minutes, repetition itself heightening the intensity which is capped by a faster *fuga* section.

27 Chiriguanos de Huancané: Fiesta de la Cruz
Chiriguano panpipes from the District of Huancané, Province of Huancané, performed for the Fiesta de la Cruz (May 3), 1985. The ensemble consisted of approximately fifty musicians playing three different sizes of *chiriguano* panpipes (tuned in octaves). The musical genre, like the names for the instruments and the dance, is simply called *chiriguano*.

Chiriguanos is one of the most unusual and interesting musical traditions of the Titicaca region. To my knowledge, it is the only large-ensemble panpipe tradition in the area that does not include drum accompaniment (there is a distinct tradition of panpipe performance in Bolivia, also called *chiriguano*, that does use drums). The *chiriguano* panpipes are exceptional for their size with the large (*tayka*) panpipes measuring approximately 41 inches, the *ankuta* being around 20 1/2 inches, and the *suli* being 10 1/4 inches—almost double the length of the corresponding voices in a *sikuri* ensemble. What is most unusual is the manner of ensemble organization. In Conima, and throughout the Province of Huancané, musical ensembles usually consist of men from the same community. To be complete, however, a single *chiriguano* ensemble comprises two groups of musicians, each from neighboring communities.

In performance, the two community groups run side by side in a single pack, playing their own separate, although similar, tunes simultaneously. This recording was made while running on one side of an ensemble, hence the tune played by the community on my side of the pack is heard most clearly. As is still somewhat evident on this recording, however, the resulting sound of a *chiriguano* performance is like a panpipe ensemble out of phase with itself, and at times, like a piece played as a round (because of the similarity of the two tunes). The *chiriguanos* run from their rural villages into the provincial capital town of Huancané on the morning of May 3. Periodically, when an ensemble comes to an open space along the road, the two community groups begin to run in close swirling circles around each other. At this point in the "dance" each group plays its tune as loudly as possible, trying to make the musicians of the opposing group lose their place in their piece. During lunch hour the two halves of an ensemble split up to eat separately with the people of their communities before coming together again to play.

Anthropologists and ethnomusicologists working in the Andes have frequently commented on social practices involving symbolic patterns of binary complementarity and opposition, as well as ritualized acts of cooperation and competition among related social groups. For example, competition between neighboring communities' musical ensembles is common during *fiestas* throughout the region, and the very manner of performing double-row panpipes, with paired players interlocking their *ira* and *arca* rows to create a melody, is an obvious example of binary complementarity and social cooperation. In *chiriguano* performance social relations of cooperation and competition, opposition and complementarity, are simultaneously articulated in a unique fashion. The musicians state that an ensemble is not complete unless it consists of two community groups to form the whole. These two groups play different, yet closely related, tunes and are in open competition with each other during performance; they are one ensemble yet eat and socialize separately during lunch.

28 Pinkillus de Acora: Carnival music
A community ensemble from Acora (Province of Puno) performing Carnival music. The ensemble consisted of eight six-hole *pinkillu* players, fourteen women singers, a musician who played a metal horn, and snare and bass drummers. This recording was made as the group rehearsed for a formal *concurso* (performance contest) in the district capital town of Acora during the Fiesta de la Virgen de la Candelaria (February 1, 1985). This performance features two contrasting sections played AABB, and hence differs from the basic AABBCC musical structure commonly used in Conima, Moho, and elsewhere in the Province of Huancané. One of the most moving aspects of this performance is the manner in which the timbres of the voices and flutes contrast during the main phrases of the piece and then blend together at the endings of each section. This is not a song; the women are singing vocables (syllables without semantic meaning) to compliment the men's flutes.

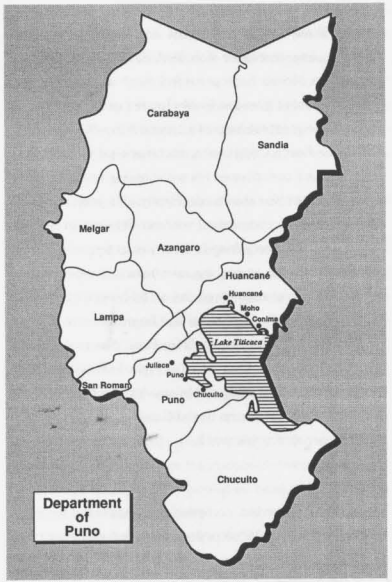
29 Centro Social Conima, 1986: Manuelita
Centro Social Conima performing a *lento sikuri* piece known as Manuelita. This recording was made in a

rehearsal in one of the musician's homes in Lima, June, 1986. Twenty *siku* players performed and three drums (*bombos*) were used.

Centro Social Conima is a regional club consisting of families from the District of Conima who have settled in Lima. The club serves as the basis of a self-help social network and reconstructed community in the city. Especially since the 1940s, there has been a tremendous flood of migration from the highlands to the national capital. Faced with ethnic prejudice against people associated with "Indian" society, and difficulties in securing jobs and places to live in Lima, migrants have increasingly banded together in voluntary associations based on regional identity. The Peruvian scholar Teofilo Altamirano estimates that in 1957 there were approximately 200 regional clubs in the capital whereas by 1980 the number had grown to 6,000 (*Presencia andina en Lima metropolitana*, Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1984, p. 15).

The clubs from different highland areas vary in their functions, activities, and in their actual involvement with music and dance—many clubs sponsor occasions for highland music and dance even if club members do not perform themselves. The lower- and working-class clubs from Puno, however, are often specifically united around performance as their main social activity. Like Centro Social Conima, Puneño clubs typically perform musical and dance styles associated with their specific home region. Performing music from home is an important way of emphasizing their regional identity which in turn serves as the basis of their constructed community in the city. Whether through actual performance or the sponsoring of regional musical events, migrant clubs have played an important role in strengthening the presence of highland music in Lima—a city which only decades ago was the stronghold of an elite, European- oriented society and culture.

Centro Social Conima performs *tarkas* and five-hole *pinkillus* in Lima for the same occasions in which these instruments are used in the home district (Carnival and Todos los Santos, respectively). But because Conima is famous for its *sikuri* music, and because *sikuri* performance has become more acceptable in Lima in contrast to other indigenous instruments, Centro Social tends to specialize in this tradition. Centro Social Conima specifically models its performance and repertory on Qhantati Ururi of Conima. Their success in imitating the famous hometown group (which they do through the use of cassettes recorded in Conima) may be ascertained by comparing this performance with those of Qhantati on this recording.



Thomas Turino is Associate Professor of Music at the University of Illinois, Champaign/Urbana. More information about music in Puno, in Conima, and about the musical activities of Conimeño migrants in Lima may be found in the book *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* by Thomas Turino (University of Chicago Press, 1993), and in "The Coherence of Social Style and Musical Creation Among the Aymara of Southern Peru" (*Ethnomusicology* 33(1), 1989), by the same author. More information about the music from the Mantaro Valley around Huancayo, Junin is available in "Musical Change and Cultural Resistance in the Central Andes of Peru" by Raul Romero (*Latin American Music Review* 11(1),1990).

John Cohen is a musician, photographer and filmmaker who teaches at the State University of New York at Purchase. His films include: *Mountain Music of Peru*, distributed by Cinema Guild, New York, which contains scenes of a panpipe orchestra from Chimo, near Lake Titicaca. Further examples of altiplano music can be seen in seven short films of Peruvian dance and music by John Cohen (video only) available to the public at the New York Public Library dance collection at Linclon Center. These include large panpipe orchestras from Lampa, Chimu and the Island of Taquile, where you can hear the distinct parts of a panpipe ensemble as well as see the different sizes of panpipes played in a festival context. *Choquela: Only Interpretation*. A film by John Cohen, Cinema Guild. *Carnival In Q'eros*. A film by John Cohen, University of California Media Extension. *Dancing with the Incas: Huayno Music of Peru*. A film by John Cohen.

short discography

Mountain Music of Peru. Smithsonian/Folkways SF 40020. The first volume of this two-volume set.

Huayno Music of Peru Volumes 1 and 2. Arhoolie Records.

Your Struggle Is Your Glory: Huaynos and songs of protest. Arhoolie Records.

Music of Peru. Recorded by Harry Tschopik. Folkways 4415.

Música Tradicional de Lambayeque, Peru. Recorded and produced by Raul Romero. Pontifica Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1992.

Música Tradicional de Cusco, Peru. Recorded and produced by Raul Romero. Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1992.

note on the recordings

The 1964 recordings were made on a Nagra tape recorder, with a AKCD-24 microphone, borrowed from the Newport Folk Foundation. Preliminary copying and editing was done with a Nagra borrowed from the Friends of Old Time Music. Final tape editing was done by Peter Bartok. We recorded 347 performances in Peru (1964) of which about 61 are used on *Mountain Music of Peru* 1 and 2.

Many people helped to make these recordings possible. **John Cohen** would like to thank the Casa de la Cultura in Lima, Peru, for their cooperation, especially Dr. Roel Pineda and Dr. Jose Maria Arguedas. Thanks also to Jose Matos, Chaves Ballon, Morote Best, Jorge Flores and Achilles. Thanks to Francisca Mayer of Huancayo, and Sr. Otto de Barry and Deward de Barry of hacienda Ocapana in Ocongate. Thanks to the Peace Corps in Peru; Paul Doughty, Karen Bundy, Jerry and Carolyn Kinsman and Peter Lara. Through the Pension Maras in Lima, thanks to Bob Bird, Pat Lyons and Dr. John Rowe. Moses Asch provided much of the tape used, and Alan Lomax gave invaluable letters of introduction. Perhaps the greatest help of all came from Bill Hutchinson of the Peace Corps, who accompanied us on most of the trips, and contributed his translations and knowledge and enthusiasm for the music. Finally, this project could not have been accomplished without the help of my wife Penny, who did everything from transporting and running the tape recorder, to making notations and typing the notes. Additional recordings from 1983 were assisted by Richard Rogers, Rufus Cohen and Raul Romero.

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credits

Tracks 1–21 recorded, compiled and annotated by John Cohen. Tracks 22–29 recorded, compiled and annotated by Thomas Turino

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Map based on Turino (1993): 17

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