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mountain music of peru

volume II

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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.*

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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.

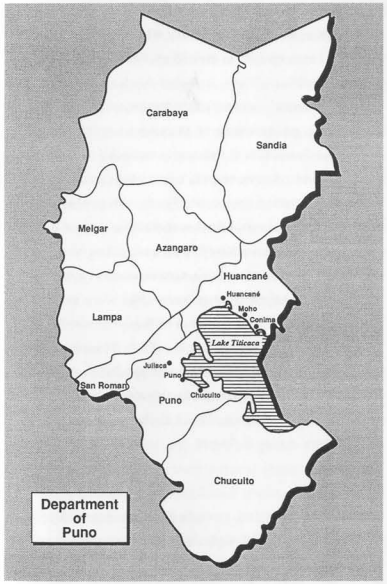
29 Centro Social Conima, 1986: Manuelita
Centro Social Conima performing a *lento sikuri* piece known as Manuelita. This recording was made in a

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

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mountain music of peru volume II

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

12 Music from Carnival: Three flutes and drum 0:59
13 Song of Lake Titicaca: Three women 1:24
14 Music from *Choquela* ceremony: Flutes and voices 2:15
15 *Los jilacatas*: Panpipes from Chimo 2:42
16 Love song of the animals: *Charango* and men 3:22
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18 Song for a dead baby: *Charango*, man and woman 1:21
19 *Que vamos al lago*: *Charango*, woman and man 2:02
20 *Choquela* ceremony: At Mukaraya, Acora 2:56
21 Singing, flutes and drums at lake shore, Chimo 1:08

Panpipes and Flutes from Conima, Huancané and Acora, Puno (Aymara)

22 Qhantati Ururi, *sikuri* ensemble: Easter music 6:01 Music by Filiberto Calderón Villasante 1986
23 Qhantati Ururi: Social dance 3:12
24 Tarkas de Putina, *tarka ensemble*: Carnival music 2:26 Music by Tarkas de Putina 1986
25 Pitus de Cambria, pitu ensemble: Fiesta de la Cruz 2:30
26 Pinkillus de Lloquesani, *pinkillu* ensemble: Carnival music 4:46
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29 Centro Social Conima, *siku* ensemble, recorded in Lima, 1986 4:47

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.*

0 9307-40406-2 1

This Folkways reissue contains 74 minutes of music, features 10 previously unreleased selections, and presents the music of the Andean people as it is performed within their own communities. Although best known for its stunning panpipe ensembles, which are well represented here, the Andean region's music collected on this disc contains a wide variety of vocal and instrumental styles. This is a companion release to *Mountain Music of Peru* (SF 40020).

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