

MUSIC AND DANCE  
OF INDIANS AND MESTIZOS  
IN AN ANDEAN VALLEY OF PERU

ELISABETH DEN OTTER

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Cover: drawing by Kees Putman, representing a modeled vessel from the Recuay period (200-600 A.D.), of a human figure playing a natural trumpet, a duo of flute & drum players, and two members of a brass band playing saxophone and trumpet.

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This book is dedicated to the people of the Callejón de Huaylas.

Thank you for the music  
The songs I'm singing  
Thanks for all the joy they're bringing  
Who can live without it  
I ask in all honesty  
What would life be  
Without a song or a dance what are we?  
So I say thank you for the music  
For giving it to me.

ABBA (Swedish pop group)

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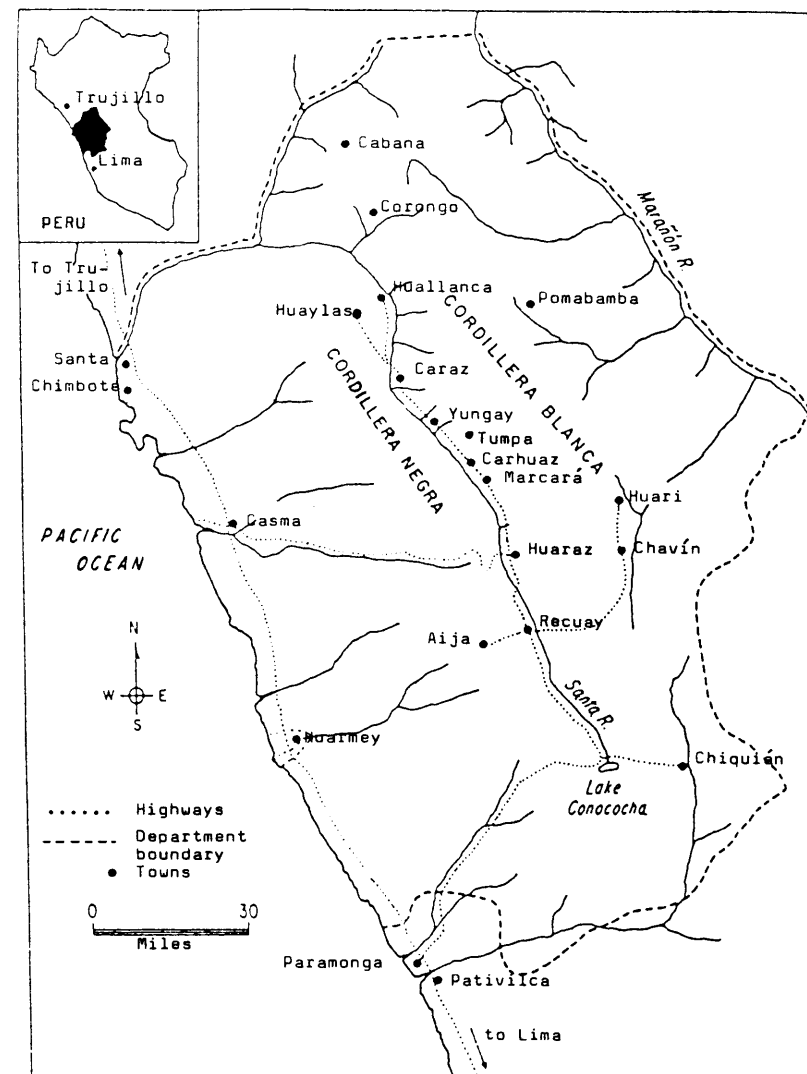
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**Introduction: Así es la costumbre"**

"Music and dance are a means of understanding peoples and behavior, and as such are valuable tools in the analysis of culture and society. Because of their intense emotional value, they enter into all those social situations which imply heightened effects, and in their turn call forth intense emotional reaction." (Boas, 1965:607)

When asked why they played a certain music, danced a certain dance, or wore certain clothing, the answer given by the performers almost invariably was "Así es la costumbre" (Such is our custom). Although people do not openly recognize the symbolism of their music and dance, and even though these may have lost their original meaning, it cannot be said that they have no meaning at all for the participants. During a secular or religious event ideas are translated into expressive actions, often by means of music and dance.

Therefore, it was up to me, as an anthropologist, to observe these customs and to find the principle underlying the phenomena observed, in this case the music and dance of the people living in the Callejón de Huaylas, an Andean valley in North-Central Peru.

This work is based on the assumption that the types of music and dance in the Callejón de Huaylas are related to social class, language usage and, ultimately, cultural identity. They reflect the identity of the ethnic groups living in this Andean valley: the Indians, the Mestizos and an intermediate group of acculturated Indians called Cholos.

If music and music behavior may be used to identify specific groups in society, one should be able to do so by listening and watching, as well as by observing the social context in which they take place. Knowing the place, the people and the occasion, one can predict what instruments will be used, what repertoire will be played, what language will be spoken, and what types of dance there will be.

Conversely, upon hearing a certain type of music, played on certain instruments in a certain time and place, and singing in Quechua or Spanish, one can tell what type of people is connected with it. Thus, if one hears a flute and drum combination playing pasacalles and huaynos in a rural village, one can be fairly sure that the sponsor is an Indian or a Cholo. On the other hand, if one hears a brass band with saxophones or other modern instruments playing a cumbia, one is likely to be in an urban center, at an event sponsored by a Mestizo.

### **Anthropology as a science of culture**

As a cultural anthropologist interested in the music and dance of the people of the Callejón de Huaylas, I was influenced by ideas and theories generated by structuralism, semiotics, and ethnocommunication.

"Culture" is a concept used by anthropologists and refers to "the totality of man's learned, accumulated experience, the socially transmitted patterns for behavior characteristic of a particular social group", as defined by Keesing and Keesing (1971:20). It is concerned with actions, artifacts, and ideas which individuals in the tradition concerned learn, share, and value. Elements of culture have a function: they do something, have meaning, for the people concerned, within the total context of their culture. (Keesing, 1958:25,26)

Culture is a system of shared ideas, a system of verbal and nonverbal communication. According to Blacking (1979:3), it exists only insofar as individuals invoke and reinvent it in the course of social interaction.

Recently, a growing interest in the analysis of nonverbal behavior may be observed in anthropological circles: through music and dance social, economical, political, and religious relationships may be studied. The musical instruments, the repertoire of music and dance, the verbal information contained in songtexts, the events during which music and dance may be witnessed, and the performers and their public, all are ways to communicate.

Nonverbal communication takes place through the objects we make and use, the way we order the space around us, our sounds, and our

movements. To a great extent it takes place on an unconscious level, which may be the reason why the answer to my questions regarding the "why" of music and dance, their function and meaning so often was "Such is our custom".

Gerbrands (1983b:1) calls the multidisciplinary study of human behavior "ethnocommunication", a term he defines as "the joining of individual persons into a social unit by means of a culturally defined system of signs". The prefix "ethno" relates to the words "a culturally defined system": the members of each culture have their own way of communicating with each other.

Ethnocommunication is closely related to semiotics, the study of signs: both have nonverbal communication as their field of study, the "language of things" and the "language of actions" rather than the "language of words".

The semiotician Van Zoest gives the following definition of "culture" (1978:53): "Culture is a skill shared by a group to recognize, interpret and produce signs in an identical manner."

Leach (1976:10,16) assumes that all the nonverbal dimensions of culture are organized in patterned sets so as to incorporate coded information in a manner analogous to the sounds and words and sentences of a natural language. And that at some level the "mechanism" of these modes of communication must be the same, that each is a "transformation" of every other in much the same sense as a written text is a transformation of speech. His approach, which considers culture a system of communication, is influenced by structuralism and semiotics.

Music and dance, specifically, have this communicative quality and can be considered the material representation of abstract ideas, or in Leach's terms: "ritual condensation". (Leach, 1976:37)

The Leiden School of Structuralism studies the collective system, and the (collective) changes in the system (the transformations), structuralism being the study of the relations within a system. (de Josselin de Jong, 1974:45,65) The relations between the elements in the system are more important than the elements themselves.

### **The research**

The objective of the research was to study the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas, an Andean valley in North-Central Peru, by means of anthropological and audio-visual means and techniques of research. The data thus gathered were then described and analyzed in order to gain an insight into the ways in which the music and dance reflect the society. Through them the relationships between Indians and Mestizos are expressed; they are transformations of the social, economical, religious and political levels existing in this society.

The original research questions were as follows:

What types of music exist in the Callejón de Huaylas? During what events are they performed and what is their meaning? Which is the position of the musicians? What factors contribute to the preservation or change of the music?

The musical instruments and the repertoire were studied as part of --and reflection of-- the social context: the performers, their public, and the events during which they meet.

After I arrived in the field in 1980 it soon became apparent that dance, which was not mentioned specifically in the original research project, was in many cases closely related to the music of the area, especially in the case of the more traditional and religiously oriented music of the Indian peasants. This aspect was, therefore, paid attention to and incorporated in the research.

Another aspect, which was not so obvious in 1977, when I paid a visit to the Callejón de Huaylas for the first time, but very much so in 1980, was the increase of tourism in connection with the recently finished highway, and the possible effects this could have on the performing arts of the Callejón de Huaylas.

Given the subject of research, the use of audio-visual techniques was an essential part of the research: music and dance are a medium different from language. Being nonverbal, they may be considered different channels of communication, to be registered by means other than writing. Therefore, the results of an anthropological study of

music and dance cannot be transmitted with words alone: auditive and visual information is just as important as the written word. Perhaps I should go even further: writing about music and dance is almost a paradoxical undertaking.

Therefore, the results of my research on the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas will be presented in various forms: a book with black-and-white photographs, a selection of sound-recordings, a slide show, and a film with sound.

The audio-visual and written material refer to each other and reinforce each other: when one sees a certain dance group in the slide show or in the film, one should want to consult the book for more background information. Conversely, when reading about the types of music that exist in the Callejón de Huaylas, one should want to listen to the sound-selection, and so on.

Whereas the slide show and the sound-selection follow the analytical line of the book, the film is a "case study" of a particular event (the patron saint festival of Carhuaz) which attempts to convey the emotional reaction of the participants.

Music and dance are registered by more than one means, and are communicated to the reader/listener/watcher by verbal as well as nonverbal means, thus conveying what may be termed a "moving image".

### **The result**

In this book, music and dance are considered part of the culture of the Callejón de Huaylas. This holistic approach means that, before describing and analyzing the material gathered in the field, the background --theoretical, historical, and sociocultural-- will have to be sketched. Therefore, chapter 1 consists of a general introduction on the anthropology of music and dance, the history of Peru and its music, background information on the Callejón de Huaylas and the people living there, and on the research.

The instruments, as the most tangible aspects of music, as well as their construction and use, are described in detail in chapter 2, illustrated by drawings and photographs, in order to show the way they are played. The repertoire of music and song is then discussed, followed by a section devoted to the popular huayno where the texts of

a number of huaynos are analyzed. Finally, the dances are dealt with. The position of the musicians and dancers in the society is discussed in chapter 3. A number of performers were interviewed and asked questions as to who are musicians, how they become musicians, how the music is learned, whether they are amateurs or professionals, and what music means to them. Case studies of an individual musician and a number of musicians of one village show how the performers function in their social context.

The use and function of music in relation to other aspects of the culture are discussed in chapter 4, where the use of music and dance is classified in four categories of events based on the oppositions communal/private and religious/secular. A number of events are described in more detail, to illustrate the social context in which musicians and dancers perform, showing that certain kinds of music and musical instruments are related to specific groups and events.

Chapter 5 deals with factors that contribute to change. The music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas do not exist in isolation, but travel to Lima with migrants and are exposed to influences from outside, like mass media and tourism.

The ethnographic emphasis is inherent in the subject: there can be no analysis without a detailed description. Concrete objects like instruments or costumes, and concrete actions like music playing and dancing are easier to observe and analyze than abstract functions and meanings.

The latter is especially noticeable when questions like "what does music mean to you?", "why do you wear a mask?" etc. are asked. When the answer to these questions is an almost predictable "Así es la costumbre", the researcher knows that the questions are not relevant for the participant. How, then, may "the views of the participants" be discovered, if not by direct questioning? Since most of the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas may be considered ritual folk drama, it may be assumed that the message is not in the talking but in the doing. In other words: communication takes place through different, nonverbal, channels. The songs --especially the huaynos-- and the traditional dances may be considered expressions of an ideological countermovement and a rejection of the dominant urban

culture. They represent the feelings of the Indians and Cholos of the Callejón de Huaylas and reflect their resistance to the dominant mestizo society they live in. The informal values expressed by them counter the dominant value system with its official values, and create a temporary balance between opposed tendencies, or "counterpoint" (see Wertheim, 1975:147-152), in a search for cultural identity.

## **Chapter 1: The background:theory, history, and society**

### **1.1: The anthropology of music and dance**

Music and dance, as expressive and communicative behavior, are part of culture and a reflection of society. In the past they were studied as "art", primitive or other, but nowadays there is a tendency to consider them communicative behavior. They are now studied as non-verbal behavior in the case of music and dance, or as special language behavior in the case of song, often with the help of insights developed in semiotics, the general science of signs and sign systems.

Although one can play music by oneself, both music and dance occur most frequently in public situations: during religious ceremonies and community festivals. Public rituals can be viewed as dramatic enactments, commentaries on, and summations of the meanings basic to a particular culture. They serve to reaffirm, further develop, and elaborate those aspects of reality that hold a particular group of people together in a common culture.

Music and dance are part of the "affective culture", a term used by Joann Kealiinohomoku (1979:47) designating cultural manifestations that implicitly and explicitly reflect the values of a given group of people through consciously devised means that arouse emotional responses and that strongly reinforce group identity.

Two authors on music and dance have particularly influenced me: Alan Merriam who wrote "The anthropology of music" (1964) and Alan Lomax who wrote "Folk song style and culture" (1971). Because these works are not generally known in anthropological circles, I have summarized them below.

The publication of Merriam's book in 1964 constituted a landmark. He combined the musicological with the anthropological and studied music as human behavior: the concepts which lie behind music behavior, the

role and status of musicians, and the uses and functions of music. In chapter 2 he developed a model in which three analytic levels were distinguished: 1) music sound itself; 2) physical, social, and verbal behavior in relation to music; and 3) conceptualization about music. In chapter 4 Merriam discusses the concepts which underlie the practice and performance of music: what the nature of music is, how it fits into society as a part of the existing phenomena of life, and how it is arranged conceptually by the people who use and organize it. These concepts are abstract notions that are "translated" into behavior which is physical, verbal, or social.

In chapters 6, 7 and 8 he discusses four kinds of behavior in respect to the production and organization of sound: physical behavior, verbal behavior about music sound, social behavior both on the part of those who produce music and those who listen and respond to it, and learning behavior which enables the musician to produce the appropriate sounds. Physical behavior refers to techniques of playing instruments and vocal techniques, with their concomitant bodily attitudes, as well as the physical response of the listeners.

Verbal behavior about music sound refers to what people say about music structure and the criteria which surround it, e.g. the standards of excellence in performance.

The discussion on social behavior centers around the question whether musicians are specialists or professionals, and on the learning process. All musicians are specialists, and some of them are professionals, though the degrees of professionalism vary. They are specialists since their labor differs from that of others in the society, and professionals because their music abilities are greater than that of other members of their group. Professionalism seems to run along a continuum, from payment in occasional gifts at one end to complete economic support through music at the other. Another important criterion is the acceptance of the musician as a specialist or professional, acknowledged by payments or gifts and other kinds of recognition of ability. Public recognition of the musician as a musician, and the granting by society of the privilege of behaving as a musician is expected to behave, constitute acceptance. In many societies, the role of musician is ascribed (assigned to individuals

without reference to their innate differences or abilities) rather than achieved (left open to be filled through competition and individual effort). The question of ascribed versus achieved status and role is intimately related to the learning process. Musicianly behavior is often characterized by low status and high importance, coupled with deviant behavior allowed by the society and capitalized upon by the musician. Musicians often form definite social groups, with their own distinctive behavior patterns. Also, music and music behavior may be a means of identifying specific groups in the society, as subcultures are formed based on music, and subcultures are identified through music.

In viewing music sound as the end result of a dynamic process, Merriam pointed out that underlying concepts lead to actual behavior which in turn shapes structure and presentation. It is obvious, however, that concepts and behavior must be learned, for culture as a whole is learned behavior, and each culture shapes the learning process to accord with its own ideals and values. Imitation is one way of music learning, often followed by more formal training by a music teacher. It is through the learning process that a link is formed between the product on the one hand and the concepts and behaviors of the musician on the other, via the response of the musician to the criticism of his performance by his listeners.

The uses and functions of music are discussed in chapter 11. "Use" refers to the situation in which music is employed in human action, whereas "function" concerns the reasons for its employment and particularly the broader purpose which it serves. The functions of music and dance are manifold: they afford the opportunity for emotional expression, give aesthetic pleasure, entertain, communicate, enforce conformity to social norms, validate social institutions and religious rituals. In essence, they contribute to the continuity and stability of culture and the integration of society. According to Merriam (1964:222-223) an important function of music is the opportunity it gives for a variety of emotional expressions --the release of otherwise unexpressible thoughts and ideas, the correlation of a wide variety of emotions and music, the opportunity to "let off

steam" and perhaps to resolve social conflicts, the explosion of creativity itself, and the group expression of hostilities.

Dance, like music, is considered a social phenomenon by Merriam (1974:12,13): acquired human behavior for people to communicate with other people. The anthropologist is mostly interested in the relationship of the dance group to other groupings in society, in how the dance reflects social and cultural structure, and in the contribution of dance to the other structures that combine with it to form society. He seeks to understand the role and status of the dancer.

Merriam's influence on my research is obvious, as is the great debt of gratitude I owe him. Like him, I will use the terms "anthropology of music" and "anthropology of dance", since it is not the musicological or choreographic systems that I study, but the communicative aspects: what the people are "saying" through music and dance, and what is understood by the public.

Alan Lomax carried out an interesting study on the relation between folk song style and culture, saying (1971:3):

"A song style, like other human things, is a pattern of learned behavior, common to the people of a culture. Singing is a specialized act of communication, akin to speech, but far more formally organized and redundant. Because of its heightened redundancy, singing attracts and holds the attention of groups; indeed, as in most primitive societies, it invites group participation. Whether chorally performed or not, however, the chief function of song is to express the shared feelings and mold the joint activities of some human community."

He considers song a "measure of culture", saying that "the principal discovery in cantometrics is that a culture's favored song style reflects and reinforces the kind of behavior essential to its main

subsistence efforts and to its central and controlling social institutions." (1971:133) In order to establish a taxonomy of the world's folk song styles, he made a statistical analysis of 2,557 song performances from 233 cultures in 56 culture areas, largely following Murdock's "Ethnographic Atlas"; 23 of the cultures were from South America, with Aymara and Quechua in the "Andes" category. (1971:75,29,30)

In chapter 2, Lomax constructed two contrastive song models: A) the highly individualized and group-dominating performance, in which a solo singer commands the communication space by presenting a pattern that is too complex for participation; often the singer is accompanied by a supporting orchestra which further enforces silence; and B) the highly cohesive, group-involving performance, in which all those present can join in easily because of the relative simplicity and repetitiousness of the patterns.

Lomax's Amerindian song model does not apply to the more acculturated Indian peasants of the Callejón de Huaylas: instead of belonging to this model, the song style of the Callejón de Huaylas rather belongs to type A): the highly individualized and group-dominating performance with a solo singer.

There seem to be no song types corresponding to Lomax's other model: the highly cohesive, group-involving performance, in which all those present can join in easily because of the relative simplicity and repetitiousness of the patterns.

In the Callejón de Huaylas, where no choral singing exists, either in unison or polyphonic (except during religious events: in church and during processions), solo singing is accompanied by a harp or violin --in which case the musician is also the vocalist-- or by a supporting orchestra, as is the case of the vocalist accompanied by a string orchestra. This might lead to the conclusion that the songs of the Callejón de Huaylas, even those of the vernacular genre, show more Spanish than pre-Columbian traits.

The cantometric analysis was carried on in chapters 10 and 12 to

include movement and dance, in what was termed "choreometrics" (dance as a measure of culture). Dance profiles from 43 cultures were extracted, falling into eight regional sets, Amerindian being one. Alan Lomax and his collaborators wanted to confirm their impression that the style areas and sets found in the analysis of singing style would be confirmed by a similar analysis of another form of expressive activity, e.g. dance. They found the relation between dance style and work to be particularly important, since the movement style in dance is a crystallization of the most frequent and crucial patterns of everyday activity.

According to Lomax (1975:317), the movement features most frequently found among simple producers feature a one-dimensional movement path and simple reversal transitions, the simultaneous use of limbs and few body parts per action, a relative absence of smoothness of flow and of curvilinear movements, and a low prominence of leading figures and little or no shift in group organizations.

The Amerindian choreometric profile corresponds with the dance movements of the religious and vernacular dances of the Callejón de Huaylas, where dancing mostly resembles a stylized way of walking: feet are stamped in order to make the jingles rattle, while rhythm sticks, swords and shields, or handbells underline the rhythm of the music. Double rows, figure-eights, and circles are the most common figures.

As far as the Callejón de Huaylas is concerned, the style areas and sets found in the analysis of singing style are not confirmed by a similar analysis of dance: where the traditional dance types are Amerindian, the song style is clearly European.

A number of shortcomings of a worldwide approach such as Lomax's are apparent. One of them is the fact that the sampling of South American cultures was sparse, as he himself admits. (1971:110).

Further research with the help of Lomax's cantometric and choreometric profiles, as well as Kealiinohomoku's "field guides" (1972) is needed to obtain data on techniques of song and dance, as well as on material traits associated with these and sociocultural data.

The theories of both Merriam and Lomax served as guidelines for the research, and will always be found "hovering in the background".

### **Ethnomusicology**

Music anthropology, also called "ethnomusicology", is a relatively young discipline. The Dutch scholar Jaap Kunst was the one who coined the term; until then it had been called "comparative musicology". In his book "Ethnomusicology" (1959:1) he defined ethnomusicology as follows: "the study object of ethnomusicology is the traditional music and musical instruments of all cultural strata of mankind, from the so-called primitive peoples to the civilized nations. Our science, therefore, investigates all tribal and folk music and every kind of non-Western art music. Besides, it studies as well the sociological aspects of music, as the phenomena of musical acculturation, that is to say, the hybridizing influence of alien musical elements. Western art- and popular (entertainment-) music does not belong to its field."

The definitions through the years show the growth and the changing scope of the discipline.

Mantle Hood's definition of 1969 is already more general: "Ethnomusicology is an approach to the study of any music, not only in terms of itself but also in relation to its cultural context." Now, also Western art music, as well as popular entertainment music, can be studied in its cultural context.

Merriam defined the discipline twice, once in 1960 and again in 1973, changing just one small --but very significant-- word: "Ethnomusicology is the study of music in culture" (1960) and "Ethnomusicology is the study of music as culture" (1973), thereby considering music an essential aspect of culture instead of looking at it as a separate entity. (Merriam,1977:202-204)

George List's definition is such that the duality of the discipline is included: "Ethnomusicology is the study of humanly produced patterns of sound, sound patterns that the members of the culture who produce them or the scholar who studies them conceive to be music."(1979:1) In this definition, the "vision of the participants", the conscious and



collective conceptions they have and the categories that they distinguish (the folk evaluation) and the "vision of the researcher" who makes an effort to understand the data and puts them in a model of the structure that he sees as fundamental for the culture in question (the analytical evaluation) are joined.

### **Choreology**

The anthropology of dance, also called "choreology", is the study of dance in its social context. Like the study of music, the study of dance also has two aspects, one formal (the dance in itself) and the other contextual (the dance in its context). We must not only pay attention to the form of the dance, but also to the meaning that it has for the people that produce, realize, and observe it. (Royce, 1977:212-215)

Judith Hanna has given an excellent overview of dance anthropology in her article "Movements toward understanding humans through the anthropological study of dance" (1979). Dance is understood to be "human behavior composed of purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements other than ordinary motor activities, the motion having inherent and 'aesthetic' value." Hanna clarifies her use of the word "aesthetic" by saying that it refers to notions of appropriateness and competency held by the dancer's reference groups which guide the dancer's actions. Human behavior must meet each of the above criteria in order to be classified as "dance"; each behavioral characteristic is necessary, and the set is sufficient. Some may have more significance than others in different sociocultural contexts. Dance is communicative behavior.

### **Music as a communicative device**

There is a sharp distinction to be made between music as a communicative device and as a so-called "universal language", an approach ethnomusicologists have consistently rejected. Charles Seeger (1941:122) wrote: "We must, of course, be careful to avoid the fallacy that music is a 'universal language'. There are many music-communities

in the world, though not, probably, as many as there are speech communities. Many of them are mutually unintelligible."

The expressive function of music is something the ethnologists of old did pay attention to, as an article by Charles Myers: "The ethnological study of music" shows. He notes that not much work has been done in this branch of investigation, in part due to the fact that the subject demands a worker who is a trained ethnologist as well as a musician. Myers saw the communicative aspect of music very clearly, to which the following passage (1907:236) attests:

"Music is a recognized means of intercommunication, and must hence be regarded as a language. But the language of music differs from verbal language in that it can communicate only emotions (or feelings) while verbal language serves for cognitive (intellectual) as well as for emotional expression. The language of music is devoid of acknowledged signs for cognitive expression."

Here, the problems that were studied in the '70s by music semiologists were already foreshadowed.

Seventy years later, John Blacking (1977:19) echoes Myers' remark, saying:

"Music is not as much an immediately understood language that can be expected to produce specific responses as it is a metaphorical expression of feeling. It cannot communicate anything new to its listeners except unfamiliar patterns of sound which, through tonal and rhythmic contrasts, may elicit nervous tension and motor impulse - provided that they are presented in a culturally familiar setting and as behavior that is perceived as musical."

Language and music are the two principal modes by which sound patterns for social communication can be produced.

In structural linguistics, the sign unifies a concept (the signified) and an acoustic image (the signifier), but in music the relation between the signifier and the signified is not known. Or, as Henri Lefebvre (1971:55,56) asks: in music, what is the signifier, if any, where is it and what is its relationship with the signified? The distinction signifier-signified may be introduced in musicology and develop itself into a specific research and discipline: music semiotics. One could treat all music as a message that can be deciphered by constructing a code, whereby one could come to the conclusion that one already knew this code and that each listener carried it within him, at least unconsciously.

Structuralists often use the linguistic analogy: if language has rules that are manipulated unconsciously by the speakers, one may assume that a comparable situation exists in other spheres of the culture. (de Josselin de Jong, 1974:59-60) There are many resemblances between linguistics and the social sciences: both study learned behavior of people and both are of the opinion that this learned behavior obeys certain laws. Linguists have "discovered" the system behind language, even though the speakers generally are not aware of this system. Anthropologists have not (yet) reached this level of certainty: they have to be content to believe that the same thing goes for nonverbal expressions as well.

Semiotics is the general science of signs (signals and symbols); it includes verbal as well as nonverbal types of communication. Guiraud (1973:7) emphasizes the nonverbal aspects of communication when he divides semiotics into:

- 1) the study of communication systems through nonverbal signals;
- 2) forms of social communication (rites and ceremonies);
- 3) art and literature.

Basically, there are two "schools" of semiotics, that of Ferdinand de Saussure (the European school) and that of Charles Peirce (the North American school); the latter work along the lines of logic, the former

along the lines of linguistics. (van Zoest, 1978:11-17) As time went by, mixtures of both schools developed, resulting in a confusion in the terminology used (see Leach, 1976:chapter 2). Semiotics has been called a "total science", something which can also be said of anthropology.

Signs do not exist by themselves, but function only within a concrete communication context; they are information carriers, systems of codes and languages. Music and dance may be considered such ways of communicating. The problem, however, is that it is difficult to know what they communicate, or how they communicate. This problem was studied by music semioticians like Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1973), Henri Lefebvre (1971), and others.

Music semiotics is based on music notation, a "translation" of that which is heard. Thus, it is possible to have a syntax of music, like a syntax of language. But what about the semantics of music: does music mean something? Van Zoest, using Peirce's terminology to discuss music semiotics (1978:114-117), comes to the conclusion that research regarding the semantization of music can best be done using musical works that have a linguistic as well as a musical "text", like contemporary pop music, adding that the social context has to be taken into account. Here, the paradox pops up again: how are verbal and nonverbal information related to each other, and can one be analyzed through the other? Whereas the words of a song may be analyzed semantically, this is not so easily done with the accompanying music, where the meaning --if any-- lies in the expression of emotion(s). Like pop music, the huaynos of the Callejón de Huaylas talk of elementary emotions like feelings of love, loneliness, etc. Since their musical and textual syntax may be analyzed, they lend themselves to a semiotic analysis. (see chapter 2.4) However, much more work will have to be done on the syntax and the semantics of the huayno and other musical types of the Callejón de Huaylas. In song the individual or the group may express deep-seated feelings not permissibly verbalized in other contexts. (Merriam, 1964:190)

The area of music-language relationships is important to the ethnomusicologist and the linguist, as well as the student of poetry, for

music influences language and language influences music. Texts reflect mechanisms of psychological release and the prevailing attitudes and values of a culture, thus providing an excellent means for analysis. Songtexts are language behavior rather than music sound, but they are an integral part of music and there is evidence that the language used in connection with music differs from that of ordinary discourse. Language clearly affects music in that speech melody sets up certain patterns of sound which must be followed at least to some extent in music, if the music-text fusion is to be understood by the listener, but music also influences language in that musical requirements demand alterations in the patterns of normal speech.

(Merriam, 1964:208, 187, 188)

The last word will be given to Merriam (1964:234-237), who says: "The problem of whether the theory of signs and symbols is truly applicable to music is a serious one, and it is further emphasized when application is sought on a cross-cultural basis. In these conditions, it is questionable whether a true distinction can be made between the (explicit) sign and the (implicit) symbol, and it seems more likely that we deal here with a continuum in which the sign melts imperceptibly into the symbol on higher and higher planes of abstraction."

The present work is influenced by structuralism and semiotics: music and dance are considered means of nonverbal communication, and song a specific type of verbal communication. Moreover, their meaning is context-bound, and can only be understood by a person belonging to the specific culture or by someone who is familiar with the culture in question.

Based on the preceding theoretical framework, fieldwork was carried out in the Callejón de Huaylas. From the more general questions concerning the music and the musicians of the area, a number of more specific questions arose, relating to:

- a) the music itself, as a system of sound:
  - what is considered "music" by the people themselves?
  - what categories of music do they distinguish?
  - which origin is attributed to music and musical instruments?
  - who manufactures the instruments, and how are they played?
  - which are the song texts?
- b) the use and function of music in relation to other aspects of the culture; the social context:
  - which are the occasions whereby music is played?
  - to what limitations are the music and the musical instruments subject? Are certain kinds of music and/or musical instruments reserved for certain persons or for certain occasions?
  - is music practiced individually or collectively?
  - what function does music fulfill, what does it do in or for the society?
- c) the position of the musicians in the society:
  - who are/become musicians?
  - are they amateurs or professional musicians?
  - what is their social position?
  - how does one become a musician?
  - how is music learned?
- d) factors that contribute to preservation or change of the music:
  - do changes come from within, and can one speak of innovation? or
  - do changes come from without, and can one speak of acculturation?

With these questions in mind I departed to Peru in June 1980, in order to understand the relation between society and music in the Callejón de Huaylas.

## 1.2: The history of Peru and its music

The Callejón de Huaylas is part of Peru, and its music and dance contain elements that belong to different historical epochs. Consequently, a short overview of the history of Peru and its music is necessary before I can embark on the description of the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas.

Pre-Columbian music has been studied in the twentieth century by European scholars such as Raoul and Marguerite d'Harcourt and Karl Izikowitz, North American scholars such as Robert Stevenson, and Peruvian scholars such as Arturo Jiménez, Josafat Roel, Rodolfo Holzmann, and others. These scholars used both archaeological finds and chroniclers as sources, and did fieldwork of their own as well. Music and dance of the present is studied by Peruvian scholars and folklorists like Arturo Jiménez, Alejandro Vivanco, Josafat Roel, Mildred Merino de Zela, and others, of the National Institute of Culture, the Catholic University, the University of San Marcos, and the Center of Documentation and Support of Peruvian Folklore (CENDAF).

Some of the earliest archaeological finds of musical instruments consisted of a bone whistle and a few clay whistles found at the Temple of the Crossed Hands in Kotosh (Huánuco); they date from before 3000 B.C. and were most likely used to hunt or for signaling. In the Temple of Chavín de Huántar (Ancash), 1000 B.C., a ceremonial shell-trumpet (pututo) was found, as well as clay whistles. People of the Vicus-culture, 500 B.C., are well-known for their whistling bottles, their conch-shaped whistles and their clay drums. The Mochicas, 200-500 A.D., left much information through scenes of music playing and dancing on their ceramics and sculptured vessels. The people of Nazca, 200-500 A.D., left many documents of their daily life, among them representations of musicians or dancers. Many clay panpipes were found, which suggests that it was a popular instrument, as well as clay drums and whistles. (Bolaños,1981:18-24)

According to Izikowitz (1935:411-416), the instruments most used in pre-Columbian America were flutes, rattles, and other idiophones. Rattles are shown on folios 318 and 322 of Guamán Poma's chronicle (see page 30,nos.1 and 2). The pututo, a natural shell-trumpet without mechanism to modify the pitch, was and is often used for signaling. (see folio 35,page 30,no.4) Numerous quenás have been found in the graves on the Peruvian coast. They are open straight through, and usually have seven, occasionally six, stops. (Izikowitz,1935:312)

Panflutes existed in Peru long before the Incas, as can be seen from Nazca and Mochica pottery. A Mochica whistle shows a figurine playing a six-pipe panflute, and ceramic panflutes have been found in Nazca, as well as vases with panflute designs and anthropomorphological vessels of panflute players. Photograph no.1 shows a Recuay stone statue of a male warrior holding a seven-pipe panflute in his hand and a Recuay modeled vessel representing a human figure playing a four-pipe panflute has also been found in the Callejón de Huaylas. This indicates that the instrument was used in the region in pre-Inca times, although nowadays this instrument is not used by the traditional musicians.

Double-membrane drums were in use also in pre-Columbian times in Peru, as can be seen from representations on vessels. Some of Guamán Poma's drawings show women playing a small hand-held drum or a larger suspended drum (see folio 324,page 30,no.3); drums with ceramic bodies have been found in the Nazca area.

String instruments were brought to Latin America by the Spaniards, although a one-stringed musical bow still played by Amazon Indians today may be of pre-Columbian origin.

The historical caesura in the South American countries, unlike that of countries in the Christian world, is not the birth of Jesus Christ, but the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century. While archaeology gives an insight in pre-Columbian history, the arrival of the Spaniards and the subsequent developments have been described by chroniclers and historians.

### 1.2.1: Peru before the Conquest

This overview of Peruvian history has been distilled from a number of publications: "The ancient civilizations of Peru", by John Mason (1979); "Visión histórica del Perú", by Pablo Macera (1978); and "Peru, a cultural history" by Henry Dobyns and Paul Doughty (1976). Mason's archaeological and cultural outline (1979:16,17) will be used to sketch the pre-Columbian eras.

#### **Incipient Era, from 9000 B.C. to 1250 B.C.**

Until recently it was believed that the first inhabitants of Peru were pre-agricultural and nomadic hunters and gatherers, going back to ca.9000 B.C., but this date has been pushed back to ca. 20,000 B.C. when the Pikimachay Cave near present-day Ayacucho was discovered, which was inhabited by hunters descended from pioneer migrants from Asia.

Around 4000 B.C., life in highland settlements became possible, due to the domestication of plants (potatoes, quinoa, beans, squash) and animals (llama, guinea pig). In coastal settlements on the margins of the river valleys, people had access to maritime food.

#### **Developmental Era, from 1250 B.C. to 200 A.D.**

Around 1250 B.C., ceramic-making and large-scale maize cultivation brought many important changes, like irrigation and agricultural terracing in river valleys, leading to the development of the first large-scale regional culture in the North-Central highlands of the upper Marañon valley: the Chavín cult, with temples at Kotosh in Huánuco and Chavín de Huántar in the Callejón de Conchucos, a valley parallel to the Callejón de Huaylas, in the province of Ancash. It was one of several ceremonial centres of the Chavín cult and belongs to the Cultist Period (850 B.C. to 300 B.C.). It was primarily an art style, probably spread by the vogue of a new religious cult, with a feline deity --jaguar or puma-- as the determinant feature, treated in a characteristic stylistic manner. The building of temples suggests a stratified society which depended heavily upon the intensive labor of many peasant villagers tied to an

elite.

#### **Florescent Era, from 200 A.D. to 600 A.D.**

After the Chavín cult declined, numerous regional societies emerged with their own ethnic identities and styles. In this florescent era, handicraft reached its apogee, which can be seen from the Nazca, Moche, and Recuay ceramics, metal objects and tapestries, in the museums of Peru and elsewhere.

The Callejón de Huaylas is well-known for its Recuay style, which is estimated to have lasted from 200-600 A.D. Mason assigns Recuay to the Florescent Era, "because in it Peruvian culture, as represented in economy, technology, and art, flourished to achieve its maximum". The objects encountered in the various museums --with the exception of the monoliths and carved stones-- are mostly made of kaolin clay. It appears that the highly modeled and painted vessels were used primarily for activities related to the death and burial of individuals, perhaps only high status individuals. The fancy Recuay pottery is found only in tombs and is absent in surface refuse. The ornate funerary vessels were made of white kaolin clay and decoration was rendered in red slip paint and a distinctive black resist painting technique, which produced a striking red-and-black-on-white color composition. The intricate painted decoration consists mainly of supernatural creatures (often felines) and geometric motifs. There is little information as to provenance, because this pottery was often dug up by graverobbers who selected the objects for their aesthetic appeal. (see Wegner,1981)

Most of the archaeological musical objects of the Recuay period that have been found are aerophones, although an occasional ceramic drum has been found.

I studied a number of clay trumpets, modeled vessels representing human figures, and a stone statue, at the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in Lima and the Regional Museum of Ancash in Huaraz. Three of these are described below.

The natural trumpet (photograph no.3) is made of kaolin clay and has a design of red and black geometric bands. Its length is about 50 cm. It

was displayed at a temporary exhibit called "Music and dance in ancient Peru" which was organized by the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology and the Department of Music and Dance of the National Institute of Culture, with the collaboration of the Regional Project of Cultural Patrimony PNUD/UNESCO.

The fragment of a modeled vessel representing a human figure playing a flute (photograph no.2) is made of kaolin clay with an orange-colored slip. Its height is 9 cm. and its maximum diameter 9,5 cm. It is part of the collection of the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (deposit C, no.3/17).

The stone statue or monolith (photograph no.1) represents a nude male warrior sitting with crossed legs and holding a seven-pipe panflute in his right hand. It is 28 cm. high and 16 cm. wide, tapers to one side and has a triangular shape. The monolith is 95 cm. high and 35-40 cm. thick and can be found in the garden of the Regional Museum of Ancash in Huaraz.

#### **Climactic Era, from 600 A.D. to 1532 A.D.**

The population density led to the repeated emergence of conquest states, since some larger political power had to resolve disputes over land tenure, water rights, and intervillage relations.

Around 600 A.D., the Tihuanaco people, just South of Lake Titicaca on the high plateau of Bolivia, and the Huari society, near modern Ayacucho, began to expand their nations through conquest. When the Huari and Tihuanaco empires collapsed around 1.000 A.D., regional cultures such as Chimú with its capital Chan Chan, thrived anew. However, the periods of imperial political unification never seriously altered the basic community structure of the Andean groups founded upon kinship and control of croplands.

Wilkawain, a site in the Chavín architectural tradition, is situated near Huaraz and consists of a stone temple and a number of other one- and two-storey stone houses. The temple is a small replica of the Castillo at Chavín, with three floors, interior staircases, ramps, galleries, rooms, and ventilation shafts.

The last period of the Climactic Era is the Imperialist Period, called "Inca" by Mason; it lasted from 1440-1532 A.D. when the Spaniards

conquered Peru.

Although the first and quasi-mythical Inca, Manco Capac, reigned around 1200 A.D., it is with the ninth Inca, Pachacuti Yupanqui (1438-1471) that Inca imperialism really began. It took him only thirty years to conquer what is now Peru, incorporating the neighboring people; later Incas extended the empire to Ecuador, Central Chile and North-West Argentina. A network of imperial roads was constructed, and information was recorded by means of "quipus", mnemonic devices consisting of knotted strings. Quechua was used as a lingua franca. Thus, the Inca empire was a recent political organization when the Spaniards arrived in 1532.

At the time of the Inca empire, the basic social group was the "ayllu". These communities owned a definite territory and were grouped into two divisions known as the Upper and the Lower. (This duality is still a basic organizing principle in the Callejón de Huaylas, as will be seen in chapter 1.3.2.) The incorporation of the ayllus in the Inca empire produced great changes: they were grouped into sections, the sections into provinces, and the provinces into quarters. The North-Western quarter, Chinchasuyu, included Ecuador and Northern and Central Peru; the South-Western quarter, Cuntisuyu, consisted of Southern Peru; to the North-East was Antisuyu, consisting largely of the Eastern foothills and forest. The largest quarter, Collasuyu to the South-East, comprised the great highlands of the Aymara, the basin of Lake Titicaca, most of Bolivia, North-Western highland Argentina, and Northern Chile. Cuzco, the Inca capital, was the centre, geographically and politically. This "Tawantinsuyu" (Land of the four quarters) was governed by Inca nobles and subsidiary chiefs called "curacas".

The pre-Columbian era ends with the arrival of Francisco Pizarro in 1532 and the conquest of Peru, which is the subject of the following sub-section 1.2.2.

Musical instruments of this period have been found by archaeologists, but they tell very little about the music which was played on them or the occasions during which they were used. This is why it is important to study modeled ceramics showing musicians, scenes on ceramics, woven

cloths, etc. Around the time of the Spanish Conquest chroniclers like Guamán Poma de Ayala documented the arrival of the Spaniards in an illustrated book that shows some of the musical instruments in use at the time of the Conquest, as well as the context in which they were used. Some songs that existed at the time of the Conquest are still sung today. For instance, folio no.856 of Guamán Poma's "Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno" (see page 31,no.7) shows a couple of "Indian Creoles" of which the man is playing a stringed instrument and singing a song:

chipchi llanto  
 chipchi llanto  
 pacay llanto  
 maypim caypi rrosastica  
 maypim caypi chiuanuaylla  
 maypim caypi hamancaylla

which is translated by Pietschmann (1936:xxii-xxiii) as follows: (his French translation has been translated by me in English)

Murmur shadow! Murmur shadow! Secretly, shadow!  
 Why are you here, flowering rose?  
 Why are you here, thrush-flower?  
 Why are you here, little lily?

Abdon Yaranga, a contemporary Peruvian scholar, has found a similar text, a huayno still sung in the community of Circamarca (Ayacucho): (his Spanish translation has been translated by me in English)

Chipchi llantu	Shadow that guards the secret
chipchi llantu	shadow of the secret
pakay llantu	shadow that hides the secret

Maypim kachkan	Where is
ichuchallay	my only straw?

Maypim kachkan	Where is
yanachallay	my only love?

Maypim kachkan  
 waytachallay

Where is  
 my only flower?

The poet asks the shadow where his loved one is, often symbolized by the colour yellow, a flower, or the moon. He then goes on to describe his loneliness due to the absence of his father and mother, the Sun and the Moon. (Yaranga,1982:2,3) The main themes of this song: love, suffering, and loneliness, can still be found in the contemporary songs of Peru.

Although cultural continuity may be noticed as far as the form of the instruments and songtexts is concerned, this does not necessarily mean that there is cultural continuity with regard to their contents, e.g. what they mean to the people using them.

Drawings of Guamán Poma de Ayala:

1. The Inca singing to his llama.
2. Festivals of the Antesuyos: jingle rattles and panflute.
3. Festival of the Collasuyos: flutes and drum.
4. Chasqui (messenger) with shell-trumpet.
5. Songs and music: flutes.



1



2



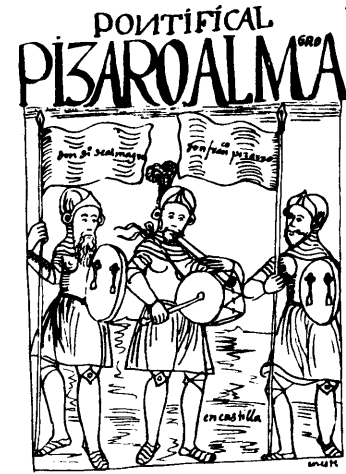
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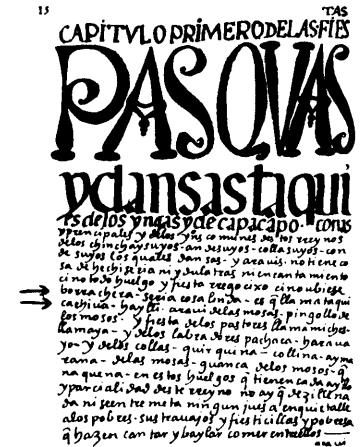
5



6. Spaniard with fife & drum.
7. Creole, with stringed instrument.
8. Taqui-cachiua-haylli-aravi (festivals of the Incas).



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### 1.2.2: Peru after the Conquest

The arrival of the Spaniards in 1532 represented a type of conquest different from that of the Incas: it came from overseas and the conquerors brought with them an entirely different culture. Where the subjection by the Incas was mostly political, that of the Spaniards was cultural as well.

When Francisco Pizarro and 167 companions captured the Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca on November 16, 1532, they were "helped" by a number of circumstances. First, a smallpox epidemic (a "gift" from the conquerors) had halved the population of Tawantinsuyu in 1524, as had other Old World diseases like measles and influenza. Second, two of Inca Huayna Capac's sons, Atahualpa and Huascar, were too busy fighting each other for control of Tawantinsuyu to unite in order to defend themselves against the Spaniards. Third, the Spaniards had a psychological advantage, being light skinned and bearded, like the creator god Viracocha who was to return according to legend. Lastly, they enjoyed a technological superiority, being armed with firearms, steel swords, and riding on war horses.

Atahualpa tried to buy his freedom by filling rooms with gold and silver objects, which were melted down by the Spaniards and sent to Spain. This ransom did not save the Inca's life, since he was strangled on August 29, 1533.

This particularly painful historical happening is reconstructed by groups of Atahualpas, dance groups that sing about the capture and death of the last Inca. (see chapter 2.5.1 and film)

The members of the Inca royal ayllus were replaced by Spaniards, which proved easy, since there were about 500 Inca noblemen at that time. The Indian masses took little part in the struggle. At first, the conquerors took Indian women as their wives and concubines, generating a Mestizo race by miscegenation. The growth of this Mestizo population was of great demographic importance in all the colonial territories. Spaniards born in the colonies were called Creoles ("Criollos"). Black slaves were imported to perform manual labor; they worked in the

coastal valleys which had been depopulated by the epidemics. By 1554, Lima's black population numbered over 1,500 and was rapidly growing. As a reward for their services, the conquerors received royal trusts called "encomiendas". The "encomenderos" had only the power and duty to exact tribute for the crown and personal service, and to convert the "heathen" Indians to Christianity, but the Spaniards in the New World sought to convert these encomienda grants of power over Native American populations into title to the lands these people occupied. The encomenderos resided in urban settlements laid out along Spanish lines. The encomienda system soon turned into an exploitative one, with encomenderos exacting household supplies as well as personal service from the Indian peasants. The privileges and power of the encomenderos were lessened by the 1542 New Laws of the Indies, which in 1544 led to a coup d'état of encomenderos. Francisco Pizarro's younger brother Gonzalo was named the king's governor of Peru, but was defeated and executed in 1545.

Chroniclers that lived and wrote at the time of the Conquest, like Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, Garcilaso de la Vega, Bernabé Cobo, and Pedro de Cieza de León, inform us about the way of life then, including the music and dance.

Guamán Poma, an Indian nobleman who adopted the name of his Spanish protector de Ayala, wrote and illustrated the "Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno" between 1584 and 1614. Pages 315-327 deal with music and dance as well as with the festivals of the four regions of Tawantinsuyu. (A facsimile of his book was published by the Ethnological Institute of the University of Paris in 1936, with a foreword by Richard Pietschmann). Some of his drawings of native musicians and dancers are reproduced in this book. On folio 315 (see page 31, no. 8) Guamán Poma refers to the unit "taqui-cachuia-haylli-arai". "Taqui" means song as well as dance. "Cachuia" designates a choral dance with joined hands, "haylli" a joyful victory-song after battle or after the sowing of seed, and "arai" song of absent loved ones, as defined by Diego González Holguín, in his "Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú" (1608). (in Stevenson, 1968:294) On folios 59, 315 and 328 Guamán

Poma goes out of his way to show that this was innocent entertainment meant to divert the people, which did not involve anything like idolatry, witchcraft, or other evils of the world. People ate, drank --too much at times-- and were merry. He may have foreseen the excessive religious zeal which led to the destruction of many cult objects and the repression of religious customs by people such as Pablo José de Arriaga, who wrote "Extirpación de la idolatría del Pirú" (1621).

Music and dance were generally performed at festivals, official ceremonies and funerals, demonstrating the ritual place they had with the Quechua. Everyday music is referred to very little by the chroniclers.

The d'Harcourts (1925:93-100) give descriptions of the main festivities of Cuzco, based on various chroniclers; these festivities were more sumptuous due to the presence of the Inca, but in the other parts of the empire the same festivals were held before the representatives of the Inca. The most important festival was that of "Inti-raymi", the festival of the Sun, which took place around the winter solstice at the end of June or in the beginning of July. Another important festival was "Capac-raymi", which took place in December, when young noblemen were initiated. Some days afterwards, food was offered to the dead ancestors, and the "yanaira" was danced and sung. On this occasion a long chord was plaited with black, white, red and yellow strands weaving intricate figures.

Another festivity took place at the time of the corn harvest, whereby the "ayrihua" was danced by dancers carrying a branch with corncobs attached to it.

Many traits described by the chroniclers and later by the d'Harcourts may still be found in the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas, which indicates that not all of the pre-Columbian music and dance types were destroyed, and that some survived. The Indians avoided the clerical prohibitions by having their own festivals at the same time as Spanish Catholic festivals, pretending that they were celebrating the latter. For example, nowadays, the festival of Corpus Christi (Blessed Sacrament), a Catholic festival, is a movable feast

which takes place at the time of the winter solstice, like Inti-raymi. (The Corpus Christi celebrated in Caraz is described in chapter 4.2.1.3.) The plaited chords used for Capac-raymi are nowadays used by dance groups like the Cuzqueños and the Incaicos, whose dances are inspired by the glorious Inca past (see chapter 2.5.1 and the film). Nowadays the Pashas at the festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas carry cornstalks and squashes with them at their ceremonial arrival on the central plaza. Saint Elizabeth is the patroness of the harvest and the festival may be considered a pre-Columbian festival influenced by Catholicism (see chapter 4.2.1.1).

For the Quechua at the time of the Conquest a musician in the general sense was one who knew how to make a taqui, or had memorized large numbers of them. The role of women in music in ancient times seems to have been a restricted one: they sang for the Inca and his captains when they ate, accompanying themselves on a drum. (Bolaños, 1981:38) Folio 324 of Guamán Poma (see page 30, no.3) shows a woman playing a large suspended drum. Nowadays, the women in the Callejón do not play instruments, except the Pallas who use a rhythm stick. The only time they perform is as a vocalist with a string orchestra.

Even though musical information from the 16th to the 20th century is lacking, a short summary of the history of this period will be given. It is assumed that the racial and cultural miscegenation that started in the 16th century continued during this time, and is reflected in the present-day Peruvian society and in its performing arts.

The European viceregal government was finally established by Andrés de Mendoza, the third viceroy, who arrived in 1556. Royal officials, "corregidores", were appointed by the viceroy as colonial representatives of direct rule, to head the 52 "corregimientos" or provinces, which coincided with pre-conquest environmental zones with distinctive ethnic populations. Indian tribute chiefs organized the periodic tribute-paying expeditions from rural areas to the urban residences of encomenderos and corregidores, thus playing the role of middlemen between the Spanish elite and the Indian mass. After 1570, the colonial institutions were consolidated under the fifth viceroy

Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581): towns, parishes, mining centers, agricultural haciendas, encomiendas, and slave labor were the basic elements. Toledo ordered the Indians to settle in villages called "reducciones" (reductions) in 1571; in 1575, he created Spanish-style municipal offices among Indians, to manage all local affairs: an "alcalde pedáneo" (mayor) and his "varayoq" (councilmen). Many of the patterns Toledo established still survive today, as will be seen in chapter 1.3.2.

The Catholic church played a fundamental role in forming this new world. Although the conquerors were mainly motivated by the search for wealth and power, conversion was one of their subsidiary goals. Indian rituals were suppressed and the native population converted to Christianity by Roman Catholic priests, "conquerors" of another kind. In 1583, the first provincial council held in Lima ordered the destruction of all the "quipus", knotted strings that served the Indians in lieu of written records to remember the old rites and ceremonies. The Synodal Constitutions of the archdiocese of Lima (1614) contained the order that the ancient dances and songs should not be performed any more, and that the musical instruments should be burnt. Others, such as de Arriaga and de Villagomez, bishop of Lima, ordered severe punishments for those who transgressed these orders. (see d'Harcourt, 1925:116-117)

However, despite these prohibitions, some priests used the traditional manifestations for the Catholic cult, since music was an excellent way to catechize the Indians. In an anonymous writing it is proposed to catechize them "by composing words in their language to the holy and to make the children sing them, so that they may forget the old songs, and that by means of music they may absorb the articles and commandments and sacraments and works of mercy". (Bolaños, 1981:12) (For a religious song in Quechua, listen to sound-selection no.2)

Along with Christianity came the ritual kinship system of Roman Catholicism, although in the New World emphasis is more on the parent-godparent (compadrazgo) relation than on the godchild-godparent (padrinazgo) relationship. This often means a patron-client relationship between compadres, since parents tend to look for

powerful godparents, often across ethnic barriers. Ties of ritual kinship are established by compadrazgo at baptisms and weddings in the Callejón de Huaylas, as will be seen in chapter 4.2.2.

In the 18th century the Viceroyalty of Peru lost importance: Buenos Aires gained commercial importance over Lima, the Creole aristocracy became impoverished due to abolition of the encomiendas, and a pest epidemic killed off many Indians, meaning less tribute and manpower for the mines and the haciendas. Indian and Creole movements of liberation from colonial rule occurred between 1780 and 1824. At first they were Indian movements, generally led by urban Mestizos (such as the uprising led by Atusparia in the Callejón de Huaylas), which were local rebellions by peasants against the colonial system of tributes. Another example is the revolution led by Tupac Amaru II (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) in 1780, who advocated a multinational state with Creoles, Mestizos, and Negroes under Indian leadership. The Spanish army defeated and executed him in 1781. The Creole movements were urban, fostered by events abroad, like the change in dynasty in Spain (from Habsburg to Bourbon), the French Revolution, and the occupation of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808.

King Charles III of Spain instituted a number of reforms in the colonial regime: an end was made to the "repartimiento", forced sale of goods to Native Americans, and to the corregimiento system. In 1784 the viceroyalty of Peru was divided into seven intendancies, and a royal court ("audiencia") was created at Cuzco in 1787, which thus regained some of its former prestige.

### Independence

This situation lasted until 1821, when independence was proclaimed in Lima by the Argentine strategist José de San Martín, on July 28. The seven viceregal intendancies were converted into republican departments headed by prefects and divided into provinces, following the French model. General elections to choose members of a parliament were called for by San Martín in 1822, and in 1823 José de la Riva Agüero was named president. Simon Bolívar, another South American

liberator, arrived in 1823 when San Martín departed, and sent de la Riva Agüero into exile. It was in Ayacucho, the former imperial Huari center, that the decisive battle for political independence was fought between General Sucre and viceroy José de la Serna in 1824.

However, the colonial structure persisted under the Creole aristocracy. Minerals and agricultural products were exported, mainly to England, in a new kind of dependence, this time economic. Guano from the islands off the coast became the most important export product, representing 80% of income in 1862. Sugar, cotton, and wool were also exported. Chinese coolies were "imported" to work on the coastal plantations, and the construction of railroads.

During the period of revolutionary war, between 1821 and 1826, eight men served as chief executive, including San Martín and Bolívar, who left Peru in a powervacuum that generated domestic conflict: from his departure in 1826 until 1865, thirtyfour men served as chief executive. Peru lost the War of the Pacific with Chile (1879-1883), also called the "nitrate war", and had to cede the towns of Arica and Tarica to Chile. External debts were great, and the economic state of the nation was in a bad way.

In the first half of the 20th century, large foreign enterprises like Grace (sugar), Peruvian Corporation (transportation), and Cerro de Pasco Corporation (mining) controlled the Peruvian economy; the country profited very little, and the social and political problems were aggravated. The worldwide economic depression of 1929 created great hardship in Peru also. Mass political parties came into being, like the Peruvian Communist Party founded by José Carlos Mariátegui, and the APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) created by Victor Raúl de la Torre. These parties were directed more toward the coastal proletariat than to the Indian peasants of the Andes. The social malaise became worse, due to lack of land, and more and more peasants went to the cities, especially Lima, to live there in miserable shantytowns, a phenomenon which is termed at times "the ruralization of the town".

After World War II, democratic and reformist governments were elected in all of Latin America. In Peru, this lasted only three years, until 1948, when general Odría became president until 1956. Copper and fishmeal became important sources of income.

President Belaúnde, who was in office from 1963 to 1968, had to contend with land occupations by Indian peasants, which he squelched by police repression and promises of land reform and colonization of Eastern Peru. Extreme leftist movements like the MIR (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario) that fought a guerilla war against the legitimate government also made things difficult for him. (When he was elected president again in 1980, after twelve years of military government, he soon found himself confronted by a new group of guerillas, "Sendero Luminoso" or Shining Path). Belaúnde was deposed by a military coup, another one in a long series, and supposedly of socialist inclinations. The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of general Velasco nationalized foreign enterprises like International Petroleum Co. and other corporations. Agrarian reforms were instituted by a new law in 1969. In 1975, general Bermudez was designed to take over from Velasco, in what was termed the second phase of the revolutionary government. This lasted until 1980, when Belaúnde (of Alianza Popular) was elected president again, thereby putting an end to twelve years of socialist military rule.

Under Belaúnde's liberal government, importance is given to development of the coast (large irrigation works, roads, industry) and the Amazon basin in the East (colonization projects), leaving the sierra to fend for itself. At the time of writing, in 1984, he is in trouble, apparently making the same (unavoidable?) mistakes he made during his earlier presidency: large public works, paid for by external loans and leading to high inflation, high unemployment rates, resurgence of internal unrest ("Sendero Luminoso"), and pressure by the International Monetary Funds to put his financial house in order.

In the foregoing section we have dealt with the pre- and post-Columbian history of Peru. We have seen that much information may be

gathered from archaeological objects and from the books of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest. Later, African slaves were brought to Peru to work on the sugar plantations and, ultimately, Western culture was "imported" into Peru. Traits of these foreign cultures were incorporated, and pre-Columbian, Spanish, African, and Western influences may be noted in the present-day music and dance of Peru.

History is kept alive in the performing arts, and many historical figures and occurrences may be found in the performing arts of the Callejón de Huaylas: Inés Yupanqui Huaylas, the mistress of Francisco Pizarro, is the subject of a sketch performed during the festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas; Atusparia, the leader of the 1885 uprising, is mentioned in a protest-huayno; and many of the traditional dance groups portray periods of the history of the Callejón de Huaylas.

Not much is known of the music and dance from the chroniclers up to the present. (Ethno-)historical research may remedy this situation, but for the time being a gap of threehundred years exists. It is clear that the actual music and dance of Peru show Spanish and African influences, but it is also certain that many pre-Columbian traits survive. Cultural continuity and change may be studied by comparing pre-Columbian music and dance with those occurring today, looking at the instruments used, the repertoire played, and the events during which they are performed. As far as the Callejón de Huaylas is concerned, this will be done in chapters 2 and 4, but first some background information on the area and its inhabitants will be given.

### 1.3: The area of research

Jatun Huaylas, Suiza peruana	Great Huaylas, Peruvian Switzerland
Tierra bella, llena de encantos	Beautiful land, full of enchantment
De los Quechuas, de los Huarás	Of the Quechuas, of the Huarás
De Huilca Huayín, y Pumacayán.	Of Huilca Huayín, and Pumacayán.
Recuay ladronera, dice el refrán	Recuay thievery, goes the saying
Huaraz presunción, por tradición	Huaraz vanity, by tradition
Carhuaz borrachera, por su maíz	Carhuaz drunkenness, because of its maize
Yungay hermosura, y admiración	Yungay beauty, and admiration
Caraz es dulzura, por su manjar	Caraz is sweetness, because of its "manjar"(made of sugar and milk)
Macate remate, del Callejón.	Macate the end, of the Callejón
Verdes prados, cumbres nevados	Green pastures, snowy summits
Chulpas sagradas de Pachacutec	Sacred "chulpas" of Pachacutec
Tierra hermosa es mi pais	Beautiful land is my country
Donde el maíz canta su amor.	Where the maize sings its love.
Cuna de pastores, valle de amor	Cradle of shepherds, valley of love
Regazo de flores del Huascarán	Flowered lap of the Huascarán
Lecho de lagunas, de aire y sol	Bed of lakes, of air and sun
Nido de condores, es mi Peru.	Condors' nest, is my Peru.

("Jatun Huaylas", pasacalle composed by J.S.Maguña Chauca/Huaraz)

It is appropriate to start this section with a pasacalle, a type of music used when arriving, since we are now "entering" the valley, as it were. The above pasacalle describes the beauty and the history of the Callejón de Huaylas: the first strophe refers to the pre-Inca Quechua and Huarás tribes and their fortresses Huilca Huayin (Wilkawain) and Pumacayan; the second strophe is based on a saying attributed to the Italian geographer Raimondi who visited the area

around 1860; and the third strophe refers to the sacred Inca tombs (chulpas) of the ninth Inca Pachacutec.

If one starts from the assumption that music and dance reflect society and are closely related to other aspects of culture, as I did, it is now time to introduce the area of research and the people inhabiting it. The history of the Callejón de Huaylas and its actual situation determine the current culture of the area: colonialism left a legacy of a differentiated society with a strong division between Indians and Mestizos and a growing number of acculturated Indians, and Western influences superseded the Spanish influences of the 16th century.

Traditionally, Peru has been divided into three zones: the coast ("costa"), mostly desert crossed by rivers that come down from the Andes and provide water to irrigated agriculture; the highlands ("sierra"), densely populated mountain ranges and valleys that contain the larger part of the country's population; and the forest ("selva"), which constitutes a part of the Amazon rain forest. The Callejón de Huaylas is situated in the highlands.

### 1.3.1: The Callejón de Huaylas

The Callejón de Huaylas is one of the largest and most thickly populated of six major basins which probably contain the larger part of the habitable area of highland Peru. It is situated in the department of Ancash which consists of ten provinces, five of which are --all or partly-- in the Callejón: Recuay, Huaraz, Carhuaz, Yungay, and Huaylas. It is an intermontane valley, 150 kilometers long, in North-Central Peru. The valley is bordered by two mountain ranges, the Cordillera Negra (Black Range) to the West and the Cordillera Blanca (White Range) to the East. The altitude ranges from 800 to 6,768 meters above sea level, the highest altitudes occurring in the Cordillera Blanca where the highest peak --that of the Huascarán-- towers at 6,768 meters above sea level. Many other mountains of the Cordillera Blanca are higher than 6,000 meters. The

Cordillera Negra reaches altitudes of more than 5,000 meters, but there is no snow on top of its peaks due to the saline and warm winds that blow from the Pacific Ocean.

The 330 kilometers long River Santa originates at lake Conococha in the Southern part of the valley at an altitude of 4,100 meters, runs all along the valley and through the narrow 15 kilometers long Cañon del Pato (Duck's Canyon) where the Cordillera Negra and the Cordillera Blanca meet, to flow into the Pacific Ocean at Santa just North of the port of Chimbote. The Santa river is a source of energy, because the natural fall of its water in the Duck's Canyon is used by the hydroelectric power plant at Huallanca to produce electricity for the Callejón de Huaylas and the steelworks of Chimbote. The slopes to the East of the river have an abundant supply of water the year round from the melting snows of the Cordillera Blanca, whereas those to the West depend upon the short rainy season for their water supply. Because of this, there is more agricultural activity in the Cordillera Blanca, resulting in more people, more villages, and more music and dance: most of the traditional dance groups and musical ensembles come from the Cordillera Blanca.

Both the Huascarán and the Santa River are the subject of a huayno:

De la plaza de Huaraz	From the plaza in Huaraz
Blanco se ve el Huascarán	The white Huascarán can be seen
Asi blanco quisiera ser	I would like to be as white
Asi blanco este corazón	And have as white a heart
Hermoso nevado de Huascarán	Beautiful Huascarán glacier
Rey de los Andes eres tu	You are the King of the Andes
Son tus picachos cual dos	Your summits are like two
palomas	doves
Mensajeras de mi querer	Messengers of my love
Entre los nevados del Perú	Among the glaciers of Peru
resplandece el Huascarán	The Huascarán shines
Le das briza, le das amor	You give air, you give love
A los pueblos del Callejón.	To the towns of the Callejón.

(Fuga)

Por eso vivo alegre	That is why I live with joy
Por eso vivo orgulloso	That is why I live with pride
De ser puro Ancashino	To be a pure Ancashino
Hijo del Huascarán.	Son of the Huascarán.

Río Santa, Río Santa, caudaloso  
 Río Santa, Río Santa, caudaloso  
 Quiero que lleves todas mis penas al olvido  
 Quiero que lleves todas mis penas al olvido

Todos te dicen, todos te llaman, que eres santa  
 Todos te dicen, todos te llaman, que eres santa  
 De qué te vale, de qué te sirve, que eres santa  
 Si tus corrientes son traicioneras, Río Santa  
 De qué te vale, de qué te sirve, que eres santa  
 Si tus corrientes son traicioneras, Río Santa.

Freely translated: "River Santa, please take my troubles away on your abundant waters. Everyone calls you holy, but to what avail, if your currents are treacherous, River Santa."

Many songs describe the beauty of the valley, which reflects the sense of attachment of the people to their community. (see chapter 2.4)

Isolation of the Callejón de Huaylas from the coast was reduced by stages with the arrival of the railroad at Huallanca in 1927, construction of vehicular roads into the valley during the '30s and the opening of air service between Lima and Caraz in 1947. (Walton,1974:212) After an earthquake in 1970 a paved road was constructed which runs alongside the river Santa as far as Caraz. Crossing the Cordillera Negra and the Cordillera Blanca there are passes leading East to the Callejón de Conchucos and West to the Pacific coast.

The climate varies with the altitude, but mornings and nights are generally cool and the afternoons sunny and warm. The rainy season lasts from October to March; the especially heavy rains in February and March make transportation difficult at times, due to landslides. The rainless winter which lasts from April to September is quite pleasant and is, therefore, called the "Andean summer". Since the winter in Lima is quite unpleasant (rainy and cool, due to the mist hanging over it for months on end), and since the Andean summer coincides with the vacation time of Europeans and Americans, the Callejón de Huaylas is a popular destination for national as well as international tourists.

#### History of the Callejón

The population of the Callejón de Huaylas, the Huaylas or Huaraz, were conquered during the reign of the 9th Inca Pachacuti (1438-1471), who sent his brother Capac Yupanqui and his son and successor Inca Yupanqui to the area. The province of Huaylas was then incorporated in Chinchasuyu, one of the four regions of the Inca state, with a provincial capital at the site where Huaylas is now situated. (Varon,1980:38-44)

The first Spaniards to enter the Callejón de Huaylas were Hernando Pizarro and Miguel Estete, who in 1533 passed through the valley on their way from Cajamarca to Pachacamac, the religious center on the coast near Lima. In the course of that year Francisco Pizarro and his company stayed a week in Huaylas before continuing on through the Callejón, where Francisco Pizarro took Inés Yupanqui Huaylas, the daughter of the Inca Huayna Capac, as his mistress. She bore him two children, and Pizarro gave the encomienda of Huaylas --all of the present-day province of Huaylas and much of what are now the provinces of Yungay and Carhuaz-- to his daughter Francisca in 1540. (Doughty,1968:10-12)

This episode is remembered in the songs and sketches by groups of Incaicos at the occasion of the festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas (see chapter 4.2.1.1).

Because a main road passed through the Callejón, Huaraz became an

important resting place: depositories and inns were constructed all along the Callejón de Huaylas, but after 1544 the road along the coast was preferred to the sierra road since it travelled faster. By then the area had been distributed among encomenderos: in 1534 Sebastián de Torres received the encomienda of Huaraz, and Jerónimo de Aliaga that of Recuay. In 1571, under the viceroy of Toledo, the Indians of Huaylas were reorganized in new settlements called "reducciones" (reductions), in order to control the population more effectively. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, hamlets were situated next to the farming zones on top of the hills, relatively safe from disasters. They were moved to the lower parts of the valley to suit the strategical needs of the European conquerors. (Varon,1980:44-52,92)

At the end of the 16th century the encomiendas were replaced by corregimientos, provinces headed by royal representatives of direct rule under the viceregal government. Later on, in 1784, intendancies were created in an attempt to reform the corrupt corregimiento system; the Callejón de Huaylas belonged to the Intendancy of Tarma. At the time of Independence this exploitative system was abolished by Bolívar, who officially created the districts of Huaylas and Huaraz in 1825, which was recognized in 1857. The "political creation" (creación política) of Huaylas and Huaraz and other subsequent political creations are remembered annually, as will be seen in chapter 4.2.3.2. However, the institution of "Indian tribute" was continued, in the form of a head-tax and forced labor, which led to the "Indian" uprising of fourteen village mayors led by Pedro Pablo Atusparia. This took place in 1885, beginning in Huaraz and spreading down the Callejón. This uprising was crushed on May 3rd 1885, during the festival of the Holy Cross. This uprising was not as Indian as it seemed: it was a peasant revolt that united rich and poor, noblemen and peasants, against the Spaniards, and was a temporary union of people with different relationships to productive property and, consequently, with different goals. It was neither a nativistic outbreak nor a war of national liberation but a struggle against oppression and exploitation. (viz.Stein,1976,1978;Spalding,1974)

In the course of four hundred years, cultural and physical mixture occurred between the Natives and the Caucasoid Iberians who had come as conquerors, a process which continues up to this day and has resulted in new sociocultural entities: the Indians, the Cholos, and the Mestizos. (see chapter 1.3.2)

#### **Means of subsistence**

Agriculture is the most important means of subsistence in the Callejón: grains (maize, quinoa, wheat, barley), roots (potatoes, oca, olluco), legumes (beans, tawri), cucurbits (squash), fruits, and vegetables are grown for consumption and for sale. Quinoa, oca, olluco and tawri are typical sierra foods and of pre-Columbian origin (Lanning,1967:15). Quinoa (*chenopodium quinoa*) is a seedbearing plant related to pigweed and is used in soups and porridges. Oca and olluco (*oxalis crenata* and *ullucus tuberosus losan*) are cooked and eaten like potatoes. Tawri, slightly bitter lupine beans, are soaked in running water before they can be cooked and eaten as a snack, mixed with raw onions and peppers. Of the legumes, green peas are toasted and ground to make a soup called "shaqwe". Maize and potatoes are the mainstay of the diet.

The Callejón de Huaylas can be divided into two distinct agricultural regions: the slopes to the East of the Santa River, which have an abundant supply of water the year round from the melting snows of the Cordillera Blanca, and those to the West, which depend upon the short rainy season and the husbandry of this water for irrigation.

Until the earthquake of 1970 the pattern of landownership was identical to many other sierra areas: large holdings ("latifundias") of more than 500 has. were owned by a few and worked by many, whereas small holdings ("minifundias") of less than 5 has. were owned and worked by many. Medium-large holdings, from 5 to 500 has., employed laborers, share-croppers or tenant-farmers. Many latifundias were redistributed after the agrarian reform law of 1969 went into effect.

Douglas Horton gives the following analysis of landownership in his Ph.D.thesis on haciendas and cooperatives in Peru:



"Since the Spanish conquest in the 16th century, peasant communities have fought a losing battle against the land encroachment of haciendas. Consolidation of the nation state has reduced the autonomy and authority of communal governments. Within the communities, many comuneros have acquired private title to individual plots of cropland, and positions of leadership have been taken over by enterprising comuneros who advocate the private enterprise system. Despite the gradual breakdown of communal structures, most peasant communities continue to own some farmland and each community retains a hierarchy of public officials for the management of communal affairs. Labor pooling and exchanges are still common, although the wage-labor system is gaining in importance." (Horton, 1976:6-7)

Regarding the system of communal labor, he says:

"Very little cropland has ever been farmed collectively in the peasant communities and livestock has always been held by individual families. Joint work has centered on labor exchanges for labor intensive tasks which must be performed quickly (such as seeding, harvesting, and house-raising) and labor pooling for community service or infrastructure investments (such as roads, irrigation canals, and schools). All these tasks are occasional and of short duration. And none of them involves complex bookkeeping or profit sharing. In the case of labor exchanges, the person on whose land the work is being done manages work and is the sole recipient of whatever profits accrue. In the case of communal labor pooling, traditional communal authorities direct work, and the benefits accrue as services to community members." (Horton, 1976:278)

This applies to the Callejón de Huaylas as well, as we shall see in the next section.

In 1972, the total surface cultivated in the Callejón de Huaylas was given by CENDAS (1972:5) as 78,046 has., of which 32,595 has. irrigated and 45,451 has. unirrigated land, plus thousands of has. of natural pasture. Productivity is low, because of restricted space for cultivation, a high population density, and lack of technological and financial resources. The cultivating techniques are traditional and labor intensive: shovels, bars, and oxdrawn plows are used. The small plots are often situated on sharply inclined hills and erosion and lack of water are serious problems. Also, due to lack of infrastructure and transportation facilities, marketing of the produce is inadequate.

Other sources of income are livestock raising (cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, and guinea pigs) for meat, milk, wool, and eggs. The manufacture of pottery, textiles, bricks and roof tiles, wooden cane-bottomed chairs, etc. provide an income as well. There are a number of small and medium sized mines where metals, chalk, and other minerals are mined. A recent source of income is tourism. The fine climate, the mountains and the glacial lakes lure trekkers and mountain climbers from all over the world, whereas the archaeological remains give visitors a glimpse of the past. The level of income is very low, with high under- and unemployment levels. A solution to this is to take an additional job as construction worker, shopkeeper, driver, etc., or to migrate to one of the coastal towns or Lima, seasonally or permanently.

The area of the Callejón de Huaylas became well-known in the world of social science because of the Cornell-Peru Project carried out from 1952-1962 on the hacienda Vicos near Marcará. A large team of social scientists, headed by Allan Holmberg, carried out research on ways in which a feudal society could be changed and the lives of the Indian peasants improved, by enlarging their share in the power and wealth, especially in the areas of economy, technology, education, health care, and social organization. (see Dobyns, Doughty and Lasswell, 1971)

Two anthropologists who also collaborated on the Cornell-Peru Project wrote monographs of two communities in the Callejón de Huaylas:

William Stein wrote "Hualcan: life in the highlands of Peru" (1961), and Paul Doughty wrote "Huaylas: an Andean district in search of progress" (1968).

**The earthquake and its aftermath**

Soy la fiusta del desierto	I am the princess of the desert
De la Cordillera Blanca	Of the White Mountain Range
Entre relampagos y truenos	Between thunder and lightning
Voy cantando mis canciones.	I sing my songs.

Llevo la sangre serrana	I have the blood of the highlands
De mis condores coraje	The courage of my condors
La grandeza de mi Inca	The greatness of my Inca
El progreso de mi pueblo.	The progress of my people.

Pobre mi Huaraz querido	My poor beloved Huaraz
Convertido en escombros	Converted to rubbish
Por la voluntad del cielo	By the will of heaven
Va cobrando su belleza.	Is covering its beauty.

Huaraz, capital Andino	Huaraz, Andean capital
Del departamento de Ancash	Of the department of Ancash
En sus parques y avenidas	In its parks and avenues
Floresciendo lentamente.	Flowering slowly.

(Fuga)

Como no he de llorar	How can I not cry
Como no he de sufrir	How can I not suffer
Por Huaraz querida	For beloved Huaraz
Pueblo donde naci, caray./	Town where I was born, caray./
Pueblo generosa, caray.	Generous town, caray.

Ay mamacita, imaneechi tsarikaman  
 Rikaptii, nawillaami waqakurin  
 Ay mamacita, imaneechi tsarikaman(qa)  
 Yarpaptii, shonqollaami llakikurin.

Oh little woman, it must be what happened that affects me  
 When I see it, my eyes cry  
 Oh little woman, it must be what happened that affects me  
 When I remember it, my heart grieves.

(huayno composed and sung by Maximiliano Rosario Shuan, accompanying himself on the violin; sound-selection no.13)

If the arrival of the Spaniards is considered a man-made disaster, the area has also suffered much from natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, and landslides, due to geological faults, one of which starts at lake Conococha, traverses the slopes of the glaciers and crosses the mountains to the Pacific Ocean. After relocation by the Spaniards, many hamlets and towns are situated in vulnerable spots, e.g. near the glacier-fed rivers which flow down from the mountains and are the natural paths followed by landslides.

On May 31, 1970, an earthquake which registered 7.7. on the scale of Richter shook Ancash, killing approximately 70,000 people. The earthquake shook loose a slab of ice and rock about 800 meters wide and 1,800 meters long from the sheer North-West face of Huascarán. This immense mass careened down the Llanganuco Valley at an average velocity of up to 435 kilometers per hour. The momentum of the slide carried it the 16 kilometers from its origin on Huascarán to the valley floor in four minutes. The avalanche of 50 million m<sup>3</sup> developed three separate lobes as it extended itself over the lower parts of the valley. One of these lobes leapt a protective ridge some 200 meters high and buried the entire town of Yungay and other neighboring villages like Ranrahirca. (see Oliver-Smith, 1977) It was the most destructive earthquake in the history of the Western hemisphere: houses, other buildings and roads were destroyed, the supply of drinking and irrigation water was disrupted, as well as that of electricity. All this had serious consequences for the Callejón de Huaylas.

The history of the Callejón de Huaylas shows a record of many such

disasters in times past, such as the avalanche of mud, ice and water caused by the burst of a moraine dike, which swept through Huaraz in 1941 killing about 5,000 persons, and the landslide which covered the town of Ranrahirca in 1962, killing about 4,000 persons. The 1970 disaster was blamed on technological causes like the recent explosion of a French atomic bomb at a South Pacific test site. (Doughty,1971:6) Another explanation was that it occurred as punishment to the valley towns, largely Mestizo, for their mistreatment of the Indians of the valley uplands. (Bode,1977:246)

After the earthquake of 1970, refugee camps were established in Yungay and Huaraz for the survivors, where Mestizos and Indians were forced to live in close proximity. The social consequences were considerable: two antagonistic groups were thrown together, and considered equals by the relief agencies.

An American anthropologist, Anthony Oliver-Smith, lived in Yungay after the disaster and published a number of articles; the following account is from one of his publications (1977).

Two categories of victims were distinguished: those who had escaped the landslide which had buried their homes --the survivors or "sobrevivientes"-- and those who suffered only the effects of the earthquake --the injured or "damnificados"--. The former townspeople, usually survivors which received most of the aid anyway, did not agree with the aid given to the rural population; soon after the disaster a distinction was made, based on the social identity of before the earthquake as well as the new identity of "survivor" or "injured". The original conflict town-rural area and Mestizo-Indian soon asserted itself, even more strongly, because the aid did not take the traditional status positions into account; both parties accused each other of misuse of the aid given. This showed clearly in the housing program: provisional dwelling units for eight to ten families were installed, giving shelter to about 60,000 people. Lack of privacy was one problem; another was that the former townspeople did not want to live together with rural people, the despised "Indians". Oliver-Smith concludes by saying: "As it stands, the implementation of the program along egalitarian lines, although it resulted in bitter conflict and

stress for all individuals involved, will probably result in a more integrated, cooperative social fabric in the years to come. Yungay is now a Cholo community."

The authorities tried to relocate the population of Yungay to an area 15 kilometers to the South, without success, because the Yungainos had strong emotional ties with their old town. Also, the old Yungay was (and the new Yungay is) a market town located amidst villages and hamlets that supply it with food and that constitute a market for commercial people in town.

In Huaraz, the situation was much the same as in Yungay, but the urban structure was drastically altered afterwards. Immediately after the disaster, the government placed a moratorium on all transactions concerning exchange of land in the valley. The urban center of Huaraz was expropriated two years later, in an attempt at urban reform. Although the earthquake was an efficient economic leveler, on the social plane prejudices were strengthened. Many Indians moved down into the valley, and some Mestizos moved up to their fields. The visual identity of the individual became more significant, as people moved outside their normal social contexts, and monolingualism in Quechua served as a linguistic indicator to preserve the dimension of "verticality". (Bode,1977:253-257)

Some comments on disasters and the ensuing aid were given by Oliver-Smith and Doughty:

"Disasters commonly call for rapid local, state, national and international aid of a sort which brings private and public individuals and agencies into the area with personnel and materials. This convergence of personnel and materials, often foreign or strange to the local population, may ultimately produce greater change than the disaster agent itself." (Oliver-Smith,1977:5)

"It was not the earthquake as such which caused the problems

but rather the combined effects of bureaucratic action and incompletely executed reforms that have substantially modified the community (of Huaylas) since 1970. This fact is the basis for the astute remark of one Huaylino who noted: 'First we had the earthquake, then we had the disaster !'' (Doughty, 1980:18)

Ten years after the earthquake, much reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Callejón de Huaylas has taken place. A special department of the Geological Institute of Huaraz (INGEMMET) keeps a close watch on the glaciers and the (267) glacial lakes of the Cordillera Blanca, situated at altitudes of 3,000 to 5,000 meters; thirty of the latter have been controlled by drainage dikes, some of which reach a height of 20 meters.

Among the numerous important changes have been the total reconstruction of the department capital, Huaraz, (population about 36,000 in 1981) and the provincial capital of Yungay (population about 5,000 in 1981); the construction of a paved highway from the coastal Panamanian highway up to the mountains (from Pativilca to Caraz); improvement of regional facilities, and the vast expansion of bureaucratic agencies and offices.

Huaraz and other heavily damaged towns like Ranrahirca and Yungay have been more or less rebuilt; streets are wider, and earthquake-proof houses have been constructed. Now, Huaraz is a bustling town, with a new earthquake-proof centre with hotels, restaurants and tourist bureaus to accommodate the ever-growing stream of tourists. In marked contrast to the center stands the so-called "landslide -quarter" ("cono aluviónico"): 70 hectares along the banks of the Quilqay and Santa rivers. This quarter is considered dangerous because the mud avalanche of 1941 followed the bed of the Quilqay. A large park was to be constructed on this site, but it was occupied by squatters as soon as the rubbish was cleared. 40% of the population of Huaraz lives in this overpopulated quarter (270 inhabitants per hectare), in

sub-standard houses often without electricity, running water, or drainage. Diseases like gastro-enteritis are, therefore, common. The landslide-quarter is a blemish on modern Huaraz; but, according to a report written by a special committee of ORDENOR-Centro in 1979, the zone is habitable and should be included in city planning and consequently treated as part of Huaraz. Many Huaracinos are unhappy about their new town, the wide streets, the futuristic cathedral, and complain about the ill-treatment they received after the disaster, saying that their wishes were not taken into account. Many of them have left Huaraz.

The earthquake of 1970 came at a time when many changes were taking place in Peru. The military government of Velasco had deposed president Belaúnde in 1968 and taken over the country. Reforms of all kinds were undertaken: administrative, agrarian, and educational reforms were laid down in the "Plan del Perú 1971-1975" of the National Planning Institute.

The first autonomous regional development authority, ORDEZA (Organismo Regional para el Desarrollo de la Zona Afectada por el Terremoto del 31 de Mayo 1970) was established in Huaraz in 1974, and others like ORDELORETO, ORDESO and ORDEPUNO soon followed.

ORDEZA was preceded from 1970-1974 by CRYRZA (Comisión de Reconstrucción y Rehabilitación de la Zona Afectada por el Terremoto del 31 de Mayo de 1970), a relief agency which concentrated on a long-term integral development-strategy. It administered and invested the financial and other resources, consisting of (inter)national aid and loans. Studies were made and work was coordinated by sectors such as Energy, Transportation and Communication, Agriculture, Education, Housing, Industry, and Health. (Informe al Año del Sismo, CRYRZA, 1971)

In 1974, ORDEZA was created by decree no.19967, to "promote, plan, direct, coordinate and control the activities regarding the reconstruction, rehabilitation and integral development of the Stricken Zone". (Ley de Organización Administrativa para el Desarrollo de la Zona Afectada) Its short-term plan of 1971-1975 was

an experiment in decentralization of administration and budget planning on a regional level, some kind of regional government in which all sectors are united.

In 1978, when the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the area were more or less accomplished, ORDEZA was transformed by decree no.22134 into an organism for integral regional development called ORDENOR-Centro (Organismo Regional de Desarrollo del Norte-Centro). Regional Directorates were responsible for executing the sectorial activities in the area. (Ley Orgánica del ORDENOR-Centro)

In the early '80s ORDENOR-Centro came under heavy scrutiny for alleged malversation, and its activities were investigated by a senatorial committee. Because too many bureaucratic and sometimes corrupt outsiders have the power to make important decisions regarding the future of the Callejón de Huaylas, it is not a popular institution.

Many large landholdings were expropriated and redistributed after the agrarian reform law no.17716 of 1969, which established new forms of communal and cooperative management, characterized by joint ownership and self-management. Small landholdings were not affected much by the reform. One of the cooperative types of enterprises typical of the highlands is the collectively owned and legally recognized Peasant Community --formerly Indian Community-- whose members have usufruct of an individual parcel of land (this is, theoretically, against the law), as well as access to the communal land, generally pasture. Title X of the land reform law calls for the formal restructuring and "cooperativization" of all peasant communities. However, in the highlands beneficiaries of the land reform have refused to pool their usufruct plots. Consequently, it has been necessary to "bend the law" and organize cooperatives in which only part of the land is managed by the group and part remains under the control of individual workers. Where peasant opposition to group farming has been very strong, individual titles have been distributed among land reform beneficiaries. (Horton,1976:19,25)

The average farmer in the sierra has not benefitted from the land reform, since the total amount of land available is far too little to provide every family, whether individually or in communal ownership, with enough hectares to satisfy the minimum plot size requirements of

the 1969 law, and poverty cannot be expected to diminish for long years to come.

In 1972 educational reforms were implemented through a new organizational pattern of schools, the basic unit of which is the "Nucleo Educativo Comunal-NEC". NEC's may include various schools, but one is assigned the role of "Base Center". Areas have been determined by the Zonal Directorates of the Ministry of Education, each of which supervises the NEC's within its zone. A number of zones are grouped under a Regional Directorate. (Hilhorst,1980:22)

The schools of the Callejón de Huaylas are under the jurisdiction of Educational Zone no.084 (Huaraz). There are 27 NEC's with a number of Educational Centers. In 1976, each of the NEC's compiled a so-called "Diagnóstico Situacional" (Diagnosis of the State of Affairs), which were monographs on the specific areas, with data on the historical, geographical, socioeconomic and educational situation then prevailing. These documents contain a wealth of information otherwise unobtainable. To illustrate: NEC 09-84 is that of the province of Yungay, which comprises 47 "centros poblados" (populated centers) in the districts of Yungay and Matacoto. The Base Center and a secondary school are located in the town of Yungay, and there are 30 Educational Centers --some with a few classrooms only-- in the rural area. Of the 8,508 people of 5 years and older in the NEC of Yungay, 5,600 (66%) can read and write, whereas 2,908 (34%) are illiterate. Of the population from 5 to 19 years old, the majority is literate but from 20 and over the illiteracy rate is considerably higher, especially in the age group of 65 and older. (Diagnóstico Situacional NEC 09-84, Yungay) Desertion and absenteeism are high, due to the fact that children have to help their parents in the fields and with other chores. Another factor may be the distance one may have to walk to school, especially in the rural areas. (This applies to pupils as well as to teachers!)

In 1977 the National University of Ancash "Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo" (UNASAM), named after an Ancashino well-known for his scientific achievements, was created by decree no.21856. It has several engineering programs: mining, agriculture, food-industries,

ecology, and civil engineering. Its aims are to support and assist in the socioeconomic transformation of the department, through scientific research and special programs. In 1980, a teaching staff of 30 taught 474 students at UNASAM. In 1979, a Center for Tourism Research (CEDIT) was created at UNASAM, in order to study the historical, geographical and folkloristic aspects of tourism in the region. Musical activities at UNASAM consisted of the university choir ("Tuna universitaria"), "to rescue the rich and varied folklore of Ancash, in order to make it known and to diffuse it adequately." In connection herewith music of the 16 provinces of Ancash was to be collected, transcribed, and analyzed. (Informe-Memoria UNASAM, Huaraz, 1980) It seems that these activities have a low priority at UNASAM, since little has been done. The well-kept light green building stands across the Quilqay bridge, in marked contrast to the dilapidated landslide-barrio.

It may be said that the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas are closely bound to the past and the present of this society. The pre-Columbian past lives on in the songs and in the traditional dance groups like the Incaicos and the Atahuallpas. Everyday life of the present is mirrored in the songs that tell about the region, its beauty, the attachment of the people to it, and the sorrow felt when they are forced to go away in search of a better life, leaving their loved ones behind. The earthquake of 1970 also is the subject of a number of songs.

### 1.3.2:Indians, Cholos, and Mestizos

According to provisional results of the 1981 census, the population of Peru amounted to 17,031,221 persons, of which 815,646 are living in the department of Ancash (36,308 km<sup>2</sup>).

A problem in compiling demographic data or other statistical data for the Callejón de Huaylas is that it is not an official unit: Ancash, the department in which the Callejón is located, is generally taken as a unit, but the area of ORDENOR-Centro encompasses the department of Ancash and the province of Marañón in the department of Huánuco.

It is equally difficult to gather data from the various monographs written on parts of the Callejón by Doughty and Stein, since they give specific data only on those areas (Huaylas and Hualcan), and were written before the earthquake of 1970.

Combining the 1981 census data for the five provinces that make up the Callejón de Huaylas, three tables have been constructed.

Between 1961 and 1981 the population of the Callejón de Huaylas increased as follows:

Table 1: Population of the Callejón de Huaylas, per province, in 1961, 1972, and 1981.

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1981</u>
Huaraz	72,381	85,063	97,462
Carhuaz	28,159	31,374	32,319
Huaylas	37,500	38,426	41,133
Recuay	20,335	22,611	21,738
Yungay	<u>35,289</u>	<u>34,416</u>	<u>39,524</u>
Total	193,664	211,890	232,176

Table 2: Urban and rural population of the Callejón de Huaylas, per province, in 1981.

	<u>Urban</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
Huaraz	52,342	53.7	45,120	46.3	97,462
Carhuaz	7,969	24.7	24,350	75.3	32,319
Huaylas	10,658	25.9	30,475	74.1	41,133
Recuay	9,952	45.8	11,786	54.2	21,738
Yungay	<u>5,512</u>	<u>13.9</u>	<u>34,012</u>	<u>86.1</u>	<u>39,524</u>
	86,433		145,743		232,176

In 1981, the population of the area amounted to 232,176 persons, 86,433 (37%) of which are considered urban and 145,743 (63%) of which are considered rural. From 1961 to 1981 the urban population of Huaraz

increased enormously, whereas the other provinces show less fluctuation, as may be seen in table 3.

Table 3: Percentage of urban population of the Callejón de Huaylas, per province, in 1961, 1972, and 1981.

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1981</u>
Huaraz	34.1	44.8	53.7
Carhuaz	20.6	25.7	24.7
Huaylas	21.3	27.8	25.9
Recuay	28.0	41.1	45.8
Yungay	16.8	14.9	13.9

(For purposes of the census of 1961, the terms "rural" and "urban" were defined as follows: the rural population is located in areas that extend from the borders of the capital populated center till the limits of the earthquake; the urban population is located in settlements of more than 500 inhabitants, where certain services such as streets, water and electricity are concentrated. The population that lives in the capital of the district, regardless of the number of inhabitants and its respective category of town or village, is also considered urban.(CENDAS,1972:39-40))

The population of the Callejón de Huaylas is composed of small, powerful, urban elites, small urban service and commercial sectors, and a vast, rural, peasant population engaged in traditional agriculture. The peasants are tied to the towns by social and ritual ties of the patron-client kind and of ritual co-parenthood ("compadrazgo"), by the religious links of the church and the fiesta system, by the political links of district and provincial government and by economic participation in the large and thriving land and labor factor as well as commodity markets. (see Oliver-Smith, 1979a, 1979b)

The population of the five provincial capitals was given as

36,500	for Huaraz (Huaraz)
7,500	for Carhuaz (Carhuaz)
9,300	for Caraz (Huaylas)
9,400	for Recuay (Recuay)
5,100	for Yungay (Yungay)

in a 1981 tourist information booklet. These towns are the seat of the important institutions of the provinces. The vast majority of the provinces' educational, economic, political and religious institutions are located there.

The elite consists of Mestizos (persons of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry). Their power is based on the fact that they own land (although this has diminished after the land reforms during the military government of Velasco), that they are professionals (lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc.) and involved in most of the commerce. In contrast to the white-collar Mestizos, the Indian peasants do the manual work, c.q. agriculture.

Most of the rural settlements of the Callejón de Huaylas are what Wolf (1955:457-458) calls "corporate peasant communities": they are located on marginal land, which tends to be exploited by means of a traditional technology involving the members of the community. Production is mainly for subsistence, and the community has jurisdiction over the disposal of land. The political-religious system tends to define the boundaries of the community and acts as a rallying point and symbol of collective unity.

The population of the Callejón de Huaylas may be divided into four groups: Indians, Cholos, Mestizos, and Creoles.

"Indian" is a European term applied at the time of the Spanish conquest to anyone who had lived in the Americas before the arrival of the Europeans. Today, it defines the poorest sector of the peasantry, with some special characteristics such as a separate language and certain popular beliefs and practices. (Spalding,1974:147)

"Mestizos", persons of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry, are generally described as participants in national life: they have a European cultural orientation, are more acculturated, and --to different degrees-- it is said that they represent Latin American cultural orientations. Therefore, the relations between Indians and Mestizos are hierarchical: the Mestizo is superior and the Indian inferior. (Mayer,1970:94-95)

In between, there is an upwardly mobile group of "Cholos" or acculturated Indians.

From Indian, via Cholo, to Mestizo and ultimately Creole (upper class white) is a sliding scale of participation in the national (urban) culture, measured by criteria like language, dress, occupation, and income. Wealth and education, more than physical appearance, are important in determining a person's status as Indian, Cholo, or Mestizo. (There are few Creoles in the Callejón de Huaylas.)

Mayer & Masferrer (1979:218-220) give the total Indian population of Latin America as approximately 28.5 million. They distinguish three types of indigenous populations:

- 1) tribal, economically self-sufficient populations;  
(206,240 in Peru)
- 2) peasant populations, joined to the national society;  
(4,010,906 in Peru)
- 3) urban populations, integrated in the national economy;  
(1,807,964 in Peru)

The majority of the Peruvian Indians belong to the second (73.1%) and third (22.4%) categories.

In 1978, the Indian population of Peru was estimated by the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano at 6,025,110 persons, 36.8% of the national total. (Peru belongs to a group of countries where indigenous populations are a large part of the total and are primarily peasant or urban, such as Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador.) External criteria for identification of "the Indian", such as pre-Columbian culture elements (language, clothing, housing, food, landownership, festivities, etc.), subsistence economy, and ethnic identity are not applied to an equal degree by the various member countries. (In Peru, language is the only criterium used to determine which part of the population is Indian)

Although language is generally considered one of the main indicators of ethnicity, none of the above criteria is sufficient by itself.

The "problem" of Indian identity looms large in many publications on the Americas and, therefore, in those dealing with the population of Peru. The main question would seem to be: "Is the Indian different from the rest of Peru's population, and --if so--, in what regard(s)?" Whether the "Indian problem" is an ethnic problem and/or a socioeconomic problem, has been a point of debate. Authors writing on the subject (Barth,1969; Van den Berghe,1974a, 1974b; Stavenhagen,1975; Cohen,1978) generally relate ethnicity to social stratification and socioeconomic inequality.

According to Barth and Cohen there is no isolation between ethnic groups, but interdependence: ethnic boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. Important social relations are maintained across such boundaries and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses. In other words: cultural differences can persist despite interethnic contact and interdependence. Where one ethnic group has control of the means of production utilized by another group, a relationship of inequality and stratification obtains. (Barth,1969:9,10,27) The relations between these groups are unequal, because they are based on differential power: membership determines access to scarce resources. Or, as Cohen (1978:400) puts it: "Inequality is the basis of stratification, not ethnicity." Cultural and linguistic factors are simply additional conditions which aggravate the marginalization of the Indian in the national society which exploits him.

Van den Berghe (1974a:5,6) defines ethnicity in objective as well as subjective terms:

"A system of ethnic relations is defined in part by objective cultural, ecological and demographic conditions such as language, occupation of territory, and relative size of population. It is also partly defined by what each group thinks of itself and of the other ethnic groups."



In Peru, one may speak of "internal colonialism", since its Indian population is an identifiable ethnic group which is territorially distinct, which is granted differential legal status, and which has a differential relationship of asymmetrical interdependence in both the political and the economic spheres.

Stavenhagen (1975) is of the opinion that the "Indian problem" is a socioeconomic rather than an ethnic problem, and the issue one of redistributing wealth and power, not one of shedding one identity and learning another.

Mariátegui (1976:35-49) too saw the Indian problem as socioeconomic and linked it with Peru's land tenure system. As he puts it: "The supposition that the Indian problem is an ethnic problem, is fomented by the most outdated repertoire of imperialist ideas."

It seems that, as the Indian becomes more integrated into the national society, stratification will increasingly be based on class rather than on ethnicity.

It will be clear that differentiation based on ethnicity as well as class exists in the Callejón de Huaylas, in various spheres: economic, social, and religious. As far as economic, educational and administrative sectors are concerned, one may speak of interethnic articulation, whereby the relation is a class relation and the person a campesino. On the other hand, when cultural sectors of interethnic separation are involved, such as language or dress, the relation is ethnic, and the person an Indian.

The music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas are indicators of this differentiation: music of the indigenous genre (huaynos and pasacalles) played on traditional instruments like flutes and drums, and songs in Quechua are characteristic for the Indian peasants, whereas the urban Mestizos prefer more modern groups with an international repertoire. For the Indians, who find themselves in a marginal position, one way of reacting to their impotence lies in the expression thereof through their music and dance: they express their ideology in the huaynos (see chapter 2.4) and in their traditional

dances (see chapter 2.5.1).

In 1968 the word "Indio" (Indian) was officially replaced by the more egalitarian "Campesino" (Peasant, Countryman). By changing the term Indio to Campesino it was changed from a cultural or even racial term into a class term. Or, as Spalding (1974:193) puts it rather bitterly: "Officially there are no more Indians in Peru; there are peasants that speak Quechua".

By renaming the Indian a peasant, stress is put on the fact that he lives in the countryside, on his dependence on the urban centers, and on his subordinate class position regarding other occupational groups. (Van den Berghe, 1974b:17)

One should, however, not overlook the fact that the so-called Indian culture is a synthesis of the pre-Columbian and Spanish cultures. Stein (1961:12) even goes as far as saying: "Present-day Peruvian Indians are perhaps closer culturally to Iberian peasants than they are to the old indigenous communities."

Indian identity is made up of both the image that he has of himself, as well as the image others have of him; these images do not necessarily coincide. Outsiders often have a stereotype and negative image of the Indian: coca chewing and alcoholism are seen as Indian vices by the Mestizos, with little regard for the cultural background of these habits. Coca and chicha breaks are social periods characterized by conversation and joking, much as our coffee breaks.

Yo soy aquel indiecito	I am that little Indian
Que vivo en la cordillera	That lives in the mountains
Entre verdes pajonales	Between green fields
Llorando mi triste vida.	Crying over my sad life.

El viento va sollozando	The wind is sobbing
Y las pajas van silbando	And the grass is whistling
Mi corazón va gimiendo	My heart is grieving
La desgracia de mi raza.	The disgrace of my race.

Ya la tarde va llegando	The evening is arriving
Y la noche va cerrando	And the night is closing
Pues, mi china canta y llora	My woman sings and cries
En su choza solitaria.	In her solitary hovel.

(danza "El Indio Andino" by J.Palacios)

The Indian population of the Callejón de Huaylas occupies a marginal position, socially as well as economically and politically. Since they can easily be identified as Indians because of their language, dress, and other cultural traits, it is easy for the dominant Mestizos to keep them in this marginal position. They are often treated with contempt, do not participate much in the national culture, and have few possibilities for social mobility. The Indians of the Callejón de Huaylas are referred to by Mestizos as "those from up high" ("los de arriba"), whereas the Indians refer to the Mestizos as "Mishtis". Mestizos behave in a paternal way when dealing with Indians, whereas the latter often adopt an attitude of submission and ignorance, as a defense mechanism. The spheres in which the differentiation Indian-Mestizo shows --language, kinship, social organization, religion, and health-- will be dealt with now.

#### Language

In the Callejón de Huaylas, speaking Quechua is considered an Indian trait, but many Mestizos speak Quechua as well, especially those that come into regular contact with Indians, such as merchants and personnel of schools, town halls, or hospitals. However, they generally do not speak Quechua at home. Of the total population of 10,380 given for the educational center of Yungay, 8,378 (80.71%) have Quechua as their mother tongue, whereas 2,002 persons (19.29%) have Spanish as their mother tongue. (Diagnóstico Situacional NEC 09-84 Yungay) It is likely that the 80.71% includes people who speak both Quechua and Spanish. In Peru, out of a total of 11,337,100 people over 5 years of age, 3,015,200 (27%) spoke Quechua as a first language (16% of the urban population and 43% of the rural population) in 1972. In

1961, these percentages were 33%, 23% and 45%, respectively. (Dobyns & Doughty, 1976, table 7)

In 1975, Quechua was reinstated by law 21156 as the official language of Peru, whereupon the Ministry of Education ordered the Institute of Peruvian Studies to compile dictionaries and grammars for the six main variants of Quechua. One of these is the Ancash-Huailas variant which --contrary to general beliefs that all actual forms of Quechua derive from the 15th century Cuzco variant-- belongs to the oldest group, called "Quechua B" by Parker. (Parker, 1976:11-19, 26-27) (see also Torero, 1972) Of the inhabitants of the province of Ancash more than half a million speak Quechua, and approximately 70% of them are bilingual. (Parker, 1976:23) Parker's spelling --with some minor changes-- will be followed in this book, especially where song texts in Quechua are concerned. Songs, mostly huaynos, are in Quechua, Quechua and Spanish, or Spanish. (see chapter 2.4)

#### Kinship

For the Indian population, the main sources of affection and protection lie with personal ties: the nuclear family, the casta, and the fictive kin. In the rural areas, the extended nuclear family is the basic social unit. When a couple marries --after a consensual union called "watanakuy" (trial marriage)-- they usually go to live with either the groom's or the bride's parents before setting up an independent household. At intervals, people living in watanakuy are rounded up by the local authorities and forced to marry ("shuntunakuy" or "ronda"), often during the festival of the patron saint when a priest is on the premises. Households often contain six or more persons, and each household is a working unit; the person in charge is the senior male. In talking or referring to one another, family members employ the appropriate kin terms, addressing the person as "primo" (cousin), "tio" (uncle), or "abuela" (grandmother). Diminutive forms of address like "abuelita" are often used. In the Indian communities there is little role differentiation, other than sex and age, due to the fact that they are small and impoverished.

In an article on the "castas" (unilineal kin groups) of Vicos, an Indian community in the Cordillera Blanca, Vázquez and Holmberg

(1966) describe exogamous patrilineal groups, members of which identify themselves by their given name and casta paternal surname, e.g. Juan Paucar. (The use of the maternal surname is considered to be a characteristic of the Mestizos, who have bilateral descent) It seems that the traditional pattern of the castas has been to begin as independent nuclear families and gradually to convert into extended families with patrilocal residence, but the present pattern is for the castas to have their members dispersed in different types of families and households. The reason given by Vázquez and Holmberg for this type of patrilineal descent is that it was related to the system of land tenure: the hacienda system, which required male labor, favored the orderly transmission of property in the male line and thus of a rule of descent consistent therewith. (see also Stein, 1961: chapter 3)

Apart from having relatives by blood and marriage, another way of strengthening social ties is through the custom of compadrazgo, ritual coparenthood by means of which aid and support can be secured. These are quasi-kinship relationships of mutual support, implying the exchange of gifts or the lending of assistance in various ways, either between members of the same generation (compadres) or between members of different generations (padrinos and ahijados). There are many such types of ceremonial kinship --Doughty (1968: 114-120) describes fourteen of them in Huaylas-- but the main types are connected with baptism and marriage. Often the tie between co-parents is a patron-client tie as well, where inequality in wealth and power exists. Often, a man will ask his employer to become a compadre upon the baptism of one of his children. Doughty (1968:118) calls this "a form of social insurance".

In a society where interfamily relations are in general marked by aloofness, with occasional overtones of suspicion and hostility, there are various ways to ensure cross-family relations: the compadrazgo system, the institution of marriage, the fiesta system, and the political system. (Stein, 1961:136-137) These community-integrating institutions are expressed through a number of events, private as well as communal and secular as well as religious, like baptisms, weddings, religious festivals and civic holidays. (see chapter 4)

### **Social organization**

The dual organization of many towns and villages is based on territorial affiliation rather than on kinship. They resemble the pre-Columbian ayllus, but are territorial units with politico-religious functions, for the purposes of communal work or fiestas. (Stein, 1961:124-125)

The actual, post-Columbian, "barrios" (wards, subdivisions of the district) coexist with the dual divisions, often overlap with them, and fulfill the same functions. How barrio organization overlaps with a dual division may be seen during the festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas, which is described in chapter 4.2.1.1. The dual division is often expressed in terms of "high" and "low", which coincides with "rural" and "urban", and --therefore-- with "Indian" and "Mestizo". This dualism is reflected in the organization of patron saint festivals, when the main day is allotted to Mestizos and the octava to Indians. This is the case with the patron saint festival of Our Lady of Mercy of Carhuaz, which is described in chapter 4.2.1.1. The octava, attended mostly by Indians, was registered on film in 1981.

The boundaries of the rural Indian community are defined by the political-religious organization which was created as a system of indirect rule by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. The corporate Indian community controls its members through control of its resources and the periodic redistribution of wealth. This is brought about by the cycle of religious festivities and the structure of local government, e.g. the political-religious hierarchy. These public positions imply a series of heavy duties and monetary expenses, for festivities and ceremonies, thereby preventing the emergence of social classes. Men gain merit by sponsoring a series of religious festivities and acquire authority in the community only after they have gone through these economic and ritual obligations. In the Callejón de Huaylas these men are called "varayoc", he-who-has-a-staff, since they carry carved wooden staffs as a badge of office. (photographs no.9,10) The varayoc are headed by the "alcalde pedáneo" (petty mayor), who carries a "chonta" (long black staff) adorned with a silver cross and who is dressed in a long black cape on ceremonial

occasions, such as when accompanying the litter of a patron saint. On January 1st of each year, the alcalde and his varayoc are replaced by a new group of officials; mass is held at the transmission of office, and the new group of leaders is admonished to be an example for the rest of the community and blessed by the parish priest.

With regard to the varayoc of Vicos, Doughty and Holmberg say:

"Varayoc were in effect the errand boys of Mestizo society and as such constituted a quaint but tragic mockery of the Vicosino and his cultural integrity." (Doughty, 1971b:100)

"The varayoc, although wielding considerable power as the highest native authorities in Vicos, reflected not only the hierarchical structure of the larger society that ultimately controlled them, but in ritualized procedure, formally acknowledged their subordination to the Patrón, the constitutional mayor of the district of Marcará and the parish priest. What power they exercised, then, was, in last analysis, dependent entirely upon the Mestizo, non-Indian authorities." (Holmberg, 1971:42)

The varayoc became leaders of indigenous communities. They organized their fellows to carry out the basic physical labor of maintaining the colonial economic infrastructure. They managed all local affairs, but especially the cleaning and repairing of the public facilities such as irrigation canals, roads, bridges, etc. They functioned as cultural shock-absorbers between exploiters and exploited.

(Dobyns & Doughty, 1976:93-95)

On the village level, the traditional political-religious hierarchy --which is not officially recognized-- functions alongside official Peruvian government officials such as the lieutenant governor ("teniente gobernador") and the municipal agent ("agente municipal") who represent the municipal authorities. In contrast with the offices of the varayoc, the office of lieutenant governor has a subordinate

social status, because of the nature of his relationships with Mestizo authorities.

In the larger towns, the mayor and his council as well as other government officials represent the government of Peru, whereas the parish priest represents the Church. These are Mestizo authorities.

There are various types of communal labor in the Callejón de Huaylas, documented by Doughty (1968:159-175) and Stein (1961: 106-111): the "república" or "faena", and the "rantín" or "minka". Stein defines rantín as "mutual labor exchange", the word meaning trade, barter, or purchase in Quechua. Minka means "work festival". Both are spontaneous associations of workers which are based on status and involve mutual obligations beyond the work which is done. Rantín labor is less ceremonial than minka, although the festive aspect is not absent. Minka is used for building houses as well as for the planting, cultivation, or harvesting of corn or potatoes. The person who gives a minka supplies his laborers and their families with food, drink and coca; in addition, he hires a musician to play flute and drum music for the group. Rantín labor, Stein goes on to say, is basically an exchange of work. No payment is made, but the obligation to reciprocate is clear. It is a form of cooperative exchange labor between households, an often festive work bee.

República work, on the contrary, is not spontaneous, but tributary labor imposed from the outside. Men who do not show up for work are subject to a fine. It is a form of collective, public work sponsored by official administrative institutions in a district. This way roads, bridges, and irrigation systems are repaired and maintained, and public buildings constructed.

Plate 20 in Doughty's book shows members of a house-roofing bee, working to the sound of flute and drum, and plate 14 shows men opening a trail to the electrical transformer station above Huaylas to the sound of flute and drum. As Doughty puts it: "It is a time when one can enjoy the company of one's friends while gaining public recognition for supporting the progress of one's community."

These types of cooperation are considered a sierra trait and have their origins in pre-Conquest times; they were later (ab)used by the Spaniards and the Peruvian governments who made the Indians work for

them under the system, as draft labor.

A communal work party, faena, accompanied by two flutes and a drum, is described in chapter 4.2.3.1; it may be seen and heard in the slide show, sound-selection no.9, and photographs no.137-141. (This custom of musical accompaniment to communal labor is disappearing.)

### **Religion**

Although both Indians and Mestizos adhere to the same religion, Roman Catholicism, religious practices differ between them and pre-Colombian traits persist in the Indian fiestas. The parish priest, as a representative of official Catholicism, is indispensable at fiestas, but often disagrees with the religious practices of the Indians, which he considers pagan.

Supervision of the celebration of religious festivals is one of the functions of the alcalde pedaneo and his varayoq. Religious participation is economic, social and political, since wealth is needed to sustain the religious system, prestige is sought, and prior religious participation is a prerequisite to the holding of political authority. This way, men work their way up in the social system, either by fulfilling a political role (varayoq, alcalde pedaneo) or a religious one (sponsor, standard bearer, dancer). Religion is the pivot of communal life, and the main leveling mechanism, through sponsorship of fiestas. The sponsors (mayordomos) of a religious festival act out of devotion to a particular Virgin or Saint, and are therefore also called "devotos". They pay part of the expense of a festival, such as mass, fireworks, musicians and dancers, etc. They are often helped by relatives or compadres. Most mayordomos volunteer for the position a year in advance, to solicit or give thanks for some spiritual help, but also to increase their prestige in the community.

### **Health**

Due to malnutrition, bad hygienic conditions, and alcoholism --all factors related to poverty and ignorance-- illnesses like influenza, measles, whooping cough, dysentery, tuberculosis and "verruqa" (Carrion's disease, with symptoms similar to malaria, and transmitted by a mosquito) exact a heavy toll. Infant mortality is high, due

--among other things-- to the fact that small children crawl around on the mud floor, in the company of domestic animals.

Pharmacies in the population centers, where the (Mestizo) doctors and dentists have their private practices, sell all types of medicine over the counter, even chloramfenicol, the dangerous antibiotic used to cure verruga.

For cultural and economic reasons people resort to non-Western types of medicine. "Curanderos", traditional healers, administer remedies like herb-teas, aspirin, injections, and massages. "Susto", an illness of emotional origin, is said to be caused when a person is frightened, often from a presumed contact with an evil spirit, thereby suffering damage to or loss of his soul. Susto is cured by a technique called "shoqma", which consists of rubbing the body with flower petals or a guinea pig. The latter are also used to diagnose an unexplainable illness: the live animal is rubbed over the body of the patient and then killed, after which an autopsy is performed.

Modern as well as traditional health care try to combat disease. There are 7 hospitals and 14 health centers in the provincial capitals of the Callejón de Huaylas, and the rural area is served by 40 medical posts ("puestos sanitarios") where a medical assistant administers basic medical care. Due to a chronic shortage of trained personnel (Lima-trained medical practitioners do not like to work in the mountain areas), beds, and other important infrastructural necessities, Mestizos of the provincial capitals prefer to go to hospitals in Lima in case of serious illness. The Indian people often prefer their curanderos, since they are ill at ease in the health centers, and often have to wait for a long time to be attended.

### **1.3.3: The research**

The research was carried out from June 1980 to December 1981 in the Callejón de Huaylas in the province of Ancash, Peru.

The Callejón de Huaylas was not new to me: I spent four months there in 1977. The area and especially its music interested me: I attended a number of festivities such as a wedding, a baptism, Carnival, and a few patron saint festivals, recorded the music, took photographs, and gathered as much background information as I could in such a short time. I was lucky to know some people, who in turn introduced me to other people, which made me "gente de confianza", a person to be trusted. For example, a woman from Ranrahirca, a village along the highway, took me to Tumpa, a village six kilometers up in the Cordillera Blanca, where she had been a teacher. Her godchild, Julia, offered us a meal and I took the opportunity to ask whether I could come and stay with her for a week, to which she agreed. Likewise, Lorenzo, a musician from Caraz, whom I met when he played the caja & roncadora during Carnival in Ranrahirca, was a good informant. Both Lorenzo and Tumpa are the subject of case studies in this book.

Thus, a double base was laid in 1977: interest in the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas, and love and respect for the people living there.

In 1980-1981, the friendships struck up in 1977 were renewed and when I was in Tumpa, I often stayed with Julia, her husband Felix and their two children, alternating with stays at the house of a musician. In return for their hospitality I brought them foodstuffs, childrens' clothes, and photographs. A corner of a room was arranged for me, with a bed and a chair. I ate most of my meals with them, but we all went our own ways: Julia took care of the children, the house, and the cattle; Felix worked on the land; and I went on my anthropological rounds.

My homebase was Caraz, which I had chosen for various reasons: it was situated at the end of the highway Pativilca-Caraz, which made transportation easy. From Caraz I could travel to places like Huaylas, Yungay, Ranrahirca/Mancos, Carhuaz and Huaraz by bus or collective taxi in one to two hours. From there, other villages like Tumpa could be reached on foot or by truck if one happened to go there. Caraz, a

pleasant small town of approximately 9,300 inhabitants is the capital of the district of Huaylas. It has electricity (and, consequently, two movie houses and a public address system) and running water. It is situated at 2,200 meters above sea level and has a very pleasant climate, with oranges and lemons growing in the gardens. I visited Lorenzo and his family regularly, since we both lived in Caraz. I lived in the house of Maruja, an unmarried Mestizo schoolteacher; her brother Jesús and his family lived next door. Margarita, an Indian woman who cooked the meals, lived in the house as well, with her three children. I occupied two sparsely furnished but pleasant rooms, one large sitting room and a small bedroom, that opened on the flowered patio where children, dogs, cats, and chickens pottered about.

I spoke Spanish reasonably well and had a notion of Quechua, having taken a course in the Ayacucho variant of Quechua as a student. In the urban areas, most people speak Spanish; in the rural areas, Quechua is generally spoken but many men speak Spanish due to contact with Mestizos. Only in a few instances --generally when dealing with older people-- did I need an interpreter. Songs in Quechua were translated into Spanish by the singer, then checked by me by means of a grammar and dictionary, and rechecked with a Quechua-speaking teacher in Huaraz.

The people of Caraz were very good to me and some became my friends. The same goes for other people of the Callejón: in Huaraz I was always welcome in the house of Emiliano Olaza and his family, and in Huaylas I stayed in the house of Rigoberto and Teresa Cox. Their daughters both married Dutch engineers, who came to Huaylas as volunteers after the earthquake in 1970, and are now living in Holland. Many more people could be listed, and it is obvious that they contributed a great deal to my wellbeing through their warmth and care. Living with the people and being part of their daily life as much as possible gave me an opportunity to feel what it is like to live there: the struggle for the daily bread, the fear of a disastrous earthquake like the one in 1970, and the --often denied-- tensions between the Indian and Mestizo populations.

Anthropological research methods such as participant observation, interviewing, and the study of written sources were used.

#### **Participant observation**

Participant observation is a "sine qua non" of fieldwork: "being there" (in more than the obvious sense of the expression), is the most important thing for an anthropologist. Through watching, listening and talking with people, a feeling for what is happening develops, without which no real understanding is possible. Through assisting at religious festivals, weddings and other celebrations, I showed people that I was genuinely interested in their way of life, hoping that they would trust me enough to give me the information I was looking for. Shortly after my arrival, a local carpenter made an Andean harp for me, a process which was closely supervised by my harp teacher. Learning how to play an instrument is part of gaining access to information and --although I did not learn to play the harp perfectly-- I learned much about its construction, its tuning, and the way it is played. People were good to me and I felt quite at home. I was what is termed a "marginal native" (Freilich, 1970), and accepted as an interested outsider, to be more or less trusted. Although there was one notable exception (a folklorist living in Caraz, who kept promising me an interview), most people talked willingly about their music, songs, dances, festivals, and related subjects. I had to conform to their rhythm of life and wait for occasions to present themselves. At times, when people were out working in the fields, waiting was tedious, whereas at other times too many things happened at once. By participating as much as possible in daily life, the manifestation of the "vision of the participants", the collective and conscious conceptions they have and the categories distinguished by them, could be observed and recorded in writing and on audio-visual material. After that "the vision of the researcher" was elaborated. The knowledge gathered through participant observation was complemented by structured interviews with selected informants (see chapter 3).

#### **Written sources**

Fieldwork is one way of gathering material, consulting publications (including song books) on every subject of interest for the research, another. Especially the monographs of Doughty (1968) and Stein (1961) were very useful for the information they contained on the Callejón de Huaylas. "La musique des Incas et ses survivances" of the d'Harcourts (1925) gave a wealth of data on the history of Peru and its music. Merriam's work (1964) and that of Lomax (1971) served as theoretical background, as did Leach's "Culture and communication" (1976) and various publications by Turner (1969, 1978).

Contacts with people other than those directly related with the music and dance of the Callejón de Huaylas were very fruitful. Official institutions in the area and in Lima, like the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (National Institute of Culture) in Lima and Huaraz, ORDENOR-Centro (Regional Organism of Development of the North-Center) in Huaraz, the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Institute of Peruvian Studies) in Lima, CENDAF (Center for Support of Peruvian Folklore) in Lima, the Regional Museum of Ancash in Huaraz, the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in Lima and various universities in Huaraz and Lima have been very helpful.

I was especially lucky to meet Dr. Paul L. Doughty, of the University of Florida, shortly after I arrived in the field. Dr. Doughty, the author of one of the few monographs of the area and many other publications on the Callejón, Peru, and other South American countries, was back in Huaylas during the summer of 1980. When I arrived there in July for the festival of Saint Elizabeth, I had no place to stay. I had met the priest of Huaylas at the ceremonial opening of a rural school, and I went to look for him in order to see what could be done. He told me that Pablo Doughty was in town, and took me to the plaza where we found a tall "gringo" surrounded by people greeting him. Paul and his wife Polly cleared a corner of their living room for me to put my sleeping bag, and fed me not only food but information for five days (and ever since when we had an occasion to meet, be it in Peru, the U.S., or Europe).

### Audio-visual means and techniques

Given the subject of research, the use of audio-visual means of registration was an essential part of the research: music and dance are media different from language. They are nonverbal types of communication, and should be registered by means other than writing.

Margaret Mead, in an introduction to Paul Hockings' "Principles of visual anthropology" (1975) calls anthropology "a science of words" and accuses anthropologists of "gross and dreadful negligence" for not using the new instruments and methods of research that have become available to them in the last decades. Of course, specialized skills are required to use these instruments, and the costs are relatively high, but these are not sufficient reasons. Mead herself was one of the pioneers of visual anthropology when she worked on Bali in the '30s together with Bateson. Hockings' interesting book contains articles on the history and use of ethnographic film and other audio-visual tools like video, by pioneers like Jean Rouch, Alan Lomax, and many more. A recent publication on the subject is "Methodology in anthropological filmmaking" (1983) edited by Nico Bogaart and Henk Ketelaar, which contains papers presented at the IUAES-Intercongress held in Amsterdam in 1981.

Film, and to a lesser extent photography, register gestures, stances, social space and movement style, whereas music and songs may be registered with sound-recording equipment. Film, photography, and sound-recording enable us to conserve, analyze, and eventually understand nonverbal aspects of culture. All have the advantage that they can be looked at c.q. listened to whenever necessary. It is this possibility of repetition that makes them such valuable tools for researchers studying human behavior. Much that escapes the attention of the anthropologist in the field may be recovered from the material later on, and data may be gathered for use by future generations of researchers. (see Gerbrands, 1969)

Audio-visual material also has the important function of enabling the researcher to elicit information, to get "feedback". When it is shown c.q. played back to the informants, valuable information may be

obtained that otherwise would have remain unknown to the anthropologist. Here, the "vision of the participants" and the "vision of the anthropologist" can be compared. I, therefore, hope to go back to the Callejón de Huaylas and present my "audiovisual counter-gift", a term of Jean Rouch, to the people who enabled me to do the research. This gift consists of a 30-minute film of the patron saint festival of Carhuaz, with sound and commentary; a series of 100 slides with sound and commentary; and a 90-minute selection of sound-recordings. (For a description, see Appendix 1) These are part of the book, which also includes drawings and black-and-white photographs.

It is a point of debate whether the anthropologist should be the filmer or whether she/he should be working with a professional film-team. I chose to do the various types of registration myself --except in the case of the film, where the sound was registered simultaneously by someone else--, for a number of reasons: being an anthropologist, I was in a better position to judge the importance of certain events (having assisted at the fiesta the year before), and being alone, I would not disturb the people as much as I would when being there with a team. It should be added that I waited three months before using audio-visual tools in the field.

The film was made on October 1, 1981, the octava of the patron saint festival of Carhuaz. (see chapter 4.2.1.1 for a description of this festival) An 8 mm camera (Nizo 481 macro) was used, and a total of 60 minutes was shot. Sound was recorded simultaneously by Frenk Boeren, a Dutch student at the Agricultural University of Wageningen, who was living in Carhuaz at the time. The film consists of two parts: the morning when the dance groups with their musicians and visitors arrive in Carhuaz, and the afternoon when a procession takes place that lasts around five hours. In order to be mobile, no tripod was used; when this "active" approach is used, one can speak of the "participant camera", analogous to participant observation. The events were registered as faithfully as possible, and were not directed, staged, reconstructed, or fictionalized. Editing, although a deliberate intervention, took place accordingly and was in fact no more than a compression of the real time (five hours) into film time (60 minutes)



and ultimately the finished movie (30 minutes). It may, therefore, be said that the event shaped the film.

The sound was registered on a Uher 4200 IC tape recorder with a Sennheiser MD421 microphone, using Agfa PE 46 Hifi tape. 50 Hours of music and songs were registered, of which a representative 90-minute selection was compiled; relevant sound has been added to the film and the slides.

The slide show was composed out of a total of 3,400 slides and gives a general overview of the research, analogous to the descriptive part of the book, e.g. general information on the Callejón de Huaylas and its people, construction and use of instruments, and occasions during which music and dance were used. Sound and commentary were added. 3,000 Black-and-white photographs were taken, a number of which were incorporated in the book. Both slides and black-and-white photographs were taken with two Nikon FE cameras equipped with 28, 50, and 135 mm lenses. Whenever necessary, a Metz 34BCT2 flash was used.

Although they give an impression of veracity, neither the film, slide show or sound-selection give "objective" information, since the choice of subjects and the final composition is mine. However, I hope that the choice was a balanced one.

The people never objected to my activities, audio-visual or otherwise, partly because I always took pains to explain to them what I was doing. I also gave them recordings and photographs of themselves whenever possible.

A last word on the ethics of audio-visual research: Lomax (1975:304) warns of the dangers of the mass media which he accuses of imperialism, centralizing culture, silencing minorities and putting ersatz, marketable fads in the place of genuine style. Instead, he says, the camera and the recording machine should secure a multi-cultural future and make room for the development of the whole range of human expressive traditions. By registering part of the expressive traditions of the Callejón de Huaylas, in an audio-visual as well as written form, and by giving a copy of the material to the regional university (UNASAM) in Huaraz and the Catholic University in Lima, to be consulted by all those interested, I hope to have contributed to the conservation and possibly the recovery of this tradition.