

Chapter 3: The performers

3.1: Introduction

"The musician, no less than any other individual, is also a member of society. As a musician, he plays a specific role and may hold a specific status within his society, and his role and status are determined by the consensus of society as to what should be proper behavior for the musician. Musicians may form a special class or caste, they may or may not be regarded as professionals, their role may be ascribed or achieved, their status may be high or low or a combination of both. In nearly every case, however, musicians behave socially in certain well-defined ways, because they are musicians, and their behavior is shaped both by their own self-image and by the expectations and stereotypes of the musicianly role as seen by society at large." (Merriam,1964:123)

Now that we have some background information on the musical instruments and the repertoire of music and dance, we will look at the performers and their public, to determine the importance that the performing arts have in this society and the relationship that exists between the makers and the receivers. In this chapter, the specific research questions regarding the position of the performers (see chapter 1.1) will be answered. Chapter 3.2 deals with the performers and their arts, chapter 3.3 with the performers and their public, and in chapter 3.4 an individual musician and the musicians of one village are the subjects of two case studies.

Like in the case of the instruments and the repertoire of music and dance, a tendency to modernize may be noted in some of the performers as well. Where there are those who stay with the traditional

instruments and the vernacular repertoire, there are also those who prefer the more modern instruments and add the Creole and international genres to their repertoire.

The importance of music and dance in the Callejón de Huaylas is reflected in the number of groups and preferences shown by the people. Of the flute & drum combinations, the caja & roncadora are heard most often, at many occasions. The harp, as a solo instrument or combined with a violin, is also often heard, with song added many times by the musician(s). Traditional dance groups are accompanied by combinations of flutes, drums, stringed instruments, and brass band aerophones.

The types of groups that were witnessed most often by me were the string orchestras and the bandas. During the 1 1/2 years of my stay I heard 21 string orchestras consisting of three instruments or more, some of them more than once, like the "Centro Musical Yungay" (4 times), and "Ilusión Ancashina" of Caraz (5 times). More than 50 bandas were observed, many of them more than once, like the Banda Musical "Juventud de Carhuaz" (8 times), Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina" of Huallecór/Huaraz (5 times), Banda de Músicos "Juventud de Caraz" (11 times), Banda "Juventud de Nuevo Yungay" (9 times). Most of these were bandas from the Callejón de Huaylas, but sometimes well-known bandas were brought in from the coast or Lima. For instance, the Banda "Santa Lucia" from Moche played at the patron saint festival of San Roque in Mancos, invited by the sponsor, an important man. On the night before the main day a social dance was held, attended by middle class Mestizos who could afford to pay the relatively high entrance fee that is charged for this type of event. (see chapter 4.2.3.3) The banda played cumbias and Western pop music (even the top hit of The Village People: "In the Navy!"). The (only) huayno they played sounded rather different from the way they generally sound in the Callejón de Huaylas.

Military bandas also come to the Callejón de Huaylas on special occasions, like the banda of the Peruvian Air Force that was engaged for Holy Week in 1981, or that of the Republican Guard of Peru that was present during Our Lady of Mercy of Carhuaz in 1981.

Of the Creole and tropical ensembles I witnessed only a few, in an urban context only. The same goes for the folk music groups.

27 Structured interviews were held with a number of individual musicians, directors of music and dance groups, and an instrument-maker; short summaries will be given below in chapter 3.2. My questions were based on Merriam's tripartite division: the concepts held about music, its use and function, and the role of the performers. (see chapter 1.1) Five different types of questionnaires were compiled, for different types of musicians: no.1 for traditional groups, string orchestras and folk music groups; no.2 for bandas; no.3 for individual performers; no.4 for traditional dance groups; and no.5 for instrument-makers. (see Appendix 2)

The summaries are ordered along the lines of the combinations of instruments, from the more traditional to the more modern ensembles. (see chapter 2.2.3) (Of these combinations, category g): harp and violin as duo, and category h): harp, violin, and brass band aerophone, are not included, since they overlap with other categories. The peña criolla (category k), and the conjunto tropical (category l) are not included, since no interviews were held with these types of ensembles.)

3.2: The performers and their arts

1) Various combinations of flute and drum (categories a,b,c,)

Caja & roncadora players

--Lorenzo Piscoche

Lorenzo, 48 years old, lives in Caraz. He plays many traditional instruments, but is best known as a caja & roncadora player. He has very little formal education and sells ice cream on the plaza. He also cultivates maize, etc. on a small plot of land. He became a musician when he was young, imitating others. He plays the various combinations of flute & drum alone, caja & roncadora in pairs, and flauta, chiska, and violin in various ensembles. His repertoire is vernacular, and he earns 1,500 to 2,000 soles a day playing caja & roncadora, and 1,000 soles as a member of an ensemble. He also

constructs flutes and drums. Lorenzo is described more extensively in chapter 3.4.1.

(photographs no.72-85;sound-selections no.3,5,10)

--Narciso Morales

Narciso is 55 years old and lives in Huaylas. He is a farmer, and also makes roof tiles and bricks. He has two years of primary schooling. He plays the caja & roncadora since he was 16 years old, and learned it from a teacher and by listening to others. He usually plays in pairs with others from Huaylas, and earns 1,000 soles a day or the equivalent in goods. His repertoire consists of religious and secular music: the vernacular huayno (by far the majority) and pasacalle, the Creole waltz and marinera, and the international cumbia, as well as the national anthem and the salute to the flag ("Saludo a la bandera").

--"Hermanos Jiménez"

The Jiménez brothers from Carhuaz, aged 52, 54, and 56, form an ensemble of caja & roncadora players since 1947. They call themselves "Típica Roncadoras de Carhuaz" (Typical Roncadoras from Carhuaz). Two of them are farmers, whereas the third owns a shop in Carhuaz. All have one year of primary schooling. They also play tuba, alto saxophone, and trumpet in the Banda Musical "Juventud de Carhuaz" that was founded by them. (This banda is discussed below) Their daily wage is a rather high 4,000 soles each, which may be due to the fact that they are well-known and have made records. Their repertoire is vernacular: mostly huaynos and a few pasacalles, learnt from listening to records and to the radio. (With the banda they play international genres, like the cumbia.) They also accompany a group of female dancers called "Pallas de Corongo" during folkloristic events.

Tinya and chiska players

--"Conjunto Cruzcoto"

This ensemble from Cruzcoto, a hamlet near Tumpa, consists of four players: two chiska players, Toribio Vactación (64) and Eugenio

Palma (61), and two tinya players: Marcelo Wakanka (45) and Francisco Vactación (39), son of Toribio. Toribio, Eugenio and Marcelo also play the violin. The ensemble was founded around 1970 by Toribio. They are farmers (Eugenio also makes roof tiles and does some weaving) and have little or no formal education. They play music to accompany various dance groups: Capitanes (two chiskas, two tinyas), Shaqapas (one chiska, one tinya, one violin), and Shaqshas (two chiskas, two tinyas, one violin), and learned their repertoire by listening to others. They earn 1,000 soles a day, plus food and drink. This group is described more extensively in the case study of the musicians of Tumpa, in chapter 3.4.2. (photographs no.88-90;sound-selection no.11)

2) Solo instruments: violin, harp (category d)

Violinist

--Melicio Luna

This violinist from Chuqchun, a hamlet near Carhuaz, is 33 years old, and has completed five years of primary school. He makes baskets in his home and grows vegetables that his wife sells in the market of Huaraz. He plays together with Pascual Ramirez (harp) or in a string orchestra, and sings as well. He earns 3,000 soles for an eight-hour-day, and plays mostly vernacular music. He has composed some huaynos.

(photograph 49;sound-selection no.19)

Harpists

--Eloy Cano

This 45-year-old harpist from Yuracoto, a hamlet near Caraz, learned to play from older harpists when he was 18. He has three years of elementary schooling, and is a shoemaker when he is not engaged to play the harp and sing. He also plays together with a violinist or in a string orchestra, when invited. His music is mostly vernacular, but he also knows how to play international music, like Mexican corridos and the fox incaico "El condor pasa". He has composed a few huaynos. His earnings are from 5,000 to 6,000 soles a day, due to the fact that he is well-known and has made

records.

(photograph no.134;sound-selection no.14)

--Pascual Ramirez

This 44-year-old harpist from Anta, a hamlet near Carhuaz, is affectionately called "Pascualito". He is a farmer who has had primary schooling. He learned to play the harp from his father when he was 15 years old. Like Eloy, he plays alone, together with a violinist, or in a string orchestra. His earnings are between 2,000 and 3,000 soles a day. His repertoire is mainly vernacular, with some waltzes, marineras, pasodobles and cumbias. He learns by listening to records, and composes huaynos together with violinist Melicio Luna, who is discussed above.

(photograph no.49;sound-selection no.19)

--Fidencio Calvo

This harpist from Huaylas is 24 years old, a farmer who at times works in the hydroelectrical plant in Huallanca as a carpenter. He has four years of secondary schooling. He learned to play at age 12 from his father and his brother; later on he was taught the Oyón-style from the department of Lima by Pelayo Vallejo in Chimbote. Like most harpists, he accompanies himself when singing, performs with a violinist or in a string orchestra, the various instruments of which he masters. His repertoire is mostly vernacular, with waltzes, corridos and marineras, as well as the fox incaico "El condor pasa". He earns 10,000 soles a day (from 7.00 to 19.00 o'clock, "seven to seven") when playing by himself; as a member of a string orchestra he receives 4,000 soles.

--Cirilo Morales

Cirilo, 22 years old, is a pupil of Fidencio Calvo since 1978 and lives in Huaylas. He has two years of secondary schooling, and works in Huaraz as an electrician for ORDENOR-Centro. He comes from a musical family: Narciso Morales, mentioned above, is his uncle, and his father also plays the caja & roncadora. He usually plays by himself, but at times forms an ad hoc string orchestra with some other musicians from Huaylas. Like Fidencio, he prefers the

Oyón-style of Vallejo and the Pacheco Brothers. He earns between 7,000 and 8,000 soles for a twelve-hour day, and plays mostly huaynos as well as an occasional waltz or cumbia.

--César Yslado

César, whose artist's name is "Palomino", is 66 years old and lives in Huaraz. He has no formal education and lives mainly off his music now. He started to play in 1943, when he travelled to many Latin American countries accompanying the famous singer Ima Sumaq for three years. This is reflected in his repertoire: huarachas, rancheras and corridos from Mexico, and tangos, rumbas and cumbias from other Latin American countries. He also plays the vernacular and Creole repertoire of the Callejón de Huaylas and recorded two singles with huaynos. He learned by listening to others, to records and to the radio, and composed many huaynos. When playing alone he asks 2,000 soles an hour. He was a teacher at the Regional School for Artistic Education (EREA) in Huaraz from 1967-1971.

3)Violin, flute, drum (category e)

--accompanying traditional dance group "Los Shaqshas de Yungay"

This group of Shaqsha dancers from Carhuán, a hamlet near Yungay, is composed of 11 men, including a leader (campero) and two row-leaders (delanteros). They are all farmers, with some years of primary education. Their ages are: 14,16,19,23,25,28,28,30,33, 40 and 42. The musicians that accompany them (one violin, two chiskas, two tinyas) come from Chuchín, a hamlet near Matacoto in the Cordillera Negra, and are farmers as well. Their ages are: 40,45, 45,52 and 53. According to the campero, Ciro Luna (40), this group has been performing for 25 years, together with the musicians from Chuchín. The dancers wear white, light blue or lilac blouses and pants, a crown or beret with feathers, mirrors, and long artificial hair. Some wear pink metal masks with blue eyes and a black moustache painted on them. All have rattles made of dried nut shells tied around their lower legs and carry small whips. They

perform during patron saint festivals, sometimes out of devotion, sometimes earning 1,000 soles each. Their repertoire is religious (in church and during the procession) and secular (huaynos played outside the church and in the home of the sponsor, for entertainment).

(photographs no.63-71;sound-selection no.17)

--accompanying traditional dance group "Pukapachan pukara"

This group of 12 Shaqapa dancers and 3 musicians (violin, chiska, tinya) from hamlets near Carhuaz (Pukapachan is one of them) much resembles the Shaqshas described above. All are farmers, have little formal education, and perform out of devotion during the patron saint festival of Carhuaz. They are dressed in white shirts and pants and wear straw hats with mirrors, feathers and ribbons. Two adorned bands cross their chests. Dried fruit shells are tied around their lower legs. According to one of the delanteros, they have been performing for more than 20 years. Their repertoire is vernacular: religious in church and during the procession, pasacalles in the street, and huaynos in the home of the sponsors.

(photograph no.61;sound-selection no.16)

4)Violin, drum, occasionally mandolin (category f)

--accompanying dance group "Los Hijos del Sol"

This group of Atahuallpa dancers from Carhuaz and surrounding hamlets was founded in 1964 and is called "The Sons of the Sun", a name used to indicate the Inca. It is a rather large group, around 24 men, led by a "poderoso" (he-who-has-power) and accompanied by three violins, two tenor drums and one tinya. They are dressed like North American Indians and are called Atahuallpas, after the last Inca. At intervals, they sing about his assassination by Pizarro. This type of dance was learned in Paramonga on the coast, where many Carhuacinos work temporarily or permanently on the sugar plantations or as construction workers. The members of this group are farmers, laborers, and students. Most of them have (some) primary education, and some --like the violinists-- have secondary

schooling and know how to read music. The repertoire consists of the typical Atahuallpa music used in church, during processions, and on the street, as well as huaynos. The auquis are quite young (around 14), as are many of the dancers. The musicians are aged 32,22,20,34,33 and 45. The dancers earn 1,500 soles a day and the musicians 3,500 soles.

(photograph no.60)

5)String orchestra (category i)

--"Los Aventureros de Tumpa"

These "Adventurers" come from Tumpa, as their name indicates. The group, consisting of two guitars, two mandolins, a violin, a quena, and a young female vocalist, was founded in 1969 by Teodoro Cashpa, a mandolin player who still is with the group. Most of them are farmers with a few years of primary schooling who also work as construction workers or have a small shop. Some of the musicians migrate to the coast for a few months each year. One of the mandolin players (who also plays the quena) has a secondary education and is a veterinary technician. Their ages are: 38,26,28,39,25,26, and 29. The vocalist, 13, only sings during official performances. Their repertoire is mostly vernacular, with some Creole pieces. They earn 1,000 soles a day, per person, plus food and travelling expenses. This group is described below, in a case study of the musicians of Tumpa (chapter 3.4.2).

(photographs no.91-94)

--"Centro Musical Yungay"

This string orchestra from Yungay and surrounding hamlets consists of 6 musicians: two violins, two guitars, one mandolin, and one accordion. The group was founded in 1974 by Delfín Muñoz, violinist, who still is the director and who has composed a number of huaynos. They are 18,30,25, 24,35, and 26 years old. Most of them have a secondary education and they are farmers, an electrician, a radio-technician, a student, and a teacher. They perform mostly during secular events playing what they call

"regional music": vernacular and Creole genres. Delfín and other members of the ensemble have composed huaynos. When performing on stage they bring vocalists with names like "Flor Violeta" (Violet Flower) and "Canario Yungaino" (Canary from Yungay). They earn 1,200 to 1,500 soles an hour, as a group, plus food and travelling expenses. They have recorded two singles and a mini-LP.

(sound-selection no.27)

6) Brass band (category j)

-Banda Centro Musical "Brisas del Huascarán", Tumpa/Yungay

-Banda de Músicos "Juventud de Caraz", Caraz/Huaylas

-Banda Musical "Juventud de Carhuaz", Carhuaz/Carhuaz

-Banda "Juventud de Nuevo Yungay", Yungay/Yungay

-Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina", Huallcor/Huaraz

-Banda Orquesta "Flor del Rio Santa", Paramonga/Lima

Since the bandas much resemble each other, they will be dealt with as a unit. One of them, "Brisas del Huascarán" from Tumpa, is discussed more extensively in the case study of that village, in chapter 3.4.2.

The names of the bandas show where they come from, by naming a town (Caraz, Carhuaz, Nuevo Yungay), a mountain (Huascarán), or a river (Rio Santa) closely associated with the Callejón de Huaylas. Three of them are called "Juventud de ...", meaning "Youth of ..."; this is a recent way of naming bandas. The members of the bandas generally come from the town or hamlet indicated by the name. For example: the musicians of "Juventud de Nuevo Yungay" come from Nuevo Yungay (the rebuilt Yungay) and the neighboring hamlets of Runtu, Punyán, Aira and Aura. The majority of the musicians of "Flor del Rio Santa" (18 out of 28) are migrants from the Callejón de Huaylas who work in Paramonga as construction workers or in the sugar plantations. Their attachment to the Callejón shows in the name they have chosen for their banda: "Flower of the Santa River".

The bandas were founded in 1979, 1972, 1960, 1963, 1954 and 1962, respectively. They generally consist of around 15 musicians who play bass drum, snare drum, cymbals (percussion); 2-4 trumpets, 2-3 clarinets, 1-2 trombones, 1-2 alto saxophones (melody); 1 tenor horn, 1-2 tenor tubas, and a bass tuba (harmony). (The banda from Paramonga is an exception: it uses timbales and helicons, instruments rarely observed in the Callejón de Huaylas.)

The repertoire of the bandas is religious (religious marches played during processions) and secular: vernacular, Creole and international, including music played at civic events, like military marches, the national anthem, and the salute to the flag. The vernacular and some Creole types are learnt by imitation ("tocamos al oído"), but some Creole types and the international types are taught by a music teacher by means of music notation.

Most of the banda members are between 20 and 40 years old, with some exceptions, like the Jiménez brothers, founders of "Juventud de Carhuaz" who are 52, 54, and 56 years old, or the director of "Juventud de Nuevo Yungay", Aurelio Sánchez, who is 52. Most have completed primary school, and are farmers, bakers, construction workers, carpenters, etc.

Most of these bandas earn from 35,000 to 50,000 soles a day, with the exception of "Flor Andina" --which is considered one of the best of the Callejón de Huaylas, and gets 80,000 soles. Their fare is paid, and they are fed and housed for the duration of their stay by the sponsors.

Some of the bandas are quite popular: for instance, "Juventud Carhuaz" had seven engagements in the month of September, 1981, some for more than one day, for a total of fifteen days. On the 22nd and 23rd they were engaged for the festival of Our Lady of Mercy of Carhuaz, and on the 26th and 27th for the bullfights.

(photographs 51-55,96,109,112,129-130;sound-selections no.28-32)

7) Folk music group (category ■)

- "Alpamayo"
- "Llakta Runa"
- "Kusy Chasky"
- "Hermanos del Ande"

Like the bandas, the folk music groups have much in common; this is why I will treat them as a unit.

Most of the members of these groups are young urban Mestizos: they live, study, and work in Huaraz, have a relatively high level of education, and work as administrators, teachers, etc.

The groups consist of 5-6 musicians, who generally sing as well. One of the groups, "Hermanos del Ande", has a female vocalist, as do some of the string orchestras discussed earlier. (She is discussed below.)

Their repertoire consists mainly of Latin American folk music from the Altiplano (Southern Peru and Bolivia), Chile, Argentina, Ecuador, and --of course-- Peruvian huaynos. Some of the groups play what they call "revolutionary" or "testimonial" music: protest music learned by listening to (records of) well-known groups like the Chilean group "Quilapayun" or the Peruvian groups "Tiempo Nuevo" and "Alturas", that are fashionable in leftist circles. This way, they "take a social message to the people by means of music", and "promote, diffuse, and redeem the autochthonous, folkloristic music". Like the repertoire, the instruments used by these groups are mostly from the Altiplano: quenás, zampoñas, charangos, etc., but instruments from the Callejón de Huaylas like the roncadora and the chiska are also used at times.

Although many of the musicians have a higher education and are able to read sheet music, they learn their repertoire by imitation. Most of the groups have composed songs as well.

The groups were founded in 1978, 1980, 1979, and 1977 respectively, which shows how closely they are related to the tourist boom. Most

of the musicians are in their twenties, with the exception of those of "Llakta Runa" who are 11, 13, 14, 16 and 16 years old.

The names of these folk music groups are less specific to the area of the Callejón de Huaylas, and often in the Quechua of Cuzco: "Llakta Runa" means "a Person's Homeland", "Kusy Chasky" means "Happy Messenger", and "Hermanos del Ande" "Andes Brothers". The "Alpamayo" group is named after the most beautiful mountain of the Cordillera Blanca.

These groups do not earn money by the day, like most other groups of the Callejón de Huaylas, nor are they housed and fed by sponsors. They generally perform for two thirty-minute stretches, for which they receive 10,000 soles, which is divided among the group members. For private parties they charge less, and they perform at cultural activities in rural areas for just busfare and food. "Kusy Chasky" is a successful group: they were preparing a second LP at the time of the interview. The groups compete with each other, and each one accuses the others of commercialism, lack of originality, saying that "there are no good groups in Huaraz" (themselves excepted, of course).

The folk music groups are discussed further in chapter 4.2.3.4. (photographs 18-22, 57-58; sound-selections no. 33, 34)

One female vocalist was interviewed:

- Emilia Cruz, vocalist of "Hermanos del Ande"
Emilia is 23 years old and the wife of the accordion player of the group, which she joined in 1980. She has a secondary education and was trained to be an executive secretary; she is now a housewife. She learned to sing by imitating others, and her repertoire consists of folkloristic and Creole music: huaynos, pasacalles, waltzes and marineras. She writes song texts and music, together with José Antonio Salazar, the director of the group. During a performance, she usually sings about half of the songs, accompanied by the group (she sang three out of the six pieces on a mini-LP made in 1980), the rest is instrumental or sung by the group

members. When performing at a contest she rents the typical Huaraz clothing: various skirts, a hat, a "llikla" (carrying cloth), and earrings. She does not perform in the taverns, since this is not considered appropriate for a woman.

"Hermanos del Ande", the group of which she is the vocalist, play mostly music from Huaraz (80%), in contrast to the other folk music groups that perform in the taverns.

Many of the musicians and dancers interviewed may be seen and heard in the slide show and the film. (see Appendix 1)

Resuming the data given in chart 5, a number of remarks will now be made.

Individual musicians or small groups of musicians and dancers are most common in the Callejón de Huaylas; even the bandas are relatively small. Most of the musicians play various instruments, at times in different orchestras (like the caja & roncadora player who also plays the violin to accompany the Incaicos during the festival of Huaylas, and the tuba in a banda), at times within the same group, as the mandolin player who also plays the quena in a string orchestra, or the tavern groups, whose members may master three or more instruments.

Most of the groups have a director, often someone who founded the group or a longtime member with a lot of experience and authority. He often cues the other musicians ("da el tono"), by starting a new piece of music.

Often, the proceedings of a group are recorded in a "libro de actas", which is legalized by the judge of the primary court of claims of the province. In this book of acts, the founding date and other pertinent data are written down, such as the names of the members of the group, the members of the governing council, proceedings of meetings, etc. Membership of the groups may fluctuate, due to mobility of the musicians who go away for months to work elsewhere.

The ages range from 11 to 65, but most of the musicians and dancers are between 20 and 50 years old. The youngest performers are to be found in the folk music groups, followed by the string orchestras and the bandas. The oldest performers are those of the traditional groups. Young men often prefer to join more modern groups like string orchestras or bandas. The level of education of the older members of the traditional groups and the bandas is low: many of them do not have more than three years of elementary school, which used to be the minimum required by law. The younger people often have completed their elementary education, and many members of string orchestras have completed secondary school. The members of the folk music groups are generally well-educated.

Almost all the performers are part-time musicians and dancers. In daily life, most of them are farmers who earn some money by being a carpenter, construction worker, shopkeeper, driver, etc. or by migrating to the coast for a few months each year. They are Indians or Cholos. The members of the folk music groups are predominantly Mestizos with white-collar professions.

The amount of money earned by the musicians and dancers varies: the more traditional performers earn less than the more modern ones, and well-known performers earn more than less-known ones. Still, they generally earn at least the daily wage (1,000 soles at the time), or more, and are treated well by their sponsors. Almost all performers, except the folk music groups, are fed and housed for the duration of their stay, and their fare is paid. At some occasions, however, musicians or dancers perform free of charge out of devotion to a patron saint, like the traditional dance groups, or out of political solidarity with the peasants, as is the case with some of the "engaged" folk music groups.

The musicians are usually dressed in everyday clothes, including a poncho, but the folk music groups wear folkloristic clothes based on the peasant-type clothing of the Callejón de Huaylas. The more professional bandas wear suits or military uniforms.

The more traditional musicians and dancers perform only the vernacular

repertoire, with an occasional Creole or international piece, whereas the more modern performers like the string orchestras and the bandas play Creole and international music as well. The folkloristic music played by the tavern groups is vernacular, Creole, and international music adapted to be performed on stage, in a different context. For the Indians and the Cholos music is a part of their cultural heritage and identity, whereas for the Mestizos it is more a way of earning a living.

3.2.1: What does "music" mean?

Verbal behavior about music and dance generally consists of judgments of the performance. Standards of excellence and the expectations of the performers by others are measured by the number of pieces known; memory for words, music, and steps; tempo; voice quality; accuracy of rendition; etc. (see Merriam, 1964:114-115)

To give an insight into what "music" means to them and what purpose it serves, I will let some of the performers speak for themselves:

"It is an art of life that is composed by means of sounds."
(Es un arte de la vida que se compone mediante sonidos.)
(Pascual Ramirez)

"It is part of a person's life because with music moments of joy and nostalgia are lived. Music is a very elementary part of all social classes. There always is music, everywhere, it is a way of uniting people, to reunite people."
(Parte de la vida de una persona porque con la música se vive momentos de alegría y nostalgia. La música es una parte muy elemental en todas clases sociales. Siempre hay música, en cualquier sitio, es una forma de unir a personas, a reunir personas.)
(Fidencio Calvo)

"Huayno, I guess."
(Huayno será, pues)

(Domingo Jiménez, of "Hermanos Jiménez")

"It's a tune, a song, written by a human feeling: joy, sadness, harmony, melody."
(Es un tono, una canción puesto por un sentimiento humano: alegría, tristeza, armonía, melodía.)
(Delfín Muñoz, director of "Centro Musical Yungay")

"Music is an air that comes out; one could call it 'singing', it is like talking."
(La música es un aire que sale; se le puede decir "cantar", es como hablar.)
(Jesús García, director of Banda de Músicos "Juventud de Caraz")

"It is an art that communicates feeling. When one listens to music, one becomes sentimental or gay."
(Es un arte que da sentimiento. Cuando uno escucha la música, se pone sentimental o alegre.)
(José Fernandez, director Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina")

"An ordered succession of sounds that are pleasing to the ear."
(Una sucesión ordenada de sonidos que son agradables al oído.)
(José Antonio Salazar, of "Hermanos del Ande")

"Music is something that enlivens an environment, the art of life, the manifestation of the human being."
(Música es algo que alegre un ambiente, el arte de la vida, la manifestación del ser humano.)
(one of the musicians of "Alpamayo")

Some of the answers to the question why music is made, are the following:

"Because king David worshipped God with his harp. No one can live without music. When one is sad, music comforts us. After being angry, we rejoice with music."

(Porque el rey David adoraba a Dios con su arpa. Sin la música nadie no puede vivir. Mientras que uno esta triste, nos alegre la música. Después de la cólera, nos alegramos con la música.)
(Eloy Cano)

"The human being always needs [music] in his moments of sadness or trouble. Music cheers him up and makes him feel good. Music is a remembrance, with its help you have conquered a wife, and that is why, when time goes by, it reminds you, even makes you cry."
(El ser humano siempre necesita en sus momentos de tristeza o de pena. Se consuele y se alegre con una música. La música es un recuerdo, a raíz de una música has conquistado una esposa, y entonces al tiempo, a los años, te hace recordar, hasta llorar.)
(César Yslado)

"A transmission of human feelings, because music is the universal language."
(Una transmisión de los sentimientos humanos, porque la música es el idioma universal.)
(Delfín Muñoz, director "Centro Musical Yungay")

"To have fun, out of habit, out of devotion to the saint."
(Para divertirse, por costumbre, por devoción a la imagen.)
(José Fernandez, director Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina")

"Music exists because the sponsors solicit us, so that people can dance and amuse themselves, for processions."
(La música existe, porque los mayordomos nos solicitan, para que bailen, para que se distraigan, para procesiones.)
(Jesús García, director of Banda de Músicos "Juventud de Caraz")

"The expression of the way of life of a community finds its repercussion in the music: beauty of the landscape, love."
(La expresión del modo de vida de una comunidad se repercute en la música: belleza del paisaje, amor.)
(José Antonio Salazar, of "Los Hermanos del Ande")

"Music serves to make the soul more sensible, to give a message to the people. Music has artistic, political and commercial purposes."

(La música sirve para sensibilizar el alma, para dar un mensaje al pueblo. La música tiene fines artísticos, políticos, y comerciales.)
(a member of the group "Alpamayo")

Some of the traditional performers, like Narciso Morales and the Shaqsha dancers of Yungay, did not give specific answers to the questions concerning the how and why of music, and gave answers like "people ask us to play, they contract us", and Lorenzo Piscoche said "the instruments we play" when asked what music meant to him. This may be related to the fact that they have no formal knowledge of music. Some of the other answers like that of José Antonio Salazar, sound like textbook definitions, which may be due to the fact that he is a teacher and has some musical formation.

Music and dance are performed mostly for fun and out of devotion to a particular Saint or Virgin. Here again, José Antonio Salazar gives a significant answer: "The expression of the way of life of a community finds its repercussion in the music." Music also serves to unite people, according to Fidencio Calvo. These feelings are communicated through music, since it is "the universal language" (Delfín Muñoz), and "Music serves to give a message to the people" (member of the "Alpamayo" group). Thus, judging from what the performers themselves say about their music, one may conclude that it serves to communicate emotions and to express a feeling of togetherness.

Music is an elusive concept that is difficult to put into words, and often translated into terms of emotion produced by the performers or felt by the public. This is especially noticeable when questions like "what does music mean to you?", "why do you dance?", or "why do you wear a mask?" are asked. When the answer to these questions is an almost predictable "Así es la costumbre" (Such is our custom), 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 concepts held about music and accepted as cultural facts by individuals and groups of individuals underlie both the sounds of music and the attitudes and values associated with them. But concepts alone do not produce music; they must be translated into various kinds of behavior which result in culturally acceptable music sound."
(Merriam, 1964:103)

3.2.2: How are the performing arts learned?

"In viewing music sound as the end result of a dynamic process, we have pointed out that underlying concepts lead to actual behavior which in turn shapes structure and presentation. It is obvious, however, that concepts and behaviors 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." (Merriam, 1964:145)

In the Callejón de Huaylas, the members of music and dance groups generally learn from older and more experienced performers, by imitation and through formal teaching. One becomes a performer by choice, because one has a certain talent for it, "por afición" as they themselves put it, and not because it is a hereditary occupation. The fact that others in the family or in the neighborhood are performers, may stimulate one to become a performer also.

Musicians often come from musical families: Fidencio Calvo of Huaylas, who is considered a good harpist in the so-called Oyón style, learned from his father; his two brothers Juan and Rodolfo also play the harp. Cirilo Morales also belongs to a musical family: he plays the harp (which he learned from Fidencio Calvo), whereas his father Isidoro and his uncle Narciso are well-known caja & roncadora players. Aurelio Sánchez and three of his sons play in the Banda "Juventud de

Nuevo Yungay", of which Aurelio is the director. The caja & roncadora group "Hermanos Jiménez" is made up of three brothers, and three pairs of brothers perform with the string orchestra "Los Aventureros de Tumpa": Alvino and Donato Chavez, Victorio and Teodoro Cashpa, and Julio and Miguel Garay.

On the other hand, Eloy Cano learned to play the harp from an established musician who was not related to him, and the children of Lorenzo Piscoche show no inclination to become performers, except one of his small daughters who likes to sing.

In the Callejón de Huaylas, performers are not formed at a very early age, like in some other cultures, maybe because many of the instruments are too large or too heavy. Traditional dance groups often have two young boys that dance at the tail end of the two rows and thus learn by imitating the older dancers. Young boys also occasionally play rhythmic banda instruments like the güiro, the cymbals, or the snare drum. Also, female vocalists of the string orchestra are often quite young.

Bandas are taught music notation by especially engaged music teachers, like Lauro Ramirez from Huaraz and César Escudero from Caraz, who are composers as well. These teachers earn two or three times the daily wage and are housed and fed by the banda members for the duration of their stay, which lasts from two to seven days. They teach religious marches, as well as Creole and international pieces, and bring the sheet music with them. For instance, Lauro Ramirez is a music teacher in Huaraz, and also teaches or has taught a number of bandas, some of which have an excellent reputation, like "Sol Andino" from Huanja/ Huaraz. He has about 125 compositions to his name: 25 religious marches, 25 military marches, 30 waltzes, 20 polkas, 10 marineras, 10 huaynos and 5 pasacalles; the majority of his compositions are, therefore, of the Creole genre. He copies musical scores on request; banda directors choose one or more pieces from his repertoire, which he copies at 100 soles a sheet, so that a score consisting of 7 parts costs 700 soles. He gets 2,000 soles a day for teaching, which includes the written-out score of the piece(s) he teaches at that time.

Ramirez himself is an autodidact, musically speaking (he has secondary schooling), but he plays all of the banda instruments because, as he puts it, "in order to direct, a maestro has to master all the instruments, so that the musicians respect him". First, groups of instruments practice separately, after which they get together to coordinate and harmonize their parts. A musical piece can be learnt in one day. Ramirez considers those who play by ear amateurs and those who have studied music professionals. Most of the bandas he taught are a mix of amateurs and professionals; "Sol Andino" is an example of a mostly professional banda. Apart from the musical aspects, the social aspects of music teaching are very important: musicians have to get along well and appreciate one another, and have to behave in a friendly and respectful manner towards listeners and fellow musicians alike.

Some of the musicians of string orchestras also know how to read music, which they learned by themselves and not from an instructor. The other musicians generally do not read music.

"The questions which surround the learning of music are very important ones, for they provide us with a knowledge of how music is produced, as well as an understanding of techniques, agents, and content of music education in a given society. It is through the learning process that the relationship between product and concept is established via the response of the musician to the criticism of his performance by his listeners. Musicianship is maintained through practicing, and this too is a form of continuing learning which allows the musician to follow the perfection of his craft as well as to change his concepts of music performance through time." (Merriam,1964:161)

3.2.3: Are the performers amateurs or professionals?

The performers of the Callejón de Huaylas are specialists: some may be considered professionals because their abilities are greater than

those of others, because they have (some) knowledge of music theory, and because they earn (some) money. They are accepted by society as musicians and dancers. Their role is an achieved one, since they perform through individual effort and talent, learning by imitation and more formal teaching, and not through inheritance. None of them is a full-time performer.

On the one hand there are the rural Indians and Cholos that perform mostly at religious events and receive little money; on the other hand there are the urban Cholos and Mestizos that perform mostly at secular events and earn considerably more.

There are no great differences in musical skill among the more traditional musicians and dancers, although some are considered better than others. The flute and drum players all have about the same repertoire, as do the harpists, harp and violin duos, and the string orchestras. 3)

Some musicians consider themselves amateurs ("aficionados"), whereas others say that they are professionals ("profesionales"). The main criteria that determine whether one is an amateur or a professional musician are:

Amateur	Professional
-music for fun, as a hobby;	-music as a career;
-music played by ear, no knowledge of music notation;	-knowledge of written music, composition;
-no records made.	-records made.

Because they do not have a profound knowledge of written music and composition, the majority of the musicians of the Callejón de Huaylas consider themselves amateurs. Some that are well-known and have made records consider themselves professionals.

The shift from amateur to professional may be observed especially with the bandas, where a distinction can be made between urban and rural bandas regarding instruments used, repertoire, knowledge of music, and clothing.

On one extreme the (almost) professional banda may be placed: it is urban, plays mainly in the towns along the highway, and is invited to prestigious religious festivals such as the patron saint festivals of Huaylas or Carhuaz, and the Holy Week in Huaraz. They have a larger repertoire, including cumbias and salsa music, and a larger number of musicians, who have a knowledge of music and wear sophisticated clothes like blazers, suits, or military uniforms. It is rather expensive to engage this type of banda. Examples of these bandas are those from Huaraz and surroundings like "Flor Andina", and urban bandas like "Juventud de Nuevo Yungay".

On the other extreme is the non-professional banda: it is rural, and performs mainly in a rural context. The repertoire consists of huaynos, pasacalles, and an occasional waltz or marinera. There are less musicians, and often no saxophones or trombones. They cannot read music, play their music by heart, and wear everyday clothes when performing. They do not earn as much as the more professional bandas. An example is the banda "Brisas del Huascarán" from Tumpa.

It may, therefore, be said that among the bandas there are differences between more traditional and more modern ones, which can be measured by the abovementioned criteria.

The bandas may be viewed as a tendency to modernize: more money, more organization, and a better knowledge of music is necessary. There are almost no bandas in the Cordillera Negra, whereas the Cordillera Blanca has a large number of them. This may be due to the fact that the Cordillera Blanca is in a better economic position than the Cordillera Negra because it has a steady supply of water from the glaciers, whereas the Cordillera Negra is dependent on rainwater.

Another type of difference can be noted in the case of musical groups like string orchestras and bandas that can be found in Lima or other coastal towns, where they have been formed with migrants from the Callejón de Huaylas. These groups are generally more sophisticated, as far as instruments, repertoire, and clothing are concerned. For instance, when they performed in Yungay, the Gorrión Andino and the Princesita de Yungay were accompanied by "Brisas del Hualcan", a small string orchestra featuring an accordion (but no harp). The "Lira Huaylina" and "Atusparia", large string orchestras, also have

accordions. All of them reside in Lima, play vernacular as well as Creole pieces, are well-known, and have made records. An example of a banda is "Flor del Rio Santa" from Paramonga on the coast, which features two helicons and well-dressed musicians.

Whether an individual musician or a group has been recorded is also an indication of the degree of professionalism. Of some of the musicians and groups records have been made, either a single with two pieces, a mini-longplay with six pieces, or a longplay with twelve pieces.

The traditional caja & roncadora group "Hermanos Jiménez" has recorded a mini-longplay. Singles have been recorded by Eloy Cano (2), Pascual Ramirez (1 as a solo harpist, 9 with the string orchestra "Corazón de Ancash"), César Yslado (2), and "Los Shaqshas de Yungay" (1). String orchestras have recorded singles: "Los Aventureros de Tumpa" (2), and "Centro Musical Yungay" (2); the latter also recorded a mini-longplay. Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina" and Banda "Juventud de Carhuaz" made mini-longplays, and Banda Orquesta "Flor del Rio Santa" a longplay. Of the folk music groups, "Hermanos del Ande" made a mini-longplay, and "Kusy Chasky" two singles and a longplay.

Many of the more traditional recordings on singles were on the "Chasqui" label, of a record shop owned by Alejandro Zurita in Lima. The record shop or the musicians themselves pay for the hire of the recording studio, whereafter the records are pressed and put on sale. The musicians often have to buy a certain quantity of records themselves. In the case of a well-known or promising musician, a record producer will pay the musician and commercialize the record himself, thereby keeping the copyrights. The musicians are supposed to receive royalties after a certain amount of records is sold, but this often does not happen.

Some records are made by what Zurita calls "terceros": third parties who pay for the hire of a recording studio and the pressing of the records, whereafter they distribute them, often illegally.

Since records have to be promoted, the record shop or producer has to either pay a disk-jockey to play them on the radio, or hire time on the radio himself. Sales of regional music have declined, due to the

fact that since Belaúnde became president, this type of music is broadcast less than before and at less favorable hours. (see chapter 5.1)

The quality of the recordings is generally not very good, with the exception of (inter)national labels such as Sono-Radio, Virrey, and others, that record the well-known performers.

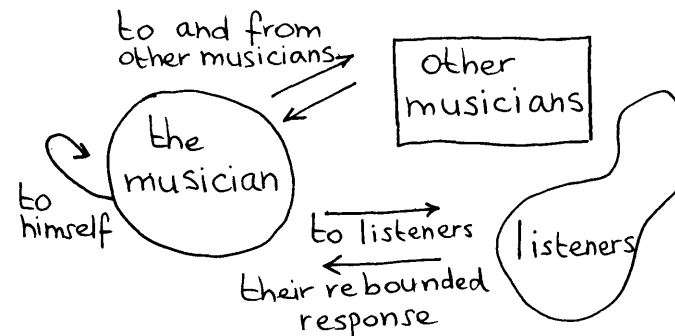
Some of the musicians are registered as professional performers with folkloristic syndicates or the National Institute of Culture or its Ancash branch in Huaraz, which registers performers since 1980.

By making records that are broadcast on the radio and by registering with syndicates, the performers of the Callejón de Huaylas are integrated into the national context. (see chapter 5) These are some of the factors that contribute to change, as indicated in the specific research questions under d) in chapter 1.1.

3.3: The performers and their public

The dynamics of musical activity involve the performers, the public, and a musical event. The performers and their public are the subject of this chapter; the musical events are discussed in chapter 4.

Reck drew a "possible map of communication and feedback in musical performance", which illustrates these relationships:



(Reck, 1977:331)

The musicians and dancers perform not only because they like to show people a good time or out of economic necessity, but also because their presence is needed to underline the specificity of the events, be they secular or religious. The importance of music and dance shows in the number of occasions when they are considered an essential part of the event and in the number of musical groups that exist in the Callejón de Huaylas.

According to the performers interviewed, a musical group is considered good when the musicians are well-organized and know their music. They

have to master their instruments, have a large repertoire, be able to play difficult music, and have their own style. They have to respect the music, be disciplined, get along well with the other musicians, and have pleasant ways.

Dance groups are considered good when the dancers know different types of dances, are agile, and teach others.

Individual musicians like "Hermanos Jiménez", César Yslado, Pascual Ramirez, Eloy Cano, and Melicio Luna, as well as the string orchestra "Centro Musical Yungay" and the Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina" are among the best of the Callejón de Huaylas, I was told by various informants, and serve as example for young musicians. In the end, it is the public that decides: a good musician, musical group or dance group will be in demand and will be paid and treated well.

Some performers show what is called "deviant behavior": they drink more than the average person and often have marital problems. This is not so unexpected, since at musical events they are the center of attention, and amply provided with drink by sponsors and onlookers. They are often away from home for days at a time. I once heard an older musician warning a young man, saying that he should think hard before deciding to become a musician, since he would be a man "without a home".

Sponsors are very important, since they are, as it were, a hyphen between the performers and the public. They pay part of the expenses of an event, such as mass, fireworks, musicians, dancers, etc. They are often aided by relatives or compadres (see chapter 4.2.1.1, the festival of Carhuaz, for a more detailed description). Most sponsors volunteer for the position a year in advance, to solicit or give thanks for some spiritual help, but also to increase their standing in the community. This also shows in the types of ensembles they engage: a banda is more prestigious than a traditional group. The importance of sponsors was voiced by Jesús García, director of the Banda de Músicos "Juventud de Caraz", when he said "Music exists because the sponsors solicit us, so that people can dance and amuse themselves, and for processions." Without sponsors, there are no festivals.

Just as the musician is distinguished by certain kinds of social behavior, so is his audience. For example, Indian sponsors will engage a caja & roncadora player, whereas Mestizo sponsors are more likely to engage a banda or a conjunto tropical. There generally is a close relationship between the performers and their public: they live and work in the same area, attend the same festivals, and are in regular contact with each other. The public participates in the music in various ways: dancing to the music, singing along, clapping hands or drumming on the resonator of the harp, in the case of secular events, and by walking along solemnly or singing hymns in the case of religious events.

This face-to-face type of interaction between performers and audience does not exist in the folkloristic genres of music and dance, which take place mostly on stage, during contests and in taverns. Music and dance that move from the local to the national (and even international) context inevitably undergo changes. Contrary to the plastic arts, which may be transmitted without direct contact between the maker and the receiver, the performing arts of music and dance are ephemeral: a direct relationship between maker and receiver is essential. The event serves as a transmitter of the music and dance from the performers to the public. This mutual dependence is inherent in the performing arts. Music and dance are the only "arts" the Indian peasants have, since plastic arts like painting and sculpting hardly exist. For them, they are not a tool for political propaganda, but a way to participate in community life.

In an article entitled "Folklore and cultural pluralism", Roger Abrahams and Susan Kalçik (1978:231) point out that rather than discussing what is "folklore" and what is not, we should become concerned with a description of the change in performer-audience relationship and in setting and how these changes affect the form and content of the performance. This will be discussed in more detail in chapters 4 and 5.

After having discussed the social position of the performers: the role they play and the status they hold, how they see themselves and how others see them, two case studies will be presented, in order to give

a more complete picture of some of the performers. These case studies present the performers in their daily life, in their own social context. One of them is of an individual performer, Lorenzo Piscoche, whereas the other deals with the musicians of the village of Tumpa.

3.4: Close-ups of some of the performers

3.4.1: Lorenzo Piscoche

I met Lorenzo for the first time in February 1977, when he was one of two caja & roncadora players that performed during Carnival in Ranrahirca, where I was staying at the time. The sponsors were friends of mine and invited me for a meal, and I took the opportunity to talk to the musicians. Lorenzo, a very friendly man who loves to talk about his music, invited me to his home, an invitation I gladly accepted, since I knew very little about the music then. On March 11 I travelled to Caraz to spend the day with Lorenzo and his family. He showed me his musical instruments, giving me technical information as well as the context in which they are used; it was obvious that he loved his music and enjoyed talking about it. When I went back on March 20, he had invited the other members of a Shaqsha group of which he is the director. He and his brother Cirilo played the chiska, together with a violin and a tinya. At that time, I recorded the music of Lorenzo as a soloist and as a member of a Shaqsha group, and took photographs.

Needless to say, Lorenzo was one of the first musicians I visited when I started the "official" fieldwork in June 1980; he has been a patient and valuable informant ever since. One thing in particular he likes to talk about is the "arranque condor", the ritual killing of a condor, now forbidden by the Peruvian government. (See chapter 4.2.1.2) This ritual was carried out every year in the village where he was born, and he knows the ritual and the music that is related with the various stages quite well. Considering that it is not carried out any more, his information is quite unique. Since I never had an occasion to be present at an arranque condor, he assembled a group of musicians in Caraz to enable me to record this particular type of music.

Lorenzo and his brother Cirilo played the flauta, with Lorenzo alternating flauta and clarín, accompanied by a caja.

(sound-selection no.10)

Lorenzo is best known for being a caja & roncadora player. He either plays alone or in pairs, together with Victor Mejía from Huinó (district of Mato in the province of Huaylas) or Pedro Espinoza from Huaylas. Most of his contracts are at the time of Carnival, since the caja & roncadora is a typical Carnival instrument. He also plays at patron saint festivals, "when there is no money for a banda", as he puts it. His repertoire consists of 20-30 huaynos, 4-5 pasacalles and 1 pasodoble, and is, therefore, almost entirely vernacular.

I recorded and photographed Lorenzo demonstrating various instruments, like the caja & roncadora, caja & huanquilla, caja & rayán, and some of the flutes (roncadora, rayán, huanquilla, flauta).

(photographs no.72-85;sound-selections no.3,5,10)

Lorenzo, born in 1933, is originally from the hamlet of Marka (meaning "village" in Quechua) in the district of Pueblo Libre, province of Huaylas. His brother Cirilo still lives there, and comes down to the town of Caraz regularly, to visit Lorenzo who lives there with his family and to go to the market. They have a half-brother, Roberto, who plays the clarinet in a banda. Lorenzo and Cirilo also play the chiska in the folkloristic group "La Llama de Huaylas". When performing, they are dressed in a white shirt, dark blue homespun trousers, sandals, a dark blue waistcoat, the typical Caraz knit sleeves with black & white geometric patterns, a coca-bag, and a white or red felt hat. On other occasions, Lorenzo wears modern clothing, e.g. a light shirt, dark pants, and a cap or a straw hat.

Lorenzo, his wife Jacinta, and his children Walter (16), Rosvaldo (14), Zoila (9) and Mercedes ("Mechi")(7) live in a new neighborhood of Caraz, in a house he built little by little. An 18-year-old son goes to school in Lima.

Jacinta does the cooking, the washing, and takes the animals (a couple of sheep, pigs, and a donkey) to pasture. When the girls have time, they help their mother with the cooking, or take the animals to pasture, taking advantage of the situation to play, making a

makeshift swing out of a piece of rope. Jacinta also is a healer, and I once saw her treat the broken arm of a boy.

Lorenzo's main source of income is selling ice cream on the plaza and on the market of Caraz, or at festivals in the area, carrying the ice cream in a styrofoam box so that it won't melt. In the morning, before going on his ice vendor's rounds, he works on his small plot of land where he grows corn and vegetables. He earns between 1,500 and 2,000 soles a day plus fare, food and drink for playing the caja & roncadora, which he generally does in the provinces of Yungay and Huaylas. When playing chiska or other traditional instruments to accompany "La Llama de Huaylas", he earns 1,000 soles a day. He travelled as far as Trujillo, Lima and Arequipa with this group, to perform at festivals or contests. He also knows how to play the chiska and the tinya for accompanying Shaqsha and Shaqapa dancers. He only has two years of elementary school, "because I repeated classes often", as he says. He works hard, and cares for his family as best he can.

Unlike some other performers, Lorenzo does not exhibit the deviant behavior that seems to be rather common with musicians. He is a hard and honest worker and a good family man who does not drink or have affairs, and who takes his music seriously, as we shall see.

Lorenzo Piscoche is a good example of a traditional musician: he plays all of the traditional instruments such as the caja & roncadora, caja & rayán, caja & huanquilla, tinya, chiska, flauta, quena, and clarín. He also knows how to play stringed instruments like the mandolin and the violin, but I never heard him perform on them. He does not sing. He learned to play the flauta and the chiska at the age of 12, the mandolin and the violin at 15, and the caja & roncadora at 18, by listening to other musicians. Nowadays, he also learns from listening to the radio or records. When I asked him to play a scale on the roncadora, he could not comply, since he does not conceive of music in an ascending or descending scale, but only in terms of a melody. For Lorenzo, music depends heavily upon its context, e.g. the melody, and cannot be analyzed as an objective entity.

He makes many of the instruments himself, such as cajas, tinyas, huanquillas, chiskas, and flautas. The other instruments he uses are bought in the neighboring districts of Mato, Yungay, and Pueblo Libre. His son Rosvaldo makes quenenas out of aluminium or plastic, and his brother Cirilo also makes flutes of different types. (see chapter 2.2.2)

He does not play music to make a living, but because he likes it, and because people come and ask him to. He considers himself an amateur, because he likes to play music but doesn't know music notation or how to compose.

I recorded and photographed Lorenzo at various occasions. During Carnival of 1981 he played at different "montes", adorned trees around which Carnival centers: that of Nueva Victoria/Caraz, and that of Acobamba/Yungay. In Nueva Victoria he played alone, accompanying the people that cut down the tree, brought it to the plaza and put it up again to decorate it. In Acobamba he formed a duo with Victor Mejía for the same purpose. During a serenade on the eve of the Political Creation of the province of Huaylas, in 1980, Lorenzo played caja & roncadora; in 1981, he was not invited. In 1980, he participated in a contest at the occasion of the 61st anniversary of the Republican Guard of Caraz, together with a harpist and three string orchestras; he finished last. This is not so much due to his not playing well as it is to the Mestizo tastes of the inhabitants of Caraz, who possibly find the caja & roncadora too "rural".

When I asked him what "music" means to him, he answered: "The instruments that are played" (Los instrumentos que tocan). The answer to my question why he plays music was the following: "People are accustomed to have music in every hamlet. It is to divert oneself, to give a fiesta. One is gay with this music, one dances and drinks. Just listening to a huayno one feels like dancing." (La gente se ha acostumbrado tener la música en cada estancia. Es para divertirse, se pasa una fiesta. Estas alegre con esta música, bailas y chupas. Un huayno por si da ganas de bailar.)

Although Lorenzo might be considered a Cholo, he still has many

Indian traits, like speaking Quechua and playing traditional music. His children already behave in a much more urban fashion. He watches their education closely, goes to parents' evenings, and makes sure the children do their homework.

The day before I left for Europe I was invited to his house for a farewell meal of "shaqwe" (green pea soup) and "cuye picante" (fried guinea pig and potatoes with a sauce of hot peppers). I saw a harp standing in the corner of a room. When asked what the harp was doing there, he said that it belonged to one of the musicians of a string orchestra in which he is going to play the violin. Since there is a tendency to appreciate the more modern string orchestras more than the traditional music groups, it would seem that he is shifting from a more traditional to a more modern type of music, in order to have a broader base as a musician.

It will be very interesting to see what direction Lorenzo's musical activities will take: will he play the flutes and drums less, in favor of the string orchestra, and will he change his repertoire?

3.4.2: The performers of Tumpa

Just as Lorenzo Piscoche is a fairly representative traditional musician, Tumpa is an example of a representative village. Insofar as the variety of musical groups is concerned, it is a good illustration of the importance of music in the Callejón de Huaylas.

A number of musicians and dancers will be described separately, against the backdrop of Tumpa as a socioeconomic unit, followed by a description of the events during which the music and dance have been observed by me in their social context.

Tumpa is a village six kilometers above Mancos, in the district of Yungay, at an altitude of 2,850 meters. It lies at the foot of the Huascarán glacier, and the Huandoy, Huascarán and Hualcan glaciers can all be seen from the plaza of Tumpa, a magnificent sight at sunset! A starting camp for mountain climbers is situated in nearby Musho, and tourists pass through the area on their treks

through the foothills.

I made Tumpa's acquaintance in 1977 during a trip on horseback with Maminka, a friend who had been a teacher there. We were invited for a meal by Julia, at whose wedding Maminka had been madrina. At that time, Julia and her husband Felix had two young children. Since I wanted to know more about life in an Indian village, I asked if I could spend a week with them, to which they agreed. In 1980 I returned to Tumpa and stayed with Julia and Felix again. Their youngest child had died from gastroenteritis, but they had had a new baby in the meantime. Their adobe house, which was partly built in 1977, was now finished and the wall next to the "street" was coated in a light green paint. Room was made for me in the attic, where a bed and a small table were put next to the supply of maize and the guinea pigs.

Felix has a small communal plot which he works, and also works for others at times. Julia works on the land or takes the animals out to pasture, and takes care of the children and the household. Rather than pay for my stay, I brought some presents and bought bread, sugar, eggs, etc. in Tumpa.

Later on, I also stayed with Donato, his wife Fortunata and their two small children. Donato plays the mandolin in the string orchestra "Los Aventureros de Tumpa". Besides having a plot of communal land which they work, Donato and Fortunata have a small grocery shop in the frontroom of their house. Also, they go to the coast to pick cotton from April to June. (photographs no.86,87) They invited me to stay in their house during the festival of Saint Eduwigis, since Donato and his brother Alvino were both going to be Capitanes and, therefore, sponsors of the fiesta. Needless to say that I welcomed the occasion to observe the daily life of a musician at close quarters.

Tumpa is an officially recognized Indian (now Peasant) Community since 1957. The population, about 1,560 in 1981 according to one of the local authorities, consists mainly of Quechua-speaking Indian peasants. Tumpa was not affected by the land reform, since it was

owned by the community from 1715 on, and never was a hacienda or publicly owned land. Land ownership is communal, and the farmers have from 1,5 to 3 has. of land, of which they have usufruct but which they consider their property. They grow corn, potatoes, wheat, quinoa, squash, oca, peas, and beans on these small plots for their own consumption, selling any surplus they may have to coastal towns like Chimbote, or on the market in Mancos. Since 1964, 360 has. of communal land are used for the plantation of eucalyptus trees, which are cut and sold to outsiders, mainly for housing construction. The Forest Department of the Ministry of Agriculture authorizes the amount of trees to be cut, and trucks are rented to take them out of Tumpa. The money earned is spent on communal projects, and the workers from Tumpa are paid 1,000 soles a day, the going rate for day labor. Those that cannot subsist working on their own land and/or on the communal eucalyptus plantation, go to the coast to pick cotton, to the guano islands, or to Lima to work in housing construction, etc.

Tumpa is divided into four barrios: barrio Centro, barrio San Antonio, barrio Ancash, and barrio Shocosh, each with its own committee: a president, secretary, treasurer, and trustees, as well as a proportional number of workers ("braceros") in charge of communal projects. The administrative council consists of a lieutenant governor ("teniente gobernador"), a municipal agent ("agente municipal"), a petty mayor ("alcalde pedáneo"), a president of the community, a president of vigilance, and a justice of the peace. These "cargoes" (tasks) are fulfilled for one or two years.

A primary and a secondary school exist in Tumpa, and a kindergarten is being built. There also is a workshop ("Centro de Capacitación Laboral"), where adults can learn various manual trades. When a number of these public works were inaugurated by the chief of ORDENOR-Centro, an amount of 446,985 soles (about \$1,300) was handed over in name of the Embassy of the Netherlands for the purchase of electricity-generating equipment. (La Prensa, February 3, 1981)

There is a medical post manned by a medical assistant, visited from time to time by a team of doctors and nurses as part of a program to combat certain diseases such as the malarialike "verruqa".

When the situation calls for it, a battery-operated public address system called "Radio Tumpa" (a set of strategically located loudspeakers) is put into use: public announcements are made and records are played. (It is not surprising that a number of songs of the repertoire of the local string orchestra comes from records played on this "radio")

Tumpa is considered a progressive community: it is taking steps to become an officially recognized district, for which it has to comply with certain conditions: a map of the area, information on population, existing infrastructure, etc. A system of piped water to about 200 houses in the center of Tumpa was constructed with communal labor in 1981, and steps have been taken to extend the electricity system from Mancos to Tumpa.

At the time of research there were a number of musical groups in Tumpa: three groups of chiska and tinya players, a string orchestra, a banda, and a group of young Atahuallpa dancers. Formal interviews were held with some of them (see chapter 3.2). The relation between the type of ensemble (more traditional or more modern) and the background of the musicians (their age, profession, and ethnic identity) was looked at more specifically.

Chiska and tinya players

One of these groups is the "Conjunto Cruzcoto" which consists of Toribio Vactación (64), chiska; Eugenio Palma (61), chiska; Marcelo Wakanka (45), tinya; and Francisco Vactación --son of Toribio--(39), tinya. They all come from a neighborhood called Cruzcoto in barrio Shocosh, are farmers, and have very little or no formal education. All speak Quechua, and the older members of the group do speak little or no Spanish. They accompany the Capitanes and the Shaqsha dancers during religious festivals like that of Saint Eduwigis and Saint Rose. Their repertoire consists of what they call "música típica", typical music of the area: pasacalles, huaynos for the Capitanes, and special music for the Saint: to greet her ("saludo"), to pray to her ("oración"), and to take leave from her ("despedida").

They generally earn 1,000 soles a day, plus food and lodging. (According to Lorenzo Piscoche, who listened to a recording I made of them, they should only play Capitán music and no Shaqsha music, for which they do not use the right instruments. "They get mixed up and do not play evenly.")

Of the old men playing chiska and tinya, one (Eugenio Palma) died at the time of research. Toribio Vactación, the "maestro" who taught the others was still alive when I left, but he told me that the young men of Tumpa do not want to learn how to play the chiska and tinya any more, so that this type of music will not be played eventually. (photographs no.88-90)

Caja & roncadora players

A neighbor of Eugenio Palma in Cruzcoto was said to play the caja & roncadora, but I never heard him perform. Two young boys from Cascapara in the Cordillera Negra were brought to Tumpa at various occasions by one of the schoolteachers who was from Cascapara: during the festival of Saint Eduwigis, for the closure of the school year, and at a fundraising for the Shocosh Sports Club at the time of the festival of Saint Peter. They played pasacalles, huaynos, huaylas (huayno-like music from the Center of Peru), as well as marineras, waltzes and cumbias, learned by listening to records and the radio. They also played traditional danzas and religious music, which, they said, are an inheritance from their forefathers and learned from older players.

Harp players

A harp player, Dionisio Mufon or "El Cholo desesperado" (the desperate Cholo), was observed during the patron saint festival of Carhuaz, when he was a member of a small group of harp, two violins, and a muted trumpet accompanying a group of Antihuanquilla dancers from Tauripampa in the Cordillera Negra. He was often away on business to Chimbote, and was not seen participating much in the daily life of Tumpa, although his family lives there and he fulfilled some important cargoes in the past.

String orchestras

Tumpa has a string orchestra called "Los Aventureros de Tumpa" (The Adventurers of Tumpa), consisting of about ten musicians and a female vocalist. Usually, there are one or two violins, two mandolins, two to three guitars, and a (plastic) quena. The violin player cues the other musicians by starting a musical piece. A young man who used to play the guitar with the group and was considered the best player, now lives in Lima, where he is a member of the orchestra "Vibración ancashina" (Ancash vibration), that performs at parties of Ancashinos in Lima. The orchestra was founded in 1969 by Teodoro Cashpa, and he and his brother Victorio, who is the director of the group now, are the only original players left. The members all signed a book of acts, in which meetings and engagements are noted.

Their repertoire consists mainly of what they call "música ancashina" (Ancash music): huaynos or chuscadas, huaylas, pasacalles, marineras and waltzes. None of them knows how to read music notation, and they consider themselves amateurs since they do not belong to a syndicate of musicians performing folkloristic music. They learn their music by listening to other groups and to records played on the public address system or on the radio.

Martha Granados, the vocalist, wrote words to several huaynos composed by her uncle, Enrique Mishti, the guitar player now living in Lima. Often, they are copied from existing ones.

Instruments are bought in Huaraz, Lima and Chimbote, and are owned by the musicians themselves.

The group has recorded two singles with three chuscadas (one of them composed by Victorio Cashpa) and one huayno, with Julia Ancashina as vocalist, on the Chasqui label. They were paid 2,000 soles plus 50 records for the first one, in 1969, and 1,500 soles and 45 records for the second one, in 1973. They never received any royalties. Nowadays, they say, the group would have to pay for the recording, and also buy the first 500 records themselves, a proposition which is too expensive for the group.

When performing they earn 1,000 soles per person a day, plus fare and food. The men wear light blue shirts and dark pants and hats, and the vocalist is dressed in a bright blouse and skirts. The group

performed in stadiums in Chimbote and Lima and were recognized by the Escuela Nacional de Artes Folklóricas (National School for Folkloristic Arts) in 1974; they received an identification card which enables them to perform wherever they want.

Many of the group members are related to each other: Donato (28, mandolin) and Alvino Chávez (24, quena and mandolin) are brothers; so are Teodoro (38, mandolin) and Victorio Cashpa (36, guitar), and Miguel (25, guitar) and Julio Garay (27, guitar). The quena player, Pedro Granados (25), is a half-uncle of Martha Granados, the vocalist (13). Moreover, Miguel and Julio Garay, Pedro Granados and Antonio Pana all have the second name (=mother's surname) "Shocosh", which makes them related through the female line.

Most of the members of the group are farmers with a primary education; Donato Chávez owns a small grocery store, and Alvino Chávez is a veterinary technician. Martha Granados attends secondary school in Tumpa.

(photographs no.91-94)

Bandas

The Banda Centro Musical "Brisas del Huascarán" consists of about 14 musicians who play bass drum, snare drum, cymbals, trumpets (2), clarinets (2), alto saxophones (3), tenor horn, tenor tubas (2), and bass tuba. The percussion instruments belong to the banda as an institution, while the other instruments are owned by the respective musicians, who were often lent money by the banda to purchase them. Often, three musicians (clarinet, trumpet, and tenor tuba) of the Banda "San Martín de Porres" from Chontayoq/Huaraz will reinforce the rather young and inexperienced banda, which was founded in 1979 with the aim of fomenting the national folklore, as mentioned in the book of acts.

The repertoire of the banda consists mainly of what they call typical music of Ancash and Peru: mostly huaynos, but also marineras, waltzes, an occasional cumbia or polka, and military and religious marches.

The banda earns between 30,000 and 35,000 soles a day, plus food. At times, the banda engages a music teacher from Huaraz for a week to teach them music notation and new repertoire of the Creole or

international genres. In 1981, he received 12,000 soles for a week, plus food and housing, and the group hopes to invite him again. They consider themselves semi-professionals, because they know how to read music but still need a music teacher. A good musician, for them, is one who knows how to read music notation. A good banda is well-disciplined and cultivates its music, making people happy.

In their first year, they performed at about 50 occasions in hamlets and towns of the Callejón de Huaylas, from Huaylas in the North to Recuay in the South, wearing daily clothes, since they do not have the money yet to buy special clothes like suits or uniforms. They performed in Tumpa at the festivals of Saint Eduwigis and Saint Peter.

Most of the members are farmers, but some have other occupations as well, like baker, construction worker, shopkeeper, etc. All are from Tumpa, and have (some) primary education.

Like in the case of the members of the string orchestra, many of the banda members are related: Bernardo (28, clarinet), Pablo (30, alto saxophone) and Máximo Pinashka (24, alto saxophone) are brothers, as are Mauro (24, tenor tuba) and Pedro Gonzales (18, snare drum and trumpet), and Nicolas (22, tenor tuba, alto saxophone), Emilio (24, cymbals, trumpet) and Eugenio Cashpa (26, tenor tuba). The bass drum player, Luis Waromo Vargas (34) is a paternal cousin ("primo hermano") of Juan Vargas Silva (26), who plays the clarinet, as are Romulo Calvo Gonzales (18) who plays cymbals, and Herminio Chávez Gonzales (36) who plays the trumpet. The latter is married to the sister of the bass tuba player, Arturo Caya Quero (31), a local baker. His son, Mario Chávez Caya (7), occasionally plays the güiro.

(photographs no.51-54)

At the time of research, a second banda, "Flor Huascarán" was reorganizing itself, after a period of inactivity. There is some rivalry between these bandas, who distrust each other and do not exchange musicians.

Atahualpa dancers

There is a group of about 7 young Atahualpa dancers, who danced for barrio San Antonio on the main day of Saint Eduwigis, accompanied by a 15-year-old violin player and his 11-year-old brother who played the tinya; the group is called "Paucar Andino", and exists since 1980. They were inspired by a group of Atahualpa dancers from Carhuaz that were invited to Tumpa in 1978 by the father of the musicians, and know only one sung verse, which is as follows:

Cuzco, Piura, Cajamarca, donde fué un reino
Reino poderoso del Inca Atahualpa
Sacsayhuaman, linda fortaleza
Linda fortaleza del Inca Atahualpa.

translation:

Cuzco, Piura, Cajamarca, where a kingdom existed
The powerful kingdom of the Inca Atahualpa
Sacsayhuaman, beautiful fortress
Beautiful fortress of the Inca Atahualpa.

They play in what is called the Cajamarca style: "bailes" (dances) and "peleas" (battles) for the dancers, and huaynos to be danced with bystanders.

(photographs no.97,98)

(I was told that there are Shaqsha and Mozo dancers in Tumpa, but never saw them perform. The Mozo dancers are accompanied by harpist Dionisio Mufon and a violin player, and the Shaqsha dancers by the "Cruzcoto" ensemble. Huanquilla dancers are said to come from the neighboring hamlet of Yanamito.)

There are a number of occasions, when the above mentioned music and dance groups perform in Tumpa, religious as well as secular, communal as well as private. Some religious and communal occasions like the festival of Saint Eduwigis, Saint Peter, and Christmas, will be described in more detail, below.

Most, if not all, of the musicians and dancers are Indian peasants or Cholos, native of Tumpa, speak Quechua as well as Spanish, and have a low level of formal education. Since the performers and the public live and work in the same area and are in close daily contact with each other, theirs is a face-to-face relationship.

Some of the musicians of Tumpa go to the coast for a few months a year, where they earn more money than in Tumpa. Needless to say, this temporary migration has its effects on the musical groups: many members may be away at one time (for instance the cotton picking season), so that they cannot rehearse; on the other hand, those who go away, often come back with cassette recorders and cassettes with music of the coast, bringing new types of music. It is not yet possible to say which influence this will have on the music of Tumpa in the future, but it is bound to become stronger as time (and migration) goes on. The subject of migration will be treated more extensively in chapter 5.1.

Saint Eduwigis

The patron saint of Tumpa is Saint Peter, celebrated on the 29th of June, but the festival of Saint Eduwigis (or "Shullurumi" in Quechua), celebrated from the 21st to the 23rd of February in 1981, seems to be more important. The date for this fiesta is set in consultation with the priest of Yungay, who told me that Saint Eduwigis is a Polish saint whose festival should be celebrated on October 16. He is thinking of suppressing the fiesta altogether, since he considers it pagan. It now coincides with Carnival, and the statue of the Saint gets talcum powder and water thrown at her at times, in the general abandon of Carnival.

There was no official program of the festival, but the course of events is generally known from previous festivals and by word of mouth. Various barrios have their groups of Capitanes: men on horseback, accompanied by musicians playing chiskas and tinyas, as well as one or two auquis on foot. These groups of musicians are engaged for the duration of the festival; the barrios that can afford it engage a banda.

(photographs no.95-103;sound-selection no.11)

The Capitanes are dressed in dark pants and white shirts with bibs or two embroidered bands adorned with coins, small mirrors and charms across their chests. They wear dark hats with crowns of paper flowers around them, and carry a wooden staff in their hands. Most of them have to buy new clothes, paper crowns, and bands, rent a horse and a staff, as well as feed one or more meals to the group of Capitanes they belong to, their musicians, and their guests. Moreover, every Capitán gives an amount of money that goes to pay the musicians, their auquis and the expenses of the priest. In the case of one of them, this amounted to the equivalent of about two months' daily wages, costs which were partially defrayed by selling his surplus maize. Some of the Capitanes engaged musicians privately, such as a duo of caja & roncadora players (plus a güiro) and a banda, whereas a group of young Atahuallpa dancers performed for free, out of devotion for the Saint.

The following chart shows the barrios and their Capitanes with musicians.

<u>Barrios</u>	<u>Capitanes</u>	<u>Musicians</u>	<u>Auquis</u>	<u>Other groups</u>
Shocosh	10	4	2	2 cajas & roncadoras
San Antonio	5	4	1	Atahuallpas with musicians
Shocosh/ San Antonio	2	3	2	Banda
Centro	8	4	2	

The fact that barrio Ancash did not have a group of Capitanes, and San Antonio and Shocosh were represented twice, may be due to a lack of sponsors for one (Ancash) and a surplus of sponsors for the other (San Antonio and Shocosh). Ancash is the smallest barrio, with 45 braceros versus 95 for barrio San Antonio, and only sponsored a banda once while I was there, when the Banda "San Martín de Porres" from Chontayoq/Huaraz was engaged for Christmas 1980. The Shocosh/San Antonio group had only two Capitanes, both influential men, who engaged a banda for two days. They may be asking a special favor from

the Saint, or be thanking her for favors granted. Also, being a Capitán brings a certain amount of prestige.

On the 21st, after breakfast, the groups of Capitanes made their entry on the plaza, accompanied by their chiska and tinya players, as well as the caja & roncadora players, the Atahuallpas, and the banda. After the last mass, at around one o'clock in the afternoon, a short procession took place, with women carrying the statue of the Saint. In the afternoon, the Saint was taken to her home in the eucalyptus plantation, about three kilometers up from the plaza. This is where she was born and where she grew up. Upon arrival there, she was greeted by men carrying wooden crosses decorated with flowers and put in a simple hut where she stayed for the night. Practically the whole village accompanied the Saint to her place of origin: the Capitanes on horseback, the musicians, and many others, throwing water and talcum powder at each other, drinking and shouting. Since this festival takes place in the rainy season, this is a cold and wet undertaking.

On the morning of the 22nd the Capitanes on horseback made their entry on the plaza, while the musicians played special Capitán music "to make the horses dance". In the afternoon, the Saint was taken back to the village again. A few blocks before reaching the plaza, the Capitanes for the next year made themselves known by mounting the horses of the current Capitanes till they reached the plaza. After a few turns around the plaza, accompanied by musicians playing huaynos and pasacalles (and not religious music as in a procession) the Saint was brought back to a small chapel, since the newly constructed church on the plaza does not have a door and she wouldn't be safe there.

On the last day of the festival the Saint was put back in her place (the "Colocación"), accompanied by tinyas and chiskas, whereafter everyone went home. During the following days, some Capitanes still had meals, and musicians were engaged with leftover money, or played

in return for food and drink.

Since there are not enough tinya and chiska players in Tumpa to accompany all the groups of Capitanes, some came from neighboring hamlets. The two young caja & roncadora players came from Cascapara, more or less opposite Tumpa in the Cordillera Negra.

The banda was engaged by the Capitanes of Shocosh/San Antonio, who shared in the cost of the banda: 40,000 soles for two days. The chiska and tinya players with their accompanying auquis earned from 6,000 to 10,000 soles for the three days of the festival, and the caja & roncadora players received 3,000 soles a day. Each Capitán contributed between 1,500 soles and 2,500 soles for the musicians, auquis, and the priest's expenses.

Both Chávez brothers, of "Los Aventureros de Tumpa", were Capitanes. This meant that they had to spend a considerable amount of money: their contribution towards musicians, auquis, and priest; buying new clothes; renting a horse; and providing their group of Capitanes with food and drink once during the festival. The food consisted of "chocho" (lupine beans mixed with parsley, onions and hot peppers which is eaten as a snack), chicken soup with noodles, and a main dish of (dried) fish, rabbit, or guinea pig served with rice and boiled potatoes and a sauce of hot peppers. Donato made a mix of canned fruit juice and rum, and served beer as well. This cost him a total of 50,000 soles, 30,000 soles of which was paid for out of earnings from a maize harvest. He engaged two caja & roncadora players on the 21st, and again on the 25th, when it was his day to feed the Capitanes. Alvino's expenses were about as high as Donato's.

Saint Peter

Saint Peter (San Pedro), celebrated on June 29, is the patron saint of Tumpa. In 1981 the main day was sponsored by the Society of Single People (4 women, 5 men), who engaged the banda "Brisas del Huascarán" at the "friendly" price of 38,000 soles, since one of the members of the Society was also a member of the banda. (The sponsors of June 30 had to pay 55,000 soles) Mass was held, followed

by a procession accompanied by the banda playing the recently learned march "Perú Adelante" (Onwards Peru) and religious marches like "Señor de la Soledad" (Our Lord of Solitude). New effigies of Corazón de Jesús (Heart of Jesus) and San Martín de Porres were carried, as well as the Virgin of Guadalupe, Saint James Major, and Saint Peter.

On the 30th of June, another set of (3) sponsors from Shocosh engaged the banda at 55,000 soles; two masses were held, and a procession with the images of Saint Eduwigis, Virgin of Guadalupe, Corazón de Jesús, San Martín de Porres, Saint James Major, and Saint Peter was held. The female effigies were carried by women, whereas the male effigies were carried by men.

Christmas

At Christmas 1980, a mass and procession of the image of Christ as a young boy ("Niño") were held, with the bandas "San Martín de Porres" from Chontayoq/Huaraz and "Los Recuerdos de Huashcao" from the neighboring hamlet of Huashcao. These were sponsored by people from barrios Ancash and Shocosh; each banda accompanied the image halfway around the plaza. At night, the "pastores" (shepherds): 14 girls, 14 boys, 2 "angels", and 2 auquis sang Christmas carols ("villancicos") and performed skits in the church.

Contest

In December 1980 a contest was organized, in which the following groups from neighboring hamlets participated:

- 1) Banda "Juventud San Lorenzo", from Yanamito (11 musicians)
- 2) Banda Musical "Los Recuerdos de Huashcao", from Huashcao (12 musicians)
- 3) Banda "Juventud Sol de Oro", from Cajapampa (14 musicians)
- 4) Banda Centro Musical "Huascarán", from Yanamito (14 musicians)
- 5) Banda "Los Claveles", from Huashcao (10 musicians)
- 6) String orchestra "Liber de Ancash", from Yanamito (2 violins, 2 guitars, and Julia Ancashina as vocalist)
- 7) Student string orchestra (Estudiantina) of the Tumpa secondary school (1 violin, 2 guitars, 1 mandolin, and vocalist).

The string orchestra "Los Aventureros de Tumpa", with Martha Granados as vocalist, performed but did not enter the contest, since they were

the hosts. All groups played one marinera and two huaynos, after which they were judged.

Concluding, it can be said that music and dance are an important part of the culture of Tumpa: there is a considerable number of musicians, and there is no festival without music and dance. The whole Indian and Cholo gamut of music and dance was witnessed at the various events, most of which were religious and communal. Although there seems to be a tendency towards more modern instruments like those used in the string orchestras and in the bandas, the repertoire still consists mainly of the vernacular huaynos and pasacalles, plus the highlander waltzes and marineras. Like in the case of Lorenzo Piscoche, it will be interesting to follow the developments, both sociocultural and musical, of a village in movement like Tumpa.

Now that we have talked about the performers and their relation to their music and dance, it is time to look at the context: what types of music and dance are performed when, and who participates?