

Chapter 4: The events celebrated in the Callejón de Huaylas

4.1: The meaning of festivals

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

Now that we have discussed the instruments, the ensembles, the repertoire of music and dance, the performers and their public, and have seen how a certain evolution from more traditional to more modern has taken place, it is time to deal with the events. These are closely related to the people of the Callejón de Huaylas, be they Indians, Cholos, or Mestizos, and show a development from traditional to modern as well, as will be seen in this chapter.

During festivals and other events the importance of music and dance becomes audible and visible, showing the close relationship that exists between the different groups living in the Callejón de Huaylas, the instruments used and the repertoire of music and dance performed by them during these events. The Indian peasants with their traditional instruments and repertoire of music and dance assist mostly at religious festivals in which the entire --generally rural-- community participates, whereas the Mestizos are present at religious and secular events in an urban setting, hear a different repertoire of music played on more modern instruments, and dance other types of dances.

After a theoretical discussion of the phenomenon "festival", those of the Callejón de Huaylas will be discussed, some of them in detail.

The term "fiesta" (festival) is used for various types of ceremonial gatherings, some public and some private, some oriented toward community goals and some oriented toward personal goals. William Mangin's definition of fiesta (in Smith, 1975:5), based on research he did in the Callejón de Huaylas, may be applied to the festivals there:

"(A fiesta is) any event marking the ritual observance of particular occasions which has as its features an organized personnel, a systematic and traditional structure and content, and a complex of ritual obligations. Eating and the drinking of alcoholic beverages are always part of a fiesta, while music and dancing are often included. It is not restricted to a single kind of event; but at the same time, it does not take place on any occasion; those events which are marked by a fiesta can be clearly enumerated. Further, any fiesta has a ritual character, in the sense that the fiesta and the event it marks are clearly, systematically, and inseparably associated, and that supernatural aid is expected as a result of the performance of prescribed behavior patterns."

The different types of festivals have a number of characteristics in common: they are time- and space-markers, and they are an expression of "communitas".

All over the world men mark out their calendars by means of festivals, which are a way of ordering time; the year's progress is marked by a succession of festivals. These may belong to the yearly cycle of economical activities (harvesting, cattle branding) or the yearly cycle of religious festivities.

These communal events, be they religious or secular, are "cyclic", e.g. they are repeated at certain intervals, like the religious festivals or the civic holidays. Contrary to this, the private events (except birthdays) are "linear" rites of transition that occur only once in a lifetime, like baptism, haircutting, wedding, and funeral. Whereas the communal events are large-group festivals that transcend

the boundaries of community, private events are limited participation festivals.

"The great majority of ceremonial occasions are 'rites of transition', which mark the crossing of boundaries between one social category and another." (Leach, 1976:35)

This is true not only of the private, once-in-a-lifetime events, but also of the communal events. The transitions are marked by ritual and the boundaries, which are artificial, are ambiguous and a source of conflict and anxiety. These boundaries exist in time as well as in space.

This creation of symbolic space was observed during most events, religious as well as secular. An example of these boundaries will be given when the festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas is discussed. The church and the adjoining plaza are sacred territory during the procession, and the plaza serves as a field of ritual action where the music, dance and gestures are a manifestation of the sacred.

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

Victor Turner (1969:96) calls this feeling of togetherness, this "rapprochement des individus", "communitas": "a 'moment in and out of time' which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition (in symbol if not always in language) of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties." Levi Strauss (1964:24) calls music --and myth-- instruments for the obliteration of time ("des machines à supprimer le temps"), which coincides rather nicely with Turner's

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

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

The Turners (1978:253-254), adapting Van Gennep's term "liminal" which describes a phase of ambiguity in passage rites, treat pilgrimage as a quasi-liminal phenomenon, in order to apply the term to industrialized societies, since it is a voluntary and not an obligatory social mechanism like passage rites. They mention a number of liminal phase attributes of pilgrimage such as: homogenization of status, *communitas*, ordeal, and reflection on the meaning of religious and cultural core-values. It would seem that this is equally true of processions.

Another way in which processions are much like pilgrimages is that both are associated with fairs and festivals : the religious is combined with the playful, worship and commerce are juxtaposed. In a festival situation, this "time out of time", dancers often find themselves in a reversed status: they wear masks and make fun of people, criticize them or frighten them.

Expressive behavior during festivals may be seen as the material representation of abstract ideas, or "ritual condensation", a term

used by Leach. By converting ideas, products of the mind, into material objects, he says, we give them relative permanence. "The participants in a ritual are sharing communicative experiences through many different sensory channels simultaneously: verbal, musical, choreographic, and aesthetic 'dimensions' are all likely to form components of the total message. When we take part in such a ritual we pick up all these messages at the same time and condense them into a single experience." (Leach, 1976:37-41)

The elements of a religious festival, which are forms of ritual to a greater or lesser extent, are: the mass, the religious procession, the fireworks, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, and the special commercial activities.

Secular festivals, like the Anniversary of the Political Creation of a district, are rituals as well: the religious image is replaced by the Peruvian flag, the national anthem is sung instead of a religious hymn, and there is a parade of schoolchildren instead of a procession. Music and dance are important elements during many events; they are the ritual condensation of ideas in the heads of the participants, and underline the feeling of togetherness.

4.2: The events celebrated in the Callejón de Huaylas

For the sake of analysis, the events during which the music and dance are performed in the Callejón have been categorized as religious and secular, and private and communal, resulting in the following chart:

- communal religious events,
- private religious events,
- communal secular events (subdivided into traditional and modern communal secular events),
- private secular events.

	RELIGIOUS	SECULAR	
COMMUNAL	-patron saint festivals -carnival -other religious celebrations	Traditional	Modern
		-communal work parties	-civic holidays -social dances -entertainment
PRIVATE	-baptism -wedding -funeral	-anniversaries and other small parties	

To illustrate the role of music and dance in the Callejón de Huaylas, some communal religious events, private religious and secular events, and communal secular events will be described in chapters 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

Three types of festivals may be distinguished: those of devotion, those of diversion, and those of devotion as well as diversion. Those feast days in which the primary activity takes place at the church with the participation of the parish priest and with little or no feasting, drinking, dancing, or commercial activity are classified as religious in orientation. In these, the mass, procession, vespers, or prayer services are the principal, if not the only, events and considered festivals of devotion. Corpus Christi and Holy week are essentially festivals of devotion, with no dancing or other public recreation. Other festivals do have a religious aspect, but are recreational as well, like the patron saint festivals, which are a mixture of religious and secular activities, of devotion and diversion. After mass the procession takes place around the plaza, and

the accompanying music and dance is of an exclusively religious kind. However, right on the periphery of the plaza, in bars and makeshift restaurants, secular music is played by groups of musicians, usually a combination of harp and violin or a small string orchestra. In these "cantinas" people have something to eat and drink, listen to the music and dance huaynos. However, both the procession music and the music played in the cantinas are part of the fiesta, and the people in the bars are not totally excluded from the procession: they hear the rockets, the bandas, and the chanting from afar, and are still a part of the happening. The types of music and dance in the cantinas and those of the procession are mutually exclusive: religious marches against huaynos, and banda or flute and drum against stringed instruments. Carnival is primarily a festival of diversion, with little religious overtones.

Some of the religious festivals show a deliberate synchronization of Roman Catholic practices with the traditional native religious, agricultural and fertility observances; there are numerous similar events throughout the Andean region timed to harvest seasons to suggest that special attention was paid to such ceremonies by the colonial church. (Doughty, n.d.:9)

An example of this synchronization would be the veneration for the Virgin Mary, who is identified with the "Pachamama" or earth-mother, the supreme deity of the Andean peoples. (see Van Kessel, 1981:271-273) In the Callejón de Huaylas, examples of such synchronization would be Carnival, Corpus Christi, and some of the patron saint festivals, but Holy Week and some patron saint festivals are mainly Roman Catholic events. Some communities prefer their own peasant festivals to the official Roman Catholic festivals. For instance, although the Virgin of the Assumption (August 15) is the patron saint of Huaylas, Saint Elizabeth (July 8) is a much larger and better-attended festival. The same may be said of the festival of Saint Eduwigis of Tumpa, which is celebrated more extensively around Carnival than the official patron saint, Saint Peter (June 29).

The proliferation of female saints is explained as follows: The special attachment to the Virgin Mary, the ministering supernatural

Mother, and the predilection for the suffering and unredeemed Christ may be explained by the fact that in Latin America motherhood is equated with trust and suffering whereas men represent distrust. "Just as the Mother of Christ represents the sphere of warmth and moral certainty, so the suffering Christ represents the moral uncertainty, the potential violence and brutality of that other, public, sphere." (Wolf & Hansen, 1972:115)

The saints of Andalucía, Extremadura and Castilla (the Virgin of Guadalupe, Virgen de los Remedios, Our Lady of Mt.Carmel, St.John, St.James Major and many others) found new homes in Peru. Particularly important became the veneration of the cross and crucifix on May 3rd in celebration of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and September 14th for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Saint Rose of Lima and Saint Toribio Mogrovejo are some of the typical Peruvian saints. Toribio's impact was especially great in Northern Peru, which shows in the children called Toribio and the number of patron saint festivals. (Dobyns & Doughty, 1976:105-109)

Unlike most of the other patron saints of the Callejón de Huaylas, which are mostly Virgins and Saints, the patron saint of Huaraz is a Crucified Christ, a copy of Our Lord of Burgos from Barcelona, Spain, affectionately called "Tayta Mayo" by the people. 4)

The principal day of this festival is May 3rd, when the festivals of the Cross of May ("fiestas de Cruz de Mayo") are celebrated throughout the Callejón de Huaylas: in Catac/Recuay, Pariacoto/Huaraz, Restauración/Huaraz, Rayán/Yungay, Masra/Yungay, Huaylas/Huaylas (where it is called Fiesta de Amankaes, the Finding of the Holy Cross), and other places. The May festival is the first of a cycle: on the 14th of September the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is celebrated. This festival has much less importance in the Old World, where it came from, than in the New World, where its existence in the highlands of Mexico, Bolivia and Peru has been documented by many authors. (Albó, 1974:164-165) According to Valcárcel, this fiesta is universal in the Andes because it coincides with the greatest annual event for the farmers of the sierra : the commencement of the crop. (Valcárcel, in Verger, 1945:196)

According to Stein (1961:239-240), the major festivals are distinguished by their occurrence at times of agricultural crisis. Thus, the patron saint festival of Hualcan, Saint Ursula, is celebrated on October 21, before the beginning of the planting season and the rains, Carnival is celebrated after the planting season, and Corpus Christi occurs at the beginning of the harvest season. On the other hand, since the dates of the patron saint festivals are fixed by the Roman Catholic calendar, there may be no such connection. At times, a festival is celebrated on an entirely different day, which indicates that a deliberate choice has been made by the people in question. The majority of the festivals of the Callejón de Huaylas do occur in the rainless months between May and October, which is a sign that certain Saints or Virgins have been chosen to fit the agricultural cycle of a particular village. It would be interesting to check this type of information against each major festival, since the agricultural cycles depend on the altitude of the community and whether it is located in the Cordillera Blanca or in the Cordillera Negra.

4.2.1: Communal religious events

The following list of religious festivals of the Callejón de Huaylas was compiled by me, for which I used information from various sources. 5)

To my knowledge, a complete list of festivals of the Callejón does not exist, and the list below is made up of those festivals that are celebrated in more than one village and/or those that are well-known. I attended as many festivals as I could, and some of them are described in more detail.

- January 20 : Virgin of Chiquinquirá (Caraz/Huaylas)
- February 2 : Candlemass (Yungay/Yungay)
- February 11 : Virgin of Lourdes (Huanchuy/Yungay)
- February 21 : Saint Eduwigis (Tumpa/Yungay)
- February-March (movable) : Carnival (many towns)
- April (movable) : Holy Week (many towns)

April 27	:	Saint Toribio (various towns)
May 3	:	Our Lord of May (Invention of the Holy Cross) (various towns)
June (movable)	:	Corpus Christi (various towns)
June 24	:	Saint John (various towns)
June 29	:	Saint Peter and Saint Paul (various towns)
July 8	:	Saint Elizabeth (Huaylas/Huaylas)
August (2nd Sunday)	:	Saint Domingo (Yungay/Yungay)
August 15	:	Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (various towns)
August 16	:	Saint Roque (Mancos/Yungay)
August 17	:	Saint Jacinto (Mato/Huaylas)
August 30	:	Saint Rose of Lima (various towns)
September 14	:	Exaltation of the Holy Cross (various town)
September 21	:	Our Lord of Miracles (Ranrahirca/Yungay)
September 24	:	Our Lady of Mercy (various towns)
October (2nd Sunday)	:	Virgin of the Rosary (various towns)
October 18	:	Our Lord of Miracles (various towns)
November 1/2	:	All Saints' Day/All Souls' Day (various towns)
December 12	:	Virgin of Guadalupe (Tocash/Huaylas)

Carnival, Corpus Christi and Holy Week are movable feasts, whereas the patron saint festivals are celebrated on fixed dates.

Some of the Saints or Virgins are celebrated in various villages. For instance, Saint John the Baptist is celebrated on June 24 in Restauración/Huaraz, Carhuaz/Carhuaz, Shilla/Carhuaz, Yanama/Yungay, Ranrahirca/Yungay, Maticoto/Yungay, and Punyán/Yungay. Our Lady of Mercy is celebrated on September 24 in: Huaraz/Huaraz, Jangas/Huaraz, Tingua/Carhuaz, Carhuaz/Carhuaz, Vicos/Carhuaz, Chuquibamba/Yungay, Caraz/Huaylas, and Racracallán/Huaylas. Others, like the Virgin of Chiquinquirá (Caraz) and Saint Elizabeth (Huaylas) are celebrated in one town only. Some of the religious events, like the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 15), Our Lord of Miracles (October 18) and Saint Rose of Lima (August 30), are celebrated nationwide.

As an illustration, some of the festivals of the province of Huaylas are listed below. This province is subdivided into ten districts: Caraz, Huaylas, Macate, Huata, Pueblo Libre, Pamparomás, Mato, Yuramarca, Santa Cruz, and Huallanca. (see "Monografía de la Provincia de Huaylas"). The events marked with an * were attended by me.

<u>District</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Hamlet</u>	<u>Festival</u>	<u>Date</u>	
Caraz	Caraz		Virgin of Chiquinquirá	January 20	*
"		Llacta	Our Lord of Auxilios	January 25	*
"		Cumpayhuara	Saint Peter	June 29	*
"	Caraz		Virgin of Carmen	July 16	
"	Caraz		Our Lady of Mercy	September 24	*
"	Caraz		Our Lord of Miracles	October 18	*
"	Caraz		Political Creation	July 25	*
Huaylas	Huaylas		Virgin of Checta Cruz	April 17	
"	Huaylas		Saint Toribio	April 27	
"	Huaylas		Finding of the H.Cross	May 3	
"	Huaylas		Saint Elizabeth	July 8	*
"	Huaylas		Assumption	August 15	
Huata		Ranca	Saint Toribio	April 27	
"	Huata		Assumption	August 15	*
"	Huata		Fiesta of the Miracle	September 11	*
"		Racracallán	Our Lady of Mercy	September 24	
Pueblo Libre		Tocash	Virgin of Guadalupe	December 12	*
Mato		Ancoracá	Saint Peter	June 29	
"	Mato		Saint Jacinto	August 17	*
"		Huacanhuaasi	Virgin of the Rosary	October 7	
Huallanca	Huallanca		Saint Rose of Lima	August 30	

All of the above festivals, except that of the Political Creation of the province of Huaylas celebrated in Caraz, are religious festivals.

Some communal religious events will be described in more detail, since this is the time when the society presents itself and shows how the Indian interacts with the Mestizo, how the present holds the past. This is reflected in the totality of music and dance: the instruments

used, the way they are combined to form ensembles, the repertoire that is performed, and the ways in which change occurs.

The patron saint festivals of Huaylas and Carhuaz, examples of festivals of devotion and diversion, have been chosen because they are well-known, well-attended, and representative of the festivals of the Callejón de Huaylas, albeit larger and more elaborate than most of them. The various types of Carnival are described, as festivals of diversion, and Holy Week and Corpus Christi, as festivals of devotion.

4.2.1.1: Festivals of devotion and diversion: patron saint festivals

Most patron saint festivals last around twelve days: nine days of nightly prayer and devotion (the "novenas"), and three days of fiesta: vespers ("vísperas" or "bajada", when the image is lowered from its pedestal), the principal day ("dia central"), and the return of the image to its niche ("colocación"). Eight days after the principal day, the "octava" is celebrated, which is often more elaborate than the principal day.

Many people who work in Lima, Chimbote or other coastal towns take their holidays at the time of the patron saint festival of their village or town of origin. It is a time to meet family and friends, exchange news, and be "home" for awhile. Many migrants --especially those who have good jobs-- are sponsors of the festival; they bring new clothing for the effigy, engage a banda, or raise money for a church being constructed. It is also a time for family fiestas like baptisms, weddings, etc.

On the vísperas, truck- and bus-loads of visitors, merchants, food and ice-vendors start arriving, along with Indian peasants who come down from their hamlets in the mountains. One or more bandas, dancers with their musicians, and other musical groups also arrive. At night elaborate fireworks are lit on the plaza, with one or more bandas playing and people dancing. Often, a social dance ("baile social") is held afterwards, attended by the local Mestizo elite and visitors from Lima, who dance cumbias and other modern dances.

On the principal day, mass is said in the morning, followed by a

procession around the plaza.

All processions have a number of general features: after mass is said, one or more statues of Saints, the Virgin, or Christ is taken out of the church on a litter decorated with flowers and ribbons, on the shoulders of devotees or members of a "hermandad", a lay religious brotherhood, and taken counterclockwise around the plaza. In front of the litter walk one or more mayordomos, carrying a standard of silk or embroidered velvet with the image of the particular Saint or Virgin and the words "Asociación de Devotos y Cargadores de...Fundado en..." (Association of Devotees and Porters of... Founded in...). Small girls dressed in white, the "Angelitos" (little Angels), accompany the mayordomo, carrying incense burners and scattering flower petals towards the litter. Often there will be adults throwing flowers as well. At times, people gather the petals after the procession has passed, because they believe that the statue has imparted special powers to them. People related to the mayordomo hold long ribbons attached to the statue, and walk in the space between the mayordomo and the litter. Women holding large candles walk on both sides of the litter. Dancers and their musicians walk backwards in front of the statue, whereas the banda walks behind the litter, playing religious marches from corner to corner, where hymns are sung and prayers said by the priest. The priest walks either just in front or just in back of the statue, formally dressed in flowing robes. Delegations from Indian hamlets can be recognized by their officials: the alcalde pedáneo with his "chonta" (staff), accompanied by his varayoq. Rockets are an integral part of processions, filling the air with their loud explosions. At times, people that live along the route a procession is to take put a household shrine in front of their house, to be blessed by the priest, who will stop the procession in order to do so. Somewhere during the procession, usually at the third corner, the mayordomo for the next year will make himself known, by taking over the standard from the current mayordomo.

After the procession --which takes place on the hottest hours of the day-- is over, people go home or, when invited, to the house of the mayordomo to eat and drink. The traditional festive food consists of "cuye picante", fried or roasted guinea pig with a sauce of hot

peppers, and potatoes. In the rural milieu "chicha" (maize beer) is drunk from a pail, everyone drinking out of the same cup. In the urban milieu, bottled Pilsen beer is passed around. The banda plays and people dance and enjoy themselves until it is time to go to the bullfight, if there is going to be one. Many towns have a simple permanent arena made of adobe bricks; those that do not have one construct a makeshift arena with eucalyptus logs and strings. Bullfighters (not exactly the best Peru has to offer) are engaged for one or two days. The banda stands either in a corner of the arena, while people dance huaynos and fire rockets, or on the bleachers playing pasodobles and huaynos. Originally the bulls were fetched in from the fields, played with (people were allowed to bait them using their ponchos), and returned to the fields again. Nowadays, real fighting bulls are often brought in, which are eventually killed by the matadors. The funds raised with the entrance fees are generally used for improvements of the town.

On the final day of the fiesta, the "colocación", the image is put back in its place, and the festival is over.

Nowadays, the religious festivals sometimes have to "compete" with secular events organized by institutions of the State. For example, the Fourth Touristic Week of Ancash was held in Huaraz from April 27 to May 5, 1981, at the same time Our Lord of La Soledad was celebrated. On the evening of May 2 (the vísperas of Our Lord of La Soledad) a parade of typical dances of the region was held, organized by the National Institute of Culture, the Regional Directorate of Education, and the Regional Directorate of Industry and Tourism. Later on that evening a folkloristic contest was held, organized by the Prefecture and the Regional Directorate of Education. On the 3rd, the principal day of Our Lord of La Soledad, a parade of "allegorical cars" (carros alegóricos) was held, organized by the Provincial Council of Huaraz. This parade competed directly with the procession of Our Lord of La Soledad.

Festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas (Patrona de las Cosechas de Atun Huaylas)

This festival lasts from July 1 to July 10, the principal day being on the 8th of July. I was present at this fiesta in 1980 and 1981. Doughty has described this festival extensively, in various publications. (photographs no.104-110)

Huaylas is a small agrarian town in the North of the Callejón de Huaylas, situated at 2,758 meters above sea level in the Cordillera Negra. Between 1960 and 1970 the population of the district of Huaylas amounted to an average of 5,500 persons, 1,200 of which lived "in town". The earthquake of 1970 killed more than 200 people and many migrated to Lima. (Doughty, n.d.:6-8) Many of them return to Huaylas for the festival. It is divided into a number of urban and rural "barrios" (quarters), a modern type of political organization with barrio officials rather than varayocq, but which still reflects the pre-Columbian dualism. The different barrios raise money through public collections to hire a banda and organize their Pashas, Incaicos, etc.

The official patron saint festival of Huaylas is that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, celebrated on August 15. However, the festival of Saint Elizabeth is a competing festival that attracts a lot of people. This festival is an example of the synchronization of Roman Catholic practices with a pre-Columbian agricultural rite. The statue portrays two figures, the Virgin Mary embracing Saint Elizabeth. Together they represent the Visitation of the Virgin Mary to Saint Elizabeth. It is the only statue portraying paired holy figures and in profile they resemble double ears of maize, a symbol for fertility. (Doughty, n.d.:34-35) Saint Elizabeth is commemorated by Catholics on the 2nd of July, her true day. However, because of fights between the "Indios" (Indian lower class) and the "Mishtis" (Mestizo upper class), the authorities decreed that the Mishtis celebrate on the 8th and the Indios on the 2nd. Nowadays, the 8th is the principal day of the festival. (Doughty, n.d.:14)

The barrios of Huaylas (Delicados, Yácup, Shuyo, Quécuas, Huayrán, Iscap, Tambo, San Lorenzo and Huaromapuquio) all celebrate this festival, although in different ways. Delicados, Yácup, and Shuyo are the urban wards, formerly the lower moiety, whereas the other barrios belong to the former upper moiety. This division coincides with the division Mishtis and Indios. The class structure of lower moiety/upper moiety and Indian/Mishti is reflected in mock battles staged by groups of Pashas, men in disguise that represent their respective barrios.

The urban barrios are in every respect more important: their days fall on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of July, they take part in the "rompe" (the start of the festival) on the evening of the 6th, and they receive the rural barrios on the outskirts of town on the 7th, the 8th, and the 9th. The rural barrios of Tambo and San Lorenzo are too far away and have their own celebrations, whereas Huaromapuquio only comes down on the 1st of July.

Quécuas and Huayrán are a case apart: together they form an unofficial barrio called Santo Toribio, the seat of the officially recognized peasant community that wants to establish a new political district. As a consequence of this separatist movement about half the population of this area has chosen to celebrate the fiesta in town with the other barrios, while the rest organizes their own separate festival in Santo Toribio, identical to the one in Huaylas. (Doughty, n.d.:13)

During the festival, the barrios have their musicians (either cajas & roncadoras or bandas), their Pashas, their Incaicos, and other dance groups with them.

The Pashas are men dressed in long multicolored capes with hoods or crowns with plumes, mirrors, and ribbons; they wear masks and carry plaited leather whips of about four meters with a strand of leather or string ("pita" from the maguey cactus) at the end. The --anonymous-- Pashas have to register with the authorities, so that they can be apprehended in case of irregularities. The barrio officials constantly escort them, forming a barrier between them and the next group of Pashas. Each barrio has about fourty Pashas, which dance around the

plaza cracking their whips and talking in falsetto voices so that they are not recognized. The leading Pasha wears a sash with the name of the barrio on it. Some say that they represent cowboys, because each group of Pashas has one or two "toros" (bulls) with them: wooden frames with a horse's head and tail that men carry on their head and shoulders. According to Doughty (n.d.:26) the word "pasha" is Moorish and means "infidel". The bulls break loose and are chased by the Pashas. The bulls sometimes have corn cobs around their neck, and the Pashas often carry maize stalks or squashes. This is related to the fact that Saint Elizabeth is the patroness of the harvest, a modern version of a pre-Columbian agricultural rite. The Pashas can be considered a case of role reversal: they wear masks and speak in falsetto voices so that they cannot be recognized. Because of this anonymity they are free to make fun of people.

The groups of Incaicos are a recent phenomenon, dating from 1934. They generally perform skits consisting of songs (pasacalles and huaynos) describing the beauty of their particular barrio and Huaylas. For the occasion existing music is often used, with new words written to them. These groups rehearse a long time before the festival and usually consist of six to ten youngsters, about as many boys as girls. They are accompanied by one or two violins, one or two harps, and sometimes a mandolin, but never more than three instruments. One or two Pashas are with them, imitating them as they sing and dance, and clowning around. One of the teachers of Huaylas, Don Rigoberto Cox, wrote a number of these dramatizations and enabled me to record an entire skit: a pasacalle "Atun Huaylas", a drama "Inés Huaylas Yupanqui", a huayno "Huaylina", a pasacalle "Despedida", and a huayno "Huaylas". In 1981, the Incaicos were dressed in colorful Cuzco-type clothes: the girls wore blouses, "llikllas" (carrying cloths), woollen skirts and the typical flat hats of the Cuzco area or paper crowns with feathers; the boys wore shirts, pants, ponchos or vests, and Cuzco hats or crowns. All wore sandals and had a sling (huaraca) which they twirled when they danced. They were accompanied by a harp, a violin, and sometimes a mandolin. One of the groups had an auqui with them, dressed in red and pink, with a pink mask and a bull's head, black gloves, sneakers, and carrying a whip.

The dance groups that participate in the festival of Saint Elizabeth, other than the already described Incaicos and Pashas, are: Chapetones, representing Spaniards, and Cahuallus, representing Spanish horsemen. There used to be groups of Pallas, but they did not participate during the festivals of 1980 and 1981.

The Pashas, the Incaicos and the musicians accompany the litter of Saint Elizabeth during the procession, walking backwards and bowing respectfully.

A day-by-day account of the festival (1981)

The 1st and 2nd of July are assigned to the smaller, most Indian barrios: Huaromapuquio and Iscap. On the first, Huaromapuquio came with two caja & roncadora players and a group of Pashas. On the second, Juventud ("Youth") Iscap came with two caja & roncadora players, a group of Pashas and a group of Incaicos. (The banda, "Flor Andina" from Keral/Caraz, had stayed in Iscap with the "old" people). The third of July was claimed by Juventud Huayrán in 1981; this was institutionalized by signing an act in the presence of the priest. They were accompanied by two caja & roncadora players and a group of Pashas. (Their banda, "Sol Andino" from Huanja/Huaraz, is considered one of the best of the Callejón de Huaylas; it arrived on the 6th of July.)

On the 6th of July, barrio Quécuas was represented by its Youth, accompanied by "Banda Musical Huaraz", a group of Pashas and a group of Incaicos. The 6th of July is also Nahuinyacu's day. (Nahuinyacu is part of barrio Quécuas) Mass was said, followed by a procession accompanied by banda "Corazón de la sierra" from Copa Grande/Carhuaz, a group of Pashas and a group of Incaicos. In the afternoon the bandas of Nahuinyacu, Yácup, Juventud Iscap, Delicados, Shuyo, Juventud Quécuas, and Juventud Huayrán arrived. They walked around the plaza, playing, after which they went to greet the Saint and the authorities. Thereafter, they were taken to the barrios that engaged them. At night, the festival started with the "rompe": the four urban barrios came to the plaza with allegorical

floats ("buques alegóricos") accompanied by their bandas. Delicados and Yácup had regular boats, Nahuinyacu had a helicopter, and Shuyo a jetfighter. Some people say that these floats represent the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru, of which the helicopter and the jetfighter would be modern versions. They all paraded around the plaza, the bandas playing as loud as they could, and people dancing behind them. Barrio Shuyo lit fireworks in their corner of the plaza.

The 7th is Shuyo's day: mass was said, and the Pashas cracked their whips outside on the plaza, making fun of everyone and frightening small children. After mass, a procession was held, with banda "Juventud Santa Rosa" from Chuya/Pamparomás, a group of Incaicos, a group of Pashas, and a group of Cahuallus. In the afternoon, the barrio of Delicados received the rural barrios with their bandas on the outskirts of town, and accompanied them to the plaza, via an ancient trail behind the church. One by one, the groups of Pashas entered the plaza, shouting and cracking their whips in a haze of dust. Afterwards, a contest was held between the barrios: temporary bleachers were constructed in front of the church, where the audience and the judges were seated. Iscap, Huayrán, Quécuas, Delicados, Nahuinyacu, Yácup and Shuyo participated in the contest, all except Huayrán with a group of Incaicos. The Incaicos entered the small space in front of the audience and judges, together with their musicians, their banda, and some Pashas. The rest of the Pashas stayed on the plaza, just below them, clowning around, surrounded by a hedge of onlookers. First they sang a pasacalle, then a couple of huaynos, and a pasacalle to end. Somewhere in between, a drama was performed which usually centers on Inca history and myth; especially the assassination of the last Inca Atahualpa by Francisco Pizarro in Cajamarca is a frequent subject. Another favorite subject is Inés Huaylas Yupanqui, daughter of the Inca Huayna Capac and sister of Atahualpa, who became Francisco Pizarro's wife. (These folk dramas may represent a longing to forget the Spanish Conquest and may harbour nationalistic sentiments and pride in the Inca forefathers.) After the performance of the Incaicos, the banda played a number of pieces, as varied as possible: a march, a marinera, a waltz, a huayno and a pasacalle. The Pashas, on the pavement just underneath, "danced" as

gracefully as they could.

These contests were deliberately conceived by the district mayor as a way of diminishing the violence of the fiesta and to channel rivalries. At first, winners were given prizes, but after fighting occurred again because of quarrels about who should have won, diplomas were given to all the participating groups on July 9. These contests between the barrios' dance groups and bandas brings to a focus the latent rivalries and animosities, under high ceremonial conditions.

After the contest, a public dance was held on the plaza, with all the bandas playing. In the evening, a social dance was held in the Civic Center, organized by the Council of Huaylas, to the music of a "competent orchestra". This was very much a Mestizo affair, with high entrance fees and well-dressed Huaylinos from Lima attending. Late at night fireworks were lit by the barrio Delicados.

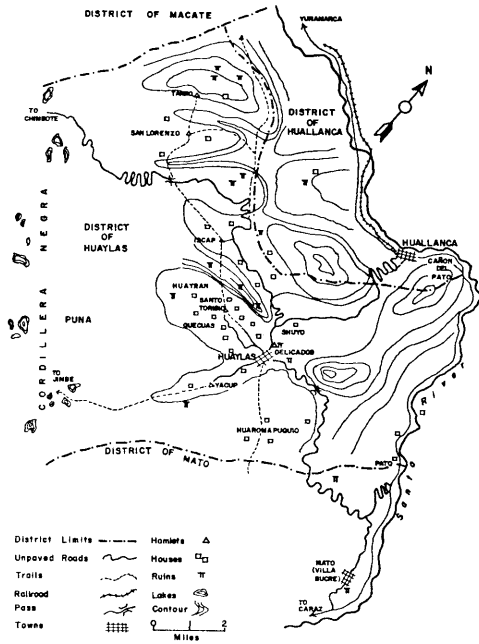
The 8th of July is officially Delicados' day, but all barrios participate. Barrio Delicados had engaged banda "Flor Andina" from Huallicor/Huaraz, and had groups of Pashas and Incaicos. From the 6th people had been pouring into Huaylas, filling up the small hotel and the houses of friends and relatives. Merchants, food- and ice-vendors and photographers had arrived and the town was completely transformed. Early in the morning of the 8th there was an "alba gané", an early morning salute to the Virgin, but often those who have been dancing and drinking into the small hours of the morning are unable to attend. In the morning a solemn mass was said by the parish priest, and early in the afternoon it was barrio Yácup's turn to greet the rural barrios on the outskirts of town. After the groups of Pashas and their musicians entered the plaza, the procession started, this time with all the barrios participating. Each barrio took the statue of Saint Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary a little way around the plaza, and the bandas that were not accompanying the procession played huaynos in their respective corners.

Barrio Iscap took the image out of the church, to the closest corner, a very short distance, from where barrio Quéguas took it half a plaza-length and barrio Huayrán the other half. From there, the town

barrios of Yácup, Delicados, and Shuyo accompanied the image for whole stretches of the plaza at a time. Finally, barrio Nahuinyacu took her back into the church. The different statuses of the barrios are reflected in the amount of space and time they are allowed to pay homage to Saint Elizabeth: barrio Delicados, being the "owner" of the plaza, gets to take the image on the longest stretch, whereas the rural barrios accompany her on much shorter stretches.

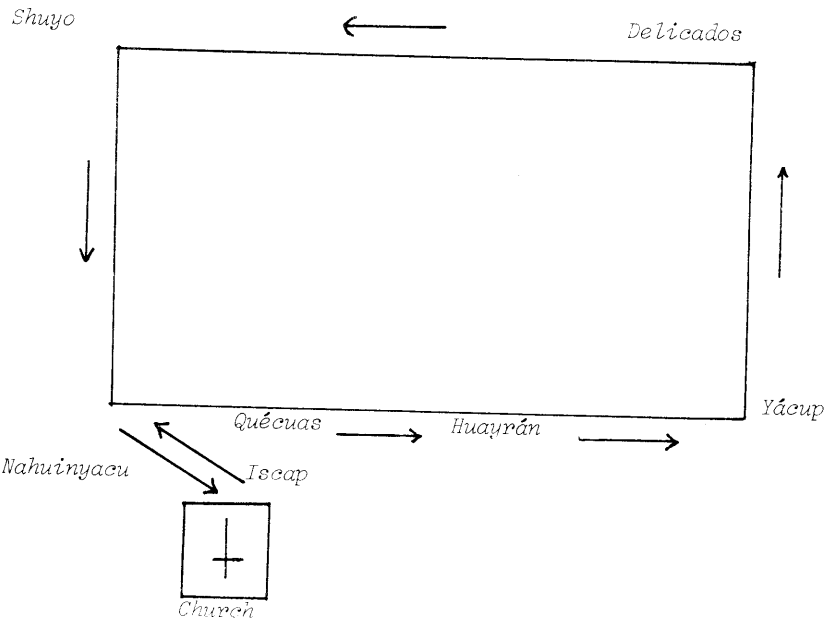
An informant told me that on the 7th of July, the day of barrio Shuyo, this barrio takes the image out of the church, up to the corner of Yácup; Yácup and Delicados then accompany her on their respective stretches --if they want to-- whereafter Shuyo takes over at its corner and takes her back to the church. The same thing goes for Yácup, whose day is on the 9th of July. They take the image out of the church, up to Delicados' corner, whereafter Delicados and Shuyo accompany her to the corner next to the church; Yácup then gets to accompany the Virgin back into the church. (The faraway barrios do not come to Huaylas on the 7th and the 9th of July.) Regarding the fireworks, the same principles are adhered to: each barrio has its own corner of the plaza and lights its fireworks on the eve of "their" day.

All the dance groups, Pashas, and musicians participated in this procession, walking slowly backwards facing the image and bowing slowly as they went. The Pashas formed two lines and the Incaicos and other dance groups walked in-between. The Incaicos sang an "adoración" which was composed by David Flores, a Huaylino now living in Lima, who is a member of the string orchestra "Lira Huaylina":



From: Doughty, 1968:8

Processions and barrios.



Reina de los cielos	Queen of the heavens
Reina de los meses	Queen of the months
Santa Isabel	Saint Elizabeth
Reina de mi tierra	Queen of my homeland
Por ti estoy siempre feliz.	Because of you I am always happy.

Tu siempre serás	You will always be
De Huaylas la luz	The light of Huaylas
Siempre reinarás	You will allways reign
En mi ciudad.	In my town.

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

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

Pajaros y flores	Birds and flowers
Te ofrecemos Virgen	We offer you
Santa Isabel	Saint Elizabeth
Ya nos retiramos	Now we are leaving
Adiós, adiós, reina de amor.	Goodbye, goodbye, queen of love

Doughty's description of the atmosphere on the 8th of July is very evocative:

"As one barrio assumes the burden of carrying the litter and accompanying Saint Elizabeth and the Virgin, the retiring barrio moves off to the side and, after a short interval,

orders its band to strike up a festive huayno so that street dancing may resume. On the 8th of July, while a solemn procession moves slowly around the plaza, five or six other bands are lustily competing for dancers' attention. The noise, indeed cacaphony, is almost overwhelming. Rockets, brass bands sounding forth, shouts of the Pashas, recorded music from a corner bar and the incessant jumble of hundreds of voices intermingled with the sacred words and music of the procession is not perceived as conflictive or out of place. The combination of exuberance and piety, of religious passion and secular pleasure contribute to the same ends: the celebration of life's renewal, the community's viability and glorification of the deities." (Doughty,n.d.:38)

On the 8th, no public dance was held in the plaza, but late at night fireworks offered by various mayordomos were set off in the plaza.

On the 9th of July, barrio Yácup's day, mass was said followed by a procession accompanied by banda "Flor de Paria" from Willkawaín/Huaraz, and groups of Pashas and Incaicos. Early in the afternoon barrio Shuyo met the rural barrios on the outskirts of town and accompanied them to the plaza. A repeat performance was given by the Incaicos, the bandas and the Pashas, whereafter all the barrios received a diploma. A final public dance was held in the plaza, with all the bandas playing.

On the 10th of July the bandas went home, as well as the merchants and the visitors, and Huaylas returned to its former state: a quiet little town high in the Andes.

The following is a schematical summary of the barrios that attended the festival of Saint Elizabeth in 1981: their principal day, the musicians they engaged, and whether or not they had groups of Incaicos and Pashas, fireworks, or received the other barrios.

<u>Barrio</u>	<u>Main day</u>	<u>Musicians</u>	<u>Incaicos</u>	<u>Pashas</u>	<u>Fireworks</u>	<u>Reception</u>
Huaromapuquio	1/7	2 c & r			+	
Juv.Iscap	2/7	2 c & r/banda	+		+	
Juv.Huayrán	3/7	2 c & r/banda				+
Juv.Quécuas	6/7	banda	+		+	
Nahuinyacu	6/7	banda	+		+	
Shuyo	7/7	banda	+		+	6th 9th
Delicados	8/7	banda	+		+	7th 7th
Yácup	9/7	banda	+		+	8th 8th

(Barrio Shuyo had a group of Cahuallus accompanied by a violin player as well)

The status of the barrios (and the rivalry between them) is reflected in the length --in time and in space-- during which they accompany the image in the procession. This status is equally visible in the types of music they engage: the rural barrios are accompanied by the traditional cajas & roncadoras, whereas the urban barrios engage bandas, some of which are considered among the best of the Callejón de Huaylas. Having large groups of Pashas, well-performing Incaicos and/or other dance groups also reflects favorably upon the barrio. Thus, during the festival of Saint Elizabeth one can see what is happening in Huaylas: which barrios attract attention, who carries the image, who is at the social dance, and who are at the center of attention. As Doughty puts it: "The fiesta not only subjects community officials and leaders to review, but the whole social order is in effect submitted to a ceremonial inspection." (Doughty,n.d.:24)

Doughty argues that Huaylas maintained its discrete life ways, has adjusted to critical changes, and continues successfully in the context of its historic identity. One of the major signs of such cultural viability and factors aiding continuity is the presence of effective mechanisms of communitas which operate at a community level, in this case the annual fiesta of Saint Elizabeth. He goes on to say

that the ceremonial events which occur related to religious practice serve numerous integrative, explanatory and expressive functions for individuals, groups, and the community at large. The fiesta of Saint Elizabeth illustrates three of them:

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

The cathartic, projective "recreational" quality of the fiesta finds expression in this context. This type of fiesta falls within Turner's category of "normative communitas", "where, under the influence of time, the need to mobilize and organize resources, and the necessity for social control among the members of the group in pursuance of these goals, the existential communitas is organized into a perduring social system." (Turner, 1969:132, Doughty, n.d.:3-6)

Festival of Our Lady of Mercy, Carhuaz

Carhuaz (population 7,500) is the capital of the province with the same name; it is situated at 2,630 meters above sea level along the highway.

This is an important festival, in the Callejón de Huaylas as well as elsewhere, since this Virgin (affectionately called "Mama Meche") is the patroness of the Armed Forces of Peru. Large processions taking a long route and lasting around five hours are held on the 23rd and 24th of September and on October 1. The principal day, September 24th, is attended mostly by Mestizos, many of whom come from Lima for the occasion, whereas the octava on the 1st of October is attended by

Indian peasants from the surrounding countryside. This is reflected in the music and dance: there are few traditional dance groups on the 24th of September but many more on the 1st of October. October 1st is also the day of the Caracinos, because the image of the Virgin was originally (more than two centuries ago) destined for Caraz. However --according to legend-- she made herself heavy at Carhuaz, indicating that she wanted to stay there, and was made the patroness of Carhuaz instead.

1981 was a special year, because the new church was officially inaugurated. The processions of the 23rd and the 24th of September were accompanied by a banda of the Republican Guard of Peru, a very prestigious banda to have at a festival like this. The sponsors of the 23rd and the 24th knew a general of the Republican Guard and solicited the "loan" of the banda as a special favor, which they were granted because the general is an Ancashino. The sponsor of the 23rd took advantage of the fact that he had such a prestigious banda to inaugurate his new house. The banda consisted of 21 men, some of whom played instruments rarely seen in the Callejón, such as slide trombones, a French horn, and a transverse flute. During the processions they played religious marches, alternating with the local banda. On their way to the house of the mayordomo they played military marches, and in the house of the mayordomo cumbias, marineras, and huaynos. They received no payment, but were given accommodation, food, and drink by various mayordomos, who went out of their way to make them comfortable. Naturally, it was not the best selection possible out of the total banda of the Guard (120 musicians), and certainly not the one that plays at state occasions. The general in question made a personal appearance on the night of the 24th at the house of the mayordomos --very much a Mestizo affair-- and was immediately surrounded by friends and well-wishers. People drank and danced to the music of the banda and of a tropical orchestra from Huaraz.

The musicians: caja & roncadora players, local bandas, the banda of



the Republican Guard, and a tropical orchestra were engaged by the mayordomos and their "qellis": persons that engage themselves to help the sponsors. Starting five days before the principal day, they bring presents: bulls, rockets, crates of beer, guinea pigs, etc., accompanied by musicians. The sponsor, in turn, offers them food and drink.

I was told by a close friend of the (female) sponsor of the 24th that she received 5 bulls (worth between 80,000 and 160,000 soles each), 12-14 gross of rockets (at 30,000 soles each), 30-40 crates of beer, and 50-60 guinea pigs. She herself bought 150 crates of beer and 150 guinea pigs. In all, 200 crates of beer, 200 guinea pigs, 1 bull and 5-6 sheep were consumed. Although she sold the 4 remaining bulls, the total cost was quite high: from the total cost of 4,000,000 soles, 500,000 were recuperated, leaving her with a cost of 3,500,000 soles. This willingness to pay such large amounts of money to be a sponsor may be explained by religious faith, a vow once made, or a miracle that happened to one. Others say that the sponsors and their qellis will eventually get their presents back, through the system of reciprocal gifts. A close tally is kept on who gives what to whom and when, so that the gifts can be returned at a later date. Despite the exorbitant costs, the 23rd and 24th of September were already claimed until 1988.

On the 23rd and 24th of September, four groups of traditional dancers accompanied the procession: Atahuallpas, Shaqapas, Antihuanquillas, and Nustas. These groups --except the Shaqapas-- and many more were there again during the octava.

On the 26th and 27th bullfights were held in the permanent bullring that holds approximately 1,200, with two bullfighters and their helpers killing four bulls. The bullfights were alternated by performances of the folkloristic dance group "Arte Katzua" and marinera dancers from Huaraz, men on horseback showing off their fine horses, and two comedians that made fun of the bullfighters and imitated them. Two bandas, Banda "Juventud de Carhuaz" and the

Program covers, drawn by Juan Barrios of ORDENOR-Centro.

"Huascarán" battalion in Caraz, played pasodobles, marches, marineras, cumbias and huaynos during the bullfight, marking the high points of the fights by trumpet blasts and rolls of drums. The Mestizo population sat mostly inside the bullring, for which fairly high entrance fees had to be paid, whereas the Indian population watched from a hillside above the bullring, gratis. The entrance fees (1,500 and 2,000 soles) are used to raise funds for the building of a stadium for bullfights as well as other public entertainment, according to the president of the committee for the construction of the stadium, a medical doctor from Carhuaz now living in Lima.

On the 26th a social dance was held, organized by social club "Alianza Juventud Carhuaz", with a modern orchestra.

From the 23rd of September to the 1st of October a "Carhuaz Week" was organized, with a number of activities.

From the 24th to the 27th of September the 1st Agricultural and 2nd Handicrafts Fair was held at the sports field of Carhuaz. This fair was inaugurated by the head of ORDENOR-Centro, since its Regional Directorate for Industry, Commerce, Tourism and Integration promotes and coordinates this festival, together with the Municipality of Carhuaz. The Office of Communication and Information of ORDENOR-Centro takes care of diffusion by local radio, t.v., newspapers and festival-programs, in order to promote tourism to the area.

A song and dance contest (3rd Festival of Dance and Song) was also organized. In earlier years, a traditional and noncommercial contest between the dancers and musicians that participate in the religious activities used to take place on a platform just outside the church door; this was a natural outgrowth of the procession and the religious festival. However, ORDENOR-Centro forced the organizer of the contest to hold it at the fair ground and in an outdoor stadium, and to ask for a small entrance fee. It was also said that the local priest was against the contest taking place so close to the church. All this took much of the spontaneity out of the contest. The finale of the contest took place on October 1, the octava, at the same time the procession

was held. Here, the religious and the secular were in direct competition: the dancers had to make a choice whether to be in the procession or in the stadium. The opposition Indian/Mestizo is spatially reflected: the religious activities --mostly by Indians-- take place in and around the church and during the procession, whereas the secular activities --mostly by Mestizos-- take place at the fair grounds and in the stadium.

During the three days of the octava (September 30-October 2) a great number of dance groups --I counted 18-- with their musicians and banda "Flor de Azucena" from Llipta/Carhuaz participated.

A film was made on October 1, 1981; it shows the arrival of the dancers and their musicians and the procession. (see Appendix 1)

On September 30 the dance groups started to arrive and went to the church to greet the Virgin with song and dance. Some of these groups came from Caraz and surroundings, since it is "their" day.

In the morning of the 1st of October, the various groups of traditional dancers arrived (Huanquillas, Antihuanquillas, Shaqshas, Atahualpas, Cuzqueños, Negritos, and Caballeros de Huari). They danced around the plaza and in front of the church, before going to salute the Virgin. The music and dance at this time is of a religious type and clearly different from the music and dance that can be observed at other times. The melodies are almost all pentatonic (with the exception of the dance music of the Negritos which is diatonic) and rhythmically simple. They consist of a short motif which is repeated ad libitum. Most of these groups came from hamlets around Carhuaz, some from Caraz, and a few all the way from Paramonga, where many Carhuacinos have migrated, temporarily or permanently. These dance groups do not receive any money, but are given food and drink by their mayordomos.

In the afternoon, a large procession was held, which started from the church at around one o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived back at the church after dusk, five hours later. In accordance with the moiety system of Carhuaz (Ecash in the Cordillera Negra and Rupash in the Cordillera Blanca), both the alcaldes pedáneos with their varayoq walked next to the Virgin's litter. This procession was truly

impressive, with the beautiful statue of Our Lady of Mercy, the bellowing silk standards held by Indian women dressed in their Sunday best, the solemn alcaldes pedáneos with their varayoc, the dancers in trance, the musicians all playing at the same time, and the priest in his flowing white robes, in the fading light of the afternoon.

On October 2 the statue of the Virgin is put back into the glass case again (colocación), where she will stay until the 23rd of September of the following year, whereafter the dancers and other pilgrims take leave of her.

As Victor Ortiz, a local author, puts it: "Carhuaz significa Mercedes porque ella es su Patrona, su Protectora, su Amparo y su Esperanza." (Carhuaz means Mercy because she is its Patroness, its Protectress, and its Hope)

The festivals of Huaylas and Carhuaz have much in common: both are Mestizo towns surrounded by hamlets inhabited by Indian peasants. In both cases, the urban Mestizos are in charge of the principal day. However, in the case of Huaylas, the Indian hamlets participate only in the first days of the festival, whereas in the case of Carhuaz the Indian octava is much more elaborate than the principal day as far as the music and dance are concerned. Whereas Carhuaz has its Cuzqueños and Atahualpas, Huaylas has its Incaicos, both reminders of the pre-Colombian past, but the absence of traditional instruments (other than an occasional caja & roncadora duo) in Huaylas is remarkable, as is the absence of traditional dance groups so popular in the rest of the Callejón de Huaylas, like Huanquillas, Shaqshas, etc. Bands are much more prevalent in Huaylas than in Carhuaz. All this may be an indication that Huaylas is more of a Mestizo town than Carhuaz.

4.2.1.2: Festivals of diversion: Carnival

Unlike the patron saint festivals, that are generally celebrated by one village, Carnival is a nationwide festival. Also, rather than being a festival of devotion and diversion, like the patron saint festivals, Carnival is a festival of diversion.

In 1981 Carnival, being a movable feast, was celebrated from the 1st to the 4th of March.

In the Callejón de Huaylas there are a number of manifestations that go by the name of Carnival: the ritual killing of a condor ("condor rachi"), the cutting of a tree ("cortamonte"), and the type of celebration as we know it. Each of these types of Carnival is related to a specific socioeconomic group: the first type to the Indians, the second one to the Cholos, and the third type to the Mestizos. (photographs no.111-117)

Condor rachi, or "arranque condor", is still celebrated in remote hamlets. Lorenzo Piscoche (see chapter 3.4.1) comes from a village where it is still celebrated, although the condor may be let loose after the ritual instead of being killed, since it is forbidden to do so. Lorenzo has witnessed it many times, as a musician and as an onlooker, and told me about it:

-- the sponsor is in charge of the food, the musicians, and the condor, among other things. He may be helped by relatives or friends (the "mayorales"), whom he will repay sometime in the future, a system of mutual aid that is very common in the area. (see the "qelli" system of Carhuaz, above) Some time before Carnival a condor is caught live --no mean feat!--and brought back to the village. The sponsor contracts about eight men that will fight the condor on horseback, and a group of musicians, generally consisting of two flautas, two cajas, and a clarín. The horsemen and the musicians receive no money, but receive food and drink. The most important days are Monday, Tuesday, and Ash-Wednesday. During

the night from Monday to Tuesday one of the varayoc is in charge of the vigil of the cross, which is adorned with flowers, accompanied by a group of tinyas, violins and chiskas. On Tuesday and Wednesday the sponsor and his "alferez" (ensign) are dressed in white pants and shirts with a dark waistcoat and dark shoes. They wear three-cornered hats with mirrors, small adornments and colored feathers, and red-and-white bands (the colors of the Peruvian flag) across their chests. In the house of the campo the capitan "dresses" his alferez, the musicians, and the horsemen in quinces and bread-dolls, strung on strings. On Tuesday, the posts for the condor are planted and a test takes place: a bottle of alcohol is hung between the posts and the horseman that seizes it may keep it. After this, the sponsor offers a copious meal to his guests. On Wednesday, the condor is taken to the field in a cage, accompanied by the sponsor and the musicians. The animal is hung by its wings from a string and pulled up or let down. The men on horseback beat it with their bare hands, and the condor defends himself as best he can with his beak and his claws. It is said that this ritual represents the arrival of the Spaniards and the assassination of the last Inca.

The cutting down of a tree, "cortamonte" or "huachihualito", may be a less sanguine version of the killing of a condor. It may also be related to the maypoles of Europe, symbols of fertility. A tree, preferably a cherry-tree ("capulí") is chopped down, and taken to the plaza or put in front of the house of the the mayordomo, where it is adorned with baskets, fruit, bread-dolls, pieces of clothing, handkerchiefs, and paper streamers. People dance around this adorned tree, to the music of caja & roncadora or a banda. After a while the tree is cut down little by little, and the person that strikes the final blow will be mayordomo for next year. People wear paper streamers around their necks and have their faces smeared with talcum powder or flour. Water is thrown freely at Carnival, even by the bucket at passing cars and buses. There may be various montes at one time, sponsored by different people. Caja & roncadora players have many engagements during Carnival week, playing huaynos and pasacalles.



Arranque condor. (Drawing by Victor Milla/Caraz)



Carnival crosses. (Drawing by Juan Barrios/Huaraz)



*El Huachihualito.
(Drawing by Juan
Barrios/Huaraz)*

Apart from the adorned tree, there is also often a "tablada", a board with baskets, fruit, bread-dolls, bottles of liquor and paper streamers. At the end of the day, these are given away by the mayordomo.

In Huaraz, Carnival crosses are brought in a few days before Carnival, to be blessed by the priest. The Indian peasants accompanied by cajas and flautas bring in wooden crosses adorned with silver-painted "machitu", flowers of the wild "weqlla" plant that grows at high altitudes, and small figures of animals or plants. These crosses are a Roman Catholic adaptation of the pre-Colombian idols that were placed at intersections of roads, on top of hills and all those places considered dangerous, for protection. For a long time after Carnival, these silvery crosses can be seen on top of the hills around Huaraz. Similar crosses are known to exist elsewhere in the Callejón de Huaylas: one, adorned with white flowers, was observed by me in Ranrahirca/Yungay, in 1977, and Stein (1961:241-245) mentions them in his monograph of Hualcan, in the district of Carhuaz.

A more Western type Carnival was celebrated in Huaraz, with Princes, Queens, dances, and floats, as well as cortamontes and tabladas. A large procession of floats took place on the 3rd of March, with Carnival crosses first, followed by authorities and delegations of the barrios of Huaraz.

Whereas Carnival is mainly a festival of diversion, the festivals that will now be discussed --Corpus Christi and Holy Week-- are festivals of devotion exclusively.

4.2.1.3: Festivals of devotion: Holy Week and Corpus Christi

Examples of festivals of devotion are Holy Week and Corpus Christi. They are national religious holidays in Peru, and celebrated in the Callejón de Huaylas also. Since they are festivals of reflection, there are no dance groups; only religious music is played, either by flutes and drums (Corpus Christi) or by bandas (Holy Week).

*Carnival in Huaraz.
(Drawing by Juan
Barrios/Huaraz)*



Holy Week

This dramatization of the death and resurrection of Christ is celebrated in many towns of the Callejón de Huaylas and in other parts of Peru, the one celebrated in Huaraz being especially well-known. (see Maguifia, 1974)

In 1981, Holy Week in Huaraz took place from the 12th to the 19th of April and processions were held almost every day. A great many effigies participated in the processions, which started in various churches of Huaraz, accompanied by bandas playing religious music. Most of the effigies suffered heavily from the earthquake, but were restored to their original state with financial help from Huaracinos living in Lima.

On Palm Sunday ("Domingo de Ramos"), when the triumphant entry of Jesus in Jerusalem is remembered, the procession went from the church of Saint Francis to the church of La Soledad, accompanied by the Banda Centro Musical from Uquia/Huaraz. This banda --one of the best and therefore costliest-- played appropriate religious marches like "Jesús en Golgotá" and "Jesús Nazareño". They were contracted by the Society for Mutual Aid of Our Lord of La Soledad and performed gratis, out of devotion. People carried palm branches, ingeniously braided and decorated with flowers. The image of Christ was mounted on a donkey and a canopy was held above it.

On Holy Monday ("Lunes Santo"), when the punishments imposed on Jesus of Nazareth are remembered, three litters were prepared in the yard of the church of barrio Huarupampa: those of Our Lord of the Column ("Señor de la Columna"), the Virgin of Sorrows ("Virgen de los Dolores") and Our Lord of Capture ("Señor de Prendimiento"). The litter of Our Lord of the Column represents Christ with a crown of thorns, tied to a column and chained to four Roman soldiers. The effigies are cherished by their owners, who take great care to keep them from deteriorating. The litter was decorated with flowers and plants from the mountains and with cultivated flowers. Each effigy had its own banda which followed directly behind it during the procession playing religious marches like "Christ's tears" and "Jesus of

Nazareth". Our Lord of Capture came first in the procession with the Banda Musical "Aires del Rio Santa" from Huaraz; Our Lord of the Column with the Banda Musical "Estrella Andina" from Macashca/Huaraz, and the Virgin of Sorrows with the Banda Musical Filarmonica from Acopampa/Huaraz followed.

On Holy Tuesday ("Martes Santo"), when Christ is condemned to death by Pontius of Pilate, the procession started from the church of barrio Belén, with the images of Poor Christ ("Cristo Pobre") and the Virgin of Sorrows ("Virgen Dolorosa"). The Poor Christ looks like Our Lord of the Column: Christ chained to four executioners called Joserillo, Justillo, Pedrillo, and Raymundillo. There was only one banda, the Banda Musical "Juventud de Paria" from Paria/Huaraz.

In the early 1900 s processions were also held on Holy Wednesday and Maunday Thursday, but nowadays there are none.

Maundy Thursday ("Jueves Santo"), a day of retirement from worldly concerns, is dedicated to the Eucharist and visits to the churches. In the evening, the "huaraqui" (wake) took place in the church of La Soledad. Indian peasants and townspeople alike kept guard by the effigies of Jesus of Nazareth, the Virgin of Sorrows, Saint John and Mary Magdalena. After midnight, these statues were taken out in procession accompanied by chants and prayers in Quechua like "Kapaq Eterno Dios" (Oration for the Eternal God) to the church of Saint Francis in order to be readied for the solemn procession of Good Friday.

Good Friday ("Viernes Santo") is a very solemn day, on which Christ's death on the cross is remembered. The procession went from the church of Saint Francis to the church of La Soledad, and consisted of four effigies: Saint John, with the Banda Musical Filarmonica from Acopampa, Mary Magdalena with the Banda Musical "Aires del Rio Santa" from Huaraz, Jesus of Nazareth with the Banda of the Peruvian Air Force from Lima and the Banda Centro Musical from Uquia, and Our Lady of Sorrows with the Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina" from Huallecór/Huaraz, Banda Musical "Estrella Andina" from Macashca and Banda "Doremi" from

Huaraz. A number of these bandas accompanied the processions on previous days; it is noteworthy that the "new" bandas were very prestigious ones, such as the Banda "Doremi" which is a very urban type of banda from Huaraz, with musicians dressed in beige suits. It is the only banda in the Callejón de Huaylas that has two helicons. The Banda Orquesta "Flor Andina" from Hualacor is also one of the bestknown bandas in the area. The first banda in Hualacor was founded in 1924 by Santiago Maguifia Chauca, then director of the local school; (Don Santiago is a well-known musician and composed many songs that are sung by the Pastorita Huaracina and the Gorrión Andino.) But the banda of the Peruvian Air Force was by far the most prestigious banda. It consisted of 29 musicians and included instruments such as slide trombones and helicons. They were invited to come to Huaraz by the Society for Mutual Aid of Our Lord of La Soledad to play on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. On Friday and Sunday they accompanied the processions, whereas on Saturday they gave a free public concert on the plaza ("retreta"). They were dressed in military uniforms: white shirts and dark blue caps and pants. The other bandas also looked their best, either in uniforms, suits, or blazers.

The procession went from the church of Saint Francis to the church of La Soledad, via the main thoroughfares of Huaraz: Avenida Gamarra and Avenida Luzuriaga. During the course of this procession it often starts to rain, which is interpreted as a good omen. The central effigy of Good Friday is Jesus of Nazareth: he stands on a litter with a heavy cross on his shoulders, chained to four Roman soldiers. This life-sized statue belongs to the church of La Soledad, and dates from the 18th century. It has a built-in mechanism which allows it to fall down during the Calvary, up till three times, as mentioned in the Bible. The litter is decorated with wild plants and flowers from the mountains, brought in by Indian peasants. The Romans are called Silverio, Justo, Custodio, and Viejo Barba Azul or Shihuaco and belong to Huaraz families. Statues of Veronica, Simon of Cyrene and others accompany the Lord on his Calvary. Upon arrival at the church of La Soledad, after a long procession, Christ was nailed to the cross and later at night taken off the cross, after which a procession of Our Lord of the Holy Sepulchre followed, with the statues of Saint John

and Mary Magdalena.

The night before Easter Sunday, an effigy of Judas was watched over in his "garden" in the plaza of the church of La Soledad, whereafter he was hung and burned in the early hours of the morning; his face sometimes resembles that of a Huaracino who is not much liked. The (stolen) vegetables and sometimes live animals of his "garden" were later distributed amongst the onlookers, an occasion for much joking.

On Easter Sunday ("Pascuas de Resurrección") the same images as on Good Friday participated in the procession: Saint John with the Banda Musical Filarmonica from Acopampa, Mary Magdalena with the Banda Musical "Aires del Rio Santa" from Huaraz, Jesus of Nazareth with the Banda Centro Musical from Uquia and the Banda of the Peruvian Air Force, and Our Lady of Sorrows with the Banda Musical "Juventud Andina" from Churap/Huaraz. The first three effigies left from the church of La Soledad, whereas Our Lady of Sorrows left from the church of Saint Francis. These statues, taking different routes, converged on the plaza where a traditional encounter took place between Jezus of Nazareth and Saint John, Mary Magdalena and Our Lady of Sorrows. First, Saint John and Mary Magdalena greeted her with three bows, whereafter Jezus bowed six times to her. From the church of La Soledad to the plaza, the statue of Jezus was hidden, only to be revealed at the encounter with his Mother. Rockets exploded and doves were let loose. Every year, this is done in a different way, which is much-discussed by the onlookers as to its originality and beauty. The resuscitated Christ saluted the Virgin Mary, whereupon her heart pierced with seven daggers and her mourning clothes disappeared, as by enchantment. After the encounter, the effigies went back to their respective churches. It is said that this procession is the best in the world, after that of Sevilla.

It would seem that Holy Week is a Mestizo affair: the Indian population only participates in the evening of Maundy Thursday (the "huaraqui") with their chants and prayers, but less in the processions. Maguifia Chauca says that this is due to the earthquake of 1970, when modern ideas were introduced which do not take the

On the 17th a procession was held at which only Indian authorities assisted. The procession opened with a man carrying the altar cross with at his sides two men who carried so-called "tablillas", wooden tables with names listed on them. Twelve banners followed, carried by women, representing the twelve images (and, therefore, hamlets). There were a large number of musicians. Two alcaldes pedáneos and the "huanraqayoq" (Incaic rank, designating the head of a division of 1,000 tribute payers) preceded the images of Saint Ildefonso and Saint Rose of Lima, followed by the images from various hamlets.

Of the ten visiting images three represented Saint Isidro, patron of the farmers; they had small oxen and ears of corn at their feet and one of them carried a lever such as are used for irrigating the fields. Some of the images were dressed in Indian garb: a poncho and a felt hat. Small bells were attached to the litters, that jingled when the litters were moved. Three hamlets had Holy Crosses (also called May Crosses) bedecked with ribbons. One had the words "Procurador Indígena José Mallca 1953" painted on the back. This man has been the procurer ("huanraqayoq") for many years and gives the orders to the alcaldes pedáneos and their varayoq on Whit Sunday, when all come together in the church, on how the images should be carried.

On Sunday the 21st of June a large procession was held, with the same groups participating as on the 18th, plus the parish priest carrying the Blessed Sacrament under a canopy, surrounded by the Mestizo notables of Caraz. Many musicians (18) accompanied the procession, alternated with the singing of hymns and prayer. After the procession, they took their leave in front of the church, playing a "despedida", after which the images were taken back to their respective hamlets. 6)

The fact that these festivals of devotion are so different from each other may be explained by the fact that Corpus Christi is a syncretism of the pre-Colombian Inti-raymi celebrated at the time of the winter solstice and the Roman Catholic Corpus Christi, whereas Holy Week is a purely Roman Catholic festival. There also is the fact that Corpus Christi in Caraz was attended mainly by Indians from the surrounding

countryside, whereas the Holy Week of Huaraz was attended mainly by urban Mestizos. This is reflected in the use of cajas & huanquillas versus bandas.

Summarizing, it may be said that most expressions of traditional music and dance can be observed during the patron saint festivals: flutes and drums and bandas accompany the image during the procession, together with traditional dance groups and their musicians. After the procession, they play secular music for people to dance to, as do the small string orchestras (who do not participate in the processions). During Carnival there are no traditional dance groups, but people dance huaynos to the music of one or more caja & roncadora players or a banda. There is no dancing at all during Holy Week and Corpus Christi, when only religious music is played, either by bandas or flutes & drums.

It may be said that the communal religious festivals are instances of *communitas*: migrants come home for the occasion and people get together for small private parties. A feeling of togetherness, a "generalized social bond" prevails. Although the term presupposes a certain harmony, egalitarianism and comradeship, a great deal of competition and prestige-seeking goes on during the festivals, by individuals as well as by barrios. This rivalry shows in the quality of the religious images, the musicians and dancers accompanying the hamlet or the barrio, etc. Still, even this temporary rivalry is a confirmation of the society at that particular point in time: during a festival, the society is "acted out", as it were, with all its contradictions and particularities. The festival shows the structure of the society in question in a compact form, like a blueprint, and is a statement of how things are in a particular year, depending on the economical and political situation. Paraphrasing the popular saying: "an image to the wise is enough".

Thus, the religious festival is a special time and a special space, where behavior is often symbolic. It is a period of special significance to the community, and music and dance serve to underline the importance the festivals have for the people.

"La religion est une chose éminemment sociale. Les représentations religieuses sont des représentations collectives qui expriment des réalités collectives; les rites sont des manières d'agir qui ne prennent naissance qu'au sein des groupes assemblés et qui sont destinés à susciter, à entretenir ou à refaire certains états mentaux de ces groupes." (Durkheim, 1968:13)

4.2.2.: Private events, religious and secular

The music and dance observed during private events, be they religious or secular, are rather similar. These small-scale events are generally celebrated in the home and attended by family and friends only. Baptism, first haircutting, wedding, and funeral are "rites of passage", events that occur only once in a lifetime, as are specific events like going-away parties, etc. Birthdays, on the other hand, are cyclical events. At private religious events such as baptisms and weddings no religious music is performed, but mostly vernacular and Creole music played by harp, harp and violin, string orchestra, or banda. (photographs no.127-136)

For baptisms, harp alone or harp and violin are often contracted for the entire day. The parents of the child select the "padrinos" (godparents), if possible of higher social standing than they are, such as an employer or a person with prestige in the community. The same godparents will often officiate at the first haircutting ceremony ("warkaruti") which takes place a year after the baptism and marks the entrance of the individual into community life as a property owner. Since the padrinos often are urban and the parents of the child rural, the festivities take place in both places: first the parents and guests have breakfast in the house of the padrinos, where they drink a toast to the child and dance a few huaynos, whereafter the group returns to the parents' house, to eat, drink, and dance for the rest of the day. A small card with the name of the baptized child, the date of baptism, and the names of the parents and godparents is given to the guests, as a souvenir of the event.

For weddings, the preferred musical group is the banda, or otherwise a string orchestra. The musicians arrive at the house of the couple to be wedded or the house of the padrinos at around six in the morning and play their huaynos until it is time to go to the church. After returning from the church, the task of the padrinos is to get the bride and groom drunk as fast as possible; until they succeed, the couple is not allowed to go to its own home to eat and continue the party. Since by then it is around midday, it is quite warm and people are dancing and drinking gaily in the hot sun.

I witnessed various funerals: one in Huaraz, accompanied by a banda playing the funeral march "El condor pasa", and two in Caraz: one of an urban Mestizo, accompanied by people singing hymns and praying, and another one of an Indian peasant from a nearby hamlet, accompanied by an Indian cantor who imitated the intonations of a priest in "Latin". In the literature, references have been found regarding other types of music during funerals. Stein (1961:286) mentions that at the funeral rituals for a child under ten years of age two musicians (violin and drum) are brought by the padrinos, along with other gifts, and the company dances to the music. A similar custom is mentioned in the "Inventario del patrimonio turístico del Callejón de Huaylas" (ORDEZA, 1974, vol.2:34a) and by Doughty (in: Dobyms, Doughty, Laswell, 1971:98): during the wake people dance to the sound of the flute and drum.

Whereas baptisms, weddings, and funerals have a religious aspect, and are closely related to the kinship-system and the patron-client relationships of the Indian peasants, the parties at the occasion of an anniversary or a leave taking are secular, organized by Mestizos, and less formal, involving a smaller number of musicians.

4.2.3.: Communal Secular Events

4.2.3.1: Communal work parties

Nowadays, there appears to be only one type of traditional communal secular music: that played during communal labor. During my stay in the Callejón I assisted at two work parties, both of the "república" variety, which is called "faena" by the people. One was in Musho, near Tumpa, where ten men were cleaning the part of the cemetery which corresponds to their barrio. They were accompanied by varayoc and by a caja & roncadora player. This is done once a year, at the time of Carnival. The other work party took place in Caraz, where groups of men from various hamlets belonging to the parish of Saint Ildefonso worked on Sunday mornings clearing rubble in preparation of the rebuilding of the cathedral.

One of the groups was accompanied by two flautas and a caja. (photographs no.137-141;sound-selection no.9)

As for music in connection with agricultural activities, various references have been encountered to the effect that the wheat harvest was accompanied by harps, flutes and violins, or caja & roncadora. (Monografía de la Provincia de Huaylas:181). Nowadays, this custom seems to have disappeared and was not observed by me.

Whereas communal work parties are of a traditional and Indian nature, the civic holidays and the social dances that will be discussed now are mostly urban and, therefore, Mestizo affairs. This is reflected in the musical instruments used: flutes and drums at the former and string orchestras or bandas at the latter, with the corresponding vernacular, respectively Creole and international repertoire.

4.2.3.2: Civic holidays

A more modern type of communal secular music is that performed at the occasion of local and national civic holidays. There are a number of civic holidays, such as the Anniversaries of the Political Creation,

Independence Day, etc.

The Anniversaries of Political Creation ("Creación Política") are civic occasions commemorating the day a province or district was recognized. The earliest creation took place in 1857, when the department of Ancash was recognized, with Huaylas and Huaraz as provinces. Therefore, the anniversaries of the political creation of Caraz in the province of Huaylas, and Huaraz in the province of Huaraz are celebrated on the 25th of July, and go back to the year 1857. In 1904 the province of Yungay was created, and in 1934 the province of Carhuaz. (Monografía de la Provincia de Huaylas:15-18)

Independence Day ("Fiestas Patrias"), the national civic holiday, is celebrated countrywide on the 28th of July. (photographs no.142-145) These anniversaries are urban civic affairs, in which the Indian population does not participate much; they are largely organized by and for Mestizos.

On the víspera there is popular entertainment on the plaza: a banda plays music to dance to, various musical groups give a serenade, and around midnight fireworks are lit.

In Caraz, in 1980, the following groups participated in a serenade at the occasion of the Political Creation: the banda of the "Huascarán" Battalion, an ensemble of a harp and two violins, a small string orchestra, and a caja & roncadora player. It was fairly obvious that the caja & roncadora player (Lorenzo Piscoche) was not as much appreciated as the other musicians, and in 1981 he did not perform again. The banda of the Battalion was present again in 1981, as well as the small string orchestra and a harpist, all local musicians. Moreover, there was a "peña criolla" of the Social Circle of Caraz, playing Creole music, and a tropical ensemble playing Creole and international music, also from Caraz. On the day of the Political Creation a parade was held, with the assistance of the civic and military authorities of the province. On this occasion military brass bands perform, consisting of most of the regular banda instruments, plus tenor drums, (bugle)horns, and tambourines. They play military marches only. Many schools have such military brass bands, ("bandas de guerra") that perform only on civic holidays to accompany schoolchildren during the parade. Younger children are disguised as

mountain climbers, or represent the three regions of Peru, the Peruvian flag, etc., whereas the older children are dressed in the official school uniform consisting of a white blouse and a dark grey skirt or pants. In Caraz, three of these bandas played in 1981: two school bandas and the banda of the "Huascarán" Battalion. That of the "Dos de Mayo" school (considered the best school of Caraz) had one bass drum, three snare drums, a pair of cymbals, six trumpets, three tubas, three tenor drums, ten (bugle)horns, and six tambourines, the latter played by girls. Their uniforms consisted of the regular school uniforms plus white gloves, white helmets (boys), white peaked caps (girls), and white leggings (boys).

At the occasion of civic holidays public performances are often organized by committees such as the Teachers' Association, the Civil Guard ("Guardia Civil"), or others, with local and national groups and vocalists.

At the occasion of the Political Creation of Yungay, on October 28, 1980, a performance was organized by the Guardia Civil in the local stadium, with the participation of caja & roncadora players, a harp and violin duo, and a string orchestra (Centro Musical Yungay) with female vocalists. Two nationally-known vocalists of the Callejón de Huaylas were also there: the Princesita de Yungay and the Gorrión Andino, accompanied by the string orchestra "Brisas del Hualcan" (Breezes of the Hualcan, one of the glaciers of the Callejón de Huaylas). (photographs no.146-148)

Another type of civic event is the Anniversary of the Republican Guard of Peru ("La Guardia Republicana del Perú"), on the 7th of August. This was celebrated in Caraz in 1980 with a contest between local musicians: a caja & roncadora player (Lorenzo Piscoche), a harpist (Eloy Cano), and three small string orchestras. The two largest string orchestras received a shared first place, Eloy Cano finished second, the smaller string orchestra (in which Eloy Cano participated) third, and Lorenzo Piscoche last. One of the winning string orchestras featured a young female vocalist, which contributed much to their getting a first prize.

4.2.3.3: Social dances

Another type of communal secular events are the social dances ("bailes sociales"). They are usually held for the purpose of raising money to support some local project, and are mostly attended by middle and upper class Mestizos. The Indian population cannot afford the entrance fee, does not dress like the Mestizos, and does not dance like them either. They would probably feel ill at ease inside, but many like watching the goings-on from outside. Social dances often coincide with patron saint festivals or Independence Day, but also take place at unscheduled occasions. Modern bandas and tropical ensembles playing Creole and international music are preferred, in line with the ethnic status of the participants.

4.2.3.4: Entertainment

A last category of communal secular music is that performed on stage before an audience. These may be divided into two kinds: that performed by and for the people of the Callejón de Huaylas, which existed before the emergence of tourism, like travelling companies ("caravanes") and contests, and that performed for outsiders e.g. tourists, in folkloristic taverns.

Caravanes

An example is the company of the Princesita de Yungay which performed in the open-air stadium of Caraz on the 2nd of October, 1980. (see chapter 5.1)

A similar company came to Caraz on April 30, 1981. The main attraction was Rómulo Meza, the "Comunero de los Andes", a very popular vocalist. His troupe consisted of two male singers, a female singer, a comedian, and Tomás Pacheco, a nationally-known harpist. The orchestra, called "Cuarteto Folklórico Perú" (Folkloristic Cuartet Peru) was composed of two guitars, a mandolin, and an accordion. They started the evening's program with some instrumental pieces and accompanied the vocalists for the rest of the evening. The repertoire was mainly vernacular, e.g. huaynos, huaylas from the Central

Highlands, and pasacalles. The entrance fee was 400 soles, and there were about 500 townspeople present. Both caravans featured music from the Central Highlands which enjoys a high popularity in Peru.

Contests

Whereas the caravans are commercial companies of artists put together for one tour at a time, there are also local performances organized by social clubs, teachers' associations, and local authorities, often in the form of a contest.

Contests are also often organized at the time of fairs or tourist weeks. During the Fourth Touristic Week of Ancash, which was held in Huaraz from April 29 to May 5, 1981, a number of activities were organized: lectures, slide shows, exhibitions, demonstrations, and sales of handicrafts, produce and animals. The slogan of this tourist week was "El Callejón no es solo un paisaje" (The Callejón is not only a landscape), and the emphasis was on the touristic qualities of the Callejón de Huaylas.

A number of musical activities were organized: a First Contest of Folkloristic Ensembles, and a Parade of Folkloristic Dances of Ancash. The latter was organized by the National Institute of Culture in Huaraz, together with the Regional Directorate of Education and the Regional Directorate of Industry and Tourism. The majority of the dances were performed by the "Grupo Folklórico Ancash", of the Regional School of Artistic Education (EREA) connected to the National Institute of Culture. The musicians that accompanied the various dances were the string orchestra "Melodías Andinas" (three violins, a harp, and two quenás) from Huaraz, and the Jiménez Brothers (two cajas & roncadoras) from Carhuaz. The finale of the contest of folkloristic ensembles --which was organized by the Prefecture and the Regional Directorate of Education-- was held on the evening of May 2nd and overlapped with the parade of folkloristic dances mentioned above. Two categories of groups were distinguished: that of amateurs ("aficionados") and that of professionals ("profesionales"), and prizes were given in each category. Some of the musicians that accompanied the dancers earlier in the evening participated in the contest as well: the caja & roncadora players accompanied a group of Pallas de Corongo and the string orchestra "Melodías Andinas"

competed in the category of the professionals. Most of the ensembles were string orchestras with an occasional quena or accordion; all featured a vocalist. (One of them was the folk music group "Hermanos del Ande" with their vocalist Emilia Cruz) The repertoire of each ensemble consisted of three vernacular pieces. The finale was closed by a special performance of the "Comunero de los Andes".

Both contests were organized on the eve of the patron saint festival of Our Lord of La Soledad, the principal day of which is May 3rd. On the 3rd of May, there also was a parade of allegorical charriots ("carros alegóricos") through the main streets of Huaraz, organized by the Provincial Council of Huaraz. This parade coincided with the solemn procession of Our Lord of La Soledad. Thus, it would seem that the tourist week is "tacked on" to the patron saint festival, killing two birds with one stone, as it were. The touristic activities are stimulated by the Regional Directorate of Industry and Tourism of ORDENOR-Centro, which is involved in the extra-religious activities at the time of the patron saint festival of Carhuaz and other towns as well, which may be considered examples of state intervention in local traditional events. (see chapter 5.2)

Civic as well as religious occasions are used for other purposes: both Independence Day (July 28th) and the Day of the Political Creation of Huaraz (July 25th) are included in the Great Regional Fair of Ancash, which in 1981 was held in Huaraz from the 19th to the 29th of July. On the eve of the Political Creation, the 24th of July, a serenade was held in the plaza of Huaraz, and on the 25th a parade was held on the plaza. On the last three days of the fair the First National Folkloristic Festival was held, with regional and national groups participating. This fair is organized by the various departments of ORDENOR-Centro, which each have their day during the fair: Education, Energy and Mines, Fishery, Housing, Health, Agriculture, Industry and Tourism, Transport and Communication. Various musical contests were held, such as the First Contest of School Bands, the Scholastic Folkloristic Festival, and the Second Contest of Regional Bands. The latter type of contest was first held in 1980, before a jury of four, on three consecutive evenings. The purposes of the contest were: to

enliven the fair events, to foment the cultural manifestations of the villages, and to encourage musicians to cultivate the vernacular genres and to form bandas. The contest was organized by an ad hoc committee presided by the Regional Director of Education, with support from the Office of Communication and Information and the Regional Directorate of Industry and Tourism, of ORDENOR-Centro. Eight bandas participated in the contest playing waltzes, marineras, huaynos and pasacalles. The finale was attended by a great number of people: between 2,000 and 3,000 people were present. Five of these bandas received money-prizes: two shared the first prize of 300,000 soles, two shared the second prize of 200,000 soles, and one received the third prize of 100,000 soles.

The national paper "La Prensa" devoted an article to this fair on July 13, 1980, praising the variety of attractions offered to visitors of the fair, as well as its stimulus to the industrial, commercial, agricultural and touristic activities of the area.

In March of 1981 the First Encounter of Popular Music was held in Huaraz, on three consecutive nights. A number of groups from Huaraz participated (among them "Llakta Runa" and "Hermanos del Ande"), as well as a group from Lima and a group from Trujillo. Most of these groups belong to the so-called "nueva canción peruana" (new Peruvian song) that perform on stage in the more or less commercial peñas (taverns where live music is performed) of Lima and regional capitals like Cuzco and Huaraz. The group from Lima, "Alturas", is well-known nationally, and serves as an example to some of the groups of Huaraz, which sound remarkably like "Alturas", including the choice of repertoire. (The reason why this encounter took place for the first time in Huaraz in 1981 may be that the district of Huaraz elected a leftist mayor in 1980, when Belaúnde became president of Peru) This sample of popular music consisted of "autochthonous music of our provinces and urban music with Creole roots, with influences of music from the neighboring countries, as an expression of the new Peruvian song and its young cultivators", according to the introduction in the program.

This type of performance would seem to be a step beyond that of the caravans and that of the folkloristic contests mentioned before, in that it is more nationally oriented and performed by urban groups for urban audiences.

Taverns

This is even more the case when these groups perform in the taverns of Huaraz. These taverns are the local equivalent of the peñas in Lima and Cuzco, and coincide with the wave of folkloristic and protest music which reached the Callejón de Huaylas in 1978, together with the increase of tourism to the area. The first tavern was opened in 1978 by a smart local Mestizo, whose parents own a tourist hotel mentioned in the "South American Handbook". He had been to Cuzco, to a peña called "Hatuchay", and decided to open his own tavern in Huaraz, together with an associate. Space was rented and local musicians were invited to perform. The name of this first tavern was "Miski Wasi" which means "Sweet House" in Quechua. Taverns often have Quechua names such as "Kushi Llaqta" (Happy Village), "Imantata" (Aymara, meaning Like a Treasure), "Intikori" (Golden Sun), and "Palcaraju" (the name of a glacier in the Cordillera Blanca). After the "Miski Wasi" opened in 1978, others soon followed, in the wake of growing tourism: in 1980 "Kushi Llaqta" and "El Estribo" began operating, and in 1981 "Imantata". The number of taverns varies considerably, since they depend on the influx of tourists; many of them are there for one season only, not to open again the next. This may be due to lack of clients, lack of money, bad management, etc. Of the five taverns that were open in the season of 1981, one ("Palcaraju") was a "peña criolla" where only Creole music was played and the other four were "peñas folklóricas", taverns where live Latin American folk music was performed. The latest arrival, "Imantata", was doing very well: it was situated right in the center of town and had good groups performing. Three of the other taverns, however, were having trouble: "Miski Wasi", situated across the buildings of the regional university, had to close because of noise pollution after the neighbors and the university complained; the owners of "Kushi Llaqta" (a Belgian and his wife from Huaraz) were planning to leave the country and wanted to sell the tavern; it was

said that "Palcaraju" would close due to lack of income. "El Estribo" seemed to be holding its own.

The owners of the taverns are generally middle class Mestizos from Huaraz. Their reasons for running these taverns range from purely commercial to idealistic: to support the conservation and development of the music of Huaraz and of Peru, to educate the people, and to offer a good show. A special licence is required, which is issued by the Prefecture.

The taverns are frequented by foreigners, middle class Mestizo locals (among them people that work for ORDENOR-Centro and staff members of the regional university), and visitors from Lima. The groups performing in the taverns were paid 10,000 soles an hour; they usually gave two performances of half an hour, with an interval of half an hour. Part of this money is divided among the musicians and the rest is used to buy new instruments or other items for the group.

The music that one hears in these peñas is Western disco music on records, which is alternated with live Latin American folk music played by groups consisting mainly of young middle class Mestizos. They often refer to themselves as "engaged" musicians who take a social message to the people by way of "revolutionary", "testimonial", or "protest" music, and who want to rescue the folklore of the region by promoting the autochthonous music of the area. They are mostly young Mestizos with an occasional acculturated Indian among them, who attend or have attended secondary school and/or other institutions of higher education, and have jobs in Huaraz as administrators, teachers, etc. However, some of the tavern owners do not want them to play their revolutionary music, for political reasons. Their repertoire consists of Latin American folk music mainly from Southern Peru and Bolivia (Altiplano), and is learned by listening to records of well-known groups such as "Quilapayun", and "Inti Illimani" from Chile (who started the trend), or by listening to Peruvian groups like "Tiempo Nuevo" and "Alturas". Some huaynos from the Callejón de Huaylas are played by these groups, but in a hybrid fashion, using other instruments that originate mostly from the Altiplano: charango, zampoñas, quena, bombo, and guitar, instead of local instruments

like the various reed and wooden plug flutes and drums.

One of the musicians told me that they were criticized by folklorists/composers in Huaraz, like Maguifia Chauca, because they use instruments foreign to the region: its music should not be played on zampoñas and charangos. He admitted that right now there is degeneration and confusion, but wants to keep the essence of the music by studying it and adapting it to the instruments and style of his group. To him, the music of the Callejón de Huaylas is monotonous and simple, and the group would have to change its instruments and style to perform this type of repertoire.

It is too early to judge the extent of the influence of the groups on the rest of the musicians of the Callejón de Huaylas, and vice versa, but in all fairness it has to be said that some of the groups make a conscious effort to play the traditional music of the region. After a first phase of imitation of other pan-American hybrid groups, adaptation to the regional repertoire seems to take place, which may lead to a synthesis, a mature new style that contributes to the development of the music of the area.

Rodrigo Montoya, a Peruvian anthropologist, is quite critical of this type of groups, saying: "Folklore has become an excellent business for some, a temporary refuge and a way of earning some money for many. There is a serious problem of substitution with this kind of groups, in that the so-called 'new popular song' would replace the old. But it so happens that it is neither new nor popular because the people do not sing it. Peruvian folklore has excellent original native interpreters that do not need to be substituted by young people who pretend to redeem it." (Montoya, in DESCO, 1981:86) I whole-heartedly agree with him.

4.3: Conclusions

During many events, be they religious or secular, private or communal, community life is recognized and validated, and the structure of society with its oppositions can clearly be seen: urban versus rural, Mestizo versus Indian, Spanish versus Quechua, and individuality versus collectivity.

Indian peasants assist mostly at religious events, either communal or private, whereas Mestizos assist less at communal religious events and more at secular events, be they private or communal. Cholos occupy an intermediate position. When both Indians and Mestizos participate in the same festival, each group tends to have its particular day, as is the case with the festivals of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas and Our Lady of Mercy of Carhuaz, where the Mestizos are in charge of the principal day.

Change occurs mostly in the entertainment-oriented sector, which is of the secular communal type, whereas the religious communal types of music and dance are less subject to change. This would confirm the assumption that music, especially of the type used in a religious context, is one of the most stable elements of culture.

The importance of sponsors is great, especially where religious events are concerned: without mayordomos or padrinos a fiesta is impossible. Private religious events (baptism, haircutting, wedding) are sponsored by relatives or friends, whereas the costs of communal religious occasions (patron saint festival, Carnival, etc.) are borne by individual mayordomos, barrio committees, or associations of devotees such as the "hermandades" or "cofradías". Since the expenses are too great for one person to bear, the mayordomos are usually helped by friends, compadres, or relatives who donate money, rockets, food, drink, or music.

Private secular events (birthday, going-away party) are sponsored by friends and relatives. Communal secular occasions are sponsored in different ways : the musicians of a communal work party do not receive

any money, but are given food and drink by the people for whom the work is done; the same happens in the case of a military brass band playing during civic holidays, who receive food and drink from the local authorities. Entrance fees are charged by the organizers of social dances and entertainment in stadiums and taverns. The funds raised at the social dances are generally used for improving the town, but the entertainment events are purely commercial.

Leach's assumption (1976:10,16) that the nonverbal dimensions of culture are organized in patterned sets so as to incorporate coded information in a manner analogous to the sounds and words and sentences of a natural (verbal) language, may be related to the music of the people of the Callejón de Huaylas as follows:

	Ensembles	Repertoire	Events
Indians	Flutes and Drums Violin, Harp	Vernacular	Religious/ Secular
Cholos	String Orchestra Banda	Vernacular/ Creole	Religious/ Secular
Mestizos	Peña Criolla Tropical Orchestra Folk Music Group	Creole/ International	Secular/ Religious

The opposition Indian/Mestizo is reflected during the events described above and is communicated by means of the "language of actions": modes of communication like music and dance. Through their choice of instruments, repertoire and events, the people of the Callejón de Huaylas show to which group they belong.

The ways the instruments are combined to form ensembles, the repertoire that is performed, and the events which are attended, all are transformations of the same message: "I am an Indian", "I am a Cholo", or "I am a Mestizo".