Music in Latin America

THOMAS TURINO

AN ANDEAN MESTIZO FIESTA IN PAUCARTAMBO, PERU

Most of the year the rural Andean town of Paucartambo seems almost empty. Many people have migrated to the nearby city of Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Incas, or to larger cities on the Peruvian coast in search of employment and a different way of life. However, in the weeks before the festival for Paucartambo's patron saint, the Virgen del Carmen (July 15–18), the place begins to stir in preparation. All the houses are freshly whitewashed, the streets are cleaned, and people who have moved elsewhere begin returning home. The fiesta organizers visit the homes of relatives and friends who have promised financial contributions. Through generous support, the main sponsor hopes that his lavishness will make this a fiesta that people will always remember. Meanwhile, food, liquor, beer, and fireworks arrive in truck after truck—there is never enough.

The primary participants in the fiesta are **mestizos** (people of mixed Spanish and indigenous cultural heritage) from the town itself. The people of the surrounding Quechua-speaking indigenous communities are excluded from taking part, and come mainly to watch. In the weeks before the fiesta, the members of the various dance ensembles begin to rehearse for long hours on patios behind closed doors. They practice so that they may please the Virgin with their dancing and so that, this year, their group will be considered the finest. Meanwhile, the women sew the elaborate costumes and older men make the ceramic masks.

Twelve or more costumed dance ensembles perform during the fiesta, and each one tells part of the story of the town and its people. The heroes of the fiesta drama are a dance group known as the *Qhapaq Chunchos*, the "rich and powerful jungle Indians." (Paucartambo is located in a beautiful river valley on the eastern slopes of the Andes near the jungle region.) Their costume includes the feathered headdress associated with Peruvian jungle Indians and spears indicating their role as warriors. Within the fiesta drama, the Chunchos represent heroes, the

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"home team." Throughout the fiesta the Chuncho king and his soldiers express the nobility of the town through dignified behavior and disciplined martial dance. The Chunchos open the festivities by dancing for the Virgin on the church steps. During the processions of the statue of the Virgin, the Chunchos dance around her litter serving as an honor guard.

The other main protagonists of the fiesta drama are the *Qollas*, representing uncivilized outsiders, the traders of the high plateau of southern Peru. These mestizo dancers act out their part as "savages from the *puna*" (places of extremely high altitude) in various ways. They lead their llama (loaded with the goods that actual Qolla traders would carry) in and out of stores, upsetting things as they go. They whip each other in one part of their dance; and they conduct themselves in an unruly manner throughout the fiesta days. Their dramatic persona thus contrasts fundamentally with the reserved, disciplined, dignified behavior of their rivals, the Chunchos.

MESTIZO
A relative term referring to people and a social identity involving the blending of European and Amerindian beliefs and cultural practices. Although in the past used as a racial category, it now more accurately denotes the variable incorporation of Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) and indigenous cultural heritages.

According to one legend told in Paucartambo, the statue of the Virgen del Carmen originally belonged to the Qollas of Puno, Peru, but through battle the Chunchos won her and brought her to Paucartambo, where she remained as the provider of prosperity, health, and all good things. In another version, I was told that the Virgin originally belonged to Paucartambo. On one occasion, the Qollas tried to steal her (the statue) away, but were attacked by the Chunchos, who defended her and, by winning the battle, kept her safe in Paucartambo. As a reminder of these and other legends surrounding the Chunchos, the Qollas, and their special relationship to the Virgin, a dramatic mock battle is fought during the fiesta, and each year the Chunchos win.

Chuncho Dancers, Paucartambo, Peru. *Source:* Thomas Turino

Qolla Dancers, Paucartambo, Peru. *Source:* Thomas Turino

The *Saqras* (or "devils," in the native Quechua language) are also central to the meaning of the fiesta, because they serve as foils to the holy saint. The Saqras' costumes include clothing representing the colonial Spanish, blonde wigs alluding to Europeans, and ceramic animal or monster masks. Their choreography is reminiscent of a genteel European **contra dance**, and this fortifies the satiric portrayal of Europeans. These devil dancers combine imagery that expresses Peruvian attitudes about the evil that comes from beyond this world, as well as the evil that arrived in ships from beyond the Andean world beginning in the 1500s. During the two fiesta processions, the statue of the Virgin is carried through the streets accompanied by dancers, music, and the people of the town. At these times, the Saqra dancers climb onto the red-tiled roofs and, as the saint passes, shield their eyes from her brightness and slowly disappear behind the rooftops. Both in the drama and according to local beliefs, the Virgin blesses each house, ridding it of evil, as she passes during the processions.

CONTRA DANCE
A type of partnered line dance in which couples arrange themselves in two facing lines.

Most of the other dance groups in the fiesta also represent and parody outsiders. The *Doctores*, for example, represent lawyers and government officials who are known for their exploitation of rural Peruvians. As the Doctores move through the streets, they frequently "capture" people of the local indigenous communities who have come to town to watch the fiesta. Once the dancers have encircled an unfortunate man, they begin beating him with the heavy law books that they carry as a part of their costume while shouting insults and abuses. The image of the law book used as a weapon against common people is enacted by making it a concrete weapon—much to the hilarity of onlookers lucky enough not to have been caught.

Saqra (Devil) Dancers, Paucartambo, Peru. *Source:* Thomas Turino

The cast also includes the *Qhapaq Negros*, a dance ensemble representing black slaves brought during the colonial era; the Chilenos, expressing the enmity toward the devastating Chilean army of the War of the Pacific (1879–1884); the *Chuk'chus*, or malaria carriers from the jungle; the *Majeños*, exploitative liquor traders from the city of Arequipa; and the *Maqtas*, or clowns, who serve as the policemen during the fiesta, among other dance ensembles. As a wonderful addition, some dancers have lately begun to dress up as young hippie tourists. They wear backpacks and floppy hats and stick toy cameras into people's faces as they move through the streets, thereby commenting on the most recent invasion of outsiders and demonstrating the ongoing creativity of these fiesta dancers.

Each dance group is accompanied by its own band and a series of distinctive pieces that, through association over the years, have become as important to the characters presented by the groups as their costumes, choreography, and dramatic behavior. Some of the music is particularly pictorial, such as the staggering melody played by a brass band to fit the Majeño liquor traders' drunken dance. The Chunchos' music, played on flutes and drums, is reminiscent of nearby lowland Indian styles and thus, like the dancers' feathered headdresses, adds to their portrayal of jungle Indians. Although the dancers are mestizos from the town of Paurcartambo, this dance group hires indigenous musicians to accompany them.

Much of the music in the fiesta is based on major local genres, such as the *mestizo wayno*, or is more European in form like the contra dance music used by the Saqras and other groups. The fiesta includes indigenous-styled flute and drum bands, like the one that accompanies the Chunchos; brass bands;

and a type of local dance band (**orquesta tipica**) that combines indigenous, end-notched flutes (called *kenas*) with European instruments such as violins, harp, and accordion. These orquestas are thus a microcosm of the European-indigenous mix that characterizes the fiesta and a mestizo cultural orientation more generally. Unlike the dancers, who are mestizos from Paucartambo, the bands are hired by the dance groups and usually comprise semiprofessional musicians from elsewhere (Listen to CD III, 3 for an example of indigenous-styled flute and drum bands).

Upon entering the town of Paucartambo during the fiesta days, one is struck by the apparent chaos and intensity of multiple bands playing simultaneously while strange costumed characters roam the streets as if they had taken over the town. The plaza is filled to capacity with drunks, dancers, fighters, lovers, and spectators. Beneath the surface, many stories are being told, woven together, by the dance groups and their musicians, who are essential to the meaning and the very existence of the festival. The townspeople say, "Paucartambinos were born to dance," and for four days a year they do little else—in honor of their beloved saint and simply for the joy of it. For four days a year, the plaza and cobblestone streets are transformed into a stage for a music drama that turns the normal order of daily life upside down, but that at the same time expresses some of the most important things that Paucartambinos have to say about themselves. These things are too old or too complicated or too deep to say directly with words, and so they dance.

ORQUESTA TIPICA
A mixed ensemble of European instruments and indigenous Andean flutes.

CANDOMBLÉ
An Afro-Brazilian religion heavily involving West African religious beliefs and musical practices.

SOCIOCULTURAL HERITAGES AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Within the Latin American region are many radically different lowland and highland Native American societies. There are African American cultural enclaves where African beliefs, practices, and styles are primary models for social and artistic life. There are also social groups, especially in major cities, predominantly characterized by European and cosmopolitan social and cultural style. The worldview, lifestyle, and artistic practices of a lowland Amazonian Indian in Brazil may bear little or no relation to those of a member of the cosmopolitan elite in Rio de Janeiro, or to those of the members of an Afro-Brazilian religious **candomblé** cult house in Bahía, northeastern Brazil. This diversity, even within a single country, makes it difficult to talk about Latin America as a single unified cultural or musical area.

At the same time, the common historical experiences of Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) colonialism since the sixteenth century, the formation of contemporary nation–states in the nineteenth century, and North American economic and cultural domination in the twentieth have resulted in certain widely diffused cultural and musical features. Iberian influence is the oldest and most profound common denominator in Latin America. This is exemplified by the wide diffusion of the Spanish language (Portuguese in Brazil), Catholicism, and a number of musical characteristics. Iberian cultural elements, however,

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TRADITIONAL DANCE, CHUNCHOS OF PAUCARTAMBO

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Two wooden transverse flutes, snare/bass drums
Recorded by T. Turino

This dance tune is played by two flutes in a loose heterophonic texture. That is, each flautist simultaneously plays variations of the same melody, rather than performing in strict unison, to produce the richer sound that indigenous Andeans prefer. The melody consists of two asymmetrical parts: a short Part **A** (8+4 beats), and a slightly longer Part **B** (8+8 beats).

If we think of this whole melody as having a range of a bit more than an octave, then Part **A** generally involves pitches in the higher half of that octave, whereas Part **B** mainly explores pitches in the lower half of the octave. Part **A** and Part **B** of the melody also include a shared melodic phrase. The melody can be represented somewhat schematically, as follows:

	PART A		**PART B**			
Upper half of octave:	**A1**					
Lower half of octave:		**A2**	**B1**	**B2(= A2)**	**B1**	**B2(= A2)**
Length in Beats:	8	4	4	4	4	4

The drums, for their part, repeat a simple rhythmic accompaniment throughout the performance.

TIME	**SECTION**	**MUSICAL EVENTS**
0:00–0:04	Part **A:** Listen for the way this melodic part initially explores the upper half of the octave. Also notice the descending melodic gesture that completes this part and will reappear in Part **B**.	The flutes and drums initiate the dance tune and perform the first melodic gesture (eight beats) of Part **A**—exploring the upper half of the octave. (If you're having trouble counting the beats, listen for the bass drums. They are striking the drums on the beat fairly consistently [though sometimes they play two notes per beat]. With a little practice you'll hear the beat clearly.)
0:04–0:06		The flutes then complete Part **A** by performing a second, descending melodic gesture (four beats), this one exploring the lower half of the octave.
0:06–0:08	Part **B:** Listen to how this section is created from the combination and repetition of two, short melodic gestures. Listen also for the return of the second gesture introduced in Part **A**.	The first melodic gesture of Part **B** (four beats) explores the lower half of the octave.
0:08–0:10		The second melodic gesture from Part **A** is reintroduced here (four beats).

0:10–0:14		The first and second melodic gestures are repeated, completing Part **B**.
0:15–0:20	Parts **A** and **B**: Listen to the whole melody and see if you can hear and feel the asymmetrical parts against each other. Part **A** consists of 12 beats, whereas Part **B** is fully 16 beats long.	Part **A** (twelve beats).
0:21–0:28		Part **B** (sixteen beats).
0:29–0:34	Continued alternation between Parts **A** and **B**	Part **A** (twelve beats).
0:35–0:42		Part **B** (sixteen beats).
0:43–0:48		Part **A** (twelve beats).
0:48–1:00		Part **B** extended here (twenty-four beats).
1:01–1:06		Part **A** (twelve beats).
1:06–1:15		Part **B** (sixteen beats).
1:15–1:21		Part **A** (twelve beats).
1:21–1:28		Part **B** (sixteen beats).
1:29–1:40	Conclusion	The conclusion consists of the first melodic gesture of Part **A**, after which the performance comes to a close.

have been combined with regionally specific indigenous lifeways to form local mestizo cultures in some regions and with African heritages to form African American cultural enclaves in others. The mestizo fiesta in Paucartambo is one example of the result.

Various indigenous groups of the Amazon and other lowland forest areas have maintained the greatest distance from European and North American lifeways. Contact with missionaries, white settlers, and capitalists, however, has had a long and in many cases disastrous effect on these peoples, on the rain forests, and thus on the planet as a whole. The major pre-Columbian states of the Aztecs and Mayas were located in Mesoamerica and the Incas in the Andes. The large native populations in these regions supplied much of the necessary labor for the Spanish colonizers. In these areas, highland Amerindian cultural styles, values, and practices remain vibrant in some communities or have combined with Iberian elements to form particularly distinctive examples of Latin American mestizo musical styles. African influences remain the strongest and have fused most prominently with the Iberian in the Caribbean and along the coasts of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, the Guiana region, and northeastern Brazil, where slave labor supported the plantation economy.

Other Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Chile, are characterized by the predominance of European heritage and cosmopolitan cultural style, as are the middle-class and elite populations in most major Latin American cities. Because of intense rural-to-urban migration throughout the twentieth century, however, the capitals of Latin American countries have typically become heterogeneous social and musical microcosms of their countries as a whole.

Given this social diversity, it is best to study Latin American music through a consideration of the different types of cultural groups in specific locations—with the understanding that it is the Native American, mestizo, and African American cultures that have generally produced the most unique Latin American musical styles and practices. We will begin with some widespread characteristics of Latin American music that largely pertain to mestizo music-making.

MESTIZO MUSICAL VALUES AND MUSICAL STYLE

Devil Dancers in Michoacan, Mexico. *Source:* Thomas Turino

General Features of Mestizo Music

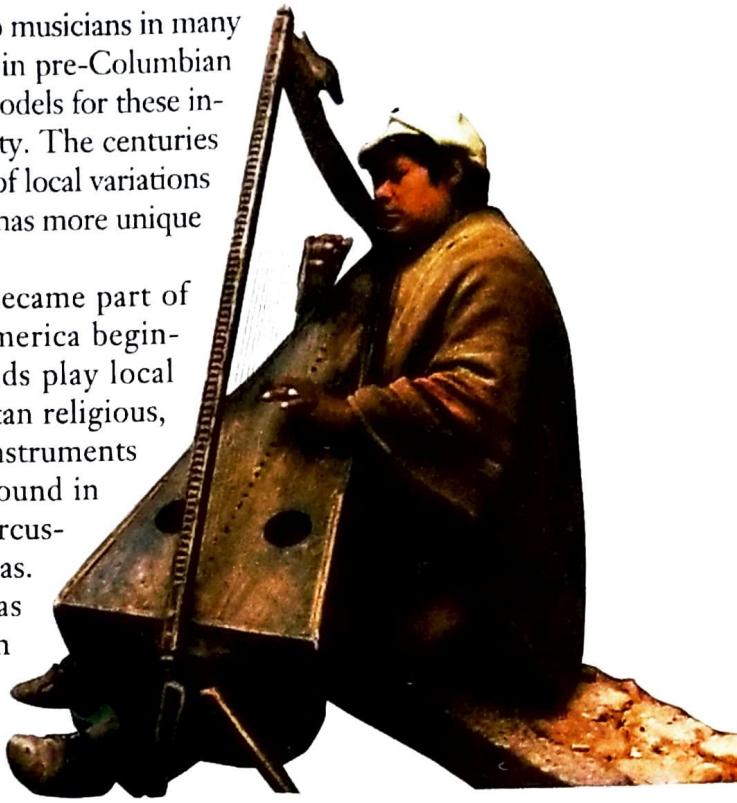
The term *mestizo* is a relative concept that indicates a blending of European with local Native American cultural heritages and worldviews; in some cases African elements may be included as well (e.g., the marimba in Central America). As we shall see, cultural distinctions between indigenous and mestizo social groups are often a matter of degree rather than kind, as well as a matter of how local peoples define their own social identities.

General features of mestizo musical life include costumed dances similar to those described for the Paucartambo festival. During the colonial period, missionaries used music and costumed dances to attract indigenous peoples to Christianity. Costumed dances have been performed in Catholic festivals from Mexico to Chile since that time. Characters brought to life through dance—old men; soldiers; devils, monsters, and other supernatural beings; figures from Biblical stories; animals; Spaniards; Africans—are widely portrayed in mestizo festival dance dramas. Nonetheless, the music used to accompany the dances and the stories told through them varies widely from one country, region, and even community to another. Moreover, a region's repertoire of dances changes over time, as we saw with the recent addition of "hippie-tourist" dancers in Paucartambo.

In the colonial era, missionaries taught European stringed instruments, especially an old type of European diatonic harp and violin. Along with harps and violins, guitars and mandolin-type instruments, such as the *bandúrria*, are

central to music-making among both indigenous and mestizo musicians in many areas. As far as we know, stringed instruments did not exist in pre-Columbian Central and South American societies, but once European models for these instruments were available, they spurred tremendous creativity. The centuries following the colonial conquest gave rise to a dazzling array of local variations of stringed instruments, especially the guitar; Latin America has more unique variants of the guitar than any other region on earth.

Based on the military band tradition, brass bands became part of mestizo town and village festivals throughout Latin America beginning in the nineteenth century. Town and village bands play local dance music and song genres as well as more cosmopolitan religious, nationalistic, and popular music. In some places, band instruments (e.g., trumpets, saxophones, clarinets, trombones) are found in novel combinations with local indigenous flutes and percussion instruments; harps, violins, and guitars; and marimbas. In the twentieth century, diatonic button accordions as well as piano accordions have come to be widely used in many local mestizo ensembles and urban bands. More recently diffused from North America, electric guitars, electric keyboards, and synthesizers have attracted Latin American musicians and have been incorporated into, in some cases, very distinctive local styles.



Latin American diatonic harp played by a street musician in Cuzco, Peru. *Source:* Thomas Turino

European scales and harmony were widely taught by missionaries throughout Latin America, and they became commonly incorporated within local mestizo musics. The seven-note (do-re-mi) scale, minor

Indigenous Quechua bandúrria players accompanying a Carnival Dance in Canchis, Cuzco, Peru. *Source:* Thomas Turino

COPLA
An Iberian-derived verse form with four octosyllabic lines per stanza.

SESQUIALTERA
The combination or juxtaposition of duple and triple rhythmic patterns, both simultaneously in different instrumental parts, or sequentially in the same part; *hemiola*.

scales, and other older European scales are commonly used, as are European-based chord progressions. An especially common trait in mestizo instrumental performance and singing is the use of parallel thirds (e.g., the interval from do to mi) or sixths (do to la). Strophic form (the music stays the same while the lyrics change from stanza to stanza) is a common characteristic of mestizo music. Iberian verse types such as the **copla** (a four octosyllabic-line stanza) are widespread; six-line stanzas and many other varieties are also often found.

A common form of rhythmic–metric organization in mestizo music results from the combination of duple and triple rhythms—as if musicians were playing in both 3/4 (waltz time) and 6/8 (jig-time) meters within the same piece. Known as **sesquialtera** (or *hemiola*), duple and triple rhythmic patterns can be juxtaposed sequentially by the same instrument or are played simultaneously by different instruments within an ensemble. Thus, a bass instrument might emphasize a triple (3/4) feeling against the duple feeling played by a guitarist, with the maraca player moving back and forth between duple and triple patterns. The tension that results from juxtaposing duple and triple rhythms creates a wonderful excitement in the music. In addition to sesquialtera rhythmic organization, local variants of the waltz in 3/4 time are widespread as are variants of the European polka, marches, and other genres in 2/4 and 4/4 time.

Return to Paucartambo

The Fiesta of the Virgen del Carmen in Paucartambo clearly illustrates the nature of mestizo culture. At the most concrete level, the townspeople define who and what is mestizo by excluding the active participation of people from nearby indigenous Quechua communities. (Restricted participation distinguishes mestizo and indigenous status, rather than residence, because mestizos who have moved elsewhere can still return to dance in the fiesta.) In other ways the event reflects the complex combinations of indigenous and European heritages and worldviews that are the hallmark of mestizo culture. In regard to religious meaning, for example, the festival celebrates the Catholic saint, but for many people in the town her significance is fused with that of Pachamama (Earthmother, provider of life), an indigenous divinity. The Catholic festival also combines elements of indigenous harvest rituals with local mestizo merchants' more immediate desires to attract people to their stores. Nowhere is the blending of cultural heritages and values more evident than in the bands that perform music for the event.

Three types of ensemble are heard. Several brass bands are hired—for the Majeños dancers, the processions, and sometimes for other dance groups. Because of their volume and the expense of hiring brass bands, they are the most prestigious type of ensemble. The Chunchos and several other groups use side-blown flute and drum ensembles (CD III, 3); the combination of

flutes (of many different types) with drums is a tradition that hails from pre-Columbian times in the Andes, Mexico, and other regions of Latin America.

The major ensemble type used to provide mestizo dance music in Paucartambo, however, combines European and pre-Hispanic Andean instruments within the same band. These groups, known simply as orquestas tipicas (typical orchestras), feature a large diatonic harp, violins, accordion, and sometimes mandolin. Indigenous vertical end-notched flutes known as *kenas*, however, are also included, as are drums. Along with panpipes and trumpets, kenas were one of the main wind instruments played in the Andes before the Spanish arrived (Listen to CD III, 4 for an example of the *orquesta tipica* sound).

Other music heard during the fiesta is representative of the major mestizo genres of Peru: the wayno, the **marinera**, the **yaraví**, marches, and religious hymns. Not tied to specific contexts, the first three popular genres are performed in all types of social gatherings and private music-making occasions ranging from serenades and family birthday parties to drinking bouts with friends and theater stage performances.

The **wayno (or huayno)**, the most important Peruvian mestizo genre, is best recognized by its rhythm, which varies between a ♫ figure and an eighth-note triplet feel within a 2/4 or 4/4 meter (sometimes three-beat measures occur at the end of phrases). The mestizo wayno is a social couple's dance involving fast foot tapping, subtle flirtatious movements, and sometimes the use of a handkerchief waved in the hand; in these general traits it resembles many other mestizo social dances of Latin America. Like much Latin American mestizo music, the wayno is strophic with usually two, three, or four text lines within short repeated melodic sections (e.g., **AABB, ABAB).** Texts on a variety of joking, romantic, political, or topical themes are, like the Qollas' songs, in Spanish, Quechua, or a combination of the two. My friend and teacher Julio Benavente, a mestizo musician from Cuzco, Peru, once told me that when he really wanted to speak his mind and heart through a song, he would compose a wayno because it can encompass any topic and is a genre of profound feeling. The song texts frequently use nature imagery and in this, the use of Quechua, and the rhythm, the wayno is closest to indigenous roots of all the major Peruvian mestizo genres (Listen to CD III, 5 for an example of wayno).

The marinera is also a couples "handkerchief" dance. It is typically set in the European major scale with European tonal harmony and is characterized by sesquialtera (duple-triple hemiola) rhythm in moderate tempo. The form is typically **AABBCC**, and this is repeated twice with a short break in between as "La Primera" (first) and "La Segunda" (second) parts. The song texts are almost always on light romantic themes, sung in Spanish. In many social situations, such as at a private evening party at the fiesta sponsor's house in Paucartambo, marineras are coupled with a faster wayno to animate the dancers.

Unlike the marinera and wayno, the yaraví is not danced; rather, it is used to serenade a lover, for a serious moment at social gatherings, or to express

MARINERA
Mestizo song-dance genre of Peru in sesquialtera rhythm.

YARAVÍ
A slow, sad, lyrical mestizo song genre from Peru.

WAYNO, OR HUAYNO
The most widespread Andean mestizo song-dance genre in Peru, also performed by some indigenous musicians. The song texts are strophic, and the tunes comprise short sections in forms such as **AABB**. Waynos are in duple meter with a rhythmic feel varying between an eighth-and-two-sixteenth-note figure and an eighth-note triplet.

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TRADITIONAL DANCE AND SONG: "QOLLAS DESPEDIDA"

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Qollas of Paucartambo: Two metal kenas, (flutes), violin, mandolin, harp, accordion, and drum
Recorded by T. Turino

his syncopated melody is carried by the violins, kenas, mandolin, and accordion, producing a densely blended timbral quality. After the upward leap in the opening phrase, the melody settles into a descending pattern (moving generally from higher to lower pitches). Descending melodies of this sort are a feature common in both mestizo and indigenous Andean music. The song is strophic, with six lines per stanza and is structured around three short, repeated melodic Sections in **AA BB B'B'** form. The **A** and **B** Sections each comprise two short melodic phrases (**A = a, b; B = c, d**), each with its own text. The two **B'** Sections consist of the single text lines "Ay Señorallay" (sung to melodic phrase **"d"**) and "Ay Ñuest'allay" (also sung to melodic phrase **"d"**), and serve as a repeated melodic-text refrain at the end of each stanza (**B' = d**). In this performance, the dancers sing as a unison chorus and their vocal rendition of the entire (**AA BB B'B'**) form is alternated with instrumental renditions of the melody. Songs sung to the Virgin by the Qollas and other dance groups are performed in Spanish, Quechua (the indigenous language), or, as in this performance, in both languages, clearly illustrating the complex blending of European and indigenous cultures that defines Andean mestizo identity generally.

TIME	SECTION	MUSICAL EVENTS
0:00–0:04	**Instrumental performance of the melody:** Listen for the way this melody is structured into a short (17 seconds), **AA BB B'B'** form. Listen also for the descending melody in all but the opening gesture of **"A."**	**A**
0:05–0:09		**A** repeated.
0:09–0:11		**B**
0:11–0:13		**B** repeated.
0:14–0:15		**B'** (notice that it consists of melodic phrase **"d"**.)
0:15–0:17		**B'** repeated.
0:17–0:20	**Sung performance of the text/melody:** The **A** and **B** sections are sung in Quechua, but the refrain (**B'**) is performed in Spanish.	**A** (Quechua).
0:20–0:24		**A** repeated (Quechua).
0:24–0:26		**B** (Quechua).

0:27–0:29		**B** repeated (Quechua)
0:29–0:32		**B'** and **B'** repeat (Spanish) **(d)** *Ah, Señorallay* (Oh my Lady) **(d)** *Ay Ñust'allay* (Oh my princess) Both of the lines of text in **B'** are referring to the Virgin.
0:32–0:47	**Instrumental performance of the melody:** Listen for the richly heterophony texture and the densely blended timbral quality produced by the ensemble.	**AA BB B'B'**
0:48–0:51	**Sung performance of the text and melody:** This time the entire text is sung in Spanish.	**A** **(a)** *Adiós Adiós* (Goodbye, goodbye) **(b)** *Compañeros míos* (Companions of mine)
0:52–0:55		**A** repeated
0:56–0:58		**B** **(c)** *Hasta el año* (Until the year) **(d)** *Del tres mil* (Until the year 3000)
0:59–1:01		**B** repeated
1:01–1:04		**B'** and **B'** repeat **(d)** *Ah, Señorallay* (Oh my Lady) **(d)** *Ay Ñust'allay* (Oh my princess)
1:04–1:20	**Sung performance of the text/ melody:** The vocal chorus repeats the stanza they just performed.	Same as previous stanza
1:21–1:44	**Instrumental performance of the melody:** In this final repetition of the **AABBB'B'** melody, listen for the richly heterophony texture and the densely blended timbral quality produced by the ensemble.	**AA BB B'B'**

deep feelings when one is alone. It is a slow lyrical song, usually on sad themes of unrequited love, leaving family or home, or the absence of loved ones; yaravís are almost always sung in Spanish. The genre features the sesquialtera combination of 3/4 and 6/8 meters, but because of its slow tempo, the sesquialtera does not create the same excitement as when used in faster genres such as the marinera, the Venezuelan *joropo*, and the Mexican **son**. Musically and historically, the Peruvian marinera is closely related to the Chilean and Bolivian

SON
Mexico's most important song-dance genre, a strophic song usually on romantic themes and in many regions characterized by sesquialtera rhythm.

LISTENING GUIDE

POPULAR WAYNO (HUAYNO) MUSIC: "QUISIERA OLVIDARTE"

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Performed by La Pastorita Huaracina (Maria Alvarado)

This classic recording was a hit record in Peru and is representative of the commercial wayno music that gained tremendous popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. Maria Alvarado, a long-time resident of Lima, is accompanied by a string band in the style of her native highland department of Ancash. The group comprises several guitars, mandolins, violins, and accordions. This is a strophic song in **AA BB'** form, with an animated closing section known as **fuga** (labeled Section **C**, melodic phrases **e** and **f**). As in the Qollas' song (CDIII, 4), each section comprises two short phrases (**A = a, b; B = c, d; B' = c, d'**) and each phrase features its own text line. The length of these phrases is also important to note. The **A** Section contains two asymmetrical phrases (4+6) whereas the **B** section includes two symmetrical phrases (4+4). Section **B'** is, once again asymmetrical (4+6). The ensemble adds a three-beat extension to several of the phrases. The phrase structure of verse one can be sketched as follows:

Section:	A			A			B		B′		
Phrase:	a	b	Ext.	a	b	Ext.	c	d	c	d′	Ext.
Beats:	4	6	3	4	6	3	4	4	4	6	3

Once the performance reaches the fuga, the length of phrases changes yet again. This time the predominant length is three beats. The fuga unfolds as follows:

Section:	C		C′	
Phrase:	e	f	e	f′
Beats:	3	3	3	4

Note the quick, high vocal ornaments (e.g., on the words "*he* podido" and "mald*i*to" so characteristic of highland women singers. Note also the humorous insults hurled at her lover in the final lines of the fuga.

TIME	SECTION	MUSICAL EVENTS
0:00–0:08	**Instrumental introduction**	The performance is initiated by guitar.
0:09–0:15		The ensemble joins the guitar in preparation for the first verse.
0:16–0:23	**Verse 1:** Listen for the overarching structure **(AA BB').** Listen also for the way the **"b"** and **"d'"** phrases are extended by the ensemble.	**A** **(a)** *Quisiera olvidarte* (I would like to forget you). **(b)** *Pero no he podido* (but I can't)
0:24–0:31		**A** repeated.

0:31–0:35		**B** (c) *Este amor maldito* (This wicked love)
		(d) *Rendida me tiene* (has conquered me)
0:36–0:43		**B'** (lyrics repeated).
0:44–1:11	**Instrumental interlude:** Listen for a repeat of the entire melody, including the extensions at the end of phrases "b" and "d."	**AA BB'** Notice the words, clapping, and vocal sounds of animation included here. This is how it would be done to inspire dancers.
1:12–1:20	**Verse 2:** This time, see if you can hear the way the "b" and "d'" phrases are extended by the ensemble.	**A** (a) *Quisiera morirme* (I would like to die)
		(b) *Para no olvidarte* (rather than forget you)
1:20–1:27		**A** repeated.
1:27–1:32		**B** (c) *Luego sepultarme* (then bury myself)
		(d) *Dentro de tu pecho* (in your chest)
1:32–1:39		**B'** (lyrics repeated).
1:40–1:43	**Fuga section begins:** Listen for the shift to three-beat phrases and for the new melodic content.	**C** (e) *Anda vete cholo* (Go away boy)
		(f) *Ya no te quiero mas* (I don't love you anymore)
1:43–1:47		**C'** (e) *Por más que te quiero* (For me to love you)
		(f) *Te haces de rogar* (you will have to beg)
1:47–1:51		**C** repeated.
1:51–1:54		**C'** repeated.
1:55–2:10	**Instrumental interlude:** Listen for a performance and repeat of the entire fuga melody.	**CC' CC'** (repeated). Notice the words, clapping, and vocal sounds of animation included here. This is how it would be done to inspire dancers.
2:10–2:13	**Fuga section with new lyrics**	**C** (e) *Anda vete cholo* (Go away boy)
		(f) *Ya no te quiero mas* (I don't love you anymore)
2:13–2:18		**C'** (e) *Por más que te quiero* (For me to love you)
		(f') *Te haces de rogar* (you will have to beg)
2:18–2:21		**C** (e) *Anda vete sucio* (Go away dirty boy)
		(f) *Ya no te quiero mas* (I don't want you anymore)
2:21–2:33		**C'** (e) *Hasta que te bañes* (Until you take a bath)
		(f) *Ya no te vuelvo a querer* (I couldn't return to loving you)

FUGA
A term used throughout Peru to indicate an animated concluding section to a dance piece.

JAROCHO ENSEMBLE
Musical group from the rural, southern coastal region of Veracruz state. It includes a large diatonic harp, a four-string guitar (requinto), and one or more jaranas (a small guitar with eight strings).

HUASTECA REGION
A Mexican region including northern Veracruz State and Tamaulipas, and the musical style from that region.

MARIACHI
Ensemble type originally from Jalisco, Mexico, consisting of two or more violins, vihuela, guitarrón, two trumpets, and various guitars.

CONJUNTO NORTEÑOS
Popular dance bands originally associated with northern Mexico and southern Texas, featuring three-row button accordion, bajo sexto (12-string guitar), bass, and drums.

cueca and the Argentine *zamba*; the *triste* in Bolivia and Argentina is kin to the Peruvian yaraví.

Mestizo Music in Veracruz, Mexico

Throughout Latin America regionalism is extremely important for understanding musical styles as well as the ways people conceptualize their own identities. In Mexico, mestizo musical styles are strongly identified with their regions of origin, yet because of the mass media and tourism, many of the most important regional musics can be heard presently in any major city of the country, along with the most popular international Caribbean, Latin American, and North American styles. A visit to the city of Veracruz will introduce us to the vast array of mestizo musics of Mexico.

Like other Mexican cities, Veracruz has several areas where outdoor cafes line the street or plaza. These social centers attract a host of full-time professional strolling musicians who perform different Mexican regional styles at patrons' tables for a fee. At other restaurants, loudspeakers blare international popular music, such as old recordings of Cuban dance music, contemporary salsa, and other Caribbean styles. As a seaport on the gulf coast, Veracruz has long-standing musical ties with the Caribbean, particularly Cuba, which has produced some of the most successful, widely diffused popular music in the world. During a single night in the cafes of Veracruz, I heard in addition to this recorded music, local **jarocho ensembles**, a **huasteco** trio from the northern gulf coast region, several **mariachi** bands associated with the state of Jalisco, a *marimba* group from southern Mexico, and several norteño accordion groups (**conjunto norteños**).

The local mestizo jarocho ensemble, associated with the rural southern coastal region of Veracruz state, consists of a large diatonic harp with between 32 and 36 strings, a *requinto* (a small four-string guitar), and one or more *jaranas* (a small guitar type with eight strings in five courses) for the fast, rhythmic, strummed chordal accompaniment. These groups specialize in a regional variant of Mexico's most important mestizo song–dance genre: the *son*. The famous 1950s rock 'n' roll song by Richie Valens, "La Bamba," is, in fact, a son jarocho that has been played in Veracruz since at least the turn of the nineteenth century.

Sones in the jarocho and other Mexican regions are typically strophic songs. Sung verses are alternated with instrumental interludes, which in some regions are variations or improvisations on the sung melody or a set instrumental melody. Individual musicians also have their own repertoire of instrumental "riffs" (melodic formulas) that they can plug into a given performance. Sones in most regions are played with duple and triple rhythmic patterns juxtaposed within a quick 6/8 (or in some regions 12/8) metric frame (sesquialtera). There are sones in both major and minor modes, and basic European chord progressions, for example, the use of I, IV, and V chords played in repetitive patterns, are common.

The song texts are frequently about women and romantic love, but may also be playful, joking songs, expressions of regional pride, or simply about music and dance occasions. A stanza from "La Bamba" includes a typical type of word play:

En mi casa me dicen
(In my house they call me)
En mi casa me dicen el inocente
(In my house they call me the innocent one)
Porque tango muchachas (×2)
(Because I have girls)
Entre quince y viente
(Between fifteen and twenty)
Y arriba arriba,
(and upward and upward)
Y arriba arriba, arriba-ré
Yo no soy marinero (×2)
(I'm not a sailor)
Por tí seré, por tí seré
(For you I'll be, for you I'll be).

HUASTECA ENSEMBLE
Mexico group hailing from Northern Veracruz and Tamaulipas state, featuring violin accompanied by two types of guitars.

The texts of sones are often set in four- or six-line stanzas, although there is flexibility such that longer stanzas (as in "La Bamba") are sung, and verses of unequal length may even be included in the same song. Some texts are fixed, but frequently performers have a wide repertory of different stanzas that they can choose from and order at will. New stanzas may also be improvised so that no two performances of a son will be alike; this is certainly true for the classic son jarocho, "La Bamba." Unlike the bilingual mestizos of Paucartambo, Peru—who may sing songs in both Spanish and the indigenous language, Quechua—mestizo sones in Mexico are typically sung only in Spanish. As this example shows, Native American elements are less pronounced in Mexican mestizo culture than in mestizo culture in southern Peru and Bolivia. The stronger European orientation of Mexican mestizo culture is the more typical case for mestizos in Latin America generally.

After the jarocho ensemble moved away from my cafe table in Veracruz, I was treated to the music of a **huasteca ensemble**, one of the most virtuosic styles Mexico has to offer. Typically, these professional strolling musicians would be heard at cafes, restaurants, parties, and festivals in their own native huasteca region of northern Veracruz and the state of Tamaulipas. Specializing in sones huastecos, the trios consist of violin as the lead instrument accompanied by two local guitar variants: the *huapanguera* (larger than a guitar with eight strings in five courses) and the smaller five-stringed jarana. These instruments are strummed, ambiguously mixing duple and triple (sesquialtera) rhythms within 6/8 meter (Listen to CD III, 6 for an example of a son huasteco).

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Mariachi groups, Mexico's most famous type of ensemble, are also heard in the cafes and on the streets of Veracruz as well as all over the country.

LISTENING GUIDE

TRADITIONAL SON HUASTECO

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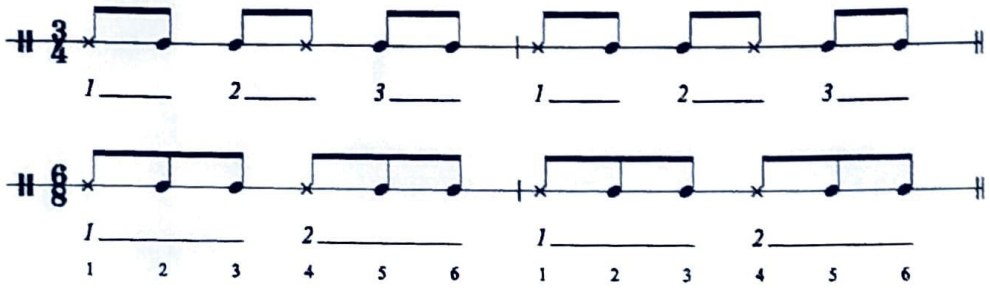
Performed by Los Caporales de Panuco
Violin, huapanguera (or guitarra quinta), jarana huasteca (smaller guitar), and two vocalists
Recorded by Chris Strachwitz in Tampico, Tamaulipas, Mexico, January 1978.

In this recording, the violinist is at the center of the ensemble, his playing rich with powerful, syncopated rhythmic bowing, slides and other ornaments, double stops (bowing two strings at once), and extremely quick finger work. The vocals are traded back and forth between the two lead singers, who frequently use falsetto singing to create an exciting effect that distinguishes this style from jarocho and other regional son styles.

Sesquialtera is created by the fact that 3/4 (triple) and 6/8 (duple) meters are both present at the same time. The easiest way to hear this is to listen for the (relatively consistent) eighth-note strumming pattern established by the hurapanguera and jarana and attempt to count it in both meters. The strumming pattern can be sketched as follows, with the "x" indicating the muted, percussion-like sound of the strings being plucked but prevented from vibrating:



TIME	SECTION	MUSICAL EVENT
0:00–0:04	**Introduction:** Listen for the strumming pattern established by the huapanguera and jarana.	A brief violin introduction opens the performance.
0:04–0:20		The huapanguera and jarana enter. Notice how the violin plays over the accompaniment, rendering short phrases that cut across the regular strummed rhythm (see notation above).
0:20–0:30	**Singer 1, Verse 1**	Singer 1 introduces the basic melody while singing verse 1.
0:30–0:39	**Singer 2, Verse 1:** Listen for the second singer's more liberal use of falsetto.	Singer 2 repeats verse 1 but in more ornamented style.
0:40–0:49	**Singer 1, Verse 2**	Singer 1 moves on to verse 2, performing in a style less ornamented than that of singer 2.

0:50–1:08	**Instrumental interlude 1:** The violin takes the lead here. Notice also that the huapanguera plays a bass line consisting of eighth notes underneath much of the violin improvisations. Try to begin hearing the duple and triple meters embedded in the performance.	As the violin plays, the huapanguera performs an active bass line. Meanwhile, the jarana continues to maintain the basic strumming pattern.
1:08–1:17	**Singer 2, Verse 3:** The singers switch their order of entry, with singer 2 taking the lead for verses 3 and 4.	Singer 2 performs verse 3.
1:18–1:28	**Singer 1, Verse 3**	Singer 1 returns, repeating verse 3.
1:29–1:38	**Singer 2, Verse 4**	Singer 2 moves the song forward, singing verse 4.
1:38–1:56	**Instrumental interlude 2:** The violin takes the lead here. Notice also that the huapanguera again performs a bass line consisting of eighth notes underneath much of the violin improvisations.	This interlude mirrors in many respects the first interlude that occurred at [0:50–1:08].
1:56–2:05	**Singer 1, Verse 5:**	Singer 1 performs verse 5.
2:05–2:14	**Singer 2, Verse 5:** Listen for the second singer's more liberal use of falsetto.	Singer 2 repeats verse 5.
2:15–2:24	**Singer 1, Verse 6:**	Singer 1 completes the vocal component of this performance with verse 6.
2:24–2:46	**Instrumental conclusion**	The instrumentalists play one more improvisatory section that serves as a conclusion to the performance.

The mariachi tradition originated as a local string band style in the western Mexican state of Jalisco. In the early decades of the twentieth century, rural mariachi groups were small string bands with several violins accompanied by the percussive strumming of a *vihuela* (small five-string guitar type with a convex back) and *guitarrón* (large acoustic bass guitar with a convex back) or harp. Band instruments like a trumpet, trombone, or flute might have been occasionally added to the basic string quartet.

Feelings of nationalism spurred the glorification of Mexican peasants and local rural culture around the time of the Mexican Revolution (beginning in 1910). This led to a greater interest in rural music within urban higher-class circles. During this time, and through the 1920s, a few mariachis from Jalisco began to gain popularity in Mexico City playing at parties, cafes, and occasionally at theaters. It was the mass media, however, that acted as the springboard to national prominence for this type of regional ensemble. Mariachis began

RANCHERA
A Mexican song genre with rural and working-class associations.

to be featured on radio and, after 1931, in Mexican movies—just as singing cowboys were becoming popular figures in Hollywood movies around the same time.

With their entrance into mass popular culture, mariachis evolved into their current form: They grew in size; their repertories became more diverse; fancy "Mexican cowboy" costumes (*trajes de charro*) became standard; and the music became increasingly more arranged and polished. One, and later two, trumpets were added as standard instruments, violin sections were enlarged, and guitars were added to the vihuela and guitarrón as additional rhythm instruments. Although originally specializing in sones from Jalisco, after mariachis entered the national arena, they also began to play sones from other regions as well as polkas, *canciones* **rancheras** (popular "country" songs), *corridos* (Mexican ballads usually on historical or topical themes using the copla text form), marches, and other genres.

In the restaurants and cafes of Veracruz one can also hear conjuntos norteños and marimba groups. As their name implies, conjuntos norteños are associated with northern Mexico and southern Texas. Currently a three-row diatonic button accordion serves as the lead melody instrument and provides extended "fills" between sung lines. The accordion is backed by a large twelve-string guitar (*bajo sexto*), and when playing in stationary locations such as bars and nightclubs, electric bass and drums are standard. These conjuntos perform corridos, waltzes, and boleros (a relatively slow romantic song-dance genre from Cuba), but polkas and canciones rancheras often make up a large portion of their repertories. Like the norteño style itself, canciones rancheras have working-class and romanticized-rural associations. Rather than being defined by particular musical characteristics, the particularly popular ranchera genre is best defined by its sentimental aesthetic and crying-in-your-beer, truck-driving, hard-drinking, cantina imagery. In many ways, ranchera songs are the Mexican equivalent of North American country and western.

Sitting in a cafe in Veracruz, it is almost comical to watch the marimba layers struggle with their heavy table-like instrument as they move about competing for patrons with the other strolling musicians. In the south of Mexico, throughout Guatemala, and in many Central American countries, the marimba is a primary musical instrument. This xylophone has wooden keys tuned to the Western scale and hanging resonators that produce the marimba's characteristic buzzing sound. Various ethnomusicologists have shown that the marimba originally came to the Americas from Africa, and the marimba's buzzy timbre is similar to many African instruments (see Chapter 7). Although marimbas are still played by African American communities on the Pacific coast of Colombia and Ecuador, in southern Mexico and Central America the instrument has been adopted both by indigenous and mestizo musicians. In the mestizo traditions of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and as I saw it performed in Veracruz, several musicians play lead and accompanying parts on the same large marimba. Although marimba groups in Veracruz could play a wide range of Mexican genres and international pop songs, local sones are the standard fare in its traditional home in southern Mexico. Unlike the sones from the other regions

we have discussed, in southern Mexico, as in Guatemala, many sones are in a moderate 3/4 waltz time. This feature, like the many types of ensembles encountered in the city of Veracruz, illustrates the tremendous regional diversity of mestizo music in Mexico.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSICAL VALUES AND MUSICAL STYLE

Highland Indians in Mexico, Guatemala, and the Andean highlands of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Northern Chile have interacted with mestizos and people of European heritage for centuries. Hence, they have been involved in the same processes of musical syncretism that characterize mestizo music. Cultural differences between indigenous highland peoples and mestizos are often more a matter of degree than of kind. Yet even after centuries of contact, indigenous communities, especially in the southern Peruvian and Bolivian highlands, have maintained their own languages and a distinct social ethos and have continued to develop their music along their own aesthetic lines to a significant degree. The Aymara-speaking people of southern Peru offer one example.

The Aymara of Southern Peru

Quechua and Aymara speakers comprise the two major indigenous groups of the Andean highlands, with Quechua speakers in the majority. Aymara communities are located around Lake Titicaca in Peru and Bolivia and further to the south in Bolivia and northern Chile. We will focus on Aymara musical life in Conima, a district in the Province of Huancané (like a county), on the north side of Lake Titicaca in the state of Puno, Peru.

Like indigenous highland and lowland communities in other parts of Latin America, the Aymara of Conima emphasize the importance of collective community life. As highland agriculturalists and herders of llamas, sheep, alpaca, and some cattle, Aymara peasants are tied to their land, and they depend on good relations with their neighbors for support in labor exchanges and communal work projects, as well as for social and moral support. Reciprocity, egalitarian relations, and community solidarity have come to constitute core values for ordering the Aymara social world. It is not surprising that ways of making music emerge from these same principles of collective social life.

Aymara Pinkillu (Flute) Ensemble in Huancane, Puno, Peru. *Source:* Thomas Turino

PACHAMAMA
Earthmother, an Andean concept of the living, spiritual earth.

Although there are two small village brass bands in the district of Conima (the indigenous musicians having learned these instruments during military service), Aymara musical life revolves around the performance of local indigenous wind instruments and drums. Men play *siku* (panpipes) and, historically, end-notched vertical cane flutes (kenas) in dry-season festivals (April–October); these instruments are of pre-Columbian origin. Aymara musicians also play cane *pinkillus* and wooden *tarkas* (vertical duct flutes with a recorder-like mouthpiece) during the rainy season. Side-blown cane flutes (pitus) are played all year-round. Panpipe ensembles are typically accompanied by large double-headed drums known as *wankara* or *bombos*, pinkillus are accompanied by large indigenous snare drums known as *cajas*, and tarkas are accompanied by Western snare and bass drums. The different wind instruments are not mixed in ensembles (sikus are played only with sikus, tarkas with tarkas, etc.). Different size instruments are used in siku, tarka, and pitu ensembles to create parallel harmonic lines.

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Stringed instruments were not played in the Andes before the Spanish arrived, and they have not been incorporated into Aymara music-making in the Province of Huancané. Stringed instruments such as the harp and violin, however, have been adopted by indigenous Quechua communities and by Indian musicians in many Latin American regions. Elsewhere in southern Peru and Bolivia, the *charango* (a ten-string Andean guitar variant the size of a ukulele) has a special place in both Quechua and Aymara communities. Unlike Andean Quechua culture, vocal music is relatively rare in Aymara festivals.

Aymara Sikuri (Panpipe) Ensemble in Huancane, Puno, Peru.
Source: Thomas Turino

In the district of Conima, community and intercommunity festivals may be held as often as once a month. Many festivals are connected to the agricultural cycle and to local Aymara deities. Aymara communities also collectively celebrate life cycle events (weddings, first haircutting ceremonies for babies) and collective work projects (e.g., roof raisings) with music and dance. Some festivals may be linked with Catholic celebrations, although usually Aymara deities will be granted greater prominence than Catholic imagery. For example, in Conima, the festival called Fiesta de la Virgen de la Candelaria, or simply Candelaria (February 2), is actually an agricultural ripening festival in which prayers and rituals are offered for **Pachamama** (Earthmother), the ancestors, and local mountain deities.

This festival is Christian primarily in name, not in substance, whereas the mestizo fiesta in Paucartambo is *really* dedicated to the Catholic saint (Virgen del Carmen) with only a few indigenous elements included.

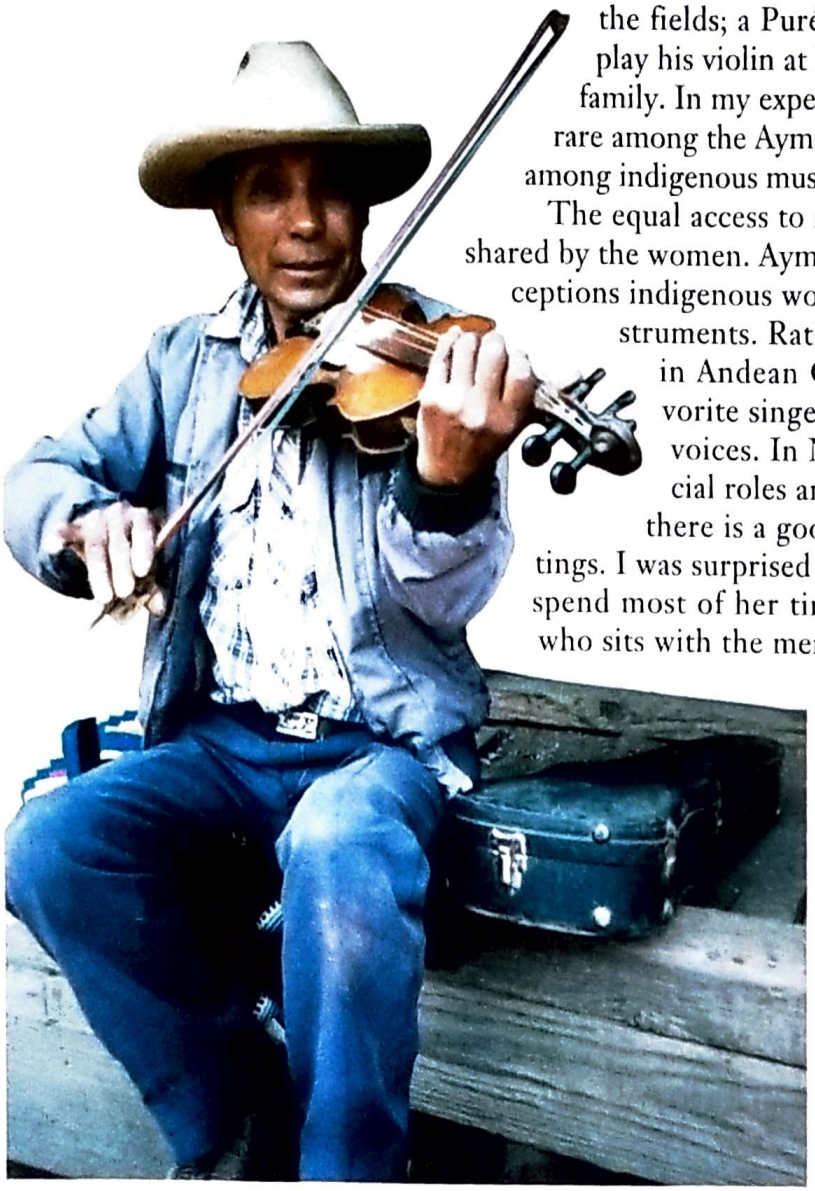
Aymara peasants in Huancané generally play music only in large community wind ensembles for these public communal festivals; even practicing music by oneself is rare. During festivals any man is welcome to play with his community regardless of his musical knowledge or ability. Also, Aymara musicians do not usually comment on or correct other players in their group so as not to offend them. In keeping with their egalitarian values, there is no formal ensemble leader who has the power to direct others or restrict participation. Music is performed so that the community can come together in dance, music, and celebration. Music is judged on the quality of the social relations and the total experience that it engenders as much as on the quality of sound produced. From this perspective, to ask a less-skilled person not to play, or to embarrass him by correcting him publicly, would do more damage to "the music" than any inappropriate sounds he might make.

In Aymara communities in Conima, individuals generally do not like to stand out or be singled out in social situations, both because the group is granted greater importance than individual identity and perhaps for fear of arousing jealousy. Likewise, there is no place for soloists in ensemble performance. Rather, the primary aesthetic ideal expressed by Aymara musicians is that ensembles should "play as one" or sound like a single instrument, and no individual's instrument should stand out from the dense sound of these Andean wind ensembles. The preference for a dense, well-integrated sound is also reflected in Andean instrumental performance techniques and instrument construction. Flutes and panpipes are blown to create a breathy sound, which aids group blending, and instruments are tuned slightly differently so that a rich combination of overtones will result. The act of "playing as one" and creating a thick, well-blended sound with no soloists thus becomes a clear musical articulation of the central ways of being for this egalitarian, collectively oriented society.

The Aymara siku (panpipe) tradition also illustrates this cooperative style of performance. Panpipes are constructed with two separate rows, the seven-tone pitch series alternating between them. The rows are divided between two musicians who, having only half the pitches needed to make a melody, must interlock their notes (**hocket**) with those of their partner to perform a piece. Aymara panpipe ensembles, which sometimes have up to fifty players, are actually made up of these paired musicians who must interact reciprocally and blend with the whole.

Approaching music and dance as a collective activity that fosters community participation and unity is common to many highland Indian communities in Latin America. Yet, the Aymara of Conima represent the extreme case where music is *only* performed in large community ensembles during public festivals. Native Americans in other regions also perform music solo for enjoyment or other purposes. For example, a Quechua boy in the Andes might play his kena flute for solitary entertainment while herding llamas or his charango to court a girlfriend; a Quechua woman might sing to her children or while working in

HOCKET
Interlocking pitches between two or more sound sources to create a single melody or part.



José Romero, Purepecha violinist from Michoacan, Mexico. *Source:* Thomas Turino

the fields; a Purépecha Indian of Michoacán, Mexico, might play his violin at home after work to entertain himself and his family. In my experience, these types of musical activities are as rare among the Aymara of Conima as they are common elsewhere among indigenous musicians.

The equal access to musical activities among Aymara men is not shared by the women. Aymara women in Huancané, and with a few exceptions indigenous women in general, do not perform musical instruments. Rather they dance and sing in festivals. In fact, in Andean Quechua communities, women are the favorite singers because of a preference for high-pitched voices. In Native South American societies, many social roles are strictly divided by gender, and in Conima there is a good deal of gender segregation in public settings. I was surprised that even at weddings an Aymara bride will spend most of her time with the women away from the groom who sits with the men. In the Aymara communities I worked in, gender segregation and roles were rarely questioned. Aymara women in Conima do not seem troubled by the fact that they do not play musical instruments, just as most North American men are not concerned that it is unacceptable for them to wear dresses. Through socialization, such customs often simply become unquestioned habits.

Throughout the Lake Titicaca region, large ensemble wind music comprises three sections, which are repeated **AABBCC**. The music comprises shorter motives repeated within and across sections, especially at section cadences. Scales differ. Tarka music in Conima uses five- and six-tone scales, whereas panpipe, pinkillu, and side-blown flute music also feature seven-tone scales. The lion's share of music has syncopated rhythms set in a duple meter with drum parts either playing a rolling repeated pattern (pinkillu music) or following the rhythm of the melody of panpipe, tarka, and side-flute ensembles. In Conima, ensembles create new pieces each year, and musical composition takes place in collective "brainstorming" sessions at rehearsals the night before a given fiesta. In contrast to stereotypes of Indian or "folk" music being old and unchanging, Aymara musicians in Conima, Peru, emphasize new compositions using these set forms, scales, and rhythms for the different genres they have fashioned. (Listen to CD III, 7 for an example of Aymara panpipe music.)

LISTENING GUIDE

PANPIPE MUSIC: "MANUELITA"

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Sikuris Centro Social de Conima
24 sikus (panpipes) of six different sizes; 2 bombos (drums)
Recorded by Thomas Turino in Lima, Peru, June 1986

Like the vast majority of music in Conima, this sikuri piece is in **AA BB CC** form. It is a slow piece in a genre simply referred to as *lento* (slow). The long-held chords at the beginning of the piece and at section endings are typical of all pieces in this genre. Note that this cadence formula is heard at the end of all sections except the second **B** and between the two **C** Sections. The accented strokes of the drumming pattern are designed to fit with the melody. Note the overlapping and blending of instruments to create a dense texture.

TIME	SECTION	MUSICAL EVENTS
0:00–0:03	**Introduction:** Listen to the long-held chord at the opening of this performance.	Long-held chord, a standard introduction for the lento genre. Try to remember the pitch of the highest panflute, because it is the highest note played throughout the performance and will help you identify the chord when it returns at the end of sections.
0:03–0:14	**"A" Section:** Listen for the breathy sound that the performers are producing on their flutes. Listen also for the syncopated melody (against the rather uniform beat provided by the drums).	The performers introduce Section **A**. Listen for the reappearance of the opening, long-held chord at the end of this section [0:12–0:14].
0:14–0:24		Section **A** is repeated. Listen again for the cadential (concluding) use of the introductory chord [0:23–0:24].
0:24–0:35	**"B" section:** Listen for the contrasting melody in this section.	The performers introduce Section **B**. Listen for the reappearance of the cadential chord you heard at the end of the **A** Sections [0:33–0:35].
0:35–0:44		Section **B** is repeated. This time, however, notice that the cadential chord is not used to transition to the next section.
0:44–0:52	**"C" section:** Notice that the melody is similar to that of Section **A**, but that the long-held chord that characterizes the opening gesture of the melody in the **A** Section is not part of the **C** Section.	The performers introduce Section **C**. Notice that the cadential chord is again left out in transitioning to the repeat of Section **C**.

0:52–1:01		Section **C** is repeated. Here, the cadential chord reappears in preparation for the return of the A Section [0:59–1:01].
1:01–2:00	**Repeat of AA BB CC:** Listen again for the overall form of the piece.	The performers repeat the entire song in the same fashion.
2:00–2:56	**Final repeat of AA BB CC:** Listen for the overall form of the piece, and see if you can begin to hear how the cadential chord helps mark the transitions from one section to the next.	The performers again repeat the entire song in the same fashion.
2:56–3:06		The song concludes with two long-held chords.

A Lowland Indian Case: The Suyá of the Brazilian Amazon

Musical aesthetics and conceptions about music among lowland Amazonian Indian groups share some of the elements described for Conima but differ radically in other ways. Whereas Aymara musical culture centers around wind instruments and drums, and singing is unimportant, the music of the Suyá Indians of the Brazilian Amazon is predominantly vocal, sometimes accompanied by rattles. As with the Aymara, collective participation in musical performances during Suyá festivals is a vital way to represent and maintain social unity within a village, and the blending of voices in unison singing embodies an important aesthetic value. But the Suyá also have songs that are individually owned and sung, indicating that there is more room for individual expression than among the Aymara of Huancané, where solo performance is basically nonexistent.

To take this one step further, although the Aymara stress "playing as one," ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger has shown that some Suyá performances include a variety of individuals singing their own, different, **akía** songs simultaneously, along with shouts, laughter, and other vocal sounds. This type of Suyá performance results in what to our—or Aymara—ears would be cacophony. Yet for the Suyá all these simultaneous songs and sounds contribute to the total creation of a performance. The Suyá aesthetic often favors the dense combination of multiple, relatively independent sounds to form the whole. It reflects a different conception, relative to the Aymara, of the relationship of individuals to the community.

AKÍA
An individually owned and sung song of the Suyá Indians of Brazil.

The Suyá believe that songs come from and are learned from animals, insects, fish, and plants of the forest. As with other Amazonian groups, important Suyá festivals and song types are named for and involve the representation of natural species. These have symbolic importance in relation to the ecological environment that sustains the Suyá through hunting, fishing, and agriculture.

Many indigenous Andean festivals and song types are similarly related to the specific environment and Andeans' occupations as agriculturalists and herders. In addition to ecological-economic issues, musical styles and genres are used almost universally to distinguish and represent distinct groups within societies. For the Suyá, gender and age are central criteria for delineating important social categories and status within a village, and musical genres and singing styles are similarly differentiated according to gender and age.

Although musical instruments are not prominent in Suyá society, they have a wealth of distinct vocal genres that range from everyday speech to more formalized genres of political, historical, and artistic oratory; chantlike performance genres; and finally, a variety of different singing styles. The prominence of vocal music among the Suyá is typical for lowland Indian societies. However, some lowland Indian groups also play panpipes, side-blown and vertical flutes, valveless trumpets, drums, and various types of percussion instruments. As with many native lowland and highland groups, dance is a central aspect of most musical festival occasions and is a deeply integral aspect of musical life.

AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSICAL VALUES AND STYLES

After reading about African music in Chapter 7, we can appreciate the influence of the African heritage in Latin America. The use of cyclical forms, call-and-response, interlocking melodic and percussion parts, and an appreciation of dense overlapping textures are all part of Afro-Latin American music making, as is the use of African musical instruments.

For example, along the Pacific coast of Ecuador and Colombia, an area with an African American population, historically the marimba was used for the **currulao**, a community dance in which women and men may meet and form new relationships. A currulao performance exemplifies a variety of African musical features. The marimba (twenty to twenty-eight wooden keys with bamboo resonators, played by two musicians) is accompanied by single-headed conical drums (like conga drums) of two different sizes, which are classified as male and female, as is often the case for African instruments. The currulao ensemble also includes two deeper double-headed drums (*bombos*) and bamboo shakers, which add rhythmic-timbral density, much like *hosho* in a Shona mbira performance (see Chapter 7).

Like most sub-Saharan African music, the basis of this marimba music is an ostinato with improvised variations. The drums and shakers play separate but interlocking rhythmic parts, often in duple and triple meter simultaneously. This African-derived style of ensemble performance is used to accompany a solo singer, who interlocks his or her vocal part with a female chorus in call-and-response fashion. The vocal quality of the singers is distinctly African and contrasts with indigenous and mestizo singing styles in Latin America. It is also striking that the women singers yodel in a style somewhat reminiscent of Shona and other African singing traditions (Listen to CD III, 8 for an example of *currulao*).

CURRULAO
Afro-Colombian, Afro-Ecuadorian dance context in the Pacific Coast region in which marimba is featured.

LISTENING GUIDE

MARIMBA DANCE: "CURRULAO BAMBUCO"

GO TO **www.mymusiclab.com for the Automated Listening Guide** CDIII • Track 8/Download Track 53

Two-person marimba, drums, shakers, male and female voices

Recorded by N. E. Whitten in Buenaventura

You can clearly hear the African influences on this recording of "Currulao Bambuco." The instruments play interlocking duple and triple rhythms; the vocal parts are organized in leader-chorus, call-and-response patterns; melodies and rhythms are based on short, repetitive phrases (ostinatos); and the vocal style features yodeling and other vocal sounds. The primary ostinato on which this piece is grounded is supplied by the marimba, which with some variations continues throughout the performance. As the performance progresses, a female lead vocalist takes over from the male lead singer who is heard early on.

The following reductions are designed to help you key in on the simultaneous presence of duple and triple meters and to hear it with reference to several of the instruments performing on this recording. The marimba and one of the drums play rhythmic patterns that fall into duple meter, whereas the shakers and a separate drum perform patterns that are best heard in triple meter. See if you can follow along with one instrument at a time, first counting it in duple and then counting it in triple while listening to the song.

Aligned in duple meter (6/8):

Count	**1**			**2**			**1**			**2**		
Beat	**1**	2	3	**4**	5	6	**1**	2	3	**4**	5	6
Marimba, duple		x	x	**X**		x		x	x	**X**		x
Drum, duple		x	x	**X**	x	x		x	x	**X**	x	x
Shaker, triple	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x
Drum, triple	**X**		**X**		**X**		**X**		**X**		**X**	

Aligned in triple meter (3/4 within 6/8):

Count	**1**		**2**		**3**		**1**		**2**		**3**	
Beat	**1**	2	**3**	4	**5**	6	**1**	2	**3**	4	**5**	6
Marimba, duple		x	x	**X**		x		x	x	**X**		x
Drum, duple		x	x	**X**	x	x		x	x	**X**	x	x
Shaker, triple	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x	**X**	x
Drum, triple	**X**		**X**		**X**		**X**		**X**		**X**	

As this song develops, listen for the marimba, which supplies the basic ostinato: two short six-beat phrases (in 6/8 meter). One of the drums reinforces this duple feel. Notice also that the shakers emphasize a triple pattern. One of the drums strongly reinforces this triple feel. Attempt to hear the performance as unfolding in triple meter and tap your foot or hand in duple meter. Now try hearing the performance in duple meter and tap your foot in triple meter. See if you get one foot or hand to mark time in duple meter while the other foot or hand marks triple meter.

0:00–0:04	The ensemble is already in full swing when the recording fades in.
0:04–0:16	A male vocalist enters, singing a short phrase, and a female chorus responds [0:08–16]. The male leader uses a falsetto voice often throughout the performance.
0:16–0:21	The vocalists give way to the instrumentalists.
0:21–0:32	The male singer rejoins the ensemble, and the female chorus responds [0:28–032].
0:32–0:44	The vocalists give way to the instrumentalists again.
0:44–0:57	The male singer rejoins the ensemble again and the female chorus responds [0:48–0:57].
0:57–1:03	The vocalists give way to the instrumentalists yet again.
1:03–1:14	The vocalist rejoins the ensemble, and the male-call and female-response patterns become shorter.
1:14–1:29	The female chorus introduces a new melodic motif in yodeling style.
1:29–1:45	A female vocalist enters and sings a series of short calls, and the female chorus quickly responds with the new yodeling motif.
1:45–2:15	The yodeled motif is repeated numerous times by the female vocalists, who introduce some subtle individual variations.
2:15–2:37	The female vocalist reenters and sings a series of short calls, and the female chorus quickly responds with the new yodeling motif.
2:37–2:52	The female chorus continues to perform the yodeled motif.
2:52–3:09	The female singer adds a new, higher variation over the rest of the female chorus, and the track fades out even as the performance continues.

Along with the marimba, a wide variety of African-styled drums, the musical bow (e.g., the berimbau of Brazil), and various lamellaphones ("thumb piano") were diffused to the Americas from Africa. In the Caribbean, a large box lamellaphone (*marímbula*) serves a bass function in a variety of ensembles. A smaller hand-held lamellaphone of Angolan character was used in Brazil in the last century, and the smaller type is still played among the Saramaka of Surinam. Runaway slave communities established in the forests of Surinam maintain their own amalgamation of African cultural practices to this day. Among these is the playing of *papai benta*, a lamellaphone with reed keys mounted on bridges on a flat board. Held between the knees and played with the index fingers, the instrument is used to perform pieces that are ostinatos with variations, as is the case with Shona mbira music. Drums are also prominent among the Saramaka of Surinam, used to accompany dancing and historical songs and to call the gods and ancestors.

Afro-Brazilian Music

The use of African-derived musical styles, concepts, and instruments is perhaps best exemplified in Latin America by certain religious traditions in the Caribbean and Brazil. In the Candomblé religions of Bahía, northeastern Brazil, music and

ORIXA
A spirit or deity in the Yoruba religion of Nigeria.

dance are fundamental to worshiping various **orixas** (deities) hailing largely from the Yoruba religion of Nigeria. The songs, often in call-and-response, are accompanied by a trio of different-sized single-headed drums (*atabaques*), also of Yoruba origin, and a West African styled double bell (*agogô*). Strikingly, the roles of the double bell and of the different drums in the trio mirror those for the same instruments in Yoruba musical performance. The bell plays an ostinato pattern that orients the other musicians, the two smaller drums interlock to play the ground ostinato part, and the largest, or "mother," drum is used by a lead drummer for improvisation and to interact with the dancers. Even West African words are retained in the songs, although their meanings are largely forgotten.

African rituals such as "the baptism of drums" (drums being considered sacred instruments and dedicated to the deities) are practiced in Bahía. Candomblé activities are organized within specific religious centers (cult houses), each of which has its own religious and musical leaders and group of religious initiates. The initiates undergo special training and rituals to become the mediums of specific deities. At ceremonies, the music is played for dancing, for invocations to the gods, and in the context of spirit possession among the initiates.

Brazil's most famous musical event is carnival in Rio de Janeiro with its long parades, floats, huge percussion ensembles, and multitude of elaborately costumed dancers and singers. Samba, Brazil's most famous musical genre, is associated with this carnival although, in fact, samba has a number of rural and urban variants and is performed in a variety of settings. For example, beginning after World War I, but especially during the 1930s and 1940s, an urban ballroom type of samba became popular in Brazil and internationally through such singing stars as Carmen Miranda. This type of samba was performed by Western-style dance orchestras or smaller string ensembles with a small Afro-Brazilian percussion section.

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The special kind of urban samba heard at a carnival comes from the hillside Afro-Brazilian neighborhoods of Rio that grew through urban migration from northeastern Brazil and elsewhere during the twentieth century. In keeping with its Afro-Brazilian roots, this type of samba is accompanied by massive percussion ensembles in which the different instruments—for example, *surdos* (large bass drums), agogós (double bells), *pandeiros* (tambourines), *tamborím* (small hand-held drum played with a single stick), *reco-recos* (pronounced heco heco) (metal spring scrapers), and *cuícas* (friction drums) and *cavaquinhos* (small four-string guitar variant)—all play their own syncopated interlocking parts. The samba songs accompanied by the percussion ensemble are sung in Portuguese in call-and-response fashion, also illustrating an Afro-Brazilian source.

Since the 1920s, carnival performance in Rio—percussion music, song, choreographed dance, and parading—has been organized by the *escolas de samba* (samba schools). Samba schools are not formal educational institutions. Rather, they emerged as grassroots Afro-Brazilian neighborhood institutions largely from the poorer black areas of the city. They were primarily carnival performance ensembles that represented their neighborhoods during the celebration. Over the years the samba schools have grown tremendously. Nowadays they have bureaucratic leadership structures and are divided into separate specialized

"wings," including wings for samba composers, for dancers, and for percussionists. During carnival, the different samba schools compete against each other, and they spend much of the year preparing for the event. Numerous songs are composed and the best selected, costumes and floats have to be designed and made, and as the carnival approaches, different wings rehearse intensively.

Rio's carnival has grown to become the country's largest musical spectacle, and it has become big business. The costs for samba schools to launch a competitive performance are enormous and require major sponsorship; the stakes for doing well in the competition are also high. Critics claim that as the carnival has become increasingly commercialized and controlled by outside economic and media interests, it has lost much of its original grassroots basis. Yet Afro-Brazilians from the neighborhoods still join in the dance and percussion ensembles with a pride in this tradition and simply for the exhausting joy of participating in one of the world's largest parties.

SUMMARY

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As we have seen, the Latin American continent encompasses many different types of societies, each with their own musical traditions. Mestizo cultures—resulting from the mixing of Spanish or Portuguese and Native Latin American lifeways—have become a common denominator influencing many forms of Latin American music. In each country or region, different combinations of European and Native influences occurred, with one or the other being more or less predominant. Mestizo music is characterized by European scales and harmonies, strophic song forms (the melody of each verse is the same, but the words change), and complex rhythms created by playing duple (two- or four-beat) and triple (three-beat) rhythms sequentially and simultaneously.

The guitar—in many variants—is the most common stringed instrument, along with violin, harp and mandolin. Various types of indigenous flutes, panpipes, and drums are still in use throughout Latin America. Brass band instruments, too, were popularized in the nineteenth century, followed by accordions in the early twentieth century, and electric guitars and keyboards in the second half of the twentieth century. Native American musical performances tend to be group events, without focusing on individual musicians (e.g., the Aymara), and musical performances are tied to specific rituals and events.

Afro-Latin American music is a combination of African, European, and Native influences. In instrumentation, composition, and performance, Afro-Brazilian music and performance traditions like the currulao of the Pacific coast of Colombia exhibit strong influences from African heritage. Though this chapter could not address them, many other musical styles—styles such as *vallenato*, *tango*, *cumbia*, *forró*, *champeta*, *bossa nova*, and *chamamé*, to name but a few—are actively practiced in and around Latin America and in places where Latin American communities live throughout the world. The case studies explored in this chapter, then, are best understood as but a starting point to engaging the sound worlds and musical communities of Latin America.