

THE KANTU ENSEMBLE OF THE KALLAWAYA AT CHARAZANI (BOLIVIA)

by Max Peter Baumann

The Kallawaya belong to the Quechua-speaking population of Bolivia and live on the eastern slope of the Andes in the Charazani valley system, north of Lake Titicaca, near the Peruvian border. Located in the Bautista Saavedra province of the Department of La Paz, the Valley and Rio Charazani cut across the Cordilleras and thus serve as a gateway to the lower-lying Yungas to the east. The Incas in their heyday prized this valley highly, for it lay at the outermost limits of their empire's expansion and opened into areas where the coca plant and tropical fruits and herbs were grown. Because of the alkaloids it contains, the coca plant (*Eritroxilon Coca L.*) has played an important role in rituals and cult practices since pre-Spanish times (M. Wendorf de Sejas 1982:223; J.W. Bastien 1978:19). The Kallawaya people have been known since antiquity as herbalists and healers, and the Incas are said to have accorded them special privileges on this account: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala tells in his "Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno" from about 1600 of "Callauayas" carrying Inca Tupac Yupanqui (1471-1493) and his wife Mama Occlo-Coya in a sedan chair at the Cuzcan court (F. Guaman Poma, ed. 1936: fol. 331).

The origin of the name Kallawaya has not yet been completely explained. The entire population of the Charazani Valley is often referred to as Kallawaya, but in its narrower sense the term designates the herbalists, who on their wanderings into remote areas speak an esoteric and magical ritual language, *Kallawaya* or *Macchaj-juyai* (E. Oblitas Poblete 1968:14), and are highly esteemed far beyond their country's borders. They are itinerant herbalists and medicine traders, and even today some 150 families of the Kallawaya Valley pursue this traditional activity. Their healing procedures involve herbs, amulets and various stone pieces, with most of the Kallawaya healers using some 20 to 30 medicinal plants (W. Schoop 1982:263 ff.).

There have been attempts to derive the word Kallawaya from the Aymara language as a composite of *qolla* (medicine) and *waya(qa)* (pouch or purse to keep things in), an allusion to the medicinal plants the Kallawaya carry with them (E. Oblitas Poblete 1978:14; cf. J. Portugal Catacora 1981:37).¹ Josef W. Bastien (1978:18) refers to the different spellings *Qallahuaya*, *Callawaya*, *Qollawaya* or *Callahuaya* and shows that for Aymara-speaking Apachetas and Quechua-speaking Kaatans *qolla* is the name for medicine as well as for the highland Indio (sing. *Qolla*, plural *Qollas*). Although *qolla* in Aymara translates as medicine (anything with healing properties), the same word in Quechua was understood to mean medicinal plant (medicine). Thierry Saignes, citing Louis Girault, points out a possible connection with a medicinal plant



Fig. 1: Los Callauaya(s) / Kallawayas

Kalawala (Spanish *Calaguala*) used as a hallucinogen in the context of shamanism (Th. Saignes 1983:4). Other interpretations imply a connection between the name Kallawaya and similar names recorded in colonial sources: here we find several different spellings of the province name *Carabaya*, resp. *Calabaya* or *Caravaya* (ibid. 1983).

The Kallawaya live in a relatively isolated linguistic enclave in the midst of Aymara-speaking Indios. As *campesinos* (farmers, peasants) they cultivate an area spread over different altitudes in the valley (ranging from 2700 to 4900 m above sea level), which they utilize by means of "vertical control", rotating seasonally between altitudes according to the rhythm of the agrarian calendar. The *campesinos* are more or less self-sufficient; they earn their living by breeding llamas and alpacas as well as by keeping sheep; they grow tuberous plants and barley at the grass level (in the altitude from 3900-4900 m above s.l.), grain, beans and potatoes at the bush level (2700-3900 m), and import citrus fruits and coca from the treeline level (altitudes between 1700-2700 m). Depending on the season and time of the year, the peasants take up residence in one of these three regions (cf. W. Schoop 1983; L. Mahnke 1983).

The provincial capital of Charazani has about 500 inhabitants. Commerce within the municipality is controlled by approximately 20 *cholo* (mestizo) families; it reaches La Paz by truck and the Peruvian provincial capital Rosas Pata via seasonal caravan traffic over the mountain. All the larger villages around the provincial municipality, including Charazani itself, have individual musical ensembles that attain honors at the special fiestas. Several ensembles of pan flutes, notched and duct flutes play at ceremonies and on festive days in connection with the annual agricultural cycle and the Christian calendar. Vital feasts are in Amarete, above all, the Fiesta de San Felipe (May 1), in Kaata and Niñocorín the Fiesta de la Cruz (May 3), in Italaque the Fiesta de Corpus Christi (June 4), in Charazani the Fiesta de la Virgen del Carmen (July 16), in Kaata the Fiesta de la Santa Rosa de Lima (August 30), in Niñocorín the Fiesta de la Natividad de la Virgen Maria (*kalla-kallana*: Indian new year from September 8), and in Chullina the Fiesta de San Miguel (September 29) (cf. W. Shoop 1983:255; A. Cachau-Herreillat 1980: I:116).

When a fiesta takes place at market time, the individual musical groups visit neighboring towns for a few days and thus come into musical contact with one another at the most important annual markets.²

In 1983 I was able to document a substantial part of the musical repertoire of Charazani in the village itself (September 7-10), with the kind support of Ginés Alberto Pastén S. (Charazani) and Marcelo Thórrez López (Institute of Anthropology at La Paz). The 24 musicians of Charazani are *campesinos* and play—according to feast and season—on pan flutes (*phukunas*), transverse flutes (*ch'unchus* and *pifanos*) and duct flutes (*ch'ilis*; or *chchilis* according to E. Oblitas Poblete 1978:357).³

Without doubt, the *phukunas* have a central function in the musical life of the Kallawaya. The pan flutes play together with large drums

(*wankaras*) and triangle (*ch'inisku*) in the *kantu* ensembles during the dry season (*época de sequía*), i.e., in the period from Corpus Christi to the Fiesta de San Miguel (September 8). On the other hand, the transverse and duct flutes are played predominantly during the rainy season (*época de lluvia*), as it is the case throughout the Andean area, on occasions such as Todos Santos, Navidad, Carnival, Martes de Ch'alla, Ceniza and Tentación.

In the following the pan flute ensemble of Charazani will be described in detail with particular attention to instrumentation, repertoire and playing techniques.

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According to E. Oblitas Poblete (1978:348, cf. fig. 246 and 253) *qanto* or *qantos*—also spelled *q'antus*, *khantu* or *kantu(s)*—is understood to mean an instrumental ensemble of 20 to 30 dancers who move in a circle with short light steps, while playing on pan flutes. According to Oblitas Poblete, three different sizes of flutes exist. Some of the pan flute players simultaneously beat a large drum. They are occasionally accompanied by a triangle player.

According to my sources and informants, *kantu*⁴ designates the dancing ensemble, and quite often the *phukuna* player or even a particular melody. The etymological derivation of the word *kantu* in its various spellings has hardly been clarified in detail. An explanation from one of the informants indicated it might possibly be a derivation of the Spanish *canto*.⁵ The conceivable connection with *qantus*, the sacred flower of the Incas, has not yet been confirmed. According to J. Lara (1978:182) *qantu*, *qantus* or *qantuta* designates the bell-shaped and ornamental flower *kantuta* (*Cantuta Buxifolia*) which, with its red, yellow and green colors, was declared the national flower of Bolivia in 1924. According to E. Oblitas Poblete (1969:299), the Kallawayas use the "*qantuta* (*Peryphagnus dependens* Ruiz y Pavon)" as medicine. Yet even the orthography of so famous a flower varies among *qantu*, *qantus*, *qantuta*, *kantuta* and *khantuta* (cf. J. Herrero; F. Sánchez de Lozada 1974:56; J.F. Costas Arguedas 1967 II:32). According to A. Cachau-Herreillat (1980 I:68), the pan flute player is called *khantu*. In Charazani and Amarete, this word is synonymous with *sikuri*: a musician playing the *siku*. The *siku* is a double-row pan flute played in pairs, known both in Aymara- and Quechua-speaking regions (cf. M.P. Baumann 1982; 1982a:85 f.; 1981:189).

At Charazani, the *kantu* ensemble is composed of a total of 25 musicians, of whom at times only 21 play. The musicians in Charazani designate the pan flute (Span. *zampoña*) with the Quechua word *phukuna* (wind pipe; infinitive *phukuy*: to blow), and sometimes with the word *siku*. The pipes are made from hard thinwalled bamboo cane *chuqui* (*Chusquea*), known elsewhere as *chojlla*, and botanically classified as belonging to the genus *Arundo donax* (cf. M. and R. d'Harcourt 1959:15; L. Girault; X. Bellenger 1981).

In the *kantu* ensemble we find 20-24 double-row panpipes blown in pairs and distributed among six different registers. Each register is represented singly or doubly by a pair of panpipes. The pan flute pair (*un par de phukunas*) consists of an *ira* and an *arka* instrument. *Ira* and *arka* are blown by two players in a hocket-like technique, i.e., while one of the musicians plays one to six tones, the other rests and vice versa.⁶ *Ira* is the panpipe set which leads the melody, that is, it normally starts, while *arka* (or *arca*) follows:⁷

The panpipe set *ira* (6+6) comprises a row of six stopped melody pipes of different lengths bound together in raft form, ordered according to size (notated here with the underlined figure 6), and a second row of open, i.e., un-stopped pipes of the same length and number attached in front of the melody pipes (notated by the number without underlining).

The instrument *arka* (7+7) is constructed in the same way except that it contains an additional pipe in each row. The row of melody pipes facing the musician is held in such a way that the lowest note lies to his right and the shortest pipe with the highest note on his left. The identical second row of open cylinders (*ñajo*), trimmed diagonally at the bottom, is arranged analogously to the stopped cylinders (cf. M.P. Baumann 1981:189 f.). Thus with a pair of *ira* (6+6) and *arka* (7+7), two players theoretically have 13 melody tones on the playing scale within an ambitus of a tredecime at their disposal. As a rule, however, only up to ten tones are used in a musical piece.

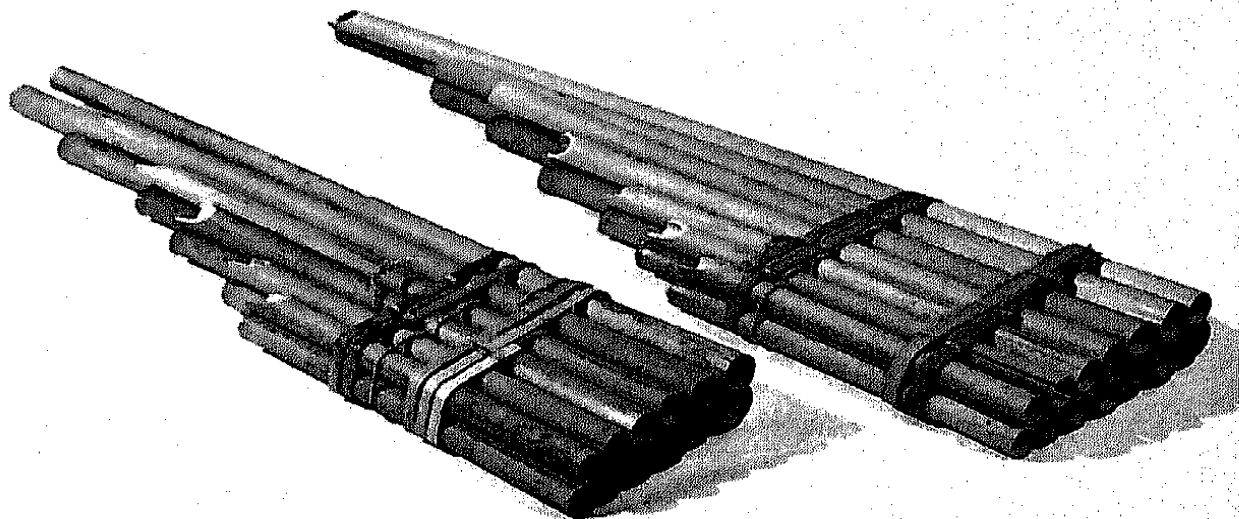


Fig. 2: Pair of panpipes:⁸ *ira* (6+6) and *arka* (7+7)

The different sized pairs of panpipes (always *arka* and *ira*) have special names that refer to their register. They are distributed among six distinct registers at intervals of an octave or a fifth (in single or double instru-

mentation) as follows:

- a) pair of panpipes: *tuyu* (or *toyo*)
takes the lowest register and initiates the pieces; the pair is doubled.
- b) pair of panpipes: *sanka*
sounds a fifth higher than *tuyu* and is also doubled.
- c) pair of panpipes: *baju malta* (or *bajo malta*)
sounds an octave higher than *tuyu*, or a fourth higher than *sanka*;
the pair plays one to a part.
- d) pair of panpipes: *altu malta* (or *alto malta*)
sounds an octave higher than *sanka*, or a fifth higher than *baju malta*;
the pair plays singly, too.
- e) pair of panpipes: *p'ulu*
sounds two octaves higher than *tuyu*, or one octave higher than *baju malta*;
the pair is doubled.
- f) pair of panpipes: *suli*
sounds two octaves higher than *sanka*, or one octave higher than *altu malta*;
the pair is doubled.⁹

All pairs play the same melody, which means that the *kantu* is heard in parallel octaves, fifths, and fourths. The single pairs are likewise divided into *ira* (6+6) and *arka* (7+7) and are represented in each range by one or two sets. With respect to their construction, both *tuyu* pairs represent an exception to the form outlined above. The first pair of *tuyu* has but one stopped row: *ira* (6) and *arka* (7); the second *tuyu* pair, designated *tuyu marimacho*, has, instead of the open row of pipes, a second row of stopped cylinders half as long as the other ones (the half-length stopped row is notated here as $7\frac{1}{2}$, or $6\frac{1}{2}$). Accordingly, the *marimacho* pair comprises the two following members: *ira* (6+ $6\frac{1}{2}$) and *arka* (7+ $7\frac{1}{2}$).

The second *suli* pair represents a further exception in that it is constructed with only a single row for each instrument: *ira* (6) and *arka* (7). Example 1 refers to the tuning of the individual pipes, to the distribution of the pitch ranges, to the distribution among the registers of the pairs of panpipes and finally to the number of drummers.

When the single voices all sound together, the result is rich in timbre and overtones. According to air pressure, as well as position, length and responsiveness of the panpipe cylinder, a single tone may vary in pitch as much as 80 to 100 cents. Typically the higher tones of the small pipes are flat, particularly when the informants play the notes of the scale singly for the purpose of determining the pitch. The degree of flatness depends on variations in air pressure, and also on the rough measurements of the pipes, which are based on a natural succession of thirds according to the row principle. When a piece is played, however, the individual tones are tuned to a quasi D major mode (in the lowest register and at the interval of octaves) and to a quasi A major mode (at the interval of a fifth), respectively. Thus in the context of a melody the pipes are blown at pitches better in tune than those resulting from playing them out of context in order to determine absolute pitches. The harmonies in parallel octaves, fifths and fourths that arise from the playing of two identical

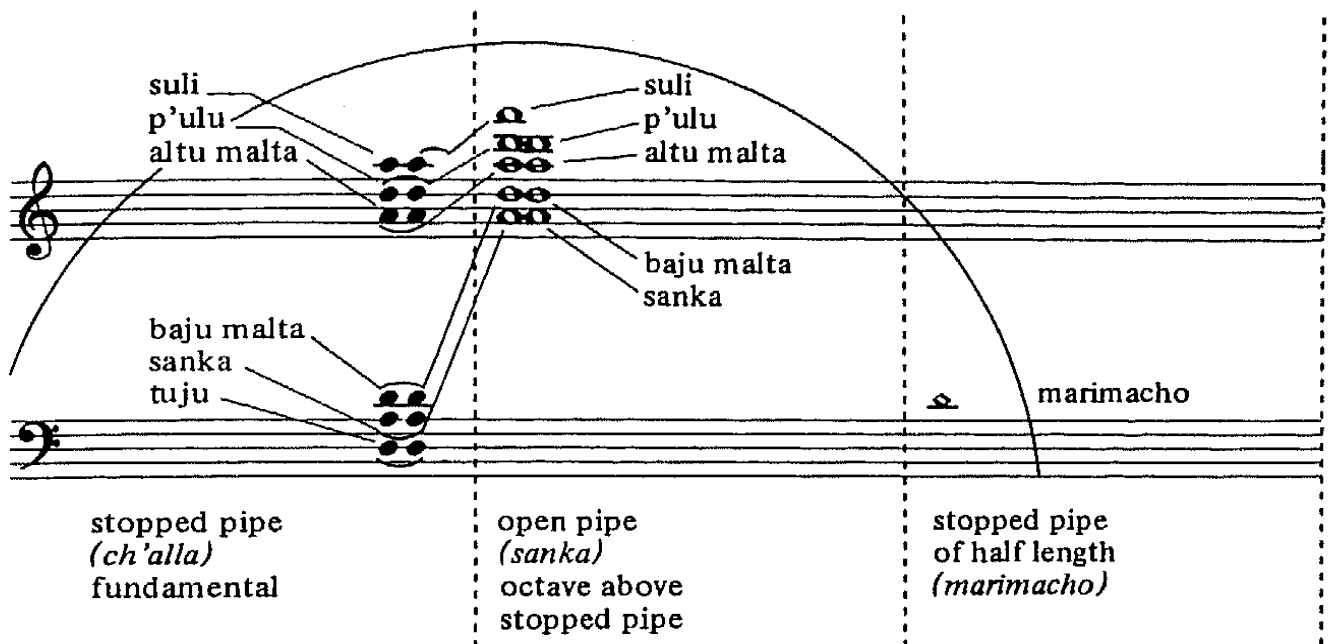
name of the pair	number of the pipes ira/ arka playing function	tuning in octaves or fifths: ira: note tails downwards; arka: note tails upwards	name of the player (in all 21)
1 par de tuyu	ira (6) tuyu guía arka (7) tuyu guía		Julio Ninaconde Pati (cabeza del conjunto) Domingo Barena Cuareli (cabeza del conjunto)
1 par de tuyu marimacho	ira (6+6 ^{1/2}) tuyu trasguía arka (7+7 ^{1/2}) tuyu trasguía		Manuel Barrera Roberto Gutierrez
2 pares de sanka	ira (6+6) + wankara arka (7+7) + wankara		Antoni Apasa Quispe Roberto Vargas Francisco Nina, Vicente Ninaconde Quispe
1 par de bajo malta	ira (6+6) + wankara arka (7+7)		Frechiel Gutierrez (presidente del conjunto) Nasario Mamani Mediana
1 par de alto malta	ira (6+6) arka (7+7)		Liborio Sanina Conde Santiago Tirona
2 pares de pulu	ira (6+6) arka (7+7)		Enrique Blanco, Casiano Blanco Isac Condori, Zenon Fuentes Quispe
2 pares de suli	ira (6+6) or (6) + wankara arka (7+7) or (7)		Justo Chaca Soto, Casiano Blanco Victor Ramirez Charo, Paulo Honorio Mendopay
1 chinisku (triángulo)			Aurelio Madruaga

Ex. 1: *Kantu ensemble (Charazani)*

melodies at intervals result in a quasi bitonality of D and A major (cf. transcription 3) or their parallel minor modes b minor and f sharp (cf. transcription 2), which each sound simultaneously in three different registers. Thus the composite sound of all the panpipes simultaneously blown is extraordinarily complex. Whenever a single tone of a melody is produced, six different registers sound simultaneously: each is represented by one tone of the (stopped) melody pipes (notated as ●), and by an aspirated tone of the corresponding unstopped cylinder that resonates an octave higher in sympathy (symbolized with ○). The doubled panpipe pairs of the *kantu* are designated by double notes (●● or ○○). Adding to the complexity are the *marimacho* sounds produced by the *tuyu*, heard twofold and consisting of the fundamental tone of the

melody pipe and of the half-length, stopped second-row pipe. The latter produces an aspirated or whispering tone (notated as \diamond).

In the *kantu* ensemble you can hear 12 stopped pipes distributed over six registers, and 9 aspirated unstopped pipes, as well as one stopped pipe resonating in sympathy. In the following diagram we have represented these relationships synoptically; it must be noted that the rich overtones of the single pipes have not been considered. Example 2 is based on the single tones of the pipe IV of all *arka* instruments as they sound when played simultaneously (cf. the pipe numbers I-VII in note 8).



Ex. 2: Synchronous sound in the *kantu* ensemble

One must further consider that the single pipes are not always blown in tune with one another, so that a single tone often varies from its neighbor by a few cents. In addition, we note that every pan flute tone is extremely rich in overtones so that the timbral spectrum encompasses a whole cluster of partial tones, parallel octaves, fifths and fourths; thus, every tone of the melody is extremely colorful and iridescent. The fascination of the complex timbre of the *kantu* ensemble is increased even more by the use of the hocket-technique.

Four large drums (*wankaras* or *pfutu wankaras*) beat the rhythm; they are struck by a *wajtana*, i.e., a padded beater. The *wankara* (Span. *bombo*) is a tube shaped drum with a double skin; it is between 50 and 70 centimeters in diameter and between 60 and 80 centimeters high (cf. M.P. Baumann 1982:11).

The wooden tube is made from the hollowed trunk of a bay tree (*llokhe*; Span. *laurel*) or from the wood of a tropical tree with the Quechua name *mara*.¹¹ The membranes of the drum proved to be of sheepskin (*chibocara*; Span. *cuero de obeja*), each of which is fixed by two adaptable rings. One of these wooden hoops (*aru*; Span. *aro*) presses on the skin which in turn is wound around the second hoop, which lies

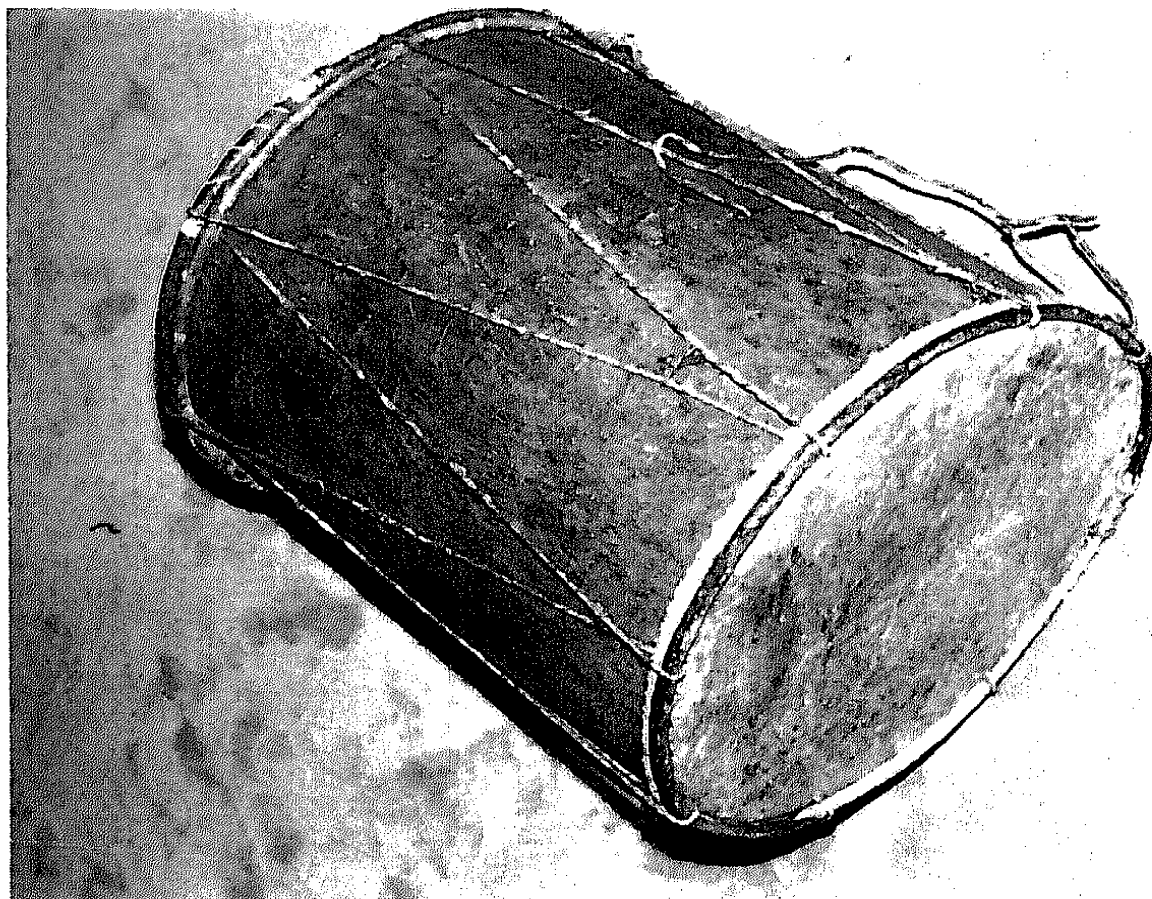


Fig. 3: *Wankara of Charazani*¹⁰

beneath it. The tension created by the two wooden hoops (*de aro-aro*) is present on both sides of the double-skin drum. The skins are stretched and held in shape by leather straps in a V-shaped formation, and these straps are pulled directly through the skin and around the upper hoop. The hairless skins can be tightened by laces placed at the bottom of the V-shaped bracing.

The *wankara* is held almost horizontally with the help of a loop that passes over the player's shoulder. All four *wankara* players of the ensemble blow a pan flute held in the left hand and simultaneously beat the drum with the right (cf. instrumentation in Exemple 1).

The triangle *ch'inisku* (Span. *triangulo*) is played by a single musician with an iron bar. The triangle is constructed from a drilling rool (*barrena de las minas*) and measures about 35 centimeters to a side. The instrument is suspended by a cord held in one hand so that it can freely vibrate while the other hand strikes its horizontal side.

Fig. 4: *Wankara player with suli*Fig. 5: *Ch'inisku player*

As a rule the *kantus*, i.e., the melodies, have titles, mostly in Quechua, seldom in Aymara or Spanish. The names of the 24 pieces I was able to document by tape recording in Charazani are listed here in order of recording and explained briefly:

<i>Name of the kantu</i>	<i>Translation, meaning of title</i>
1. <i>kantu</i> (nr. 1)	
2. <i>ch'aska</i>	"smile", "large eyelash", "Venus"; in Aymara: "morning star" or "evening star"
3. <i>warmisonqo</i>	"woman's heart"
4. <i>Pumasani</i>	"Pumasani": name of a mountaintop of Charazani
5. <i>walicha</i>	"woman of loose ways"
6. <i>whipala</i>	in Aymara: "flag"; refers to a flag dance
7. <i>Colegial Campesino</i>	"peasant schoolboy"
8. <i>barrera mayor</i>	"major barrier", "major secret"
9. <i>llaulina</i>	"llaulina": name of a flower
10. <i>ripuchun</i>	"he may go", "let him go!"
11. <i>eskina tienda</i>	"corner store"
12. <i>tukuy sonqo</i>	"from the depth of one's heart"
13. <i>allin p'unchay</i>	"how do you do?"; morning greeting
14. <i>qanpajpis tatay</i>	"good day to you, too, Sir!"
15. <i>linda Charazeña</i>	"beautiful (lady) of Charazani"
16. <i>k'ita rosas</i>	"wild rose", "rosehips"; (Latin: <i>agrimonia eupatoria</i> ; used as medicine)
17. <i>churitoro</i>	"speckled bull", "young bull"
18. <i>runaj wirsu</i>	"popular tune", "folksong"

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 19. | <i>falso gaucho</i> | "false gaucho" |
| 20. | <i>Mama Carmen</i> | "mother Carmen", "Virgin Mary of the mountain Carmel" |
| 21. | <i>much'away,</i>
<i>much'away</i> | "kiss me, kiss me!" |
| 22. | <i>llajtamasi</i> | "fellow citizen" |
| 23. | <i>sumaj kallawaya</i> | "the good healer" |
| 24. | <i>marcha final</i> | "final march" |

According to Ginés A. Pastén the *kantu* is about eighty years old and has developed from other dances and motives. The mother of the *kantu* might be the *tuailu* dance that the campesinos of the region of Upinuaya, a village of the Cantón Curva near Charazani, used to perform in earlier days.¹² M. and R. d'Harcourt (1959:110 ff.) transcribed four such pieces from Upinuaya (Upingaya) in 1956, which were then designated *marchas tuailu* by L. Girault. The dances are said to reveal an ancient origin and be derived from the *tuakas* marches, which are said to have been played by the old Inca guard. E. Oblitas Poblete (1978:350) describes the *tuailu* (*tuaillo*) as a dance comparable to the *kantu* (*qantu*) except that the pan flutes formerly in use were larger and made from thicker bamboo. The rhythms were more leisurely and the introduction to and endings of the pieces were identical with those found in the *kantu*. The music is supposed to contain elements dating back to Inca times. According to E. Oblitas Poblete, the *tuailu* melodies were originally characterized by pentatonic scales, although his musical examples show hexatonic and even heptatonic scales (cf. E. Oblitas Poblete 1978:350, 478 f., also the figure to p. 237).

Another precursor of the *kantu* might be the *chiriwanos*, as attested by Ginés A. Pastén. These are dances that were known at Niñocorín and Kaata in earlier times. These dances are probably reminiscent of battles with the lowland Chiriguano and their invasion of the Altiplano, where they are said to have destroyed Tiwanaku (E. Oblitas Poblete 1978:356; J. Portugal Catacora 1981:77 ff.). Nevertheless, it is not a matter of the *chiriwanos* panpipes of Umala here, with pairs of three and four cylinders, as they are still known in the *julajulas* ensemble (cf. M. Rigoberto Paredés 1977:646; M.P. Baumann 1981), but rather of a *sikus* ensemble, which is similar in instrumentation to the *kantu*, except that the large, low instruments dominate (cf. J. Portugal Catacora 1981:79, fig.).

In the following, three selected melodies of the collected *kantu* material are given in transcription.¹³ The transcriptions refer to an anhemitonic pentatonic scale (*kantu* melody *whipala*) and to two heptatonic melodies (*Mama Carmen* and *Llajtamasi*). *Kantu Whipala* (transcription 1) reflects a pure semitoneless pentatonic scale

(*tuyu*: $\textcircled{b} - d - e - f\# - a$; *sanka*: $f\# - a - b - c\# - e$).

From the point of view of their characteristics when played, the pentatonic structure dominates all of the melodies. Even in the hexa- or hepta-

tonic *kantus* the structural principles of the pentatonic pattern dominate; the six and seven tone modes can be explained in terms of two anhemitonic pentatonic scales whose tonal centers are arranged in layers of a sequence of intervals built up first on the finalis and then on the upper fifth. The first and second voice, i.e. *tuyu* and *sanka*, also stand in the ratio of a fifth.

Transcription 1:

Charazani 8.9.83
No. 972

accelerando (8")

ch'inisku
wankara

J = 72

sanka

tuyu

1.

2.

(40")
Fine

ira

arka

ira

arka

accelerando (8") *Da Capo*

g + 7. [:A A B₁ B₂ C₁ C₂:] + t

Transcription 2:

accelerando (9'')

ch'inisku
wankara

♩ = 76

sanka

tuyu

1.

2.

(49'')

Fine

arka
ira

arka
ira

Du Capo

(6'')

accelerando

g + 4. [:A A B₁ B₂ C₁ C₂:] + t

Transcription 3:

Charazani 9.9.85
No. 1000

accelerando

ch'inisku
wankara

sanka

tuyu

$\text{♩} = 76$

1. 2. 3. 4.

5. 6.

1. 2. (41'')
Fine

ar
ka
ira

ar
ka
ira

Da Capo

accelerando

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

sanka }
tuyu }

g + 6. [:A A B₁ B₂ C₁ C₂:] + t

Mama Carmen (see transcription 2)

sanka: $(f\#) - a - b - d - e + (c\#) - e - f\# - g\# - b$

tuyu: $(b) - d - e - g - a + (f\#) - a - b - c\# - e$

Llajtamasi (see transcription 3)

sanka: $(a) - b - d - e - f\# + (e) - f\# - g\# - b - c\#$

tuyu: $(d) - e - g - a - b + (a) - b - c\# - e - f\#$

Fig. 6: Scale structure

All musical pieces of the *kantu* ensemble commence with a solemn introduction played on the drums, joined by the triangle after the first one to three beats. After two or three more beats an *accelerando* begins, whereupon the lowest panpipe pair of the *tuyu guías* begins the melody. After a few measures the *tuyu trasguías* join the melody, followed shortly by the remaining panpipes. Thus in the first phrase of the melody (A) the various players enter successively until all the panpipes are playing together at the first tonal center at the end of the previous phrase, and all instruments sound in full *tutti* from the repetition of phrase A. The *tutti* continues until the conclusion of the piece, which is repeated *da capo* many times. After a *finalis (fine)* which is sustained slightly longer, the termination of the *kantu* is heralded by a gradual fading of the drums and triangle analogous to the beginning.

The introduction segment played by idiophones (q) was called *qallayku* (also *riquintana*) in Quechua. The middle section with the panpipe melody, the real *kantu* or *wirsu* (from Span. *verso*), was called *tukana*. The final part was named *tukuchana* (t).¹⁴ As a rule the melody of the panpipes, the *tukana*, encompasses three phrases repeated each time. The course of the *kantu* can be summarized by its generalized basic structure as follows:

course of form	q —	: AA B ₁ B ₂ C ₁ C ₂ : da Capo open form with repetitive linear structure	— t
course of time	(7" to 9")	(40" to 50") · (4-15 times)	(7" to 10")
terminology	<i>qallaykuy</i>	<i>tukana</i> (<i>chawpi</i>)	<i>tukuchana</i>
instrumentation	<i>wankaras</i> <i>ch'inisku</i>	<i>phukunas</i> <i>wankaras</i> <i>ch'inisku</i>	<i>wankaras</i> <i>ch'inisku</i>
tempo	<i>accelerando</i>	tempo giusto M.M. in the vicinity of 75	<i>accelerando</i>

rhythm	without accentuation	binary	without accentuation
sound/harmony	idiophonic	parallel octaves, fifths and fourths	idiophonic
"scales"	/	pentatonic, hexa- or heptatonic melodies (<i>wirsus</i>)	/
ambitus	/	sixth to eleventh	

Fig. 7: *Basic structure*¹⁵ of the *kantu*

The musicians of the ensemble start the *kantu* by gathering in a circle and facing the center. After a signal given by the *guías*, all rotate a quarter turn to the left so that they then stand one behind the other. The circle begins a counterclockwise movement. As in the *wayñu* dance, the musicians move forward solemnly in formation, in tripping steps to the rhythm of the drums. After one or more times through the *wirsu*, all the musicians rotate 180 degrees to the left around their own axis, mostly at the end of the repeated phrase C, and the formation now circles clockwise, again one player behind the other. Everything is repeated several times depending on the desired duration of the performance until finally all the musicians come to a halt with their faces to the center again; standing they await the fading out of the *kantu* drums—At fiestas, women and men also dance in pairs inside or outside of the circle.¹⁶

An exhaustive description of the course of the dance and its context is given by F. Bustillos and S. Sato (1981), with the example based on the Fiesta de la Virgen del Carmen, which begins on July 14 and lasts several days.¹⁷ The nocturnal, preliminary celebrations (*uruzis*) begin nine days before the main festivities. Numerous visitors and traders arrive from the basin of Lake Titicaca, from the Puna and from the Yungas in order to participate in the main procession. On July 16 some 3000 to 4000 people flock together in the Plaza at Charazani (W. Schoop 1982:257). In addition to the *kantu* of Charazani, the *kantu* ensemble of Niñocorín and Qiabaya and the *qena* flute ensemble of the *chatres* from Sanachi (Cantón Curva) visited the provincial capital in 1981. At the 1981 Fiesta de Natividad in Niñocorín, there was also a brass band (*banda*): these musicians were the *caporales* of the Fraternidad Folklórica de Charazani (F. Bustillos: S. Sato 1981:8 ff.). In 1983, on September 8, the *banda* "Potulus," from the Peruvian border, came to visit Niñocorín. We note an increasing influence of the brass bands in the realm of the traditional music ensembles, as well as in the general course of festivities, a fact which can be observed in many other Bolivian regions as well. Traditional music groups and urbanly oriented *bandas* perform side by side during festive processions, where all ensembles play their different pieces simultaneously. There is a struggle to preserve the fragile equilibrium between heritage, innovation, tradition and renewal.

NOTES

1. Oblitas Poblete points out, however, that the word *calla* does not exist in the Kallawayaya language. If it should be a matter of the corruption of *khalla-wayai* to "Callawayaya", then the word might convey the sense of "beginning of a drink offering". According to Oblitas Poblete, *k'alla* or *k'alli wayai* names the entrance into priesthood (*avenimiento de sacerdocio*) in the esoteric language *Manchchaj-juyai* (i.e., literally language of the fellow countryman (companion))—A second derivation refers to the spelling *Kollawayaya*, *Collahuaya* or *Qollawayaya*. *Kolla* would be interpreted in relation to the former *Kollasuyu* region as part of the ancient Inca empire *Tawantinsuyu*. Cf. also J.W. Bastien (1978:9, 215; 1979:101 f.) who translates it with "land of the medicine" and "sacred land".
2. W. Schoop (1982:357 f.) describes in detail the weekly and annual markets of the region as well as the circulation of the Kallawayaya within their territory in relation to the market system. In 1983 I was in Niñocorín at the time of the Fiesta de la Natividad de la Virgen Maria, at which time two music groups played during the procession: the *kantu* ensemble of Niñocorín (17 *phukunas* players and 3 *wankaras*) and a brass band, the *banda "Potulus"* (2 trumpets, 2 tubas, 1 tambor, 1 bombo, platillos), which came from the Peruvian border of the Altiplano.
3. The *ch'ilis* (literally: the small ones) belong to the family of duct flutes (*pinkillos*), with six front fingerholes and one in back. 4 *bajos* (large flutes) are played together with a smaller *alto* flute in parallel fifths, accompanied by the rhythm of two small drums (*retuelas*). They play primarily at carnival time (*carnaval*)—*Ch'unchus* are transverse flutes with six front fingerholes each. The flutes (4 *altos* and 2 *bajos*) are blown in parallel fifths, too, and play together with a *wankara* and a *retuela*. The name *ch'unchus* also refers to a dance. *Ch'unchus* is an Aymara name for a population group that lived in the lowland selvas and is said to have advanced into the Altiplano region at the time of the fourth Inca ruler Mayta Capac (cf. J. Portugal Catacora 1981:92 ff.). The *pifanos* are transverse flutes like the *ch'unchus* and are played together with the same rhythm instruments. The *pifanos* can be distinguished from the *ch'unchus* by the different kinds of melodies they play in ensemble: that is, largely melodies of the *morenadas* and *morenos*. A description of these three types of flute ensembles and an evaluation of the 22 tape recordings will be undertaken at a later date.
4. In the following I base the spellings of *kantu* (sing.) and *kantus* (pl.) on information obtained from Ginés Alberto Pastén S. (Charazani), and from M. and R. d'Harcourt (1959:36, 112), respectively.
5. Because a shift between o and u occurred as a result of the hispanization of the Quechua, *canto* > *kanto* > *kantu* can be relatively easily explained. Similar cases are, for example, words like *alto* > *altu* or *bajo* > *baju*. The problem of allophones is discussed fully in: J. Herrero; F. Sánchez de Lozada, and C. Morató Peño (1970:7 ff.).
6. Hocket-technique refers here to the "truncatio vocis" (cut the voice in pieces) as defined by Franco of Cologne: "Et ex hic omnibus cantatur truncatio vocis per voces rectas et obmissas, ita quod quando unus pausat, alius non pauset vel e converso." —In Spanish this technique is mostly designated *contrapunto* (contest). In other regions the Quechuan name *purajsikinakuy* (literally: we overtake one another) is used for it. The term *tinku* is also often heard in this connection.
7. The principle of *ira* (from Aymara: the one who leads) and *arka* (from Aymara: the one who follows; cf. *dux/comes*) is widespread in Aymara as well as Quechua-speaking regions. *Ira*, the leader, always begins the hocket melody. While *ira* incorporates the male principle, *arka* means the female. The *wirsu* comes into being by virtue of harmonious interplay between the two (cf. M.P. Baumann 1982:6 ff.).
8. This is the panpipe pair of the *sanka* register. The stopped bamboo-pipes of a pair in my collection measure as follows:

arka (7+7)		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
sanka	length of pipes in centimeters	16,3	19,8	23,2	29,1	35,6	41,5	52,5
	inner diameter of cylinders in centimeters	1,1	1,2	1,3	1,3	1,4	1,5	1,5

ira (6+6)		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
sanka	length of pipes in centimeters	18,0	20,8	26,3	31,0	39,1	46,7
	inner diameter of cylinders in centimeters	1,1	1,2	1,2	1,3	1,4	1,5

9. I could not obtain any further information to explain the single terms *tuyu*, *sanka*, *baju malta*, *altu malta*, *p'ulu* and *suli*. *Suli* could conceivably refer to *ch'uli* or *ch'ili* (small), since the smallest instruments have been thus designated in some other panpipe ensemble. *Malta* or *mallta*; also *mala*) refers to a Quechua word for an object of medium size. The middle register is further divided into a higher (*altu*) and a lower (*baju*) middle register. *Sanka* (*sanca*, *sanja*) and *tuyu* (*toyo*) are often used to designate the lowest register in *sikus* or *lakitas* panpipe ensembles. The longest pipe of the *arka tuyu* measures about 80 centimeters, the same pipe of the *arka sanku* occupying the register located a fifth higher measures 53 centimeters. The longest cylinder of the *arka baju malta* is half as long as that of the *arka tuyu*. The measurements of the pipe lengths in this *kantu* ensemble have the ratio of 1:2, and 2:3. F. Bustillos and S. Sato (1981:8) give the following names to the instruments of the *kantu* ensemble of Charazani: *toyo* (about 80 cm.), *sanka* (about 60 cm.), *bajo malta* (about 40 cm.), *malta* (about 20 cm.), *chuli* (about 15 cm.) and *licu* (about 8 cm.). The measurements always refer to the longest pipe of the *arka* instruments.
10. The *wankara* in my private collection is 58 centimeters high and 50 centimeters in diameter.
11. According to J. Lara (1978:140), *mara* is a tree of the family of "meliáceas (*Sroctenia Macrophila*)"; J. Muñoz Reyes (1980:324) labels *mara* with the Latin name "*Swietenia macrophylla*". Under the name of *lloqe*, E. Oblitas Poblete (1969:228) registers a plant of the "rosacéas"-family (*Kageneckia Lanceolata*).
12. "Madre del *kantu* es el *tuau* que se interpretaba en la region de Upinuaya y también los *chiriwanos* que antes se interpretaban en Niñocorín y Kaata."
13. Here the transcriptions are noted in absolute pitches. The two main voices of *guias tuyu* and *sanka* are given. The other voices, all of which execute the same melody, can be read with the necessary octave transposition (cf. example 1). For easier identification of the *hocket*-technique, the notes of the *arka* instrument have their tails ascending, those of *ira* descending. Transcriptions by the author.
14. *Qallaykuy* comes from the Quechua verb *qallariy*: to begin with a thing; *tukana/tokana* (7) from the Quechua verb *tokay* (Span. *tocar*): to let sound, to play; *tukuchana* from the Quechua verb *kukuchay*: to bring to an end, to close. *Kantu* (air, tune) could derive from Spanish *de canto a canto* (up to the end), or *canto* in the sense of *el borde*, *el final* (border, closing), a possible reference to the panpipe melody proper which is repeated from the beginning to the end (*al final*) several times. A more detailed interpretation must be based on further inquiries.
15. Here the basic structure attempts a generalization supported by my results in comparison to E. Oblitas Poblete (1978) and S. Sato (1982). A more exhaustive quantification has yet to follow, above all by further transcriptions and detailed

analysis. Naturally, it is possible to make distinctions in form for each of the *kantu*, as, for example, the transcription of *Mama Carmen* shows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} & A & A & B_1 & B_2 & C_1 & C_2 & \\ \vdots & \underbrace{\quad} & \underbrace{\quad} & \underbrace{\quad} & \underbrace{\quad} & \underbrace{\quad} & \underbrace{\quad} & \vdots \end{array} \right]$$

The possible combinations of repeated leading themes and discrete melodic material have yet to be analysed in detail in various *kantus*. Some remarks on the *q'antus* and a transcription by S. Sato (1980) together with a commentary on how the *kantu* is being taken over by urban *conjuntos* (as example by the Grupo Aymara) can be found in the article of Gilka Wara Céspedes (1984:220 f., 229). The recent tendency of urban folklore groups to assimilate autochthonous musical forms can also be seen in other ensembles such as *julajulas* and *tarkeadas*.

16. Also cf. M.P. Baumann (1982:11, C₁); L. Girault and X. Bellenger (1981: A1-4). E. Oblitas Poblete (1978:349) says: "La danza que se denomina también *waiñu*, tiene gran variedad de figuras, con la circunstancia de que los músicos no hacen otra cosa que dar vueltas y revueltas con paso lentos formando un círculo, muchas veces, este círculo se agranda para que los danzantes puedan bailar en el interior de la rueda (. . .). Luego se desarrolla el baile con parejas sueltas, las que se aproximan a tiempo de danzar para después apartarse, sacuden los brazos y dan salitos como una chancadora de metal."
17. F. Bustillos and S. Sato (1981:5) describe the figures of the pairs dancing to the *kantu* as follows: "La forma de danzar, es en parejas. La mujer está situada siempre al lado izquierdo del hombre. La mano derecha de ella, toma la de él y al elevarlas, hacen figuras circulares con los brazos como si estuviesen remando, a la vez sus cuerpos se colocan frente a frente mirando hacia el centro, para luego salir hacia los costados; luego él hace dar vueltas a ella hacia uno y otro lado sin desprender las manos para finalmente bajarlas realizando una vuelta completa al comando de el hombre. Esta coreografía, se efectúa varias veces."

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