

## ANDEAN MUSIC, SYMBOLIC DUALISM AND COSMOLOGY

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Members of Indian societies constitute more than half of the population in Bolivia's central Andes<sup>1</sup>. Most live in small rural settlements on mountain plateaus (*altiplano*) and in the valleys of the *cordilleras* at an altitude of 2,500 to 4,500 meters above sea level, for which reason they are sometimes called "highland Indians." The Spanish term *indio* (Indian) is a denomination from outsiders and refers today primarily to the semantic, cultural, and social feeling of solidarity among these groups. The Indios speak at least one of the Indian languages as their mother tongue, and feel bound to the traditional Andean cultural heritage. Following the land reform of 1953, the term *Indio* was replaced in Bolivia by the now customary term of *campesino* (peasant or farmer). The majority of this rural population lives from farming and stock-breeding. They grow various kinds of potatoes, corn, wheat, *quinoa* (a kind of barley), and beans. These vegetables and livestock such as llama, sheep, cows and pigs today make up their staple diet.

The numerically largest language groups of the Andean Highlands are the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking farmers. For the sake of simplicity, Indios or indigenous peoples who speak one of these languages are designated here as Quechuas or Aymaras, using the Spanish plural. In Bolivia Quechua is primarily spoken in the departments of Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosí, and Chuquisaca, as well as in some provinces of the department of La Paz. Quechua is the *runa simi* (language of the people), which has evolved from the classical Quechua of the Inca Empire (1438–1537). The Aymara language has survived in the vicinity of the pre-Inca ritual sites at Tiwanaku near Lake Titicaca. The Aymaras or Kollas live primarily on the altiplano of La Paz and Puno as well as in relatively large areas in the departments of Oruro and Potosí. Many musical terms and concepts stemming from Aymara seem to have been transmitted to the Quechuas, who also use them (cf. Baumann 1979, 1982a, [forthc]).

In addition to the Aymaras and Quechuas, a smaller group of Indios known as the Chipayas still survive near Lake Coipasa in linguistic and cultural isolation. Today their language, Chipaya, is spoken by less than a thousand people. It is assumed that the Chipayas, together with the Urus of Lake Titicaca, were among the first settlers of the Central Andes (Baumann 1981b:171). The Callawayas (Kallawayas in Quechua) hold a unique position within the Quechua-speaking provinces of Bautista Saavedra, Muñecas and parts of the provinces of Tamayo and La Paz. Among the Callawayas, ap-

proximately two thousand use their own esoteric language, Machchaj-Juyai (literally, “language of the compatriot or companion”), but otherwise, in general, they speak Quechua. The Callawayas differ culturally from the Quechuas and Aymaras, although many reciprocal influences can be observed, appearing especially in the realms of music and musical instruments (cf. Baumann 1985b:146–8).

## I. Musical Instruments and Ensembles

Typically, the traditional music of the Indios of the Central Andes uses a large variety of wind instruments, a smaller number of different kinds of drums, and a few idiophones. With the exception of the one-stringed musical bow (*arco selvatico/musical* or *arco de boca*), no stringed instruments were known in pre-Hispanic Latin America (Baumann 1985a:158f.). It was with Spanish colonialization that various guitar types, such as *vibuelas*, lutes, and *bandurrias*, spread throughout the affluent mine centers of the Andean region. Through the mediation of the mestizos, the *guitarrito*, *jitarrón* and *charango* (Quechua: *charanku*) were introduced to the *campesinos* of the *altiplano* and adapted and transformed there (Baumann 1979:603f.).

Unlike the urban folklore ensembles (*conjuntos*), which like to mix stringed instruments with some or all of the three basic types of flutes, the rural ensembles of the Indios (*tropas*)—with some few exceptions—consist of a set of only one type of melody-carrying instrument. The wind instruments of a *tropa* are found in “choral” formation, that is, one can normally divide the musical groups of the *campesinos* into the three main types of flute ensembles, according to native categorization: the panpipe ensembles (*sikus*), the notched flute ensembles (*kenas*) and the duct flute ensembles (*pinkillos*). Referring to the rhythmical accompaniment, one might also, from the notative point of view, subdivide the *tropa* ensembles into flute ensembles without drum accompaniment and those with accompanying drums. Wind instruments obviously hold the most important position within the Andean tradition of the *campesinos*, followed by the drums, which are used primarily as accompaniment.

Musical instruments and ensembles often have particular regional and individual names, varying according to the specific areas where they are played. This applies in particular to those musical terms classifying the different sizes or tonal registers of one generic type of instrument in one particular ensemble. In a duct flute ensemble from the Arque Province, the various *charkas* or *pinkillos* are divided into four categories according to their tonal register—similar to the idea behind divisions of soprano, alto, tenor and bass. Each instrument is assigned an individual name according to the register group to which it belongs. For example, the deepest and longest flute is called *charka machu*, the instrument belonging to the next higher register (about one fifth

higher) is called *charka mala*. One octave higher than the *charka machu* is the *charka tara*. The instrument belonging to the highest tonal register is called *charka ch'ili*; it is also the smallest instrument, sounding one fifth higher than the *charka tara* and one octave higher than the *charka mala*. *Machu*, *mala* (also *malta*), *tara* and *ch'ili* symbolize at the same time the societal hierarchy: *machu* means "honorable" and is, as a rule, associated with the oldest and most experienced musicians, *mala* or *malta* means "intermediate one," while *ch'ili* refers to the "smallest" instrument, which is usually played by the youngest and least experienced musician.

## 2. Musical Characteristics

Generally speaking the melodies produced by the various panpipe types are played most often in two to five parallel octaves. Parallel octaves also occur in some duct flute ensembles and in some *kena* ensembles. In ensembles of double-row panpipes, as well as in some duct flute and notched flute ensembles, parallel octaves will often be embellished by parallel sounds of fifths and/or fourths lying between the deepest and highest octave registers or, somewhat less often, by parallel intervals approximating a tritone.

Most instrumental and vocal melodies possess a pronounced anhemitonic pentatonic structure. Although certain flute types have a diatonic tuning and therefore could be theoretically played in a diatonic way, the scales actually played by the *campesinos* are predominantly pentatonically oriented. These scales are certainly more traditional and are, in terms of quantity, the preferred ones as well. Of course many melodies with half-tone steps do exist, in particular in melodies with a wide range. Such melodies seem to be transposed by shifting a fourth to a lower register or a fifth to a higher one; this occurs, for example, in some *sikura* ensembles. Such hexa- and heptatonic scales can be explained in terms of the combination 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. Because of having to play Western-like compositions such as national and regional anthems, in addition to the influence of urban folklore groups, traditional ensembles are more often adopting melodies tuned in major and minor keys.

In formal terms, the traditional melodies of the Indios are marked by phrases that are relatively short and few in number. These phrases are repeated individually, and the melodies in their complete form are constantly repeated from the beginning (e.g., AA BB CC—*da capo* several times). The instrumental pieces often begin with a drum introduction (*qallaykuy*), and after the often repeated main section (*tukana/kantu/wirsu*), there is a shorter coda section at the end (*tukuchana*).

From the point of view of rhythm, a binary character predominates. This is related to the countless forms of the *wayñu* dance (Spanish: *huayño*). These

dances can consist of such steps as a rather forceful striding forward (as in processional music), small steps, steps with a trochaic character, a simple alternating step, or hopping in place from one foot to the other (cf. Baumann 1983).

The singing (*takiy*) of men and women is mostly accompanied by one or several *charangueros* and is combined with particularly lively and rhythmic dances that have their own stamping sequences (*tusuna* or *zapateo*). To the most important song genres belong *wayñu*, *tunada* (*tonada*, *copla*), *yaraví*, *bailesitu* (*bailecito*), and *kwika* (*cueca*). In contemporary Bolivia, these are mainly performed in connection with the Christian festivals, such as carnival, Easter (*paskua*), Santa Vera Cruz (May 3rd), Todos Santos (November 1st), or Christmas (*Navidad*). There are solo singers performing *lari-wayñu* and *burruqhatiy* songs who accompany themselves on the *charango* while journeying through the countryside, as well as ensemble singing (*taki*, *tusuna*) and antiphonal singing between two contesting singers or groups of singers (*takipayanaku*). The individual melodies (*tunadas*, *wirsus*) and types of instrumental ensembles (*tropas*) are tied to specific festivals with specific terms, such as the carnival music of the *puka uma* or *pujllay* ensembles (*tonada del carnaval*), the *tonada de la Cruz*, the *cosecha wirsu* (harvest melody), etc. (cf. Baumann 1982b).

Songs, dances, and music are associated with festive occasions such as the sowing and harvesting seasons, family celebrations (*comprades*) and weddings, communal celebrations in honor of the patron saints, and other occasions special to each *ayllu* (ethnic groups bound by religion and territory). The festivities and music making reach their zenith when celebrating the various offering rites, such as offering drinks (*ch'alla*), incense (*q'oa*) or animals (*wilancha*), as well as during the animal branding ceremonies (*k'illpa*). Music, song and dance always stand in close relation to and are an inseparable part of the diverse fertility rites directed towards superhuman powers and to nature.

The most elementary figure of the dance ensemble (*tropas*) is the circle formation, in which participants dance in single file, the oldest first, the youngest last. In the traditional ensembles instruments are played by men. Women take a leading role in dance and song. They often wave colored flags (*whipalás*) in rhythm to the music. The dances always begin in a counter-clockwise direction and after a certain time symmetrically change to the opposite direction. At this point the musicians make a half-turn on their own axis and continue dancing in the same formation, one behind another. This fundamental pattern can be observed in many dances, as in the *charangeada*, the *sikuriada*, the *chúkaru-baile* of the *julajulas*, the *ushnizatni* of the Chipayas, etc. The circle dance is also combined with dancing in single file (*linku linku rayku*, such as serpentine movements in the *julajula* dances) or with dancing in double rows as in *lichivayu* dances. All of these formations belong to the main dance structures. The leader of the music group is the *tata*

*mayor* (*cabeza de baile*), who is responsible for the musicians, their food, and the schedule of the festivities, as well as for the decorations and dance formations. As a sign of his dignity as the dance leader, the *tata mayor* sometimes plays a *pututu* (signal horn) and holds a whip in his hand. With the whip he sees to it that nobody dances out of step.

### 3. Music, Ritual, and Dance

In the Central Andean Highlands, music, dance, song, and ritual are closely intertwined. Dance is present in almost all group-oriented forms of music making. The Quechua term *taki* (song) does not just contain the idea of language that is sung, but also rhythmic melody and dance. The three key terms, *takiy* ("to sing"), *tukay* ("to play"), and *tusuy* ("to dance"), each emphasize only one aspect of the musical behavior as a whole. These three elements are complementary to one another and signify the inherent unity of structured sound, movement, and symbolic expression.

Musical behavior is always embedded in a particular context within the ritually and religiously oriented cycle of the year. Music making and singing are determined by the agricultural cycle of the two halves of the year, the rainy season (when the seed is sown and the harvest is brought in) and the dry season (when the earth is tended and ploughed). The seasons also determine in general the kinds of musical instruments, melodies and dances that should be performed. Numerous festivals are celebrated for the deities belonging to the earth. During these festivals, offerings are made of smoke, drink and animal sacrifices when the ground is tilled, the seeds are sown, as the plants grow, and as the people pray for a rich harvest. Each celebration has its own set melodies (*wirsus* or *tonadas*) and its own musical instruments. Music and dance are, on the one hand, expressions of joy and at the same time offerings to honor Father and Mother Earth (Pachata and Pachamama).

Today, the various festivals must also be considered in connection with the historical layers and traditional re-interpretations that have been superimposed through time. Often, for example, the old astronomical (or Inca) calendar, the Christian (or Gregorian) calendar, and the annual agricultural cycle simultaneously influence such celebrations. All these different elements and fragments play their own roles and are often mingled together.

The cosmological-religious world view of the altiplano Indios seems to be partially syncretistic. The traditional Central Andean beliefs still survive in part and have, at most, mixed with the Christian conception of faith and worship in a relationship of reciprocal influence. The Virgin Mary is associated with the concept of Pachamama (*pacha* = earth, *mama* = mother). Pachamama, interpreted generally as the Virgin Mary, manifests herself on the local level as individual virgins (*mamitas*), such as the Virgen de Cande-

laria, Virgen de Copacabana, Virgen del Carmen, and Mamita Asunta (Virgen de Asunción). The female concept of Pachamama is the timeless and female aspect of the Mother Earth. Throughout the centuries, incoming religious figures such as the Virgin Mary have been reincarnated as an element of this fundamental principle. Pachamama became reborn as *wirjin* (*virgen*).

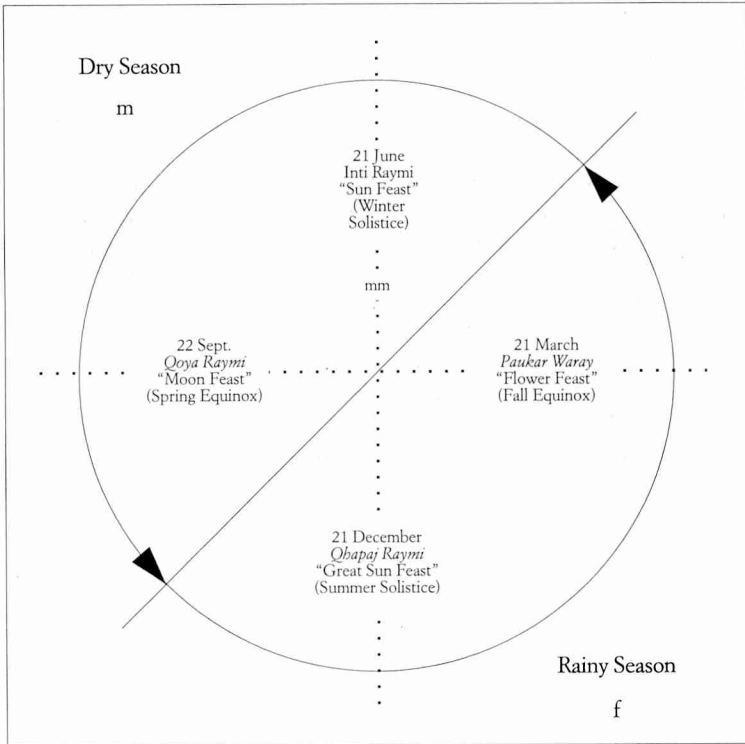


Fig. 1: Solstices, equinoxes, dry season/rainy season and the main feasts of the old Inca calendar (the year of the agricultural calendar begins on June 21st, the year of the ritual calendar at the summer solstice, i.e., December 21st).

Within the belief system of an Andean farmer, the local manifestations of Pachamama/Wirjin are expressions of the one principle of Pachamama. Pachamama is the mother of humans, the source of all fertility, and the symbol for growth and decline within the overall concept of time and space. For example, in the department of Oruro during the rainy season, *charkas* flutes are sounded in honor of Pachamama in order to express thankfulness for the first good harvest of the season. The *charkas* are duct flutes of various sizes (built similarly to the recorder) which are played by men to accompany the dances, together with a cow horn, or *pututu*. Unmarried girls accompany

these instruments with a high falsetto voice, singing "*Takisun pachamamaman mañarisun*" ("Let us sing and call to the Pachamama").

Various other duct flutes such as *pinkillos/pincollos*, *mohocoños/aymaras*, *ch'utus*, *tokurus*, and *tarkas/anatas* are traditionally played mainly during the rainy season, that is, starting on All Saints' Day (Todos Santos, November 1st) until the carnival season in February or March. These instruments belong to the "female" cycle of the year. The distinction between "female" and "male" times of year can be partly seen as a remnant of the old Inca calendar (see Figure 1). According to this calendar, the sun festival of the king (Inti Raymi), which was the main festival of the dry season, was followed by the festival of the queen (Koya Raymi). The wooden duct flutes symbolize the female principle of irrigation, of becoming fertile after the quiet and dry time; they express joy over the sprouting seeds and the harvest. The connection of these instruments with the element of water is emphasized by the fact that they are sometimes filled with water before being sounded so that they can become saturated and thus airtight. Because of the superimposition of the festivals by Christian religious concepts, the duct flutes are also closely related to the numerous festivals of the Virgin Mary that occur during the rainy season, such as the Fiesta de la Concepción (December 8th) or the Fiesta de Candelaria (February 2nd). The instruments proclaim delight over the Christmas season and the New Year. The Bolivian summer solstice (December 21st) coincides with the highpoint of the rainy season, as well as with Christmas festivities. Varying somewhat in length according to latitude, the rainy season (called *paray mit'a* in Quechua and *jallu pacha* in Aymara) lasts from around the beginning of November to the end of March or beginning of April.

In contrast to those instruments played during the rainy season, there are musical instruments—panpipes and notched flutes—which are made of hard bamboo and are played predominantly during the dry season. These instruments are closely tied to the mainly "male" festivals taking place during the other half of the year, such as for Santa Cruz (May 3rd) and Corpus Christi (end of May or beginning of June), as well as during the numerous festivals honoring particular (male) saints. These feasts are all linked to the concept of Pachataata or Tatapacha (*tata* = father; *pacha* = earth). The dry season, called *ruphay mit'a* in Quechua and *thaya* or *awti pacha* in Aymara, reaches its zenith at the Bolivian winter solstice on June 21st (Inti Raymi); soon afterwards, the great festival of San Juan takes place on the "coldest night" (June 24th). During this dry season, the instruments predominantly used are the notched flutes made of bamboo (*kenas*, *chokelas*, *kena-kenas*, *lichiwayas*, *pusi-ppias*) and panpipes (*sikus*, *sikuras*, *antaras*, *julajulas*, *laqitas*). These instruments are associated with the male principle, represented also by the sun, the dry season and the wind (see also Section 5).

#### 4. Everything is Man and Woman—Pachamama and Pachatata

Pachamama and Pachatata symbolize the concept of pair formation as a basic principle that underlies all phenomena in nature. The principle of complementary masculinity and femininity symbolizes in its basic features Andean thinking, as in the saying, “*tukuy ima qbariwarmi*”—“Everything is man and woman” (Platt 1976:21). The living earth (*pacha*) as holistic conception is man-woman. Everything that is, as well as each thing individually observed, is composed of both complementary poles of female and male basic characteristics. The one does not exist without the other, no light (*sut'i*) without darkness (*laqba*), no day without night, no sun without moon, no dryness without wetness, no above without below, no thing that moves without that which is moved, no thing that begins (*ira*) without that which follows (*arka*). In addition, each individual body, each thing that exists, is assembled from complementary opposites. The right side of the human body is masculine, the left side is female. The front side of the body facing the sun is masculine, the back side in shadow is female; this applies correspondingly to the head and feet. Even the highest principle of creation, *Wiraqucha*, composed of the two invisible aspects *Pachakamaq* or *Pachayachachiq*, is man **and** woman. It is an evolutionary principle that is to be understood as androgynous, from which all polar opposites emanate<sup>2</sup>. Everything that exists in the heavens, on the earth, and everything that is created is bound together with everything else and is composed in microcosmos as in macrocosmos—on all levels of reality—of their male and female characteristics, which complement each other (Kusch 1986:30f.; Andritzky 1989:299–304). According to an Aymara saying, everything in this world is an individual reality (“*Taquipuniw aka pachanx mayaki*”). Everything is related to everything else in a mesh of hierarchically ordered relationships of exchange between complementary opposite pairs (van den Berg 1990:158).

One of the prayer hymns (*jailli*) written down by Cristóbal de Molina from Cuzco around 1575 characterizes in a few verses how everything that exists is created in dual form (Lara 1980:37f.):

*Tijsi Wiraqucha,  
Qaylla Wiraqucha,  
T'ukapu ajnupúyuj,  
Wiraqucha.  
Kámaj, chúraj,  
Qbari kachun,  
Warmi kachun,  
Ñispa rúraj.*



Origin of Being, Wiraqucha,  
 always present principle of creation,  
 elegant and beautifully clothed,  
 principle of creation,  
 that blesses and gives life,  
 and the becoming of man  
 and woman  
 through a word produces.

A profound poem transmitted by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui around 1613 bears witness to something similar, a poem that poses questions about such bipolar, all-pervasive and mutually dependent evolutionary sources: "Where are you?"—"maypin kanki?"—"oh, power of life, root of all things?" (Harrison 1989:92–5).

*Ab, Wiraqocha tiksi qbapaq  
 kay qari kachun  
 kay warmi kachun*

...

*Maypin kanki?  
 manachu rikuykiman  
 hananpichum  
 urinpichum*

...

*intiq killaqa  
 punchawqa tutaqa  
 pogoqyqa chirawqa  
 manan yanqachu  
 kamachisqam purin*

Oh, power of life, root of all things, highest power,  
 you say, let man become,  
 you say, let woman become

...

Where are you?  
 Can I not see you?  
 Above?  
 Below?

...

Sun, moon,  
 day, night,  
 rainy season, dry season  
 not without meaning,  
 to the (highest) order, they follow their path.

All creations follow the primary principle of polar opposites. Above is masculine, below is feminine. Complementary are the pair of constellations of Father Sun (*inti*) and Mother Moon (*killa*). There are masculine and feminine stars: the masculine morning star *achachi ururi* and the feminine evening star *apachi ururi* (Harrison 1989:66). In the vertical order, heaven above is masculine, the earth below feminine. In the horizontal order, the earth is divided into the masculine mountain chains (Wamanis, Apus or Cerros) and

the feminine pampas (Earls & Silverblatt 1978:319). The water of the oceans and seas is feminine, but the rain from above that fecundates the earth is not. There are masculine and feminine stars, plants and animals (van den Berg 1990:161). All are aspects of two concepts of energy that are mutually complementary: from above to below, from below to above, from left to right, from right to left (Arnold 1986:4), from light and dark, day and night, air and earth, fire and water, hot and cold. The law of complementary opposites affects all forms of flowing existence, which are united in pairs. It works on the earth, in the sky, and during annual cycles. The dimension of sky spreading over the earth (*hanan pacha* or *pata parti*) is represented by the pair Tata Inti and Mama Killa. One finds its analogous equivalent in “this world” (*kay pacha*)—between heaven and earth—in the human pair of man and woman (*qbari*, *warmi*). And the chthonic forces of Pachatata and Pachamama apply in the dark Below (*ukhu pacha*), and in the inner parts of the earth, in the mountain mines, where they are called Tío and Tía (Arnold 1986:2, 7).

Pachatata and Pachamama refer in general to the earthly realms, to the plains and to the mountain peaks. Within this cosmologically oriented concept built up in pairs of opposites, humankind lives **here** on the edge of space, between sky and earth, and **now** on the cutting edge of time, between past and future (Figure 2). Past, present and future refer to each other and form a whole, the all-emcompassing cosmos, “*pacha*.”<sup>3</sup>

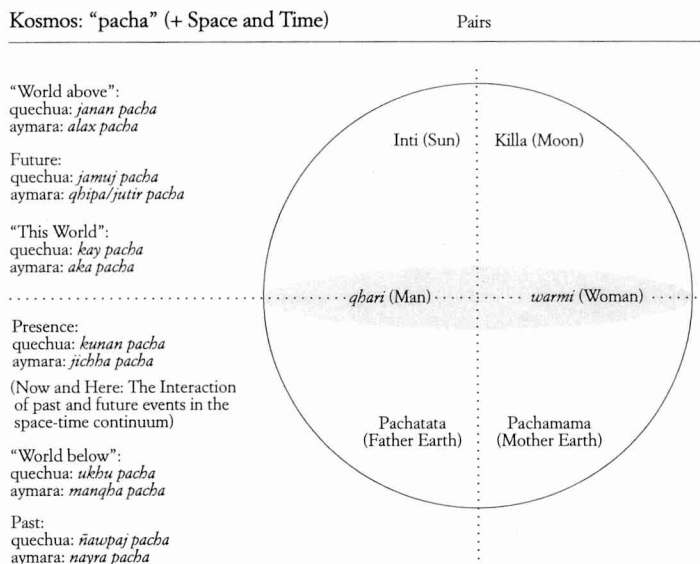


Fig. 2. Pacha as space-time-concept and the central pairs related to pacha.<sup>4</sup>

*Pacha* means in a narrow sense earth, including space, time, history, world—in a broader sense, however, also cosmos. *Pacha* expresses in its spatial and chronic aspects the inner connectedness of the whole on all levels of world constructs. This connectedness is derived also from linguistic terms (Firestone 1988:36f.). In the assemblage of the words *pacha* plus space construct (Above, Here, and Below) as well as *pacha* plus time construct (Past, Now and Coming), everything is centered on Here and Now. The past and not-yet-occurred is nothing more as another spatial aspect of above and below, or of front and back, just as vice versa, space appears as an aspect of time. *Kay pacha* symbolizes the transition from world below to world above, that is to say, between the feminine and masculine spheres lies the present world. It is in this world that the unification of polar fundamental forces is accomplished; these forces are the basis for each continuous act of reproduction (Vokral 1991:317). The *pacha* space-time construct is contemporarily (re-)interpreted from today's point of view in a mandala-like representation of the annual calendar (*mara/wata*) (Figure 3).

Each of the four cardinal points referring to the level of earth represents among other things one of the four parts of the Inca empire (*tawantinsuyu*).

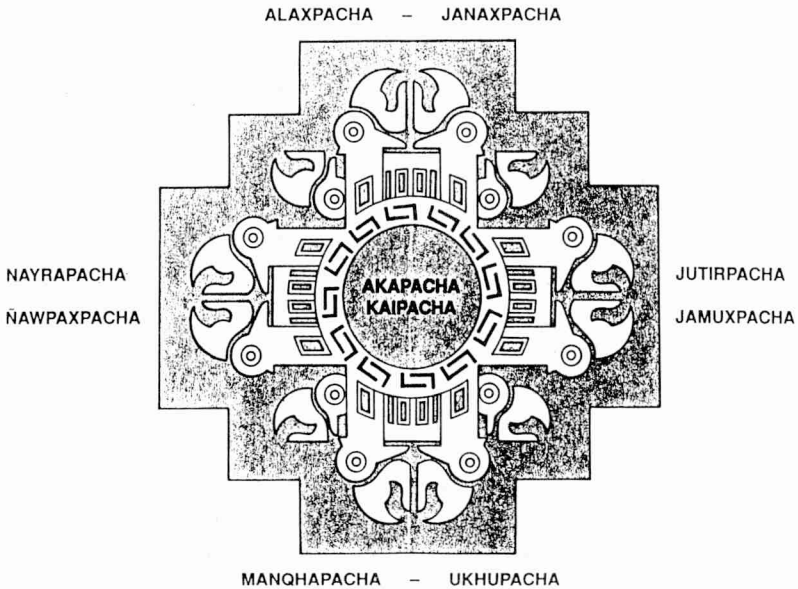


Fig. 3. Pacha concept as contemporary reconstruction of Tiwanaku Winaqala (Thola 1992)—*mara* (Aymara)/*wata* (Quechua): annual calendar.

However, the quarters themselves are each divided up in the next higher hierarchical level into complementarily assembled halves on the left and right side, or else the upper and lower halves of the emblem, symbolized through the vertical or horizontal imaginary line between the double-headed condor heads. Duality (*dualidad*) can be read from this view: Above and Below (*hanan, ukhu*) are divided by a horizontal boundary line. These meeting points of both oppositions, the *chawpirana*, cuts the halves and allows them simultaneously to meet each other. Each of the halves, the upper and lower and the left and right sides, are connected to each other to form a whole from two times two halves, or two times two pairs. It is in each case the masculine and feminine characteristics that form one pair. Like man and woman (*qhariwarmi*), they belong together as equal partners in a higher unit. They are *yanantin*, “tied to reciprocal help,” comparable to the symmetrical halves of each body (Platt 1976:11, 27). The symbolic representation of the entire unit opens up three-dimensionally to the observer of the emblem, as a view from above as well as from the front. From the perspective of “sky above” and “earth below,” the light of heaven is attributable as the masculine and the darkness of earth as the feminine element. Both spatial halves, however, divide themselves again according to their own polar characteristics in such a way that the horizontal relationship of the pair (Inti-Killa, Pachatata-Pachamama) is symmetrical, while the vertical relationship is asymmetrical:

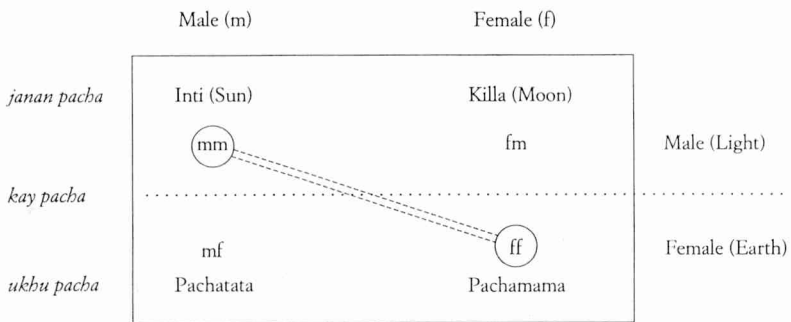


Fig. 4. Cosmological quadrants as a result of creating pairs (cuatropartismo cosmológico).<sup>5</sup>

Referring to the “earth below,” *mama* in Pachamama specifies the female aspects of being, procreation, growth and passing away, whereas Tatapacha or Taytacha (also Tayta Orqo, Apu or Wamani) designates the masculine aspects, to fecundate, organize and to kill. They are the seemingly timeless principles of the earth which form all existence and become polar opposites and which manifest themselves individually and collectively in analogous ways. These principles have ruled through the centuries, also spreading to Christian images in later times. In the mother aspect, timelessness manifests

itself as a concrete manifestation of the historically restricted. The principle of Pachamama is reborn in the process of historical superimposition as Mother God (Mamita) or as the Virgin Mary (*wirjin*, *ñusta*). It is celebrated repeatedly and during the local and individual feasts as an expression of a time-spanning principle of life and fertility. The numerous integrated concepts of the Virgin Maria, such as seen in the celebration of a particular festival, should be interpreted from their historically concretized aspects removed from space and time based on the general principle of Pachamama. It reveals itself as a concrete manifestation in local form during a specific period. The numerous “Marias” accentuate, through their individual characteristics, local aspects of time and space of the general feminine principle that underlines them. In addition to this principle of effect there also exists, however, the masculine principle of cause. In their complementariness, both polar fundamental forces complete each other, creatively guaranteeing in their coming together the persistence of all that is. This applies especially to “this world” of humankind, which comes out of the encounter between the “world above” and the “world below” and which remains continuously in their spheres of influence.

“*Pachamama también tiene su esposo*”: Earth Mother also has a man (Firestone 1988:26). The masculine counterpart in the complementary principle is Pachatata. Pachatata is—as already mentioned—the creative aspect to the polar counterpart of the receiving aspect of Pachamama. Superimposed with Christian symbolism is Tata Krus (= Father Cross), a manifestation of the masculine principle in the concrete form of Christ. The great feasts of the dry season such as Santa Vera Cruz (on May 3rd) and Corpus Christi (end of May or beginning of June), as well as the other numerous feasts honoring the (masculine) saints such as Tata San Juan, Tata Santiago or Tata Agustín, are embedded in a special context of local aspects of the Pachatata cult. *Tata*, *tayta*, *taytacha*, *tatala* (= a synonym in Quechua also for phallus), *tatitu*, and *tatalitu* indicate the diversity of forms of the masculine principle of formation and cause. Other connections with the name Christ or with saints demonstrate in a similar way the encompassing masculine principle that contains in its local forms of expression a specific designation (Rocha 1990:78f.). Maria and Christ are simultaneously raised to a god-like pair of the earthbound numina.

For the world above, the moon and sun gates were already known as an opposite pair in the pre-Incan temple of Tiwanaku. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote down around 1530 a sung hymn (*jailli*) with which the Indios of Inca times prayed to Mama Killa, the wife of the god-like sun, for rain (Lara 1980:41; Sichra [ed.] 1990:6):

*Killa Quya Mama,  
Yakuq sallayki,  
Unuq sallayki,  
Aya uya waqaylli,  
Aya uya puypulli.*

Queen and Mother Moon,  
Give us your water as a cloudburst,  
your flood of rain in streams,  
Cry, ah!  
Let flow, ah!

This and similar *jailli* verses were sung during the tilling of the fields and breaking of the soil. Such verses also report, in alternating singing of men and women (*takipayanaku*), how the sun rains gold and the moon silver (*Inti qori paran/Killa qolqe paran*; Lara 1980:44).

Tata Inti of the Inca times was reinterpreted by the “christianized” peasants as Tata Santísimu (Holy Father/Spirit), and Mama Killa became Mama Santísima (Holy Mother) (Platt 1976:22). All principles stand however for the same symbolic dualism that stretches as a historically developed structure. In the plant world, the potato is, as a tuberous root of the dark earth, an expression of the dominant feminine principle of form, and corn, growing in the direction of the sun, is an expression of the dominant masculine principle. In this division, however, each species or form is divided again into its polar sub-species or polar pair formations (Andritzky 1989:265). For example, potatoes are divided according to their ritual names into masculine and feminine forms or principles of creativity (*jach'a mallku* and *imill t'alla*; van den Berg 1990:129). Symbolic dualism applies to all forms of existence, to humankind as well as to its society, to the animal and plant worlds, to the realm of ancestors and the deceased (an ancestress is called *awicha* and her masculine companion *achachi*). This structural thinking transmits itself to within the division of labor: it is the man who tills the fields and breaks up the earth with a digging stick or plow, so that the woman can place the seeds in the earth. It is the men who play musical instruments, and the women who sing to them.

The mountains contain the life-giving principle and enclose as *tata*, *apu*, *machula*, *achachila*, *wamami* or *mallku* (which means Condor or Master of the Mountains) the center of energy of the consecrated peaks, in contrast to the feminine energies of the plains and valleys (*awacha*, *awila*, *mamita*, *t'alla*). The specific names and deities or saints are categorized according to the local centers of power. They are called up on specific occasions, music and dance are presented to them as offerings in thanks for a good harvest or with the request for a fertile year.

Pachamama and Pachatata embody in a diversity of symbolic forms and variations the basic structure of Andean thinking. They personify themselves in further sub-aspects at smaller levels (*lugarniyoj*). Among the Chipayas, the protective spirits Mallkus and Samiris play an important role in the fertility of land and cattle. Sajama, the godly-masculine mountain, is honored with

offerings so that he will give the water necessary for life and thus fecundate the feminine principle of the fields, the Mother Earth. The holy places (*wakas*) are integrated in the masculine mountain peaks (*jurq'u*) and have their counterparts in the feminine water holes (*warmi jurq'u*), out of which the spring water flows (Platt 1976:22). According to an old mythical narrative, the sun people are supposed to have emerged out of the love between the mountain Illampu and the Lake Titicaca.

Human beings live within this dualistically conceived cosmology in *kay pacha*—between the skies and earth. On the one hand there is the wise man, called *yachaj* by the Quechuas and *yatiri* by the Aymaras, who individually functions as a knowing intermediary. He creates a connection, through prayers and songs, between humans inhabiting this world and the deities. On the other hand there are the collectively celebrated music rituals and festivals of the Indios which create, by means of honoring and offering, a common bridge between the profane and sacral, between above and below, between growing and dying, between Pachamama/*wirjin* Maria and Pachatata/Tata Krus (Father Cross). Such collectively celebrated occasions are known as *tinku* or *tinka* (Spanish: *encuentro*), and include fertility rites, weddings, processions and other festivities, some influenced by Christianity. The *tinku* ritual of the Quechuas is sometimes a mock battle between two groups. It is a powerful, forceful event. The *tinka* ritual of the Aymaras is also a meeting of contrasting groups, but it might be at a peaceful occasion. *Tinku* and *tinka* themselves represent a unity of complementary parts: “*Tinka* is the important ritual action of bringing together separated or contrasting parts, such as the meeting during ritual of the highlands and lowlands, the vertical kin group and the horizontal kin group, and the living and dead” (Bastien 1978:121f.). It is the symbolic union “to express a bond of unity, distinction, and reciprocity,” which represents a third whole unit formed through an interlocking principle. This new third unit, in turn, emanates power, energy, and reproduction.

In the following section, this symbolic dualism will be illustrated through the ideas behind the panpipe ensembles as a particular paradigm of the anthropomorphic cosmology mentioned earlier. This paradigm also involves the *tinku*, here meaning the hoquet technique of playing in complementary pairs of female (*arka*) and male (*ira*) instruments. Particular attention will also be given to the interlocking of various methodological approaches which lead to some theoretical considerations (cf. Section 5.1 and Footnote 7).

## 5. The Concept of Pairs in Panpipe Ensembles as Paradigm for the Expression of Symbolic Dualism

The traditional panpipe ensembles of the Indios in the Central Andes use the playing technique of interlocking pairs. Each ensemble contains several pairs of instruments, each pair combining a female instrument and a male counterpart. The pairs can be multiplied in several ranges of two to five different voice registers.

Playing by pairs is encountered in specific panpipe ensembles such as *maizus*, *julajulas*, *julu-julus*, *chiriwanos*, *lakitas*, *antaras* or *sikus*, *sikuras* and *phukunas*, that is, in the most traditional ensembles of Aymara-, Chipaya- and Quechua-speaking population groups.

In addition, the individual rural music ensembles (*tropas*) of the Bolivian Indios consist, with only few exceptions, of identical melody-playing panpipe types. All panpipes appear in a “choral” setting as uniform panpipe pairs. As already mentioned, in opposition to the urban folklore groups of the mestizos, the *campesinos* do not mix panpipes with other instruments such as the notched flute (*kena*), the duct flute (*pinkillo/tarka*) or with stringed instruments.

Name of the panpipe ensemble	Pair of stopped pipes	Distribution
<i>maizus</i> (or <i>chiriwanos</i> ) <i>julajulas</i> <i>julu-julu</i> <i>chiriwanos</i>	( <u>3</u> ) and ( <u>2</u> ) (4) and ( <u>3</u> ) (4) and ( <u>3</u> ) (4) and ( <u>3</u> )	Chipayas Quechuas/Aymaras Aymaras Quechuas/Aymaras

Table 1. Number of pipes in different ensembles of single-row panpipes (without drum accompaniment). Underlined numbers indicate closed pipes (see Footnote 9).

Name of panpipe ensemble	Pair of double-row panpipes ( <u>stopped</u> + open pipes)	Distribution
<i>lakitas/sikus</i> <i>lakitas/sikus</i> <i>lakitas/sikus</i> <i>phukunas</i> <i>ayarichis</i> <i>sikuras/sikuris</i>	( <u>6</u> +6) and ( <u>5</u> +5) ( <u>7</u> +7) and (6+6) ( <u>8</u> +8) and ( <u>7</u> +7) ( <u>7</u> +7) and (6+6) ( <u>7</u> + <u>7</u> ü) and ( <u>7</u> + <u>7</u> ü) ( <u>17</u> +17) and ( <u>17</u> +17)	Aymaras/Quechuas Aymaras/Quechuas Aymaras/Quechuas Callawayas Quechuas Aymaras/Quechuas

Table 2. Number of pipes in different ensembles of double-row panpipes (with drum accompaniment).

Panpipe ensembles can be classified as either *tropas* containing single-row panpipes and without drum accompaniment or *tropas* with double-row pan-



pipes and accompanied by drums. Most panpipe ensembles have, as a rule, several pairs of different sized instruments, that is, in different registers. It is often the case that several registers are played by more than one pair of panpipes. Exceptions include the *maizu* ensemble of the Chipaya and a few others in which pairs of panpipes appear only in one register.

In most cases, one pair is composed of one instrument with an odd number of pipes and another one with an even number of pipes. In some ensembles, the pair consists of panpipes with an equivalent number of pipes. In either case, when the pair is expanded through the addition of other instruments, those instruments maintain the same numerical composition. The pipes of each instrument are usually bound together in raft form according to size. Each member of a pair is played by one musician.

Tables 1 and 2 show the particular pairs of panpipes as they occur in the most usual ensembles in Bolivia.

Each counterpart of a panpipe pair has a female or male connotation. This interpretation is provided by the native terminology as well as by the emic explanation of the musicians. *Ira* is the dominant male-oriented instrument that usually starts the melody and leads the panpipe playing, while *arka*, its complement, follows. *Ira* and *arka* are blown by two players in a racket-like technique, that is, when *ira* plays one to four notes, *arka* rests and then continues the melody while *ira* rests, and so on. In this way *arka* and *ira* combine their notes to create a particular melody that results from an interlocking and complementary interplay. Playing in complementary pairs can be found in almost all traditional panpipe ensembles: among the simple *maizu* flutes of the Chipayas, among the diverse panpipe ensembles of the Aymaras and Quechuas, such as the *julajulas*, *julu-julus*, *chirivanus*, *lakitas*, *antaras*, *sikus* or *sikuris*, as well as among the *phukunas* panpipes of the Callawayas.

The Aymara word *ira* or *irpa* denotes “leader” or “the one who leads,” and represents a male principle, according to the *campesinos*. Other names used for this same concept are *sanja*, *pussak/pussaj* (from Quechua *pussay*: “to lead”) and the Spanish *guía* (leader) or *primero* (the first).

The Aymara word *arka/arca* denotes the female and weaker counterpart, “the one who follows.” Other names for *arka* with the same meaning are the Quechua *kbatik/qbatij* (from the infinitive *qbatij*: “to follow”, “to go after”), and the Spanish *trasguía* (“the following”) or *segundo* (“the second”). It is quite likely that *arka* and *ira* are both Aymara words, but they are also used among Quechua-speaking Indians<sup>6</sup>.

Three of the most common types of panpipe ensembles will be described in detail, with particular attention to the tuning and distribution of the pipes and with respect to the individual voice ranges. For this purpose, a *julajula* ensemble, a *siku* ensemble, a *lakita* ensemble and a *sikuri* ensemble are selected as paradigms to illustrate the complexity of different panpipe orchestras.

### 5.1 Julajulas: *The ira-arka Principle of Single-Row Panpipes*

The reciprocal relationship, in which each element is dependent upon the other, finds its simplest expression in the music of Andean *julajula* panpipe playing. These traditional pan flute ensembles are played predominantly during one half of the year, the dry season, and are governed by the hocket technique between an instrument of four pipes and another of three pipes. *Ira* and *arka* are alternately blown by different players (Figure 5): while the first player plays one or two tones, the second player is silent and continues the melody when the first player pauses, and so forth. In this way the two instruments complement each other through subsequent interlocking tones and create in hocket-like fashion a *julajula* melody of seven notes.

Both the terms *ira* (Span. *macho*) and *arka* (Span. *hembra*) are used for Aymara and Quechua *julajula* panpipes alike. The interlocking playing technique of panpipes is regarded as a kind of competition (Span.: *contrapunto*). Some Quechua-speaking Indios call it *purajsikinakuy*, literally “we catch up with each other.” Among the Aymaras the technique is known as *jaktasiña irampi arkampi* (Valencia Chacon 1989:36), meaning “to be in agreement with *ira* and *arka*.” The character of the encounter or the coming together of a pair is also expressed in the description of the playing technique as *tinku*.<sup>7</sup>

A descending pentatonic scale without half-tones (e'-d'-c-a-g) underlies the seven tones of both of the *julajula* panpipes, which are tuned to each other (for example, e'-d'-c-a-g-e-d) (Figure 5). The name of such a melody, which is handed down only through oral tradition, is “wild dance,” *chúkaru-*

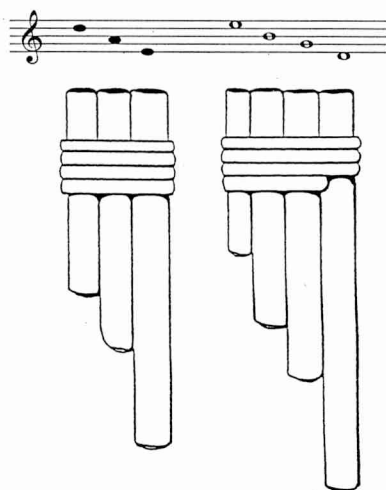


Fig. 5. A pair of *julajula* panpipes (female *arka* instrument with 3 stopped pipes; male *ira* instrument with 4 stopped pipes) in middle *liku* register.

*baile*, an example of which is given here in transcription (Musical Example 1). The tones played by the *ira* instrument are symbolized with notes whose stems point downward; those of the *arka* instrument are shown with stems pointing upward. The first Phrase A and the second Phrase B of the melody are each individually repeated and lead into the shorter part C, whose content is made up of individual notes of the (masculine) Phrase A and the (feminine) Phrase B. In the coming together (*tinku*) of *ira* and *arka*, first the “leading” melodic Phrase A is played, which is “followed” (after its repetition) by the second melodic Phrase B. After this phrase is also repeated, the closing Part C is derived from the two repeated phrases. This melodic formal procedure (AA-BB-C) is repeated “da capo” innumerable times during the performance and in ritualized form to the dance of the whole ensemble (cf. Baumann 1985b:160).

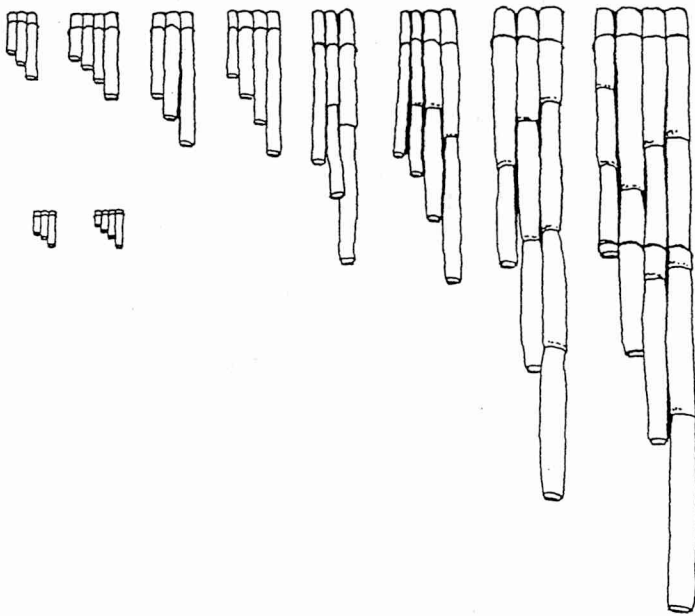
Mus. Ex. 1. *julajula panpipes*—bocket playing of *ira* (4 stopped pipes) and *arka* (3 stopped pipes). Transcription of *chúcaru-baile* (in the middle register of the *liku* pair).

As already mentioned, a *julajula* ensemble is composed of several pairs of diverse octave registers (see Figure 6). The individual melodies sound simultaneously in parallel octaves, divided over four to five registers. The pan flute pairs are tuned identically to each other in their respective octave ranges. According to the Andean principle, they are conceptualized as equivalent pairs (*ira* and *arka*) on the horizontal level. In their vertical order, the pairs are arranged hierarchically, according to which the biggest panpipe pair (the *ira-arka* pair *machu*, which is as long as 1.2 meters) is blown by the two eldest and most respected musicians. The next biggest pair, which is half as long and called *mali* (or *mallta*), is played by the next oldest musicians, and so on; the smallest pair (*ch'ili*) is played by the youngest and therefore least experienced players. The hierarchical order of pairs is arranged beginning with the “old,” “honorable” pair of *machu*, to the “middle-big” pair of *mali*, the “third” pair *liku*, the “delicate” pair of *tjili* and the “little” pair *ch'ili* (Baumann 1980:158ff.; 1990:276f.):

Fig. 6. Ensembles of julajula panpipe pairs and their different registers (each with an interval of one octave)—from deepest (or biggest) to highest (or smallest) pair: machu (ira-arka), mali (ira-arka), liku (ira-arka), tijli (ira-arka), ch'ili (ira-arka). An ensemble with 16 musicians is represented as an example here (that is, 8 pairs of instruments), in which the liku pair is doubled and the tijli pair is tripled.<sup>8</sup>

## 5.2 Sikus: The ira-arka Principle of Double-Row Panpipes

The same *ira-arka* relationship also appears among the double-row panpipes. The general terms for most double-row panpipe instruments are *siku*, *antara* or *lakita*. Among these are included various types, each of which has a different number of double-row pipes. The individual instruments have, as a rule, a row of stopped pipes of differing lengths, in front of which is tied a second row of evenly sized, open-ended pipes. The most often used *sikus* (or



*lakitas*) consist of a pair whose *ira* instrument has 7 stopped and 7 open-ended pipes (7+7) and whose complementary *arka* part consists of 6 stopped and 6 open pipes (6+6). The stopped melody pipes of *ira* and *arka* complement each other in the tuning of a “diatonic scale” with a range of 13 tones (Figure 7). This scale is sounded using the hocket technique and occurs mostly in two different pair sizes, for example in a small ensemble of two larger *liku* pairs together with a *ch’ili* pair that is half as big. The *siku* panpipes are in this case accompanied by a large drum (*wankara*) and a small drum (*wankarita*).

The thought structure of complementary pair formation is also discernable in the *siku* ensembles. Each of the individual double-row panpipe instruments, the *ira* as well as the *arka*, are further divided into two polar parts (Figure 8). These are the stopped pipes (*qharis*) of the melody row (*tukanan*), which are understood as the masculine element, and the open pipes (*chinas*) of the second row (*kacharisqa*), which provide the “breathy sound” and are considered the feminine element. Each individual open and stopped pipe of the same length forms a (conceptually) bound pair (*qhari-china*). Additionally, each of these pairs has a special relationship to the *qhari-china* pair of the other panpipe instrument.

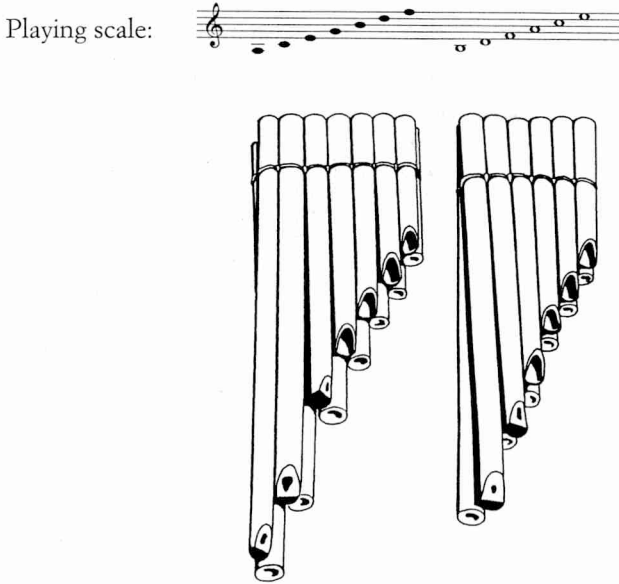


Fig. 7. Example of a double-row siku pair: ira (7+7) and arka (6+6), with a correspondingly complementary distribution of single tones.

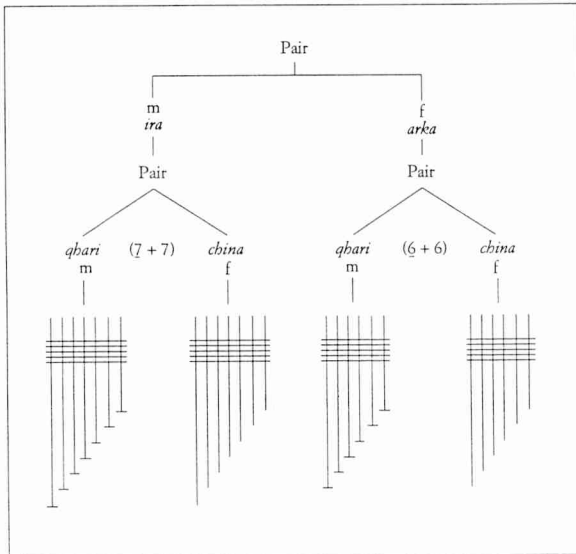


Fig. 8. Double-row ira instrument (7+7) and arka instrument (6+6) and corresponding subdivision in 7 or 6 pipe pairs, each made up of one masculine (stopped) and one feminine (open) pipe (qhari-china). Comp. also Figure 7.<sup>9</sup>

5.3 Lakitas: *The ira-arka Principle of the "Chosen Ones"*

The same *ira-arka* principle which underlies the *sikus* similarly affects the *lakita* ensemble. The *lakitas* are double-row panpipes of (8+8) and (7+7). Basically, the second equal row of pipes serves only for resonance. The pipes of this row are cut off at an angle at the bottom, and thus sound softly as open pipes and an octave higher than the stopped melodic pipes. The individual

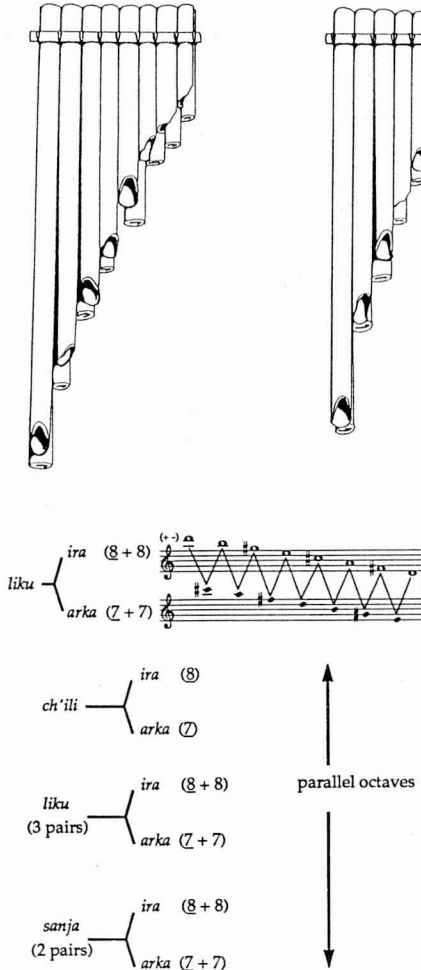


Fig. 9. Pair of double row lakita panpipes (ira: 8+8 and arka: 7+7), tuning and three octave registers (ch'ili, liku, sanja).

tones are divided between *arka* and *ira* in intervals of major and minor thirds (Figure 9). The pairs *ch'ili*, *liku* and *sanja* are tuned an octave apart and are played in the same hocket technique as the other panpipe ensembles, accompanied by four *wankara* drums.

According to informants, the stopped pipes are named in Quechua *tokanan* (playing the melody), *tapasqa* (stopped) or *qhari* (man). The open pipes have different names in different languages: in Aymara, *phallkja* (fork) or *q'asa* (notch/nick), in Quechua, *kacharisqa* or *china* (little women), and *compania* in Spanish. Again, conceptualization in terms of a complementary pair of opposite parts is expressed through these terms.

The *lakitas* ("the chosen ones") are played during the dry season as is usually the case with most panpipes. The *lakita* dancers express the ritual purification and preparation of the land before the sowing begins, thereby entreating Pachamama to grant a good harvest. The musicians dance around the Mallkus and T'allas (male and female heads of the communities). Two pairs of women dancers dance around the musicians, spinning llama wool by hand into a ball of yarn with a small wheel (*k'apu/rueda*).

$\text{♩} = 88 \rightarrow 100$      $\text{♩} = \text{ira}$      $\text{♩} = \text{arka}$

Lakitas (likus) A

4 wankaras

B

C

da capo

⊕ Fine (2'38")

3 times (A A B' B' C C)

Mus. Ex. 2. Lakitas: musical transcription of the hocket technique of the middle register liku pair. (Llauro Llokolloko, Department of La Paz)



5.4 Sikuris: *The Hocket Technique of the Sun Dancers*

One can easily discern from the *sikuri* panpipes how the dualistic *arka-ira* principle similarly functions. The *sikuris*, also called *sikuras* or simply *sikus*, belong to the large type of double-row panpipes (Figure 10). The individual instruments have, as a rule, 17 stopped melodic pipes, which are bound together in raft form. A second row of open pipes of the same number and

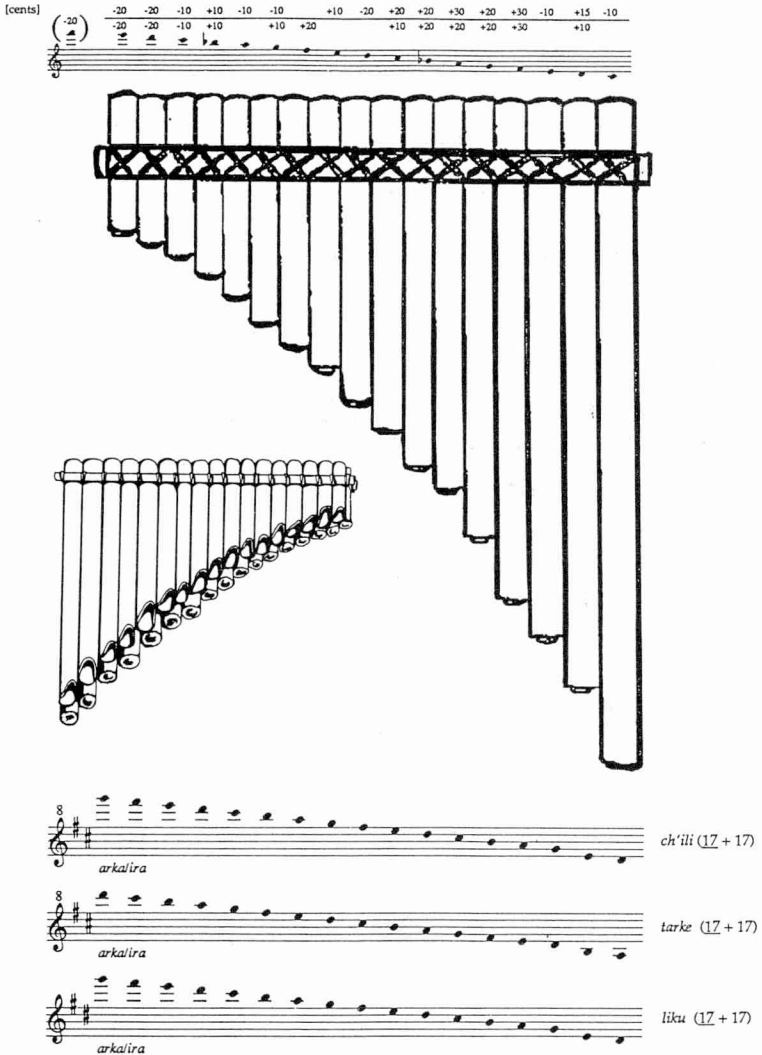


Fig. 10. Sikura panpipe (*ira* or *arka* with the same tuning) and registers of *ch'ili*, *tarke* and *liku*.

lengths is bound in front of the first row. Although the pipes are “tuned” in diatonic intervals, the scale is not used in this quasi-major way; most of the tunes are pentatonically oriented. Among the *sikuris*, both counterparts of the *arka-ira* pair have the same tuning and construction, this in sharp contrast to the other panpipe ensembles.

The equal pairs play their melody in three different registers, that is, the *ch'ili* pair and the *liku* pair sound in parallel octaves, and between them the *tarke* pair plays a parallel fourth below *ch'ili*, what means at the same time a parallel fifth higher than the *liku* pair (Figure 10).

$\text{♩} = 161 (3'24'')$

sikuris (likus)

4 cajas

putútu

2. [ ] etc.

[2. → putútu]

*dal segno*  $\text{♩}$

Mus. Ex. 3. Sikuris (wayño) from *Chilca Grande* (Tapacari, Department of Cochabamba): musical transcription of the liku pair and drums.

*Ira* and *arka* play not in a real hoquet-like technique, but rather in an alternating technique (Musical Example 3), so that *arka* always echoes the same note played by the leading *ira*.

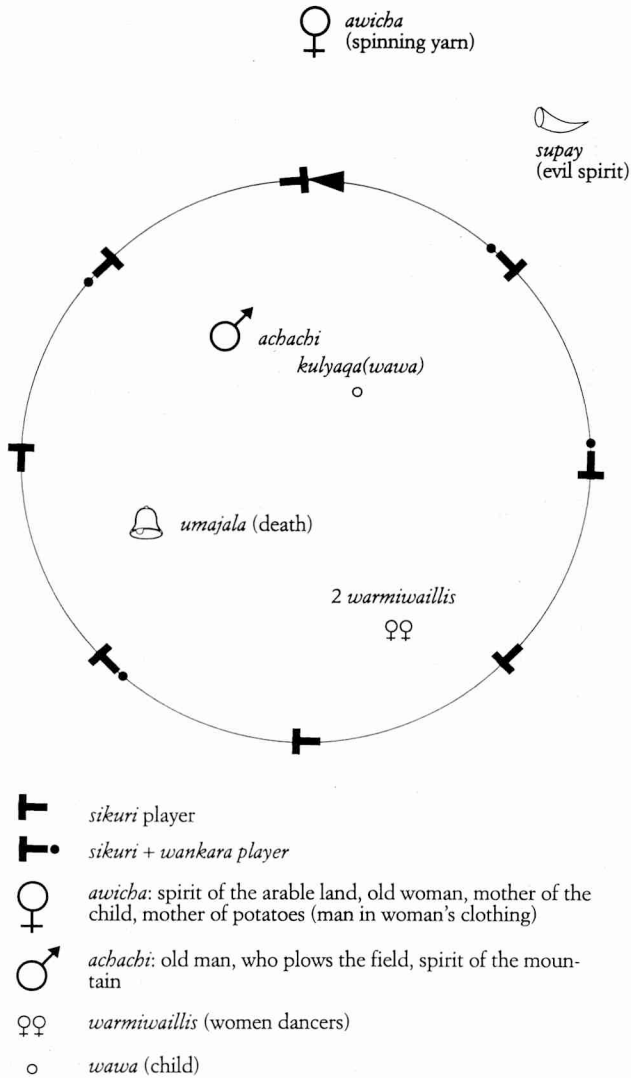


Fig. 11. Sikuris: dance circle with Achachi and Awicha (Tapacari).

The panpipe players, who accompany themselves with four *caja* drums, dance in a circle (Figure 11) around three dancers. These represent an old man *achachi* (*abuelo*), his small child (*kulyaqa/wawa de los abuelos*, child of the ancestors), and the *umajala* (lit., “naked head,” perhaps symbolizing death), who rings a llama bell (*campanilla*). Outside of the circle is an old woman, called *awicha* or *abuela*, who is the mother of the child and repre-

sents the spirit of the arable land. She is played by a man in woman's clothing, who spins yarn with a spindle and is pursued by an evil spirit (*supay*) wearing a "devil's" mask and carrying a cow horn (*pututu*). The *awicha* is anxious to prevent any mishap to the child and thus leads the evil spirit astray. Within the safe area of the *sikuri* circle, there are also two women dancers (*warmiwaillis*).

The Achachi adopts the symbolic role of the "old man" (ancestor) who plows the field, and the Awicha symbolizes his woman who sows; both are constantly surrounded by danger. Achachi represents the male spirit of the mountain, Awicha that of the female arable land. Awicha is at the same time the mother of the potatoes. In addition, some dancers dance next to the threatening death, the Umajala, wearing a stuffed female *vicuña* on their sombreros and also a (male) condor (*kuntur*). The dance re-actualizes in a symbolic way the past world of the ancestors and enforces at the same time the present through the commemorating of the fundamental forces. In binding together the past with the present through ritual, offering and symbolic performance, and in the re-enactment of the past through the present actualization, the future will be guaranteed.

Most circle dances of panpipe ensembles are related to the dry season of the agricultural calendar and represent the giving of thanks for the past harvest as well as a petition for the next season. They are directed to Pachamama (Wirjin) and Pachatata or to the female and male spirits of the ancestors (Awicha and Achachi).

## 6. Tinku: Festival of Encounter

The Bolivian Indians of Arampampa, a small village in the north of the Department of Potosí, celebrate the Feast of Mary's Ascension, the Fiesta de Mama Asunta (or Virgen de Asunción), each year on the 15th of August and during the following week<sup>10</sup>. Christian folk piety is syncretized with the traditional belief system of the Andean world to become a colorful religious cult which presents in its essentials the fundamental features of the Andean concept of symbolic dualism. This festival will be described here as a paradigm for panpipe playing in the context of ritual.

The Indians set out on a pilgrimage to this festival from the surrounding farming settlements and from the highlands, making trips of two or three days on foot to Arampampa. From all directions, from above (that is, from the altiplano, or *puna*) and from below (out of the valleys, or *valles*), the groups flow together and meet in the small village of Arampampa, which is normally home to about 500 people and, as a former Spanish settlement, contains a church. This church is for the rest of the year abandoned but receives the visit of a priest during the week of its protective patroness, the Virgen de Asunta. Once a year he reads masses and holds weddings and christenings.

The Indians announce themselves from the heights with blasts of dynamite and move into the village playing music. First the pack mules trot in, carrying on their backs the things most essential for survival and urged on by the oldest Indio, the *tata mayor*, followed by a dancing pair and finally by men playing the panpipes. The Indios come from four regions of the altiplano (*aransaya*) at different times with *julajula* panpipe ensembles (cf. Section 5.1). One after the other, four more groups reach Arampampa from four other villages in the valleys, nearby in the lower surrounding area (*urinsaya*), each leading a *siku* ensemble with it. It is always the same ritual. The *siku* ensembles play while walking around the church plaza (cf. Section 5.2.). The musicians dance around the plaza in a counterclockwise direction and from one corner to another, along with the women and men who follow them, dancing in stamping *huayño* steps. Each *siku* group brings along a large cross, the one a Tata Marcabi, another the Tata Sank'ani or Tata Quillakas, another a big stone upon which a cross is drawn. After the dancing around the church plaza, each individual group goes into the church, where the cross is placed next to the statue of the Virgen de Asunta. The upper point of the large wooden cross is (as the head) decorated with a sombrero or a helmet. Over the arms of each cross hangs a poncho that is bound to the cross with a lasso or a whip.

Clearly, the masculine insignia suggest here Pachatata as the father of agriculture (with sombrero and lasso) and Pachatata as father of war (with *tinku* leather helmet and whip) (Figure 12). In a symbolic as well as a real sense, the Tata Kruz and Mama Asunta are brought together at the Feast of Encounter. The fundamental principles remain Pachamama and Pachatata (or

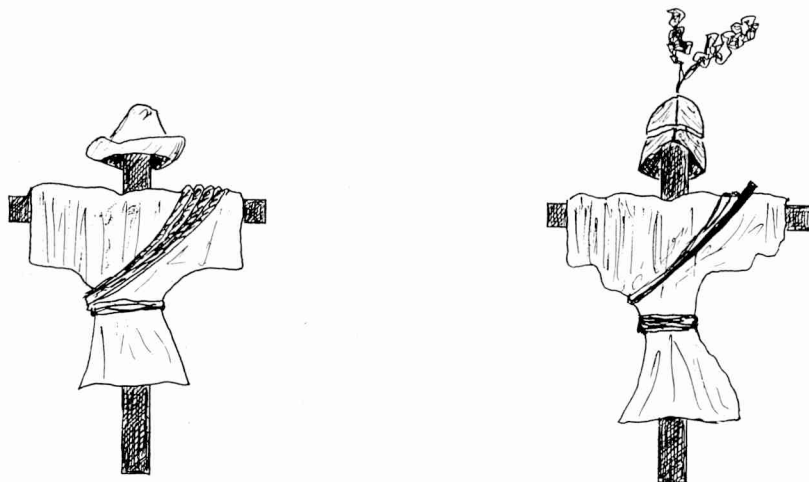
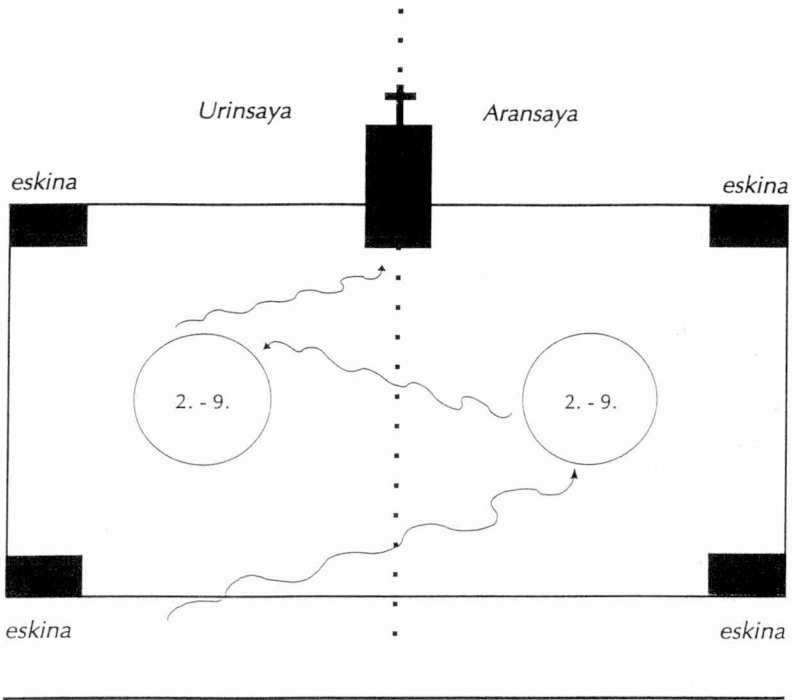


Fig. 12. Tata Marcabi (with sombrero) and Tata Sank'ani with montera (helmet).

Mallku or Apu), though also mixed in part with Christian elements. One meets at a central place of action, coming from every direction. Here, in the center of above and below, in exchange between the *ayllus*, between village and land, between social and ritual encounter, the new power is obtained in thanks for the past and to solicit for the future. This can only succeed if the polar forces come together and interact. In this “time outside of time,” Arampampa becomes symbolic, on a small scale, for the navel of the world, just as Cuzco was once on a large scale the center of the Inca empire (*tawantinsuyu*). Here as well, the state of everything being bound together is reflected, in the large as well as in the small, and vice versa.

Upon their arrival in Arampampa, the Indios coming from *aransaya* (above) and the *julajula* players walk to the church plaza in their own manner. In a serpentine, zig-zag movement (*linku linku rayku*), the musicians march one after the other onto the plaza (Plaza T’alla, *t’alla* meaning “woman”) and take possession of it through their dance. To the sounds of the “wild dance” (*chúkaru-baile*), they dance with stamping steps first to the “upper half” (also *aransaya*) of the plaza. The serpentine formations of the dancers then change into a circle dance, which begins in a counterclockwise direction. Women dance along, next to the *julajula machus*, making their colorful flags (*whipalas*) flap in figure-eight patterns. The circle of panpipe players, dancing one after the other, closes and revolves several times. Then the oldest *ira* panpipe player (with the *julajula machu*) begins an about face, leading the players outward and in a clockwise direction. The circle moves in this new direction. After a while, everyone comes to a halt and directs their eyes to the middle of the circle, where the group leader, the Tata Mayor, stands. He holds a whip in his hand and keeps an eye on all musicians and dancers, ensuring that everyone keeps in line. After halting, the musicians continue to play until all panpipe players, starting again from the beginning, dance one after the other in counterclockwise direction. This is repeated once more, this time with the oldest *arka* player (*julajula machu*) leading the change in direction. He breaks the circle so that he, as the second leader of the line, leads the circle once more in a clockwise direction, but towards the inside of the previous circle. This is followed as earlier with the dancers coming to a halt, concentrating on the middle of the circle, and then continuing to dance one after the other in counterclockwise direction. From then, the circle changes again into a winding movement, which brings the musicians diagonally across to the other half of the plaza (*urinsaya*), where everything is repeated symmetrically (Figure 13). At the end the players move towards the church tower (*Torre Mallku*) in a line formation. The musicians kneel in front of the entrance to the church, playing a gentle panpipe melody (a *copla* or *plegaria*), in order to appeal to Mama Asunta or Pachamama for forgiveness for the upcoming highpoint of the festival, the bloody *tinku* fight. At the *tinku* all groups, from the *ayllus* from above to the *ayllus* from below, will fight each other with all their strength.












1.  Serpentine line dance, one column (*linku linku rayku*)
2.  Circle dance in counterclockwise direction (*ira* direction)
3.  Circle dance that opens to the outside (*arka* movement)
4.  Circle dance in clockwise direction (*arka* direction)
5.  Standing still while looking towards center
6.  Circle dance in counterclockwise direction (*ira* direction)
7.  Circle dance that opens to the inside (*arka* movement)
8.  Circle dance in clockwise direction (*arka* direction)
9.  Standing still while looking towards center

Fig. 13. Julajula dance procedure—"wild dance" (chúkaru-baile).



The dances are repeated in this manner over several days. Individual masses and processions are also held. The groups are given accommodations by acquaintances living in the surrounding area (*amistad*). Each group defrays the cost of their room and board with a sponsoring *pasante*, *preste* or *alférez* and ensures that a procession is carried out in connection with the read mass. After a first stop close to the front of the church (as the central point of the four directions), the procession moves to the first corner of the plaza in counterclockwise direction, amidst the sound of panpipes. At this corner, as well as the other three following corners (*esquinas*), a simple or sometimes decorated offering table is set up as an altar (*altar*). The statue of Mary and the wooden cross that has been brought along are each set down here for a short stop. The priest says a prayer, noisemakers are set off and the music begins again, setting off the continuation of the procession, until the next corner is reached.

During the night from the 18th to the 19th of August a *cabildo* (*kawildo*), or gathering, is held at the nightly fire. Fires are set on each half of the church plaza, diagonally across each other. The various groups of *aransaya* and *urinsaya* each gather around a fire to music, conversation, dance and the drinking of corn beer. Offerings of smoke and drink are made in honor of Pachamama, to Mallkus and to the saints of the four directions. The first (Christian) high point takes place on the *octava*, that is the eighth day after Mary's ascension. This begins with a mass held with all groups and a procession afterwards. The *julajula* ensembles and the siku ensembles form the processional music. The *julajulas* play the *tonada* of their "wild dance," the *sikus* play their *wayñu*. In the heat of competition, they try to outdo each other musically. This time the statues of the Virgen de Asunta and San Isidro are brought out of the church. Isador is the saint of the peasants and is represented with an oxen yoke and plow. At each altar in the four corners, a halt is called with the tower bell in order to present a smoke offering (*q'oa*). On top of the small corner altars, which are decorated with wooden arches, grains, corn, bean seeds, and perhaps even a chicken. What might be interpreted as a thanksgiving offering in terms of Christianity is for the *campesino* an offering to Mamita Asunta and Tata Isidro (or sometimes to Pachamama and Tata Kruz), praying for a successful harvest. The life-giving pair is honored in a symbolic way. This is also the time when several pairs celebrate their marriage.

The second (ritual-traditional) high point of the festival begins directly following the general procession. The *tinku*—the free-for-all—begins, setting up opposing parties in a battle against each other. This is a fight between the different *ayllus* (village societies), or *sayas*. In the confrontation of groups, peasants wearing leather helmets and armor attack each other, hitting and pushing each other with metal knuckle rings and leather gloves (*ñuk'us*), tugging and pushing with hands and feet until blood begins to flow, spurred on by the previous music of the *chúkaru-baile*, encouraged by alcoholic drink

and driven by the shrieking cries of the women. When not kept under control by lookouts, the battles can claim a high toll in blood, sometimes even in dead. It is said that a *tinku* without a death brings an unfortunate year (Baumann 1982a:2f.). It appears that an old blood offering lies at the basis of this annual custom. In addition to its relation to the ideas of initiation and fertility from the time of the Incas, the *tinku* also consolidates the political structure and strengthens the rights of one *saya* in relation to the others and in relation to land and kinship ties<sup>11</sup>. *Tinku* signals the territorial boundaries as well as the boundaries of power that are formed between two groups belonging together. The *tinku* simultaneously divides and binds both halves, setting free energy and creating also a balance in the changing relationship. The word *tinku* derives from the verb *tinkuy*, which means “to pair,” “to create balance,” “to accommodate two equal halves which are set up opposite each other,” “the dynamic bringing together of masculine and feminine principles” (van Kessel 1982:286; Randall 1982:54). *Tinku* is the place in space and time where two opposite powers meet, where two concepts exist or mix with each other (Harrison 1989:103). It is the place and time of transition, where the *ira* and *arka* principles set free their power in dynamic interplay, whether this is in a binding (productive) or in a separative (destructive) sense. The goal of these efforts is dynamic balance, the creative collaboration of balanced opposites. The ritualization of dual forms on all levels of thinking and acting produces the symmetrical match in *yanantin*, in the experienceable identification of two elements as parts of the whole (Platt 1976:27), or as the *campesinos* say: “Even the worm in the earth has his *yana*, and even a thread consists of two strands...” (Müller & Müller 1984:164).

The actual meeting reproduces the symbolic dualism of the female and male principle in the following levels and ways:

- (1) in space—moities: *aransaya/urinasaya* (four directions: two by two; dance figures on both sides of the *plaza*),
- (2) in time—during the dry season: the melody is related to a particular fiesta
- (3) in the transcendental world: Pachamama/Pachatata; Santísima/Santísimo; Mama Asunta/Tata Kruz (musical ritual as appeal for fertility)
- (4) in the human world: the men (*qbari*) are the musicians, the women (*warmi*) are the dancers with the flags (*whipalas*); panpipe players (*arka/ira*)
- (5) in nature: bamboo instruments (wind/dryness); wooden instruments (rainy season),
- (6) in the order of social hierarchy: *ira/arka*: *machu, mali, liku, tijli, ch'ili*, and
- (7) in the musical form: AA and BB and the combination of A and B in the reproduction (*tinku/encuentro* in C)

## 7. Panpipe Representations in Pre-Columbian Times

Ethnohistoric data, such as that provided by early Spanish chroniclers, can enable us to better understand actual field research data, and vice versa. Thus, with the knowledge of contemporary ethnographic data, the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) concerning panpipes can certainly be interpreted as one of the earliest descriptions of the hocket techniques described above:

De Música alcanzaron algunas consecuencias [consonancias?], las cuales tenían los indios Collas, o de su distrito, en unos instrumentos hechos de cañutos de caña, cuatro o cinco cañutos atados a la par; cada cañuto tenía un punto más alto que el otro, a manera de órganos. Estos cañotos atados eran cuatro, diferentes unos de otros. Uno de ellos andaba en puntos bajos y otro en más altos y otro en más y más, como las cuatro voces naturales: tiple, tenor, contralto y contrabajo. Cuando un indio tocaba un cañuto, respondía el otro en consonancia de quinta o de otra cualquiera, y luego el otro en otra consonancia y el otro en otra, unas veces subiendo a los puntos altos y otras bajando a los bajos siempre en compás. No supieron echar glosa con puntos disminuidos; todas eran enteros de un compás (Garcilaso [1609] 1976:113).

[Each instrument consisted of]...four or five double pipes of cane. These were bound together so that the pitch of each pipe would successively rise a degree above its neighbor, after the manner of organs....Their way of playing was this. One member of the quartet would start by blowing a note. Then another player would blow a pipe sounding at the distance of a fifth or any other desired consonance above or below the first note. Next, still another player would blow his note, again at any desired consonantal distance. Finally, the fourth played his note. By keeping up this sort of thing they ranged from lowest to highest notes at will, but always in strict time. They did not know how to vary their melodies with small-value notes but always stuck with whole notes (Garcilaso 1609: fols 52v-53 recte, 51v-52; translated in Stevenson 1968:277).

In addition, we find early representations of playing in pairs in figurines or relief paintings on vessels and in drawings on ceramic pieces. Interestingly, numerous archeological findings, vessels, relief representations and illustrations from the pre-Inca times already show this symbolic dualism, such as objects from the Chavin and Moche cultures, among others (Kutscher 1950:31; d'Harcourt & d'Harcourt 1925:98). Paired panpipes made of ceramic have also been found by archeologists in Nazca. The probability that they were played according to the hocket principle of *ira-arka* is shown in the fact that panpipes are also represented in pairs on ceramic vessels and illustrations. Often the *ira* and *arka* instruments are even tied together with a string. The practice of tying two instruments together with string seems to have been usual up to recent times (Vargas 1928 I:8; Valencia Chacon 1989:33, 35). The following illustrations (Figures 14–17) have been selected to show how the *ira-arka* principle was in all likelihood quite widespread in relation to Andean panpipe playing and to all appearances is older than the Inca tradition.



Fig. 14. Festival of the Spirits of the Dead. In the center are two musicians, each with a siku instrument (ira with 7, arka with 6 stopped pipes). Mochica 0-800. From Kutscher 1950:31.



Fig. 15. Musicians with panpipe pairs (ira 5; arka 5) and ceramic trumpet (pututu). From Kutscher 1950:30.



Fig. 16. Ceramic vessel with two panpipe players (arka: 6 and ira: 7). Moche culture, northern Peru, 400–600 A.D., Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Abtl. Altamerikanische Archäologie, VA 17 625 (Photo: Waltraut Schneider-Schütz).



*Fig. 17. Panpipe players. Relief picture on a vessel from Moche Art, Northern Peru, 400–600 A.D. Clay/Ceramic. Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Abtlg. Altamerikanische Archäologie VA 17 881, Berlin (Photo: Waltraut Schneider-Schütz)*

Based on this general information, we can set up the following hypotheses concerning pre-colonial panpipe ensembles:

- (1) Panpipes of clay and bamboo have been well known since pre-Inca times.
- (2) They have played an important role in ritual life and were often buried with mummies or associated with ancestors, skeletons and death.
- (3) Double-row panpipes made of bamboo are also pre-colonial.
- (4) Early artistic representations of panpipe players in pairs, as well as the discovery of early paired instruments, suggest the use of the hoquet technique.
- (5) Individual panpipe instruments had from two to twelve pipes, with odd- or even-numbered pairs of pipes or compound pairs of odd **and** even numbered pipes.
- (6) Playing in octaves and parallel fifths was already known in pre-Inca times.

## 8. Symbolic Dualism, Complementarity and Cosmivision

The concept of the *arka-ira* principle fits into the anthropomorphic world view of pre-colonial Andean cultures, based on the concept of dualism and quartipartition. According to this cosmology, everything consists of two complementary parts, with the human body used as a metaphor. The right and left sides are associated respectively with the male and female principles. These are divided again into two different and opposite moieties: the head above is associated with birth, the feet below are associated with death. Everything in existence has an element of life and an element of death that interlock with one another; the proportion of one element to the other changes in the course of living. "In the Andes almost everything is understood in juxtaposition to its opposite" (Duviois 1974) or, as Bastien (1978:104) states:

Lineages, for example, are distinguished between the man's and the woman's kin group; siblings are classified into youngest and oldest; and communities have upper and lower sections. Ritualists always serve two plates to each earth shrine. For example, if a shrine is male, then a plate is also set for its female companion. Shrines are usually served in pairs, such as young and old, mountain and lake, and helper and owner. Ritual teaches Andeans the complementary between contrasting pairs...

Bastien's investigation further describes how the macrocosm of the Andean mountains is symbolically reflected in the microcosm of the human body and vice versa. This symbolic dualism is also a metaphorical expression for the local society, the individual and the life cycle, i.e., all being is marked by the interchanging powers of symbolic dualism.

The dualistic principle is related to men and women, to society, to nature, animal and plants in this human world (*kay pacha*), to the transcendent dimension above (*janan pacha*), as well as to the interior world below (*ukhu pacha* or *ura parti*; cf. Platt 1976:23). In the middle dimension where human beings exist, music and musical instruments have their determined function, as both a part and a manifestation of this cosmological order. The symbolic duality of *arka* and *ira* reflects an overall underlying structure which expresses the unity of its opposite poles.

In addition, the principle of double dualism of time and space is also related to the hierarchical order of the life cycle. The principle of complement and opposition, uniting and dividing the halves at the same instant, offers a four-fold asymmetrical equilibrium. As in a year, with its dry and rainy seasons, each part has its growing and dying half.

In general, the male authority is occupied with organization, the female authority with production. Both elements together provide the security for reproduction in time and space, in the natural and the social order, and in the music itself. During festivals, the bringing together of opposite elements is always the fundamental part of the ritual, which functions as the intermediation between the *ira* and *arka* opposites.

To sum up, the uniting concept of *ira* and *arka* is based upon a symbolic dualism and its further division into quarters. Everything is tightly bound up with the anthropomorphic world view of the Andean cultures. According to this cosmology, everything that exists develops out of its two complementary opposites. Everything is originally rooted in a physical metaphor of the individual, of the pair and of the interrelationships that are themselves derived, in pairs, from the original pair. The feminine and masculine elements are each opposite power poles complementing each other and belonging together like death and life. All that exists shows both characteristics as aspects of a unit that belongs together. The acts of becoming and persisting in continuity define themselves through energetic tension and in the creative interchange of two basic polar energies. The proportion of one in relation to the other changes in the course of existence. "In the Andes one can understand almost everything as the collaboration of its opposites" (Duviols 1974). In addition, Bastien's research describes how the macrocosm of the Andean mountain chain is reflected symbolically in the microcosm of the human body, and vice versa. Symbolic dualism is a metaphorical way of thinking that interprets the reality of the individual, of the society, of the life cycles, of the entire universe on the basis of two opposite powers which nonetheless belong together.

[In the Andes and elsewhere]...ethnographers should look deeper than the empirical realities of behavior and kinship; they should include the symbolic patterns by which people understand themselves and their society. It is by becoming engaged with Andeans in their way of life that one can see beneath their surface violence to the symbolic system of the 'real life.' The Andean symbolic system is not the explanatory model of the anthropologist but the people's own metaphors of society. It is an analogous process by which a people understand themselves in terms of their land. Furthermore, violence is merely a symbol of tension within the metaphor, when the people and their land are not analogous. Ritual provides the occasion when people and land look together at each other (Bastien 1978:197).

In Huayñopasto Grande, in what is today the department of Oruro, the Indios play the *sikuris* panpipes during the dry season. These are double-row panpipes, each with 17 stopped and 17 open pipes (17+17). Although the masculine and feminine instruments are identical, they are described as *ira* and *arka* and are also played using the hocket technique. In my presence, the musicians once laid out the instruments on the ground in the form of a human being after they finished playing. The meaning of the pair as the embodiment of the individual, referring to the entire body of the ensemble, is illustrated here in a convincing way, just as the sum of the parts always is related to the whole of reality (Figure 18).

The physical metaphor of the *sikuri* instruments makes it clear how everything can be understood as an expression of halves that belong together. The upper part of the body and the lower part of the body—including the center of the heart (*sonqo*)—frame the middle of the being. The heart, as the seat of



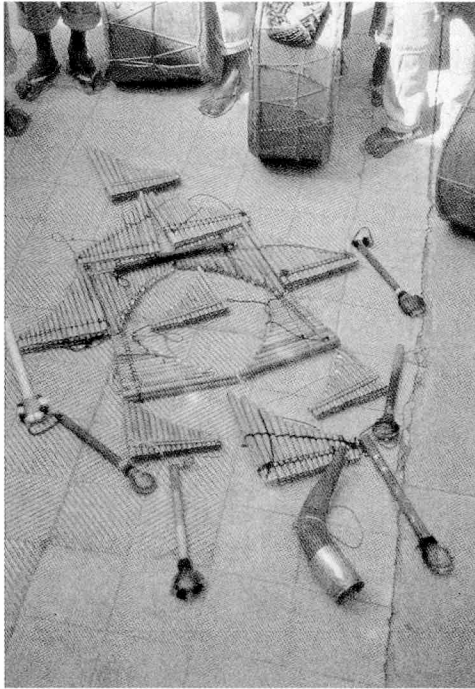


Fig. 18. Sikuri panpipe ensemble in the form of a body, laid out by Indios from Cantón Sepulturas, Province Cercado de Huayñoopasto Grande, Department of Oruro (Bolivia): 13 sikuris (each  $Z+7$ ), made up of 10 liku and 3 tarka instruments, in addition to 1 cowhorn (pututu) and 7 drumsticks (wajtanas) of the 7 great drums (wankaras), to which they belong.

life and blood, is surrounded by the two times two *sikuri* pairs, which 1) in horizontal separation shows the male heaven as arches above and the female earth as arches below and 2) in vertical separation, marks the two halves of (male) right side and of (female) left side (*cuatropartición*). At the same time, the number four symbolizes the four directions of the wind. Analogous to the four directions of the old Inca empire (*tawantinsuyu*), the metaphorical unity is represented, which here means the heart as center, Cuzco, once “the navel of the world.” The right side of the *sikuri*’s physical representation is additionally marked through the blue color of the drumsticks as the heavenly light, in contrast to the dark, red color of the left side (earth). The horizontally laid drumstick symbolizes the (female) breast and stands in opposition to the (male) sex organ of the *pututu* horns. The whole entity can also be understood in this sense as a (“paired”) human being, which means in a metaphorical sense the godlike principle of Wiraqucha, as it is represented in its original form as the double aspect of *ira* and *arka*.

According to Rodolfo Kusch (1986:34), Wiraqucha is that first principle which convincingly conveys the creation. With reference to the hymn of Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui, Kusch interprets the creation principle of Wiraqucha as a holy source which came from the mountains (*wilka ulka apu*). Kusch explains the combined concept of *orcaraca*, with which Yamqui paraphrases the creation principle, as *urqo rhaka* or *ulla rakha*, as phallus-vulva, which is expressed in an analogous way to the “linga-yoni” principle of tantrism. Jorge Miranda-Luizaga (1985:198, 210) interprets Wiraqucha (or Pachakhamak) as symbolically close to the Chinese yin and yang, as an inner relationship of two polar, basic powers, or as “the single light with the power impulse of duality”<sup>12</sup>. Wiraqucha or Pachacamac were represented pictorially by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui through the Unachan symbol (Figure 19), a cosmic-oval egg topped by a cross of stars.

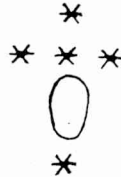


Fig. 19. Dual Wiraqucha symbol (oval and cross): *Unachan* (from *unachay*: to decide, to foresee, to foretell the future, to proclaim prophetically). From Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (around 1613).<sup>13</sup>

The dual principle can be found in a similar concept in the ruined city of Machu Picchu, where the Mallku as “condor and master of the mountains” fertilizes the opened egg of Pachamama (Figure 20).



Fig. 20. Mallku/Pachamama: sacred sacrificial stone in Machu Picchu.

When one surveys the visual bases of symbolic dualism as the structure of “Andean” thinking in reference to the Fiesta de Mama Asunta and to the other facts mentioned, the principle of *ira* and *arka* can be summarized on all levels of reality as a model with the following connotations:

<i>ira</i> principle (the leader)	<i>arka</i> principle (the follower)
– right side, front	– left side, back
– sun ( <i>inti</i> ), dry season	– moon ( <i>keilla</i> ), rainy season
– east, light, day	– west, darkness, night
– mountains, cold regions ( <i>chirirana</i> ), above	– plains, valleys, moderate region ( <i>patarana</i> ), below
– ( <i>aransaya</i> ), land of man ( <i>jatun ayllu</i> )	– ( <i>urinsaya</i> ), land of woman ( <i>masi ayllu</i> )
– counterclockwise direction	– clockwise direction
– birth of the sun, upwards direction, awakening	– death of the sun, downwards direction, dying
– organization, cleansing	– production, planting
– plowing	– sowing
– to begin, dominant, leading	– to follow, subdominant, to end
– larger, male	– smaller, female
– <i>qhari</i> , Pachatata, Tata Krus	– <i>warmi</i> , Pachamama, Wirjin
– Santísimu, Achachi	– Santisima, Awicha
– condor, Mallku, Torre Mallku	– puma, Plaza T’alla
– corn	– potatoes
– bamboo, panpipe ( <i>siku</i> ), notched flute ( <i>kena</i> )	– wood, duct flutes ( <i>pinkillo</i> , <i>tarka</i> )
– circle dance that opens outward	– circle dance that opens inward

In addition, all aspects of complementariness can be interpreted in terms of their interplay with each other. They refer to space and time as well as to the hierarchical order of the whole cosmos, to nature and to humans and their society. In general, the male principle is concerned with organization, the female with production. But only when both elements are integrated, when they balance each other in a cooperative exchange, is a constant reproduction through space and time ensured. In the cycle of the year, in the cycles of life, in the course of tradition, in ritual and in music, in the small as well as the large, creation is repeated continuously as a space-time construction: as the creative interplay and continuous coming together of complementary opposites, i.e., the *tinku* of *ira* and *arka*.<sup>14</sup>

Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui showed around 1613 this dual form from his cosmological view of the Inca interpretation of the world. One can read the dual basic structure from the illustrations with which he illustrated the inner rooms of the sun temple of Cuzco, Qorikancha (Figure 21). According to the

reports of the chroniclers, a giant golden and oval “sun” was supposed to have stood in the westernmost corner of the temple, decorated with emeralds and other precious stones. On the ceiling of the temple, sparkling crystals symbolized the firmament with its most important stars. In the morning the rising sun was reflected in the oval “sun,” during the night, the bright light of the moon.

The illustration represents the complementary One-Being in Wiraqucha’s great golden oval of dynamic balance. Wiraqucha subsumes the wholeness of all complementary opposites and the unification of all time and space polarities. Wiraqucha represents the absolute dynamic balance between above and below, right and left, between outside and inside, male and female, between light and darkness, time and space, spirit and material. Everything emanates

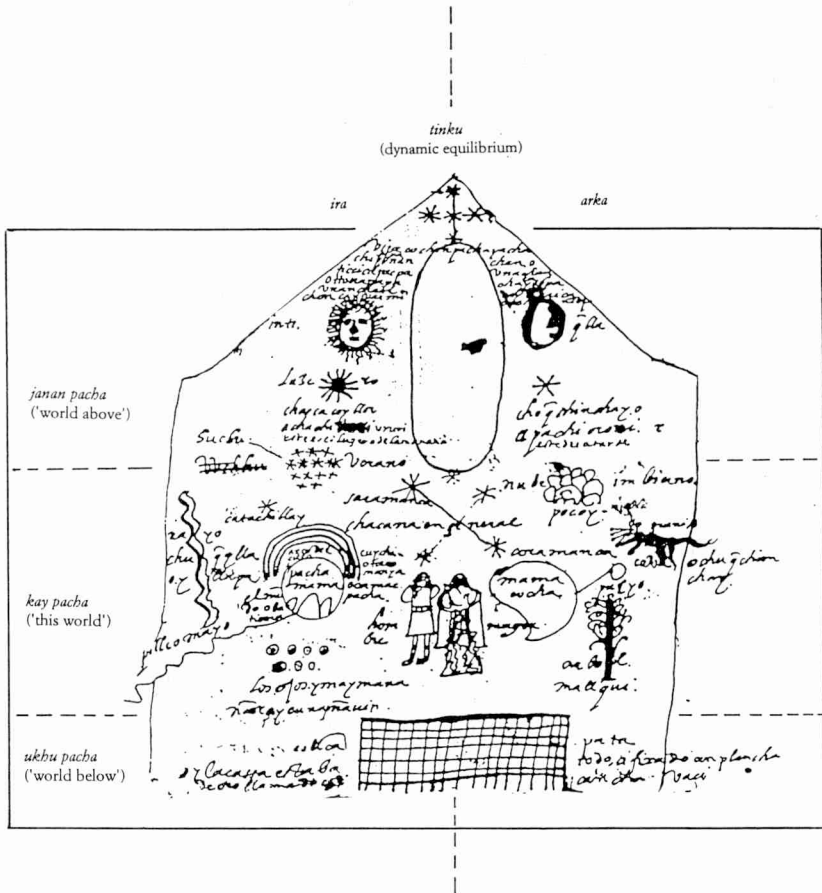


Fig. 21. Cosmological concept in the temple of Coricancha (Cuzco) according to Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (about 1613). Cf. Urton (1981:203).

from the totality of this dynamic basic principle (*tinku*), and everthing divides itself (*pallqa*) in its dual form of masculine *ira* principle and feminine *arka* principle (cp. Earls & Silverblatt 1976:312). *Ira* and *arka* are parts of a system that cannot be comprehended if one only describes its individual parts. In the interaction of both energy poles, something new is created on the next lower order and this strenghtens at the same time the double aspect of reality in its higher order (Figure 22).

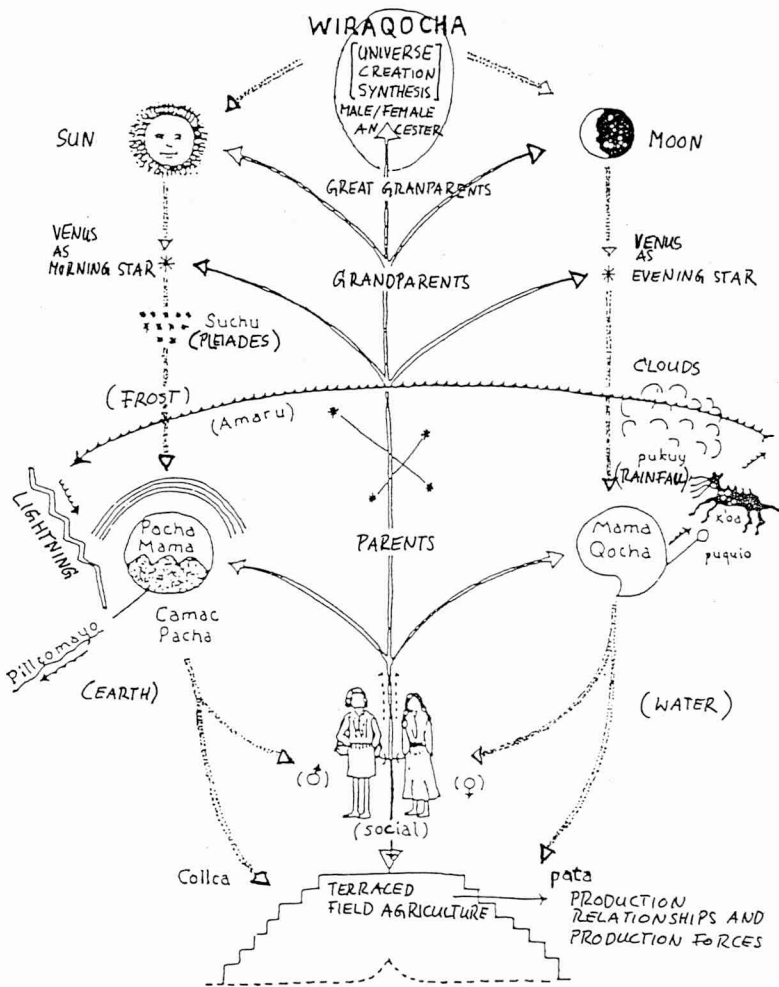


Fig. 22. Circulation of ira-arka energies in the universe according to Paqacuti Yamqui (cf. Figure 21). Stylized interpretation according to Earls and Silverblatt (1978:320, Figure 7).

Wiraqucha brings forth as the first heavenly double aspect the sun and the moon: the anthropomorphic great-grandparents (*bis-abuelos*) of humanity. They produce in their interaction on the next lower order their two children, the pair of sisters as morning and evening stars, that is, the grandparents (*abuelos*) of humanity. Together with the stars that in turn sprout out from them, they metaphorically describe the “world above,” which is set off from the “world below” and remains symbolically divided through the snake *amaru*, which is both dividing and connecting. This snake is the between-region of fulguration, which puts the heavens in touch with the earth and which creates a creative exchange of opposite energies through the means of rain and rainbows, frost and fog, lightning and hail.

On the “world below,” earth (*kamaq pacha*) and water (*mama qocha*) are distinguished from each other as polar fundamental elements. The earth as a whole divides itself again into its double aspects of masculine mountains (*kamaq pacha*) and feminine plains (*pacha mama*), as the water as an entirety is divided into the feminine elements of the seas and oceans (*qocha*) and the masculine rivers (*mayu*).

The world of humankind is the edge of all of these, between above and below, between heaven and earth, between left and right, between sun and moon, between earthly ground and water. Humanity symbolizes the dynamic balance of social order under the heavens on the one hand and over the agricultural planting terraces (*pata*) and the laid out corn storage areas (*qollqa*) on the other. At the dynamic crossing point of both diagonals—represented in the quadrants of the *tinku* cross of the South—lives the (first) human pair (*padres*) in the middle of “this world.” It forms the approachable middle point of all polar opposites and is exposed to all complementary interaction. The human being is all and one, a product of time and space, he/she is the microcosmos which reflects itself in the macrocosmos, he/she is the part and the whole at the same time. He is *ira* and she is *arka* and as metaphoric whole, they are more than only the sum of their parts, since everything that is, is Wiraqucha, and Wiraqucha is man **and** woman...

## 9. Some Methodological Considerations: Synchronic, Diachronic, and Comparative Approaches

Ethnographic data are often incomplete and reflect more the fragmentary nature of research material and the pointillistic emic view of a few informants than the ideal cosmological structure of a complex traditional pattern. This is true especially for the Andes, where the acculturation processes have a long history and pre-colonial concepts are hidden by re-interpretation and syncretism related to the colonial impact. The general dualistic concept of anthropomorphic *arka* and *ira* was often blended with the Christian male/female concept of Christ and the Virgin Mary.

In contrast to this, the triadic social organization of the Inca empire (priests, warriors and farmers, equalling knowledge, power and fertility) came to an end, which meant the disappearance of the sacerdotal and martial classes. But agricultural life has continued and still expresses in some ways the pre-colonial world view of the Andean peoples. As a result of the acculturation between the pre-Columbian traditions and the Christian belief system in particular areas, the cultural self-understanding of many informants might often be partial and fragmentary, in the usual explanation: "*así es costumbre!*" In addition, it seems that—as in other dualistic societies—the individual, as well as a particular group, usually has knowledge of only one moiety (Ortiz 1969:xvi).

Thus a full cosmological view becomes the result of an etic reconstruction of a synchronic concept (cf. Baumann 1990, 1993). In interpreting the ethnographic data, complemented by the ethnohistorical and archeological facts, the construct of a native cosmovision finally emerges. The actual ethnographic data highlights the past discrepancies and even misunderstandings with respect to the two competing sets of cultural concepts, that is, between the native and the Spanish views. The comparison of synchronic and diachronic, of structural and functional methodological approaches leads to an understanding of a holistic view that takes into account both cultural components and both methodological approaches by transcending their individual points of view.

A synchronic approach to the ethnographic data leads to an understanding of the emic conceptual view of the actual musical behavior. These emic concepts can be interpreted in the cosmological context of an "ideal" and "timeless" structure, that is in the interpretation context of present mythology and theory of anthropomorphic dualism. Bringing together the ethnographic and cosmological data, preliminary understanding becomes a symbolic interpretation on a synchronic level. Abbreviated, it can be called **synchronic reconstruction**. This ideal synchronic reconstruction is an etic jigsaw puzzle primarily based on emic data.

The second step is the diachronic approach. Archeological and ethnohistorical approaches add a historic dimension to symbolic interpretation. The ethnohistorical and archeological data together shape an historical understanding through a hermeneutic view. Bringing together ethnohistorical and archeological data, the second preliminary understanding becomes a historical interpretation on the diachronic level. Abbreviated, this can be called **diachronic reconstruction**. This "ideal" diachronic reconstruction is again an etic jigsaw puzzle but this time based on predominantly etic data of cultural and social changes.

Synchronic and diachronic reconstruction together form then the next step: the analysis and interpretation of the differences within on-going syncretism or transculturation using the comparative method.

Through the comparison of symbolic and historical reconstruction, the comparative approach shapes the hermeneutic key vital for understanding the present cultural system as syncretism. Comparison reveals structural, cultural and sociological parallels between different cultural systems (e.g., the worship of Pachamama/Virgin Mary). Based on the “double interpretation” of the same phenomenon, in the comparison of “ideal” synchronic and diachronic reconstructions, the differences and discrepancies perceived in ethnographic data become intelligible as an expression of culture in crisis or transition<sup>15</sup>.

Within the framework of a dialogue between cultures it may be added that symbolic dualism, the concept of complementariness itself, has to become a part of methodological considerations. Understanding is the creative interplay of polar oppositions, reconstructions and interpretations, of understanding **and** of misunderstanding. By the acceptance of the “double interpretations” that complement each other, the “other part” becomes already in the premises the relevant part of oneself. The flexibility of so-called “Andean thinking” and structure of behavior and understanding seems to be rooted in the fact that the “other,” the “alien” that comes as a contrast from the outside, can principally be understood as complementary to the “own” and “known.” This contrasts to Christian-oriented thinking which—according to its claim for truth—is bound to exclusivity. If the Andean world concept principally is dual and interprets polar oppositions and truths as two complementary parts of the all-encompassing whole, Christian-Cartesian thinking, with its rigid approach and claims for unique truth, then seems still to be predominantly excluding and monistic (Baumann 1994a:274).

## Notes

- 1 This paper is an expanded version of the article “*Das ira-arka-Prinzip im symbolischen Dualismus andinen Denkens*” (Baumann [ed.] 1994). The basic concept introduced here goes back to a paper given at the Conference of the Mid-Atlantic Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology (MACSEM) from 11–13 April 1986 at Pittsburgh, with the title: “Hocket Technique in Bolivian Panpipe Ensembles” as well as to an unpublished manuscript prepared for the *Universe of Music: A History* (finished 1989). The ethnomusicological data predominantly refer to field research carried out in several phases from 1977 to 1991 in Bolivia.
- 2 Based on mythical narratives, Wiraqucha and Pachakamaq are understood in certain interpretations as a complementary pair of creation, from which emerged the gender unification of Pachamama as daughter (cf. Rocha 1990:73). Wiraqucha designates in general, however, “the highest creation principle,” which, according to some authors, is a composite of *pachakamaq*, the first basis of creation (“the principle governing the cosmos”) and *pachayachachiq*, the second basis of creation (“the principle instructing the cosmos”). The concept *pacha*, when broadened to include the infinitives *kamaq* (to order, to command, to govern), or *yachay* (to know, recognize, learn), could mean in this connection the masculine-feminine first aspect of implicit order of an all-penetrant creation energy, which would be settled on the other side of time and space.
- 3 The three-part division into heaven (*banan pacha*), earth (*kay pacha*) and hell (*ukhu pacha*) reflects already, according to Izko (1985:74) and Rocha (1990:106) the Christian world view. It seems that the older two-part division of *pacha de arriba* and *pacha de abajo* presented the basis of the pre-Hispanic cosmivision. The reality of humanity constituted itself in the implicit order within the margin of tension between the two basically different opposites. In the Christian interpretation, the “world below” became the Underworld (*ukhu pacha*), where the degraded gods of the inner earth (*supaykunas*) settled with the



- (Christian) devil. According to Andean concepts, all "spirits" or "numinosa" could embody both good as well as bad aspects. Decisive is the balance of the respective double characters. Because of the deeply rooted belief in Pachamama and the syncretic closeness to the Maria cult resulting from that belief, the concept of Pachamama could be maintained in the Christian view. Due to the close tie between Maria and Pachamama, it became impossible for the priests themselves to damn the Mother Earth to the realm of "hell." Many authors therefore puzzle over the strange ambivalence as to whether Pachamama should be categorized as belonging to *ukhu pacha* or *kay pacha*, a question which is often left unexplained.
- 4 Cf. Platt 1976:23; Llanque Chana 1990:88–90; Thola 1992.
  - 5 Cf. Platt 1976:Fig. 16, 17; compare Ansión 1987:143.
  - 6 *Ira* is always that instrument that begins. In Quecha-speaking areas it is as a rule that member of the panpipe pair that displays one pipe more (Baumann 1982a:6ff.). In the Aymara region this seems to be more often the exact opposite.
  - 7 *Tinku* designates the powerful coming together of two sides or partners that are oppositional but still connected with each other. It contains the carnival games that resemble the fighting sports of ritual whip lashing (*wajta tinku*) or slinging of whips (*waraq'a tinku*), as well as the (sexual) unification of two partners, animals or things, such as of llamas or rivers (*llama tinku*, *mayu tinku*; Baumann 1982a:3f.). Additional principles of interaction are *ayni*, *mita*, *pallqa* and *amaru* (cp. Earls and Silverblatt 1976:321).
  - 8 The composition of the ensemble, which is variable in size, and the local designations of hierarchically ordered pairs, which differ only negligibly from each other, will not be discussed further here. In this article only the transregional principle will be illuminated, which however is always characterized by local variations and dialects in terms of melody, tuning of pipes and terminology (cp. Baumann 1981a, 1982a, 1990). The pair principle of *ira/sanja* and *arka* can be found, incidentally, in all traditional panpipe ensembles (Baumann [forthc]).
  - 9 In Quechua, *ira* is often designated with the term *ñaupaj* (front, the one who goes first), and *arka* with the term *qhepaj* (behind, the one who goes later). The stopped pipe row, that is, those pipes that are closed at the bottom, is characterized hereafter with the underlining of the corresponding number; the open, equal-numbered second row of open pipes with the corresponding number without underline: thus, *ira* is (7 + 7). The acoustic meaning of the "sympathetic," simultaneously sounding open pipe row will not be discussed here. For more information, see Baumann 1981a:190; 1985b:152f.
  - 10 This data refers to field research documentation made during the fiesta from August 15th to 23rd, 1978, in Arampampa. The *julajula* ensembles came from Oberjeria, Pararani and Sarkura (30, 26, and 24 musicians, respectively), the *siku* ensembles from Asanquiri, La Fragua, Mollevillque and Charka-Markabi/Taconi Caine (6, 6, 6, and 12 panpipe players, each group with a *wankara* and a *wankarita* player). The fourth *julajula* group arrived too early in Arampampa and left again because they believed that no other groups were coming to the *tinku*.
  - 11 Cf. Cereceda 1978; Platt 1976:18; van den Berg 1990:101ff.
  - 12 He translates *pachakamaq* from the following meaningful Aymara syllables: *Pa(ya)* = two, *Cha(cha)* = power, *Qha(na)* = light, *Ma(ya)* = one, alone (Miranda-Luizaga 1985:210).
  - 13 Cf. Harrison (1989:80, 83); Kusch (1986:34); Miranda-Luizaga (1985:168).
  - 14 The terminology of *ira* (the principle that leads) and *arka* (the principle that follows) is used here consciously, in order to get away from the one-sided connotations of the terms "masculine" and "feminine." One compares thereby also Miranda-Luizaga (1985:194f.), who however speaks in regard to the "geomancy of the Andes" about the *arka-kamachita* ("defining" principle) and the *ira-kamachita* ("following" principle). Miranda-Luizaga uses the Aymara concepts of *ira* and *arka* wrongly, having obviously transposed the meanings.
  - 15 For the methodological discussion of the multiplicity of reference systems, the processes of participation and interpretation, and the spiral of feedbacks which reinforce the polarities of *ira* and *arka* in their complementarity, see Baumann 1993.

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