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Unfolding Musicking Archives At The Northwest Amazon

Abstract

This dissertation proposes a decolonial revision of the archive consolidated by scholars, travelers and missionaries who previously sound recorded the Northwestern Amazon region, and introduces alternative ways of producing archival artifacts open to non-Indigenous and Indigenous perspectives and epistemologies alike. It studies the formation of sonic archives and points of listening that represented worlds of Indigenous expressivity in sound during the twentieth century in the Vaupés region, southern Colombia. This study focuses on Tukanoan musicking and specifically with the Cubeo Emi-Hehenewa clan, an Amazonian indigenous community living in a village called Camutí located at the Vaupés River Basin. This dissertation aims to reposition ethnomusicological practice in the Northwest Amazon as a collaborative and ethical research endeavor that can contribute new theoretical and methodological knowledge about and from the Vaupés region.

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UNFOLDING MUSICKING ARCHIVES AT THE NORTHWEST AMAZON

Juan Carlos Castrillón Vallejo

A DISSERTATION

in

Music

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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Supervisor of Dissertation

Dr. Jairo Moreno

Associate Professor of Music

Co-Supervisor of Dissertation

Dr. Timothy Rommen

Davidson Kennedy Professor in the
College and Chair in Music

Graduate Group Chairperson

Dr. James Sykes, Associate Professor of Music and Graduate Chair in Music

Dissertation Committee

Dr. Jonathan D. Hill, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University.

UNFOLDING MUSICKING ARCHIVES AT THE NORTHWEST AMAZON

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Para María Abigail y Leoncio Salvador, mis papás. Ellos siempre quisieron que mi hermano Gabriel Jaime y yo estudiáramos y fuéramos consecuentes con nuestros talentos en la vida. Nosotros seguimos su consejo.

Dedicated to my parents, Maria Abigail and Leoncio Salvador. They wanted me and my brother Gabriel Jaime to study and be responsible for our talents, and we followed their advice.

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ABSTRACT

UNFOLDING MUSICKING ARCHIVES AT THE NORTHWEST AMAZON

Juan Carlos Castrillón Vallejo

Jairo Moreno and Timothy Rommen

This dissertation proposes a decolonial revision of the archive consolidated by scholars, travelers and missionaries who previously sound recorded the Northwestern Amazon region, and introduces alternative ways of producing archival artifacts open to non-Indigenous and Indigenous perspectives and epistemologies alike. It studies the formation of sonic archives and points of listening that represented worlds of Indigenous expressivity in sound during the twentieth century in the Vaupés region, southern Colombia. This study focuses on Tukanoan musicking and specifically with the Cubeo Emi-Hehenewa clan, an Amazonian indigenous community living in a village called Camutí located at the Vaupés River Basin. This dissertation aims to reposition ethnomusicological practice in the Northwest Amazon as a collaborative and ethical research endeavor that can contribute new theoretical and methodological knowledge about and from the Vaupés region.

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INTRODUCTION

The dissertation shows how Tukanoan “musicking” (Small 1998)¹ and the recent history of academic research about these Amazonian communities are part and parcel of ethico-political entanglements of a life in crisis, in which both sides are codependent, even if they are affected in different and asymmetric ways. In both cases, knowledge production about Tukanoan musicking strengthens ties at the community level, as this knowledge mobilizes new forms of recognition and reevaluation of their own expressive life due to the influence of external inquiry. At the same time, the production of knowledge consolidates academic genealogies on a continental scale, reconfiguring both the horizon of what should be known about Tukanoans, and the forms of civic engagement and equity that doing research in the humanities can potentiate.

In this sense, this dissertation highlights the resilience of Tukanoan Indigenous communities, showing—in their own languages—how they continually refigure musical traditions. It develops a mode of co-theorization with Tukanoan specialists, introducing concepts that do not seek to replace or appropriate Indigenous analytics. It develops a form of academic engagement that fosters diplomacy between different perspectives, worlds, types of knowledge, and forms of existence. This engagement is mobilized across two interconnected registers. The first refers to audio recording technology and Tukanoan understandings of ology, language and ecosystem, as they co-constitute the infrastructures whereby musical and expressive traditions are kept and transmitted. The second involves the study of contemporary Indigenous traditions in contexts of

¹ Musicking is a concept introduced by Christopher Small (1998) to draw attention to the dynamic character of music as a practice. Small’s usage of the gerund form of the word “music” introduces a productive critique in musicology, promoting a less nominal approach to a phenomenon characterized by its constant transformation.

repatriation initiatives in ethnomusicology, in which academic methods and discourses of representation are becoming more accountable to global indigenous audiences, and where uses of media and filmmaking are increasingly extended beyond data collection and documentation purposes.

This dissertation begins by theorizing the mediation developed by recordists to render Tukanoan people's realities in sound, under what I call *mic-positionality*. I use this leading concept to develop a genealogical approach to sound recording in the region. It sheds light on the encounter between recordists' listening perspectives and Tukanoan expressive practices, while contributing to the co-constitution of a parallel archive about these communities which is intended to represent their Indigeneity in sound. This archival modality represents Tukanoan practices of expressivity. Then, the dissertation focuses on a second archival modality, which is related to Tukanoan analytics of the archive in its environmental and instrumental dimension. These include Tukanoan notions of performance, multiple species languages, inscription, and ownership. I call this modality of the archive *musicking archives*, as it requires movement, instantiation, and assemblage in order to fully encompass the expressivity of Tukanoan instrumental ensembles. *Musicking archives* sets Tukanoan expressive praxes into motion. After presenting these two archiving modalities, the dissertation introduces a third modality that acknowledges my own concept of *mic-positionality* in a decolonial praxis of ethnomusicological research. This third modality diffracts the relations and infrastructures comprised by the other two, acknowledging my own *mic-positionality* through a bilingual radio podcast and two medium length films—intended for Indigenous

and non-Indigenous audiences—which feature Tukanoan worlds in constant transfiguration.

Finally, the dissertation analyzes what brings life and death to Indigenous worlds of musicking in the Vaupés region of the Northwest Amazon in southeast Colombia. On the one hand, it analyzes recent state-funded infrastructures developed to revitalize Tukanoan traditions, and how their outcomes disjoin the worlds they intend to reunite. On the other hand, it presents a new organological and sound-oriented approach to *yurupari* instruments, which give birth to the audibility of Tukanoan lifeworlds. Indeed, for all Tukanoan groups of this region, *yurupari* instruments are the vibrant manifestation of their ancestors. My analysis centers on how listening to these instruments opens a haptic space where Tukanoan People appear differentiated, and on how these differences, rather than being a set of fixed categories based on gender, are better understood as moving parts of sensory engagements of systems sonically operated by these types of instruments. This alternative way of rethinking and re-listening to Tukanoan instrumentality attempts to open new horizons of ethnomusicological research in the Northwest Amazon.

Listening First

Under cover of night, the centipede crawls into the hammock and enters into the ear of the newborn. There it will stay—within the ear—accompanying the person in conviviality over the course of a life, moving in and out and eating leftovers from the mouth of its host without ever being seen. The centipede becomes the sense of the person. If, for whatever reason, the person receives a strong blow on the temple, or in the ear, that causes the centipede to die, the host will die as well. During the course of a life,

the person shares the mouth and the ear canal with the centipede in such a way that this level of conviviality is completely hidden, forgotten, or unnoticeable most of the time.

This singular centipede shares with bats the ability to discharge feces through the mouth, but it the sole being—among all beings—having two heads. If the host keeps food available, the centipede grows. This appetite will strengthen its teeth up to the point that it will be able to penetrate the person's tooth in search of more food, creating multiple cavities. Conversely, the centipede could bite the middle ear, producing an immense pain that continues until the person feeds it: dripping into the ear a few drops of squeezed food, dispensed from onions, or from live cockroaches wrapped and pressed on a clean piece of cloth. When the person dies, the centipede will leave its transitory home in search of another newborn resting on a hammock in order to resume its existence in a new ear.

The account of the *pokaheki* centipede—told to me in 2019 by Enrique Llanos, a *payé* shaman of the Hehenewa clan, during a flight from Mitú to Bogotá—draws out internal tensions that form the core of this dissertation. In the context of our discussion of the auditory system from a Hehenewa approach, Llanos described the *pokaheki* centipede, as *the sense of a person* heading towards two opposite ends. Similarly this dissertation, moves in two directions at once. On one “head,” it takes an ethnographic approach to Hehenewa's notion of musical archive, instruments, and audile worlds; on the other, it engages the development of a new repatriation initiative in ethnomusicology, based in dialogue between Indigenous analytics of exchange and the history of sound recording of Indigenous music in the Vaupés region. In this dissertation, both “heads” offer powerful insights through which current Hehenewa traditions can be understood.

One studies the technological impact on how Indigenous music is currently heard, featured, or forgotten in the Vaupés region, which includes the formation, endurance, and ruination of Tukanoan archives of musical practices. The other proposes new paradigms for theorizing and doing ethnomusicology with Hehénewa Indigenous communities in Vaupés. As in the *pokaheki* story, these two heads constitute the single core of this project.

Three main topics help us understand the sense of the music as it accompanies the life and death of people who self-identity with this community in Northwest Amazonia. The first involves the musical archive about (and of) the Hehénewa clan, as sonically recorded by anthropologists, missionaries, and travelers during the twentieth century. It questions how their technological devices and recordings foregrounded both the archive in which Hehénewa were racially and ethnically classified, *and* the position from which Hehénewa worlds of musicking were heard and rendered. The second topic addresses a cluster of ideas and practices in constant transformation through which Hehénewa people make sense, and keep in motion, their own archive of expressivity. This demands a deep immersion in Hehénewa's media ecologies and infrastructures, which include ceremonial venues, instruments and performances, Indigenous physiologies of the ear, the mouth, and also their own analytics of breath, recording, and temporality. Finally, the third topic concerns recent changes in collaborative and multimodal research in ethnomusicology, which advocate for a decolonial approach to studying present-day Amerindian societies, including those of the Vaupés, as well the meaning and significance of their epistemologies for the world of sound studies and ethnomusicology.

First Encounters

I ended up doing fieldwork in the Northwestern Amazon in Colombia because of my mother, Abigail Vallejo (Abigail). After retiring from the principal Colombian health institution, the *Instituto de Seguro Social* (ISS), she wanted to make her living by helping other archivists and health statisticians around the country digitize medical records. Between 2010 and 2014, she worked in the Vaupés' Health Department, while living in Mitú, a small city (of roughly 28,500 inhabitants), which is the capital of Vaupés. During her residency in Mitú, she and her colleagues at the Health Department worked to develop a differential model of Indigenous healthcare. As part of this initiative, they initiated a project to create three positions for Tukanoan-speaking *payé* shamans within the labor force of Mitú's largest hospital: Gaudencio Moreno, a Kotiria speaker (a.k.a. Wanano) from the town of Yavaraté near the Brazilian border of Vaupés; Raimundo Valencia, an Ide-Masa speaker (a.k.a. Makuna) from the Pirá-Paraná region in upper Vaupés; and Enrique Llanos, a Cubeo Iramamaki-Hehenewa speaker (a.k.a. Cubeo) from the Cuduyarí River in the center of Vaupés. All three moved near Mitú during the 1980s and, as it happens with most Tukanoans working in partnership with other non-Indigenous residents in Mitú, they communicate in Spanish.

Tukanoan Indigenous People are communities with a long history of precarity and multiple traumas of exploitation, violence, and subjugation as a consequence of continental economies of extraction and religious assimilation. The current constitutional claims of Indigenous associations regarding the right to manage their ancestral land and the economic resources annually transferred by the Colombian State are just the latest example of their constant struggle for existence. Indigenous organizations in Vaupés

often see themselves devoid of strategic partners that might assist them in securing a worthy life and a proper death in accordance with their traditions, as endorsed by the 1991 Colombian Constitution. Many of these organizations are forced to rely on charitable activities organized by state-funded agencies, NGOs, and religious associations, because their ability to develop productive activities centered on their own resources is limited by environmental laws that prioritize rainforest wildlife over the social life of Indigenous communities. Multiple attempts to become strategic allies to the Ministry of Health in the development of differential health systems have been rejected, and the consolidation of their own bilingual education plan in alliance with the Ministry of Education and the Apostolic Vicariate of Mitú has been repeatedly disarticulated as a result of institutional corruption in the region. Making matters worse, the lack of political power of Tukanoan Indigenous organizations increases its own structural distrust towards any possible partner that could join with them to build social and interpersonal infrastructures of cooperation and commensality. All of this makes difficult, time-consuming, and uncertain the rapport with non-Indigenous associations and scholars such as myself.

During the time my mother Abigail was in Mitú, I was living in Bogotá finishing the manuscript of my first research article, on Muslim spirituality and Turkish Sufi music, for the *Colombian Journal of Anthropology*. In our weekly correspondence, she insisted I spend more time with her in Vaupés to learn from Tukanoan *payés*, in the same way I had learned from Anatolian dervishes. In October 2012, I visited her for two weeks and she found a way to squeeze me into a Tukanoan initiation ritual. Raimundo Valencia, Ide-Masa *payé*, conducted this ritual for the male youth of his community who, for

whatever reason, had not yet undergone it. A week prior to the ceremony, I met with Valencia at my mother's place to be informed and prepared for the ritual. After ordering me to sit down, he blew tobacco snuff through my nostrils. Immediately, he began to smoke a cigarette, blowing volutes around my body, murmuring a spell, and spiting to the left side. At the end, he gave me more tobacco snuff, instructing me to continue inhaling until the day of the ritual, along with coca leaf powder to chew during my stay in Mitú.

Two-Way Recordings

The day of the ritual was my 32nd birthday. In the eyes of the Tukanoan participants, I was not the only “white” person joining the event, but I was the only one bringing a professional sound recorder and a stereo condenser mic to a provisional longhouse in the middle of the forest, near a community called Ceima Cachivera. Along with the sound recorder, I brought fish, salt, cigarettes, bread, chocolate, cookies and candy—elements (ofrendas) that Valencia said I must bring. After a long conversation about why he did not like people bringing recording devices to the rituals he conducts, he authorized me to use it under the condition that I give him a copy of the recordings as soon as possible.

The ritual began early in the morning. I was not to exit the longhouse until dusk. As a consequence, I decided to place my microphone and recorder near the seat of Mr. Valencia and the other *payé* in attendance as they distributed wild fruits brought by the mythical ancestors, which often happens during *dabukuri* gatherings with *yurupari* instruments. I participated in the ritual not only by drinking, dancing, talking, listening, and seeing, but also by being seen and heard by others. In other words, I found myself in between a sort of two-way recording during the course of this event. This mutuality is

key: the hi-fi recording I made during this initiation ritual, recorded me twice. The sounds rendered by the audio recorder, and the imprints this Tukanoan initiation left on me, opened the journey towards the audile worlds featured in this dissertation.

As for my mother and her team, their attempts to create the three positions at Vaupés' Health Department were ultimately unsuccessful. The core of this institution fails to acknowledge Indigenous People as peers or partners, and still refuses any attempt to integrate their knowledge into the regional healthcare infrastructure. Put another way, the statistical data they gathered to help the local government understand the benefits that the Indigenous population could obtain from a differential approach to healthcare did not make its way to the ears of any of the administrators. At the end of 2013, she lost her position and left Vaupés due to her pro-Indigenous politics. Her dream of sharing her office with Tukanoan shamans at the Vaupés' Health Department was only accomplished in a domestic sphere, as her home became the place where Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents of Mitú were often treated for health issues. What did go forward, however, was a CD package with the recordings I sent back to *Ceima Cachivera*, three weeks after leaving Mitú in 2012. Likewise, my interest in spending more time among the relatives of these three Elders grew.

Returning to Mitú

At the beginning of 2013, I received a grant from the Colombian Ministry of Culture to pursue a collaborative project developed in dialogue with two of the aforementioned Elders, Raimundo Valencia and Enrique Llanos, together with two members of the Vaupés Healthcare System. The project generated four musical releases that I audio recorded at the villages of my Indigenous collaborators. It also served to

update the contents of an online map managed by the Center of Musical Documentation of the National Library.² Three fundamental experiences during this project became touchstones for the collaborative work I conducted for this dissertation. First, I met Severiano Silva, the main Indigenous Hehénewa correspondent of the American anthropologist Irving Goldman (1911-2002). Silva and other Hehénewa relatives wanted the ethnographic materials they produced with Goldman in their village during the 1960s and the late 1970s returned to them. Second, I received a death threat from the president of the Cubeo Indigenous Association of the Cuduyarí River during fieldwork, after I refused to give him more than 30 percent of my \$3,000 budget. Months ahead of this incident, I had obtained informed consent from all Indigenous communities and had agreed with local leaders on the compensation for working across the river. Although local leaders and community members told me not to pay attention to this intimidation, after the individual bashed my boat driver on one occasion, I suspended my commute across the river. Finally, I severely injured my right ankle in a cycling accident. The Hehénewa and Ide-Masa *payés* took care of the wound—blowing tobacco and murmuring spells in unintelligible languages until I was able to walk. From these experiences emerged three touchstones: 1) an open path for continuing dialogue with the Emi-Hehénewa clan and Goldman’s unpublished research; 2) a direct confrontation between my otherness and the ever-changing definition of Indigenous leadership; and 3) awareness of the similarities and differences between Hehénewa and Ide-Masa worlds of sound and traditional medicine.

² Jaime Quijano Quevedo, director of the Center of Musical Documentation coordinated the “Sonic Map of Colombia” from the website of the National Library. <http://www.territoriosonoro.org/CDM/indigena/>. After he was removed from the position he occupied for twenty years, in 2017, it seems that the link went offline.

After completing my research, which lasted only seven months, I felt completely immersed in a world of situations completely different from those of Istanbul, where I had been studying for over ten years. This initial period of research in Vaupés paved the way for a seven-year dialogue with Tukanoan *payés*, musicians, and communities. It also initiated a long-term engagement with different presidents and local leaders of the Cubeo Indigenous Association of the Cuduyarí River (ASUDIC), which came to inform my awareness of the actual consequences of any politics of knowledge-keeping across the Vaupés region, as well as the need to develop research agendas in shared relation to Indigenous goals and epistemologies.

The Study of Cubeo Hehénewa Worlds of Musicking

This dissertation can be read, viewed, and heard as an effort to braid two threads into a third, which can be unraveled by the reader in multiple directions. The two leading threads are disciplinary: the anthropology of the Cubeo Hehénewa people, whose origin, destiny and transformation are connected to the incommensurable territory of the Vaupés basin in southern Colombia; and the emergent focus in the field of ethnomusicology on the interplay between musicalized speech and Indigenous analytics of music and sonic practices. The anthropology of the Cubeo Hehénewa asks who they are, what they do, which systems assemble their ideas and practices, and what kind of moral, aesthetic and social worlds they produce and disrupt. This anthropology is characterized by Irving Goldman's finished and unfinished work.³ Ethnomusicology of Cubeo Hehénewa worlds of musicking, on the other hand, can be read as the product of a collaborative scholarship between Goldman and ethnomusicologist Marina Roseman, detailed in their

³ About Irving Goldman's academic work see Goldman 1948, 1979, 2004.

correspondence and the unpublished archive they co-created during the 1980s.

Roseman's initial ideas about "Cubeo Music" and her analysis of Goldman's recordings generated sources for this dissertation and further upcoming works.

The imprints of both scholars are noticeable *in situ* in Vaupés, as the Hehénewa still remember them, tell their own history, and situate Goldman and his research as part of their present era. However, the collaborative work of these two scholars is also noticeable off-site, at multiple archives in which the materials they produced continue to vary and transform as other ears and perspectives play them once again. One such transformation occurred to Goldman's tapes stored at the Center for Ethnomusicology at Columbia University. Here, a female voice precedes the official content by voicing the label and number code of each reel to reel tape. The first copy of Goldman's recordings, which is housed at the National Archives of Anthropology in Maryland, does not contain a sounding female voice at the beginning of any tape. The affordances created by Goldman and Roseman's work on the Cubeo Hehénewa also open possibilities for general exchanges and comparisons with ethnological materials on other Tukanoan people from and outside the Vaupés region. Such a comparison, though it exceeds the scope of this dissertation, could suggest new paths for further research about the Hehénewa communities of Vaupés.

Connecting the anthropology and the ethnomusicology of the Hehénewa has methodological and theoretical implications. On the one hand, this dissertation sees collaborative research as a decolonial and shared endeavor that can foster educational infrastructures and transform discourses about the Hehénewa. On the other hand, the sound-oriented approach to Cubeo Hehénewa expressive culture developed by this

dissertation does not insist on questions of identity. Rather, it focuses on the multiple modalities of existence through which Hehénewa transfigure archives, sounds, instrumental practice, and spaces into something else. This “something else,”—understood as an ongoing process of transfiguration—is the third thread that forms the braid of this dissertation.

Tukanoans in a Territory

The Northwestern Amazon is located around the drainage basin of the Vaupés River and adjacent areas in Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil. Although many groups live in this area, this dissertation focuses on East Tukanoan speakers who live around the Cuduyarí River and in the city of Mitú (see Map 1). East Tukano refers to a descriptive category that includes a group of languages such as Cubeo, Makuna, Piratapuyo, Tukano, Kotiria, and Barasano under a single linguistic term (Jackson 1989; Chernela 2013). The specificity of each language is correlated with the ancestral origin of each of these societies, at least in regards to patrilineal lines of descent. Despite the singular character of each group, the use of Tukanoan languages allows them to share kinship rules, patterns of residency, worlds of shamanism, as well as multiple struggles caused by settler colonialism.

The performances of expressive culture this dissertation focuses on are those of the Indigenous communities located at the Cuduyarí River and in Mitú. These communities are constituted by a group of villages with approximately 150 inhabitants per village. The adult male population of these communities is predominantly Hehénewa who married women coming from other Tukanoan or Arawakean speaking groups and

established residency in the territory of Hehénewa descendants. Extending over approximately 442,404 hectares, this territory is recognized by Colombian law as an Indigenous reservation (*Resguardo Indígena*) owned by Hehénewa communities. Neither uniform nor centralized, the communities residing here include a variety of “moieties,” such as Emi-Hehénewa, Iramamaki-Hehénewa, Yavíkare-Hehénewa, Wari-Hehénewa, Pedikwa-Hehénewa, and Abu-Hehénewa, subdivided according to order of emergence, kinship, and ritual specialization, which includes a common ground of mythical and physical geography that surrounds the Cuduyarí River and Vaupés river basin (see Map 2). In addition to these forms of ritual and social organization established through the “moiety” system (Goldman 2004, 91), three different Indigenous associations have exerted legal autonomy over the Resguardo Indígena of the Hehénewa since the 1991 establishment of Colombian multicultural constitution law.



Map 1. Vaupés at the Northwest Amazon Basin



Map 2. Cuduyarí River and Vaupés River

The Hehénewa I have met since 2012 are a dispersed community of families scattered throughout Vaupés, with additional members living in Villavicencio, Inírida, and Bogotá, the country's capital. Members in Vaupés live near the Cuduyarí River in villages equipped with football and basketball fields, a primary school, a provisional church, a kindergarten, and deteriorating communal houses. Some have a traditional longhouse, or *pami kirami*. Hehénewa communities from the Cuduyarí share with other Hehénewa and Tukanoan villages of the region the unenviable fate of having a legal contract with the Colombian government. Each year, these Indigenous communities await about seven million Colombian pesos (around \$2,500) granted by the government, hoping to take care of their infrastructure with these funds. However, Hehenewa communities, do not receive this money—known as “transfers” (*transferencias*)—directly. Rather, the stipend is transferred to mestizo individuals who own miscellaneous stores and non-profit organizations in Mitú. These intermediaries are in effect, the ones who spend these resources, executing projects as third-party vendors, supposedly acting on behalf of Tukanoan Indigenous communities.

Attending to Tukanoan Instrumental Performance

Despite being exogamic moieties, these Hehénewa communities relate to other Tukanoan groups, establishing kinship strategies that include “organological borrowings” (Goldman 2004, 232; Hill 1996, 143). Throughout these borrowings, they have established a regional pattern of musical instruments under categories of shape, design, technique of performance, modes of acquisition, and ownership (Romero Raffo 2003; Hugh-Jones 2017), but also in terms of their paramount role of renewing the existence of each language group within the region (Cayón 2013). The centrality of expressive

performance for their constitution and transformation as a society is remarkable.

Recently, American anthropologist Jean Jackson commented on these language groups:

Tukanoans see themselves as parts of an interacting whole, in which what might appear to outsiders as cultural diversity unifies more than it differentiates... Language groups can be understood as different sections of a symphony orchestra, whose players jointly produce a coherent, harmonious performance using different instruments and different versions of a single score. (Jackson 2019, 66)

In this excerpt, Jackson uses the symphony orchestra, with its underlying regime of a single score, as a metaphor to explain the articulation between the eccentric elements arranged under a single Tukanoan language group, and to highlight the relatedness shared by the linguistic performance of Tukanoan language groups. Yet, after years of research in Vaupés, it is hard for me to picture Tukanoan speakers and musicians as groups of obedient and skilled readers guided by a conductor, as proposed by the model of sociality envisioned by the Western orchestra. The trope of the single score seen and heard through the composer's perspective and perceived by the audience, in my opinion, fails to describe the interaction between sound, instrumentality, language, ritual communication and media ecologies when it seeks to describe Tukanoan musical expressivity.

Jackson's metaphor forecloses the possibility of exploring other forms of musical and sonic interaction based on incoherence, dissonance, and pastiche among language groups, thus limiting the emergence of other possible models of relation, or "scores"—as well as their constant disappearance—which could orchestrate Tukanoan modes of sociality out of new figures. Of course, this metaphor may help Anglophone readers picture in a single image the multilingual scope of Tukanoan languages, just as when they listen to a symphonic orchestra they listen to a single piece of music, not its many parts.

Jackson's work pioneered a groundbreaking approach to language that acknowledged the complex multilingual and exogamic features of the Vaupés region (Jackson 1983, 1989). However, my point here is that Tukanoan musicking refers to the interaction of multiple worlds, beings, and forms of communication that require us to rethink the infrastructures that allow Tukanoans to reproduce and navigate their musical expressivity. These infrastructures often destabilize our own notions of what music does, and in so doing, introduce us into other conceptual images related to the sonic and the aural—such as the story of the *pokaheki* centipede.

In a nutshell, positioning Anglophone readers in front of Tukanoan performances beyond the elevated podium of the ideal conductor is the central challenge this dissertation poses: with this, I aim to co-develop an ethnomusicological approach to worlds of musicking and listening perspectives in which readers can appreciate, make sense of, and hopefully gain an understanding of the ways a Tukanoan group orchestrates, manages, and perceives the performance of their expressive culture. This dissertation invites readers to attend to the “orchestra’s performance” from different standpoints. For example, near musicians who often drink and dance more around the venue on their way to the river; or far from the scenario, where they can hear, but not see, the performance; or within the mixing and recording room in which they are alone with recorded sound. This displacement from the “podium” gives readers the chance to see and listen to Tukanoan performances calling attention to how each of these positions continues to shift, while readjusting their apperception as the event becomes an irreconcilable iteration of singular versions of itself.

Opening the Box of Ethnomusicology in the Northwestern Amazon

Literature on music in this region has thus far, tended to be divided neatly between 1) an anthropological approach, and 2) a musicological and linguistic group. The first, anthropological group, represented by authors like Theodore Koch-Grünberg (1995 [1909]), Irving Goldman (1948), Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975), Stephen Hugh-Jones (1979), Kaj Århem (1981), Diana Mendoza (1992), and Manuel Romero Raffo (2003) first established a direct correlation between organology and shamanism among Tukanoan groups in the region. For these authors, the “complex of sacred flutes,” and the endurance of a socio-spatial organization that Lévi-Strauss in 1991, called “house societies,” were integral to explaining and representing Tukanoan cosmological and social strategies for harvesting, living in, and transforming the Amazon forest. Their approach to sonic and musical practices centered on illustrating the shamanistic thought of specific Tukanoan groups. Their primary interest was anthropological; they contributed descriptions of, and theories about, shamanic and transformative dimensions of sound. They described instruments—their names, the processes of their construction, the rituals in which they were included, as well as dietary requirements for musical performance and the ingestion of different substances during rituals and dances.

In this respect, Stephen Hugh-Jones elaborated a sophisticated analysis of the transmission of musical materials among East Tukanoan groups across the entire region (1993). His influential interpretation summarized, to an extent, the anthropological inquiry—similar to Steven Feld’s “sociomusicology” (Feld 1984, 385)—in which the dialectic function between musical institution and social organization was paramount:

Each Tukanoan group owns the following prerogatives and items of wealth which represent its identity and ancestral powers: 1) feather head-dresses and ceremonial

goods kept inside the feather-box; 2) a set of sacred musical instruments; 3) rights to make a particular item of secular material culture and rights to make and use certain items of ritual property (masks, musical instruments, etc.); 4) a complex of non-material, linguistic and musical property comprising personal names, names of ritual objects, a language, various chants, spells, songs, instrumental melodies, musical styles and a body of myth. The myths serve to identify and legitimate the group's ancestral powers, which can be activated in the appropriate ritual setting. (Hugh-Jones 1993, 109)

This informative account of the role of feather-boxes as the symbolic and physical container of Tukanoan's ritual and expressive regalia is seen in the work of Kaj Århem, who, when explaining musical and sonorous accounts of the Makuna, cited Hugh-Jones's work about the Barasano (Århem 1981, 2), highlighting the significance of these elements in reinforcing myths, ancestral powers, indigenous identity, and shamanic thought. Far from being outdated, Hugh-Jones's argument was recently revisited by Brazil-based, Colombian anthropologist Luis Cayón. In his monograph on the Makuna, Cayón restated Hugh-Jones's definition of the Tukanoan box, making no fundamental changes regarding its ethnomusicological readings. His most salient contributions were the addition of the ancestral territory, harvesting species, and some specific places within the box, as well as the erasure of any sacred/secular dichotomy from the discussions of Makuna "system of thought" (Cayón 2013, 33). However, neither Hugh-Jones nor Cayón illuminate the life of these sonic, acoustic, and musical materials outside of the box—when mobilized in and through performance, or as transfigured by recording technology and other mediations.

The lack of attention to the expressive culture exchange among Tukanoans by the aforementioned scholars has raised questions about the difference between voice and sound, transmission and reception of repertoires, and sacred instruments and other

powerful artifacts within Indigenous analytics. Scholars working on these subjects constitute the second group studying music at the Northwestern Amazon.

Ethnomusicological Approaches to Audile Worlds in Amazonia

These questions began to build musicological and linguistic work that, during the 1990s and the 2000s, paved the epistemological way through a renovated ethnomusicology of lowland South America. This group of scholars took distance from the anthropological explanations of social organization without “refusing them” (Menezes Bastos 2013, 12). In 2011, Jonathan Hill and Jean-Pierre Chaumeil coined the term “shamanic musical configurations” (Hill and Chaumeil 2011a, 26) to refer to the articulated systems of myths, practices, performances, and knowledge kept by native specialists distributed along the territories and other existents (human and other than human) among which they live.

According to Hill and Chaumeil, these shamanic musical configurations have consolidated a corpus of knowledge intimately related to the way of life of ritual specialists. This is a form of life that includes the historical distribution of functions, instruments and modes of perception, and which builds connections “between the living and the dead, mythic ancestors and human descendants, humans and animals, men and women, kin and affine, indigenous peoples and nation-states, and so on” (Hill and Chaumeil 2011a, 25). The prolific discussion generated by the publications of these authors formed part of a growing literature mobilizing post-structural analyses of myth, ethnolinguistic theories of gender, and native theories that accounted for composite anatomies, perspective, semiosis, and world-building in the region (Hill 2002; Viveiros

de Castro 1996, 2005, 2009 [2014]; Chernela 2013; Kohn 2013; Brabec de Mori 2012; Santos-Granero 2006). Consequently, this renewed scholarship made possible an aural and sonic turn toward other dimensions of Amerindian expressivity, communication, and world-building. By elucidating how musicking participates in world-building events in Amazonia, this new approach focused moved beyond a mere interest in the performance of traditional music.

Undoubtedly, these occasions include the varied ways by which sound and performance transforms public and private experience of space—what Georgina Born has called “sonic-spatial practices” (Born 2013, 9). However, they go beyond this topological function of music, as they configure not only the layer where music and sound happen, but also the “auditory systems” in which temporality, gender, natures, and perspectives extend and become noticeable (Steingo and Sykes 2019, 17).

At the core of this aforementioned discussion concerning audile worlds and auditory systems stands the interest of bringing ethnographic research on music and sound-oriented approaches in lowland South America to more general discussions on a continental scale about the production of perspectival and sensorial difference/otherness in Amazonian lifeworlds.⁴ By this type of difference, I am referring to a discussion within anthropology in which notions of alterity emerge through perspectival embodiments, rather than by the essential constitution of subjects (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 2012). In this discussion, perspectival relationality makes noticeable the registers through which

⁴ The transformative process of these shamanic musicologies, along with the composite character of these visionaries and multinatural subjects, is currently the main discussion between ethnomusicologists and anthropologists working with animist traditions in Siberia, Southeast Asia and the Amazon (Brightman et al. 2012; Århem et al. 2016). The first collaborative project that set the continental conversation on these themes goes back to 2011, when Hill and Chaumeil edited the groundbreaking volume *The Burst of Breath*.

beings and events—constituents of worlds—are seen and noticed. This dissertation participates in these discussions with the aim of contributing new epistemological assumptions based on aural modalities of existence, under which self-determined groups of people relate to—and make sense of—others in Amazonia (Lewy 2015, 9; Hill 2013, 327; Hill 2011, 4; Brabec de Mori 2015, 34).

Shared Perspectives and Technological Positionalities

This dissertation contributes to the study of aural modalities of existence in Amazonia, deepening the critical reflection presented by Jonathan Hill and Juan Castrillón (2017) on how phonographic technologies in contexts of fieldwork are increasingly becoming processes for intermingling ethnographic and Indigenous People’s perspectives. According to Hill and Castrillón, sound and audiovisual recording are not simply a form of writing culture. Rather, they are already part of the everyday of Indigenous People’s expressivity as they instantiate listening and voicing positions which are inseparable from the “dialectics of ritual discourse,” notions of iteration, and the ineluctable encounter with new technological devices introduced to the Amazon forest (Hill and Castrillón 2017, 8).

Using this approach, I analyze the role new media infrastructures play in doing ethnomusicology among Hehénewa communities. This serves as an entry point for studying both the colonial history of audio recording in the Vaupés region and the type of “knowledge” it produced, as well as the “assimilation of media devices” within Amerindian epistemologies in current contexts of technological and climate change in the region (Bessire 2012, 200; Ochoa Gautier 2014, 40; Alemán 2011, 2012).

The stakes of these developments around media are global. The efficacious role of new media and the development of digital archives among Amerindians are part and parcel of a continuous process of extinction exacerbated after the Cold War by late liberal politics, and further accelerated by ecological crisis as well as the governance of multiculturalism via legal cases against Indigenous land ownership (Povinelli 1995; Ng'weno 2007; De la Cadena 2010; Piot 2010; Cayón 2013). Yet, it is in this *climate* that ethnomusicology can reorient its habitual interests on place and identity-making (Rice 2010), by rethinking the technical rationality of recording technology *vis-à-vis* Indigenous People's theories of archiving media, as well as the outcomes of its unavoidable intersections during collaborative research.

As this dissertation shows, archiving devices and Tukanoan media ecologies are “non-discursive infrastructures and outerfaces” (Ernst 2013, 59) that not only provide infrastructures for storage, repetition and exchange, but also render modes of entanglement between Life and non-Life through which powerful ways of speaking, musicking, touching, and listening become noticeable for Amerindian and non-Amerindians alike.

The Chapters

Chapter one, “Musical Archives *About* the Hehénewa,” examines the production of sound recordings from the early twentieth century through the 1980s in Vaupés in order to analyze the formation of points of listening from which travelers, anthropologists, and Catholic missionaries were presenting and characterizing Indigenous People's worlds of expressivity. Even though most of these recordings were stored in North American and European archives—with some now available online—a great

number remain undigitized in documentation centers in Bogotá. The recordings stored in Bogotá were made by multiple authors, while those stored abroad were largely produced by the particular work of single sound recordists. The most representative contributors to the archive *about* Tukanoans include, Theodore Koch-Grünberg, Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, Brian Moser, Donald Tayler, Irving Goldman, and Manuel Elorza.

Chapter 2, “Music Archives of Pamiva” focuses on current instrumental performances and analytics that Tukanoans have developed for managing the archive on their own terms. It presents how they think, classify, and perform musicking repertoires, and how they use different devices to track them. The chapter focuses on how these devices allow Hehénewa people to set in motion instrumental performances and repertoires, thus, explaining how powerful performative action allows them to remember and repair the everyday relation with mythical ancestors. This crucial role of instrumentality binds their artistry to a media ecology that keeps in place the archive *of* Hehénewa along with its networks of obligation, in which other-than-human actors are also responsible for setting multiple worlds in substantial motion, where instrumental performances make sense and matter.

Chapter 3, “Diffraction of Musicking Archives and Multimodal Ethnography,” elaborates on the decolonization of the ethnomusicological archive *about* the Hehénewa, developing outfaces between academic research and multimodal ethnographies. The chapter examines how a podcast, a medium length film, and the process of building a Pamiva longhouse provide infrastructures for Indigenous interlocutors to work on their own interests, but also offer new affordances to develop alternative pathways to repatriation initiatives in ethnomusicology. The experimental approach of the chapter

suggests that the theorization of the difference between archives *of* and *about* Hehénewa can be done in a multimodal register, thus opening varied encounters between Indigenous People and other perspectives. This register is mobilized from my positionality as a “postcolonial archivist” (Povinelli 2016, 149) that sees in the proliferation of these encounters the ethical and critical predicament to undo the singular, monolingual, and uncontested truth of the imperial archive *about* Indigenous People’s cultures. The chapter concludes that the implementation of multimodal methods generates new research queries, showing the proactive relation between fieldwork affordances, critical thinking, and proposing alternative ways of doing ethnomusicology in the Northwestern Amazon.

Chapter 4, “Yuruparí Disappearance: Woman’s Laughter and Instrumentality in Vaupés,” situates the dissertation in a formalist approach centered on what is known to be the most fundamental component of Tukanoan organology: *yuruparí* instruments. Literature about these instruments has revealed in great—even graphic—detail their mythical origins, shamanic functions, and formal characteristics across Indigenous communities of the Northwestern Amazon. By writing about these instruments from an ocular-witness position, scholars have reproduced male-oriented politics of labor and gender, taking them as essential and fixed constituents of Amerindian sociality. These analyses, however, have not discussed the proactive attitudes that women have toward *yuruparí* instruments, especially because they cannot see, nor perform on them. Additionally, sound recordings or any other rendition of these instruments have rarely been taken into account as primary sources for inquiry and interpretation.

Based on a sound-oriented approach to recordings made of these instruments during Tukanoan initiation rituals in the last decades of the twentieth century, the chapter

reinvigorates an ethnomusicological study of women's *yurupari* by seriously taking the audible and sonic mode of appearance of the instruments. The chapter argues that the senses and lifeworlds in which they operate and matter, consolidate a fundamental ground to study how instruments and modes of alterity unfold each other in order to attain what John Tresch and Emily Dolan call "the ethical work of instruments" (Tresch and Dolan 2013, 284). The chapter concludes that close analyses of listening should prevail over the description of musical performances in order to study how Tukanoans—particularly women—interact with these instruments, especially because in the Vaupés region listening entails gender and epistemological differences.

Finally, the conclusion returns to the *pokaheki* centipede's story presented at the beginning of this introduction in order to critically analyze the attempts of the Colombian government and its local officials to revitalize Indigenous People's culture in Vaupés. State-funded projects often assume that Tukanoan musicking praxes endow Tukanoan communities with a robust capital of identity discourses. Far from doing this, these performances constitute perishable, but powerful resources to feed the *pokaheki* centipede, the sense of the person, and to fuel Indigenous forms of governance that allow certain Tukanoan groups to lead village-based societies throughout the assemblage of relations of commensality and repertoires instantiated during these events.

My analysis of several initiatives, including the online mapping of Colombian Indigenous music developed by the National Library of Colombia in 2012, the introduction of musical competitions called *carrizódromos* by local politicians and Indigenous associations in 2013, and the celebration of an *oyno* ceremony funded by the Ministry of Culture in 2014, shows how the lifeworlds of Tukanoan communities hardly

benefited from these initiatives.⁵ The isolation of performances paid for by central and local governments, in addition to the local-Indigenous researchers' uncritical adoption of documentation procedures introduced by state-funded agencies, not only disentangled local specialists from their media ecologies and pathways of knowledge, but also removed Tukanoan performances from the networks of obligation between villages. The pressure exerted by multicultural markets cause the stagnation of Tukanoan expressive praxes, thus ruining the already fragile network of Tukanoan phratries and moieties dismembered by the cocaine economy of the 1990s.

In the current state of ruination, few Tukanoan groups can afford the elaboration of luxurious garments, magnificent longhouses, or the fulfillment of strict diets and preparations, thus they live and die massively as third-class Tukanoans, in which the sense of the person—as *pokaheki*—becomes obsolete. This experience of death and obsolescence accelerated by wild capitalism differs drastically from Hehénewa's analytics of well-dying, in which a proper death is always the auspicious way to set in motion multinatural modes of existence.

⁵ "Carrizo" is the Spanish word for *pedu* panpipes; and the *oyno* refers to a morning ceremony in which Cubeo sing vocal repertoires wearing masks made of tree bark.

CHAPTER 1 — MUSICAL ARCHIVES ABOUT THE HEHÉNEWA

Our series of I.E. Records makes available to the ethnomusicologist who has recorded in the field ... refinements of sound engineering that allow him to improve the sound of his original recordings, guided solely by his experience and taste, so that it may give a better simulation of reality.

—Mantle Hood (1971, 33)

We don't have a parallel literature or consciousness about narrativity in sound—a parallel literature about film and representation, perhaps, but no real parallel for sound. I see these recordings as a way to animate that conversation directly.

—Steven Feld and Donald Brenneis (2004, 470)

This chapter takes up Mantle Hood's assertion about the "simulation of reality,"—what I call "rendered reality"—in order to analyze how recordings made across the twentieth century in Vaupés by anthropologists, missionaries, and travelers shed light on the description of Indigenous People of this region written in sound. My analysis takes the following angle: recordings are not merely sonic representations of what a community does musically, rather they are already indexes of technical rationalities and media affordances that recordings already possess. Diverging from Hood's mimetic idea of sound recording, I present the field of ethnomusicology with an alternative way to analyze rendered realities. This analysis does not refer to a question of method, or to a discussion around issues of representation in ethnomusicological literature. Instead, it brings to the table current discussions on technical rationalities and new media

affordances in order to understand how Hehénewa and their worlds of musicking have been presented and rendered sonically. Like storytellers, who use narrative forms to tell, present, and transfer the content of their stories, sound recordists use strategies to shape, edit, and re-form non-verbal media encoded by their technological devices. The way I use the word narrativity, then, highlights how sound recordings are edited in order to “tell,” or present audio content. My close attention to these non-verbal discourses, however, neither looks for an evaluation of their accuracy nor does it contest their authenticity. In fact, if Steven Feld and Donald Brenneis were right when they suggested that film studies is the only partner for ethnomusicology in sparking consciousness about “narrativity in sound” (2004, 472), I see this partnership as a promising horizon for ethnomusicologists to analyze rendered realities created out of sound-images. The rendered realities of interest in this chapter are those produced by recordists who worked among Indigenous communities in the Vaupés region.

In the first part of the chapter, I develop an analytical approach to studying these recordings and introduce the term *mic-positionality* as a leading concept. This concept addresses both the singular mediation recordists developed through the recording technology used to produce rendered realities of this Tukanoan group, and the social relations under which their encounters with Indigenous societies were made possible. In the second part, I apply my concept “mic-positionality” to analyze the standpoint from which early sound recordings featuring Tukanoan Indigenous Communities were made in Vaupés. These recordings were made by German anthropologist Theodore Koch-Grünberg, Brazilian Catholic missionary and scholar Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, American anthropologist Irving Goldman, English anthropologist Donald Tayler, English

filmmaker Brian Moser, and Colombian Catholic missionary Manuel Elorza. In studying the relation between sound recordists and Tukanoans, this genealogy addresses the formation, trajectory, and transformation of this archive, while envisioning new positionalities from which ethnomusicology of this region of the Amazon can be done otherwise. The chapter concludes by suggesting that even though non-Indigenous individuals consciously introduced wax cylinders, tapes, phonograph records, and other media formats into the Vaupés region, these devices—and the way they tell and transmit—reinforce the endurance of Tukanoan analytics of the archive.

Mic-positionalities and Rendered Realities

More than a simple capture of air vibrations, sound recording practices inform the deliberate placement of bodies and events in relation to a mic-positionality that renders them audible and sonically noticeable. I use the term mic-positionality to call attention to the position of sound recordists within geopolitics of knowledge, the world of social situations in which they are located, and the contexts and networks within which the artifacts they produce circulate. This position extends to the selection of particular media devices, the intended purposes of using them in specific situations, and the market and political economy in which these sonic objects make sense and produce value.⁶ My theorization of the recordist's position elaborates on what Edward Said called "strategic location" (1978, 20), understood as the proactive relationship between the production of narratives and the set of interpretations they produce.⁷ My concept of mic-positionality

⁶ For an ethnographic case focused on the politics of the recording studio see Meintjes, 2003. The discussion about recording and politics of identity is also present in Brady 1999, 93.

⁷ Edward Said introduces his concept of "strategic location" in *Orientalism*: "I use the notion of strategy simply to identify the problem every writer on the Orient has faced: how to get hold of it, how to approach it, how not to be defeated or overwhelmed by its sublimity, its scope, its awful dimensions ... This location

reads Said's strategic location as a decolonial attitude that interrogates the simulation of realities rendered by ethnomusicologists.

Ethnomusicologists and the sonic artifacts they produce stand in co-dependency with at least five types of mutual implication: a) the technological equipment they chose; b) the infrastructures in which recordings are edited and articulated; c) the meaningfulness of themes and motifs associated with institutional and cultural constraints in which their works make sense and produce value; d) the intersubjective dis/agreements in fieldwork and the political context of their ethnographic interaction; and finally, e) the deliberate ways of addressing the audience for whom recordings are made—their networks, media ecologies, and modes of circulation.

I am not presenting *mic-positionalities* as the sonic equivalent to what in discourse analysis of ideology are often called “places of enunciation” (Van Dijk 2014; Mignolo 2003). In these types of analysis, places of enunciation amplify the constructs that surround subjects and discourses within contexts of interpretation. In this regard, *mic-positionalities* do not present a proper translation of intentions and ideas. Instead, they are hybrid contingencies and transferences—transductions of these intentions. They may instrumentalize recordists' strategic positions and their ability to order a sonic discourse, yet these positionalities do not rely solely on recordists' responsibility to account for the events they witness, or to present and render new possibilities of evaluation in the directions they open. In fact, some *mic-positionalities* might not keep open these possibilities for subsequent evaluations due to varied factors that limit access, legibility, and circulation for which recordists bear an important responsibility. For this reason,

includes the kind of narrative voice he adopts, the type of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text—all of which add up to deliberate ways of addressing the reader, containing the Orient, and finally, representing it or speaking in its behalf' (1978, 28).

critical analysis of mic-positionalities can only be *transversally* associated with hermeneutics of suspicion, even if it shares with that form of critique a decolonial and genealogical imperative that seeks to interrogate and envision ways in which modern discourses (and language in general) can be known, uttered, and embodied otherwise (Said 1978, Ricœur 1984, Foucault 1998).

My interest in taking up an ethnomusicological focus on the prosthetic role of technical developments motivates a methodological orientation that shares with Steven Black a close analysis of what he called “transduction processes” (2017, 47), which examine the role of recording technologies in ethnographic fieldwork. However, my approach to these processes differs from Black’s. Whereas Black discusses how recording technologies allow ethnographers to “display their social selves more ethically” among the communities they work with (Black 2017, 53), the notion of mic-positionality reverses this way of thinking about sound recordings in order to critically understand the editing decisions and conditions of possibility from which people were organized and placed in front of a mic setting. Consequently, my analysis does not center the social self of the recordist, as much as the multiple co-implications in which this self is shared with the technical rationalities of the artifacts they rely upon for their research.

The habitual way in which the audience listens to these rendered realities often bypasses critical reflection of the conditions of possibility that were reduced and compressed during recording processes. Additionally, the simple but decisive procedures and technics that assemble these processes tend not to be understood as political due to a tendency in highly industrialized societies “toward the autonomization of purposive rational activities” (Stiegler 1998, 12) in which the everyday interaction with technical

devices is inescapable. Often, the disciplinary certainty of “discourses in ethnography” (Clifford and Marcus 1986, 3) and the validated careers of sound recordists are naturalized when they interact with recording devices, and when we listen to the sounds they recorded during fieldwork.



Image 1. Juan Castrillón y Jesús Llanos recording a choir of Makuna, Bará y Barasano men in Ceima Cachivera, Mitú, 2013. Photo by Abigail Vallejo.

Throughout the history of ethnomusicology, pictures of technical devices have been mobilized to portray the desire of sound recordists to capture something meaningful that has captivated or disturbed their attention. This kind of auscultation—and its limits—expresses the agreement, perhaps even the tension, between ethnographers and ethnographic subjects. These limits are particularly noticeable when ethnographic encounters include mediation, operation of, or exposure to technical devices. In some cases, as media historian Lisa Gitelman notes, the ethnographic encounter rely on “constructions of male, technocratic expertise” characterized by the “self-congratulatory aggression of Western technological achievement and colonial dominance” (1999, 122). Yet, in other cases, mediation has afforded a timely opportunity to reinforce local

dynamics and processes of social reconfiguration (Brady 1999; Tobón and López 2009).

In both instances, encounters between ethnographic subjects and scholars have been mutually inscribed via the refinements of sound engineering. In operating processes of inscription and translation, ethnomusicologists have been neither alone, nor guided solely by their own experience and taste. Quite the contrary, ethnomusicologists have always needed a means to manage what Lawrence Venuti called “ethnographic pressure” (1993, 210). According to Venuti, in the immediacy of this pressure, translation can function either as a “domesticating,” or “foreignizing” method:

Translation is either a *domesticating method*, an ethnographic reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values, bringing the author back home, or a *foreignizing method*, a pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text sending the reader abroad (1993, 210; emphasis added).⁸

It is my contention, that ethnomusicologists respond affirmatively to ethnographic pressure by inscribing in sounds that which is difficult to write, and by passing on *to the microphone* the responsibility of inscribing the cultural difference they see and listen to, which they seem to capture during recording processes. The organized outcome of this process is a rendered reality—*domesticated* or *foreignized*—edited for an audience and curated according to certain parameters of legibility for which some sense of “musicking” is central. This legibility not only refers to ethnomusicologists’ personal experiences and taste, but also to certain parameters: the framing of musical performances, the sound of particular instruments being executed by humans, the invention of useful samples of others’ music genres suitable for analysis and transcription. These parameters, closely

⁸ See Duncan and Gregory (1999) for a broader discussion on translation as a cultural practice in travel writing and ethnography. The authors elaborate on Venuti’s distinction between these methods for analyzing the spaces in between colonialism and imperial writing.

related to the disciplinary tenets of their field, dictate how ethnomusicologists' ears must be trained, and how the recordings they make should sound.

Yet, these parameters are not the only tenets of the reality they simulate. This reality also relies on the institutional affiliation that allows them to integrate engineering refinements to their senses, and to embody a position during fieldwork. Together these tenets function to assemble the perspective from which ethnomusicologists and their prosthetic technical refinements encounter the realities, which they are attempting to make sense of and simulate. This perspective exerts its own power; it makes audible and legible what ethnomusicologists perceive, know, and study—an authority which culminates in the production of a separate and parallel archive in which these rendered realities remain cataloged and stored.

Auscultating Ethnographic Mics

The ear and microphone have become codependent in an era in which the technical and the organic have been rethought and reassembled. In thinking this codependency (and co-constitution), theorists introduced an imbalance between thought and praxis causing recording and recorders to become simultaneously affected by processes that were previously conceived as unrelated. I say imbalance because theorists opened a ground for thinking a relation not known in advance, and subsequently, relocating its own conditions of possibility. As thinkers of technicity—from Donna Haraway through Bernard Stiegler—have argued, there “is no fundamental, ontological separation in our formal knowledge of machine and organism” (Haraway 2000, 313), rather, the organic has become a “helper of the electromechanical” and vice versa (Stiegler 1998, 24). The mutual transformation of these opposites has implicated apperception of sound and sonic

technics as fundamental predicaments of audibility. Audibility, according to Friedrich Kittler, is characterized by an attunement in which there is “no distance between the recorded voice and listening ears, as if voices traveled along the transmitting bones of acoustic self-perception directly from the mouth into the ear’s labyrinth” (1999, 37).

Rather than analyzing an emergent attunement and its techno-ontological entanglements, here I interrogate rendered realities presented by sound recordists, which intend to characterize Indigenous subjects in Southern Colombia. In so doing, I aim to rethink points of listening that represent Indigenous Peoples’ worlds of expressivity in sound during the twentieth century. As the following section shows, mic-positionality is enmeshed in the geopolitics of knowledge production about colonial subjects, archives, and technics of sonic presentation, and mobilizes its own modes of self-reflexive critique (Said 1978; Quijano 1992; Lins Ribeiro 2006; O’Gorman 1961). My contribution to the study of transduction processes—which includes deliberate ways of addressing the audience for whom recordings were made, its networks, and modes of circulation—seeks to problematize the interaction between sound recordists and the realities rendered in sound during the early twentieth century in Vaupés.

Emergence of a Parallel Archive

In this section, I show how foundational ideas about musical practice and cultural difference led to the objectification of subjects via narrativity in sound and through the emergence of a separate archive *about* Tukanoans. This section deploys mic-positionality to analyze recordings by Theodore Koch-Grünberg, Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, Brian Moser, Donald Tayler, Irving Goldman, and Manuel Elorza. My analysis examines the pivotal role played by the rendered realities they produced, in the definition of what

was recorded, and in the formation of a separate archive about Tukanoans. As opposed to the archive owned and managed by Tukanoans, this colonial archive includes Tukanoans in terms of sonic objectification but excludes them in terms of access and ownership. For anthropology and now ethnomusicology, their recordings constitute the sonic archive about Tukanoan Indigenous Peoples, with the Hehénewa and their worlds of musicking prominently featured. These recordings include instrumental ensembles with varied instruments and both male and female choirs singing in ceremonial and non-ceremonial contexts, as well as solo instrumental performances associated with healing and ritual action.

The Scientific Expedition of Theodore Koch-Grünberg

Since the arrival of German anthropologist Theodore Koch-Grünberg to the Vaupés region at the beginning of the twentieth century, Tukanoan musicking has been packaged in different media formats and transported from Indigenous villages to archives in imperial capitals. The role of these media formats was instrumental for developing notions of linguistic, ethnic, racial, and cultural differentiation among populations audio recorded for scientific purposes (Fischer and Krauss 2015; Hill 2015a; Taussig 1993; Ernst 2013, 2015). The formation of this parallel archive was initiated in the early twentieth century when German anthropologist Theodore Koch-Grünberg made sound recordings of Tukanoan expressivity with a gramophone borrowed from Berlin's Phonographic Archive (Krauss in Koch and Ziegler 2006, 67). Koch-Grünberg visited Vaupés several times between 1903 and 1913 as part of a scientific expedition commissioned by the Berlin Museum, which aimed to build "a systematic collection" of "ethnographic-linguistic recordings among tribes of the Pano-group and their neighbors,"

including, where possible, those who were still unknown to Western ears (Steinen, in Hempel 2009, 189).

In 2006, the Berlin Phonographic Archive published a selected edition of Koch-Grünberg's wax cylinders featuring six audio recordings related to Tukanoan musical practices. These recordings included three samples of "male strophic songs" by Tukano Indigenous People, and three samples of a "long flutes" performance by Desana People (Koch and Ziegler 2006, 91-94). The first of these samples correspond to what current Hehénewa call *~kuma upaiwi* repertoire, or dances accompanied with *~kumambi stomping tubes*. These *upaiwi* dances feature an ensemble of adult men who sing and follow the song of a headmaster in a heterophonic texture. The ensemble sings and dances, accompanied by an instrument, zig-zagging the poles of a given ceremonial venue. This instrument can be a *haha* rattle, a *~kumambi* stomping tube, or an *abo* scepter. In Pamie language, both to dance and to sing are called by the same word: *upaiwi*. All Tukanoan language groups of Vaupés have *upaiwi* repertoires, which constitute one of the main aspects each group has for performing "seniority ranks" in the stratified system of Tukanoan kinship (Goldman 2004, 50). Women join *upaiwi* repertoires accompanying each dancer. At times, they carry a gourd brimming with manioc beer, but they do not sing or carry an instrument as men do.

In the recordings made by Koch-Grünberg it is difficult to determine which instruments accompany these *upaiwi* repertoires, due to the noise floor generated by the phonograph he used. During the recording session, however, it is probable that *haha* rattles or *abo* scepter accompanied these *upaiwi* repertoires, their sounds masked by the wax cylinder mechanism. Yet, it is also possible that Koch-Grünberg may have instructed

them not to use their instruments, but only sing the melody he wanted to record. Ethnomusicologist Julio Mendivil has suggested that these recordings were made “without any accompaniment,” as Erich Von Hornbostel had an interest in the musical outcomes of Koch-Grünberg’s expedition (Mendivil, in Koch and Ziegler 2006, 91). Hornbostel (1986) analyzed the tonal systems of the Indigenous groups surveyed by the expedition, while the German comparative musicologist Fritz Bose (1927) later transcribed the melodies into staff notation. Paying special attention to songs, instrumental performance, and organology, Koch-Grünberg transcribed into musical notation fragments of “two songs of the *oyno* mourning ritual” along with a “drinking song” he heard in the Ayarí River (Koch-Grünberg 1995, 157-196). His publication included transliterations and translations of songs and sounds, accompanied by abundant pictures, drawings, and sketches that characterized his attentive descriptions.

This emphasis on separating melodic lines from other sounds finds its counterpart in the photographic gaze Koch-Grünberg developed during six years of expeditions. In his analysis of Koch-Grünberg’s photographs, anthropologist Paul Hempel remarks on two trends: 1) the isolation of elements against neutral backgrounds, and 2) the characterization of specific gestures in series of single events. Hempel elaborates a detailed account of Koch-Grünberg’s perspective and concludes that his choices and arrangements intend to preserve cultural facts by “showing the fluidity of interrelations between photographic re-enactment and the experimental production of scientific evidence in the laboratory of late nineteenth-century anthropology” (2009, 194). Both Koch-Grünberg’s mic-positionality and his photographic gaze profited from the framing effect provided by audiovisual images.

German anthropologist Michael Krauss, moreover, characterizes Koch-Grünberg as the precursor of the practice of bringing technical devices to fieldwork in Amazonian contexts. Krauss presents him as a pioneer who “legitimized” audiovisual methodologies and promoted less rigid boundaries between scholars and subjects in scientific practices (2010, 18). The introduction of audiovisual technologies as a methodological turn and the development of other modes of authority, however, were not simply the result of personal research objectives, but were informed by his socio-historical context. On the one hand, new forms of evidence were required by a certain type of German museum, designed for an audience interested in exploring “the elementary characteristics of a unitarian humanity” (Penny 2002, 3). On the other hand, the scientific praxis of German scientists after WWI was characterized by a propensity to value cohesiveness, probity, and consistency. According to Hempel, “Koch-Grünberg’s methodological openness was part and parcel of a marked self-confidence within [the] German academy that pursued its strategies not only in acquiring and mobilizing data but also [by] exchanging useful knowledge within the wider scientific community” (2009, 199).

The Musical Collection of Salesian Missionary Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva

The recordings made by Koch-Grünberg played a central role in the subsequent audio work developed by Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva in the 1950s and Irving Goldman during the 1970-80s. Both mention Koch-Grünberg’s work in their scholarship and together they expanded the number of recordings about Hehénewa groups considerably.

Alves da Silva was a Salesian missionary priest who published ethnographic works about the Indigenous communities of the Vaupés region (1955; 1977). He conducted six years of fieldwork, visiting villages settled by Catholic missions in the

seventeenth century around Içana, Cauaburi and the Vaupés River (Cabrera Becerra 2009). While working in the region, the Salesian mission of Rio Negro was fostering ways to “civilize” Tukanoan and Arawakan Indigenous populations by assimilating them the everyday life of the mission center (Chernela 1998, 326). According to Catholic priest Manuel Elorza, these new forms of assimilation were intended to exert a less destructive force on these populations than that of the Dutch Montfortian missionaries who were less tolerant towards Indigenous ways of life. Despite this view of other missionary groups, the replacement of missions as a common dynamic among the religious institutions governed the labor force of large companies in the region. In 1942, during the Second Rubber Boom, just a few years before Alves da Silva worked in the region, the Catholic Prefecture of Vaupés controlled the Indigenous population on the request of The Rubber Development Corporation (Hawkins 1972).

Additional international attention in Vaupés was mobilized by Alves da Silva’s recording expeditions. Alves da Silva’s three main features of his project include: 1) the survey format, 2) the solid coverage of territories with dense concentration of Indigenous People of different origin, and 3) the clear delimitation of what to record. His recordings include twelve long-playing records produced in New York in 1961, which were edited by the Centro de Pesquisas de Iabaratê in Brazil. In addition, Alves da Silva published a book introducing his collection and contextualizing the content of each of his twelve records to Portuguese and English audiences. The only sound recordist working in the region who dedicated a separate work to comment on his recordings, Alves da Silva wanted his work to be understood both as empirical data about Indigenous phonetics and as unique documents about “Indigenous musical sense” (1961, 3). “This study,” he

explains, “not only wanted to select the most beautiful musical motifs and the most perfect performances. It was intentionally oriented to register imperfections (such as extemporal breathing, tuneless, etc) in order to achieve a more faithful portrait of the *vaupesano Indio* of this century and his culture” (1961, 3; emphasis added).

His recordings portrayed an assemblage that he could recognize, organize, and describe—even if he could not fully understand it. For example, he celebrated the fact that his collection provided “precious elements” systematically hidden from “civilized” people, consisting of religious dances and healing songs performed by male ensembles and shamans. “*Bacchic*” songs (Alves da Silva 1961, 3) performed by women were less important as they occurred in-between dance intervals, while distributing drinks they had made. “Due to the relevance of these ritual chants and *payé* shaman songs,” writes Alves da Silva in his introduction to the collection, “they were reproduced entirely, while *only few strophes of married and unmarried women’s songs* appear in the record” (1961, 3; emphasis added). This curatorial decision over the “faithful portrait” of the *vaupesano Indio* amplified the opposition to the “drunk Indio” supported by Catholic missions (Hawkins 1972, 42), and downplayed the value of a music genre in which “the life of each [women] singer is often featured” (Alves da Silva 1961, 3). This negative attitude towards women’s sonicity is reversed when female voices are prioritized over men’s, as they provide “greater clarity of pronunciation” in Indigenous languages (Alves da Silva 1961, 5). As a result, Alves da Silva’s mic-positionality framed the expressive body of new Christians, focusing on distinct tongues and instruments within an acoustic domain in which tactics of conversion, administration of subjects, and production of knowledge about the difference between sounds and words were not separate domains.

The records of Alves da Silva's ethnographic collection were organized in two major sections: one dedicated to music, the other to ethnolinguistics. The first four records included: 1) instrumental music; 2) songs of the men; 3) songs of women, social crying for the dead, and songs of the Taryana shaman; 4) songs of the girls, the cigar-rite, and songs by Tukano, Kotiria and Arawakean shamans. An additional seven long-playing records were dedicated to linguistic features, including word lists, phonemes, myths, and Catholic catechism in Indigenous languages. The word lists include Morris Swadesh's two-hundred basic vocabulary items and Alves da Silva's own list read by male and female Indigenous adults from different communities.⁹ The contents of the records of linguistic interest were organized as follows:

Record	Content
5	Phonemes of the Tukano language and the variation of vowels.
6	Two word lists pronounced with nasal r, â, ö, and four legends in Tukano.
7	Two word lists, myths and catechism in Nheengatú language, and word list in Amõkapitõri language.
8	Morris Swadesh's word list in Tukano, Desana, Tuyuka, Bará, Kotiria, Pamie and Kumãdene languages.
9	Alves da Silva's word list in Pirá-Tapuya, Tukano, Tuyuka, Bará, Desana, Kotiria and Pamie languages.
10	Alves da Silva's word list in Desana, Tukano, Tuyuka, Ide, Yebá and Makú languages.

⁹ Alves da Silva uses Swadesh's vocabulary during his field recording trips conducted between 1954 and 1957, only two years after Swadesh published his first articles on historical linguistics. During these years, Swadesh was living and teaching in Mexico, after being "blacklisted" during the McCarthy Era.

11	Alves da Silva's word list in Kumãdene, Siwsĩ, Nheengatú, Tapuya-Yuruparí and Tapuya-Yavaraté languages.
12	Alves da Silva's word list in Nheengatú, Sukuružú, Žiboya, Werekena, and Taryano languages.

Table 1. Additional records of Alves da Silva's ethnographic collection.

Two singular elements challenged the restricted binary intended by the collection: Alves da Silva's own commentary about poetry, and the recording of the "cigar-rite." On the one hand, Alves da Silva included the name of each instrumental piece he recorded listing a varied range of animal species. In this respect, he commented that they were "poetic names" that Tukanoans and Arawakeans gave to their repertoires (1961, 9). On the other hand, the recitative character of the "cigar-rite" intrigued him. Even though this rite was described as an occasion in which the most important men of the community "remember the principal episodes of the origin of the tribe and their heroic deeds in a dialogue sung as a duet," Alves da Silva heard it closer to the musical component of the collection, thus including it in record number four, between songs of the girls, and songs of Tukano, Kotiria, and Arawakean shamans (1961, 19).

In contrast to the episodic character of Koch-Grünberg's work in Vaupés, Alves da Silva's continuous presence in the region benefited greatly from the mission's infrastructure. Other non-Catholic missions in the Vaupés region published works about Indigenous Peoples' linguistics and expressivity in Portuguese, English, and Spanish languages during the same period (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1956; 1967). Although missions—and missionaries, such as Priest Manuel Elorza—continued to produce audio recordings in the two decades following Alves da Silva's ethnographic collection, they were less interested in recording and producing audio work in Vaupés for

international audiences. Elorza recorded a variety of events for his personal archive. Although his work was less attached to the institutional funding that characterized Alves da Silva's collection, it was deeply tied, in a more subtle and nuanced way, to the institution to which he belonged.

English Travelers in Vaupés

Prior to the mid-1980s, there were two internationally-driven recording initiatives in which foreign scholars were forced to abandon their worksites due to the violent confrontation between guerrilla and paramilitary armies that made ethnographic research in the Vaupés region unfeasible (Miñana 2009, 10). These initiatives were: 1) the Anglo-Colombian Recording Expedition, commercially co-produced by the British Institute of Recorded Sound, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum between 1961 and 1962, and 2) the sound recordings made by American anthropologist Irving Goldman between 1976 and 1980, with support from the Center for Ethnomusicology at Columbia University.

English anthropologist Donald Tayler and English filmmaker Brian Moser produced a variety of audio and video recordings featuring Vaupés. These works included a film entitled *The War of the Gods* and an album of three records made at four different sites in Colombia, both released in 1971, along with an earlier set of color photographs published as *The Cocaine Eaters*, a book about the expedition published by Longmans in London in 1965. Both Tayler and Moser were credentialed by the Royal Institute of Ethnography and the British Museum, although they were completely self-funded and driven by a passionate attitude characterized by “the fascination of visiting primitive people, living with them and above all recording their music” (Moser and

Tayler 1965, 1).

The release date of Alves da Silva's album in 1961 coincided with the beginning of Moser and Tayler's expedition in Colombia. For these two projects, Amerindians were musical subjects conceived in completely different terms. For Alves da Silva's ethnographic collection the Amerindian was a new Christian in an ongoing civilizing process that sought to redeem the Indigenous subject from the inhumane obligation to work in a rubber camp as an uneducated and condemned slave. Moser and Tayler did not confess an interest in providing Amerindians another way of life. Rather, the Amerindian was for them a member of a primitive tribe whose traditions and botanical knowledge were either untouched or endangered, and the entire world should know it.

In contrast to the expedition conducted by Koch-Grünberg at the beginning of the twentieth century, no single institution commissioned Moser and Tayler's travels to Vaupés to record music. This does not mean they did not have resources for conducting such a large project. Quite the contrary, the description they provide of the expedition lays out a dense network of multiple supporters and collaborations with individuals and institutions. They characterize the expedition as entirely based in their own goals and schedule, and its trajectories as having been opened and defined along the way. In his proposal to the British Museum penned a few months before departure, Tayler writes:

The late Dr. Marian Smith, then Secretary of the Royal Anthropological Institute, was delighted with our ideas which she compared to the spirit of nineteenth-century adventurers [William Buller Fagg]. The Keeper of the Department of Ethnography in the British Museum was intrigued. There was no collection from Colombia, would we please make one and "be sure to bring back as many canoes as you can, even an Amazonian house if it's possible. I shall try and get you a grant when the Trustees meet next year." Still, there was little hope of material support. We received everyone's blessing but nothing more. (Moser and Tayler 1965, 5)

The only detail about how they acquired material support for the expedition was presented with excitement:

So, we were very lucky that the only other reply to our advertisement in *The Times* came from the musician and recordist John Levy who had recorded music in many parts of the world ... he told Donald “but if you really want to use a Nagra, I’ll ring Stefan Kudelski in Lausanne. He is an old friend of mine, actually a research physicist, who invented the Nagra as a sideline. You will never get one in this country, there’s a waiting list of at least two years.” Once more a long-distance telephone call worked a miracle (Moser and Tayler 1965, 5).

Levy (1956), a wealthy British mystic who introduced Vedanta philosophy to Anglophone audiences and whose field recordings constitute a dedicated archive at the University of Edinburgh, sent “the last Nagra with all its accessory microphones and extensions” to Bogotá’s airport a week after Tayler’s request (Moser and Tayler 1965, 5).

Recently, Andrea Zarza, curator of the World and Traditional Music Archive of the British Library, wrote about this expedition and made an annotated selection of the records for NTS, an online radio and media platform based in the East London Borough of Hackney. Zarza’s description of the expedition presents an alternate genealogy of the project. On the one hand, her account emphasizes the supportive and directive role of various institutions, such as the Royal Geographical Society, the Isaac Wolfson Foundation, the Frederic Soddy Trust, and the British Institute of Recorded Sound. On the other hand, it presents Moser and Tayler more as collectors of ethnographic materials than sound recordists. Additionally, according to Zarza (2018), “it was because of the British Institute of Recorded Sound that the expedition took a *sonic* focus, Patrick Saul who was the director,” she argues “facilitated a Nagra Kudelski (reel-to-reel tape recorder) and his friend, John Levy, gave Donald training.”

Despite how the sound recorder was obtained, Moser and Tayler produced a

massive amount of audio that rendered sonically expressive performances recorded across Colombia—in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Gulf of Darien, the Sierra de Perijá, the Guajira Peninsula, the delta of the San Juan River in Chocó, and the Pirá-Paraná River in Vaupés. According to Moser and Tayler, the decision to visit Vaupés came from advice they received in Colombia from American biologist Richard Evans Shultez. Shultez had been studying “endemic rubber species” and “stimulant plants” since the beginning of World War II (Moser and Tayler 1965, 3; Hawkins 1972, 50). However, it was Elorza who assisted them in reaching the region where Tukanoans were living. Elorza advised them to contact his Spanish-speaking guide, José, to travel to the Pirá-Paraná; he informed them that two foreigners—“Persian anthropologists”—were already at the site that they wanted to visit (Moser and Tayler 1965, 37). Nonetheless, in their writings, they present Elorza as a “young and zealous” missionary (1965, 37).

Listening to birds’ poetry or recording Tukanoan music

The three records produced by the British duo featured male performance of panpipe ensembles, short and long flutes duets, turtle shells, deer head flutes, bone flutes, snail-shell whistles, and double-headed drums. Some tracks are comprised of assemblages of separate cuts in which some performances were arranged in sequence, one after the other. In other cases, single tracks present single events. Their collection includes a recording of a male voice singing simultaneously with a panpipe ensemble making distinguishable the variations of the melodic contour of the piece until the ensemble suddenly finishes.¹⁰ In their commentary about Tukanoan performance, they described panpipe ensembles as an activity in which, “Two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and

¹⁰ See track four of the record No.3 of the Anglo-Colombian Expedition (Moser and Tayler 1961).

descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies.” They continue: “Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in *imitation of birds* (Moser and Tayler 1965, 76; emphasis added).

This observation about instrumental performance, in which tunes and variations imitate birds, echoes Alves da Silva’s comments on long-flutes. According to Alves da Silva, Amerindians have composed “various melodies inspired by nature, and frequently with poetic names” (1961, 9). Both explanations refer to an important distinction that situates the role of non-humans in connection to Tukanoan performance in the analytics of the recordists. While closely related, these interpretations point to very different modes of association. Whereas Moser and Tayler emphasize the mimetic relation that Tukanoan musicking may have held with birds, Alves da Silva, hypothesizes that Tukanoan musicking is prompted toward poetics by nature. In this sense, the considerable interest that Moser and Tayler placed in recording melodic variations and the simultaneity of instrumental, vocal, and dance performance was understandable.

The record featuring the Tukanoan groups of Vaupés includes dances accompanied by rattles, scepters, and stomping tubes in settings where singing, shouting, and recitation happen simultaneously. Among the ten audio tracks, additionally, one features a percussive layer of wooden mortars in the middle of the forest. The sound of Tukanoans’s environment and the process of powdering calcined coca leaves were new sonic elements that Moser and Tayler considered valuable information to be included on the record. That these sorts of sounds are absent from Alves da Silva’s ethnographic survey, suggests that—for Alves da Silva’s ears—the well-known sounds of manual labor

of powdering calcined leaves was a Tukanoan activity of less interest for his own project.

Witnessing Paradoxical Transformations

Despite the scope of these ethnographic surveys, Alves da Silva and Moser and Tayler's recording expeditions shared a tendency to give prominence to male performance recordings. In this sense, the sonic space of these collections was edited following the aforementioned two-sided portrait of the Indian, one characterized by his "religious dances" (Alves da Silva 1961, 3), the other focused on the "amazing effect [of] two men [playing] two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time" (Moser and Tayler 1965, 77). Their fascination with recording what they regarded as authentic Indigenous music and the domestic use of stimulants makes it hard to discern at what point Moser and Tayler masked the Tukanoan way of life of the post-rubber period. Scholars describe this everyday reality as deeply enmeshed in the violent waves of continental extractive economies and experiments of missionary action, as well as Tukanoan territorial conundrums and matrimonial exchange with other Amerindians groups in the region (Århem 2001, Goldman 2004, Chernela 1998, Correa 1996).

These British explorers undoubtedly encountered the difficult task of looking at the two-sided portrait of the vaupésan Indio presented during a process of social transfiguration that was the result not only of Indigenous rituals. This many-faceted portrait of ritual complexity, labor exploitation, scientific discovery, and religious assimilation confronted the voyeurs during their arrival to the main mission of the Apostolic Prefecture of Mitú:

That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres [Catholic priests], their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peacefully and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the

Indians of the Vaupés. It seems a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see (Moser and Tayler 1965, 37).

Penetrating a fissure of modernity Moser and Tayler were confronted by the perspective of missionary historicism capable of “neutralizing any substantive discussion ... on the condition of the groups represented in it” (Del Cairo and Jaramillo 2013, 78). This perspective, or rather, this way of seeing and being seen, operates according to a strategy that Jefferson Jaramillo Marín and Carlos del Cairo call “museification,” in which certain objects and social realities become “functional for a specific collective memory regime” (2013, 78). The Apostolic Prefecture instrumentalized this regime of memory in its museum, establishing a positionality from which missionary priests produced pieces to be seen and heard as the traditional *ought to be*—or even the past—of the “Vaupésan Indian.” The visual and sound productions of Moser and Tayler, as I have explained, similarly found their value in the memory regime created from their chronicles, in which the traits of Indigeneity were not the portrait of the past, but the traces of their survival.

Despite naming this paradox, the sharp photographs they took stand alone as the most authenticated gaze over the Barasano people they encountered living at the Pirá-Paraná River accompanied by Elorza. In other words, the images they produced were presented as documents that show how Barasano were “in reality” —a reality authenticated by their own travel memoirs in which they refer to the Barasano as “forest addicts” (Moser and Tayler 1965, 58). This entanglement, created by their own perspective, was presented to an international audience during a period in which cocaine turned out to be the basis of the new colony in Vaupés. The title of their book *Cocaine Eaters* audaciously misdirects readers to imagine primitive people of the South American

forest as having such a decadent diet, thus, enmeshing Amerindians even more thoroughly within the kaleidoscopic, charmed, and exoticizing gaze of the audience intended by these explorers.

Paradoxical Portraits, Façades and Masks

It can be said that there was no audio rendition of the ceremonial death masks “once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés” during the time Moser and Tayler visited the Catholic mission in Mitú.¹¹ No mention of these masks and no trace of the repertoire associated with them was included in either Alves da Silva’s or Moser and Tayler’s ethnographic collections. Something similar happened with *yuruparí* instruments, which are marked only in their sonic absence from the archive about Tukanoans. Indeed, Alves da Silva’s general survey about “indigenous musical sense” stands out in its conscious exclusion of these masks. Indigenous mourning ceremonies and other initiation rituals that require the presence of these instruments were targeted and suppressed by Catholic missionaries in the late 1940s, prior to the establishment of the Apostolic Vicariate of Mitú in 1949. The forms of cultural annihilation perpetrated by the missionaries included not only the confinement of these masks within the mission for sale and exhibition (Goldman 2004, 5), but also the removal of local species of *mihí* plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi*, or *yagé*) from family gardens, the breaking of pottery containers for keeping *mihí*, and the

¹¹ This affirmation comes from the archival materials I was able to access. There were recordings I could not analyze during my 2016 fieldwork. These recordings are stored at the library of the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History (ICANH). Thomas Langdon, Ligia de Perrufo, Álvaro Soto, and Miguel de la Quadra Salcedo made these recordings in Vaupés. After their fieldwork they deposited them at the center of audio and video recording of ICANH, which was directed by Carlos Garibello prior to 1980s. Additionally, anthropologist Stephen Hugh-Jones notified me, in 2018, that his extensive collection of audio recordings was in process of digitization at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America. Forthcoming research based on these records could provide a more nuanced account of when the first ceremonial death mask performance was sonically rendered.

requirement to bury feather boxes and other ritual elements underground, or to throw them into the river.

Theodore Koch-Grünberg saw, photographed, and wrote about these masks four decades prior to these ethnographic expeditions, yet there are no audio recordings featuring the mask performances. The masks collected by Koch-Grünberg at the beginning of the twentieth century in Vaupés were housed in the Emilio Goeldi Museum, in Belem, Brazil. One mask of this collection was requested by the American Indian Museum of New York City decades ago, and it can be seen on permanent display at the Circle of Dance's gallery, staring back at the visitor.¹²

Masking Masked Sounds

The sonic dimension of these masks, however, captured the interest of American anthropologist Irving Goldman. After repeated visits to Vaupés starting in the 1950s, Goldman decided to sound record the death masks in a mourning ceremony called *oyno*. Goldman studied Cubeo Hehénewa and Neambowa groups of lower Vaupés, located far north from the regions where Alves da Silva and Moser and Tayler conducted their expeditions (Goldman 1948, 1963). His interest piqued by his earlier scholarship on Arawakan-Tukanoan mourning rites and Indigenous religions of the Northwestern Amazon, Goldman attended *oyno* ceremonies in the mid-1940s and mid-1970s, in which *ta kahe*, or “tree-bark masks” were used by Cubeo Hehénewa and Bahukiwa groups located at the Cuduyarí River (Goldman 2002, 292). The ritual action of the Cubeo-Hehénewa moiety around death was one of the prominent anthropological concerns of

¹² <https://americanindian.si.edu/exhibitions/circleofdance/cubeo.html> accessed, October 20 2014.

Goldman's research.¹³ From his mic-positionality, this ritual was an “operatic performance” that—perhaps like European operatic traditions that combine music, words, narrative, and visual representation—sums up Cubeo creative and re-creative thinking: the *oyno* ceremony stands as a linkage of ritual actions in which the fluid notion of the Cubeo person, the multitude of Pamiva ancestors (*Kwaiwa*), the mythical geography of Vaupés, the additional skin provided by each pair of masks, and the mandatory drunkenness with *mihí* all come together.

Goldman's intense focus on Cubeo's religious thought made him less concerned with other Pamiva musical performances, such as *~kiraiñia* long flutes and *pedu* panpipe ensembles, often related to regular drinking parties with manioc beer, instead of *mihí*. The consumption of manioc beer promotes the expression of commensality, dispersion, and the proclivity of releasing moral evaluation of others (“*chalequiar*,” in Venezuelan Spanish) around the Cuduyarí River. One might be tempted to say that, while they drink manioc beer, Cubeo's thinking and expressive praxes are not completely tuned into “the ancestral lines of descent from the onset of their development” (Goldman 2004, 11). Nonetheless, it is unfair to say that Cubeo breaks with the lifeworld of their Tukanoan relatives and neighbors when they get drunk with *mihí*. Rather, by drinking, Cubeo renew a series of linkages that bring them back and forth between spatio-temporal axes and thus mobilize processes of becoming. The relation between drunkenness and musical ritual performance was of interest for Goldman, and his elaboration on Cubeo visionary ecstasies played an influential role in his mic-positionality, and thus in the audio

¹³ A moiety is a descent group that coexists only with another descent group within a society. According to Goldman, “the Cubeo system should be understood as historically stratified. It began, according to tradition, as a moiety organization of reciprocal ‘wife givers’ and ‘wifetakers,’ whose constituent sibs intermarried in caste-like pairings with those of similar rank” (2002, 55).

recordings he produced.

To summarize, following Goldman's study of Cubeo mythology and ritual performance, that Cubeo organology includes instruments that project *mihí*, ancestral, or prototypical voices that are specific, and instruments that project *umé*, or "soul substance," that can be of "prototypic parents and grandparents who are not named ancestors" (Goldman 2004, 291). The instruments that project *mihí* include *oyno* masks and *yuruparí* instruments; and instruments that project *umé* include *~kiraiñia* long flutes, *pedu* panpipes, *~tanaiyo* flutes, as well as other instruments such as snail whistles and deer head flutes. The instruments Cubeo use to project air, wind, or *umewü*, are instruments for hunting such as blowguns and for blowing and inhaling tobacco, or other substances that kill diseases. "The wind," Cubeo say, "belongs to the dead" (Goldman 2004, 184). Goldman conceived Cubeo ritual performances following the qualitative difference between *mihí* and *umé* forces throughout the rituals and ceremonies he attended and described. He was interested in theorizing Cubeo's religious ecstasies and the speculative thinking about cosmic and social existence linked by these two forces, and how they sustain the passion that Cubeo were "trying to accomplish through ritual dancing and song" (Goldman 2004, 11). For this reason, recording performances featuring the projection of *mihí* were among Goldman's top priorities and *Kuimaiyie* repertoires sung with *oyno* mask instruments were inscribed extensively in the series of tapes he produced.

Due to the fact that Goldman was working remotely with people in Vaupés, dialogues with collaborators filtered his interest in featuring Cubeo's transformational forces on tape, film, and paper. Goldman's tapes, fieldwork notes, dialogues, and

correspondence projected a transformational force he saw as a groundbreaking possibility in studying the Cubeo. Goldman pioneered a prolific speculative inquiry on the premise of establishing a fruitful collaboration between anthropology, ethnomusicology, and Cubeo thinking. His mic-positionality is characterized by a type of inquiry that navigates intersecting challenges posed by multiple collaborations, the material conditions of the archive he established, and the epistemological horizon of his fieldwork.

In order to learn more about the intersection of forces taking place in the *oyno* ceremony,¹⁴ after he left Mitú in the late 1970s, Goldman established an unprecedented collaboration with Severiano Silva, Pedro Rodriguez, and Monsignor Belarmino Correa, Chief Priest of the Apostolic Prefecture of Mitú. Silva and Rodriguez were Indigenous catechists and talented students of the Mitú mission, as well as members of two Pamiva moieties of separate descent: Silva was a Bahukiwa from Camutí village, Rodriguez a Hehenewa from Piracemo village. Goldman budgeted the approximated cost of this collaboration as follows: “Salaries \$199.99; American Express Check fee ¢75; Postage (Correa) ¢50; Stationary ¢78 + ¢8; Envelopes ¢68.”¹⁵ Later, on January 27, 1978, Goldman wrote a formal letter to Monsignor Correa asking for his consent and setting the terms and budget for conducting this remote project, with the goal of establishing “an active collaboration of the Cubeo themselves in the fulfillment of the book.”¹⁶ This active collaboration consisted in accomplishing six tasks: to interview older members of their

¹⁴ Goldman understood this ceremony as an instructional and cosmological device of the Hehénewa, needed to navigate the layered metaphysical orders of their existence (2002, 295). A separate study would be necessary to analyze Goldman’s theorization of the *oyno* and current iterations of the ceremony in the communities he visited during 1968 and 1975.

¹⁵ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

¹⁶ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 8, Serie 2, Field Research, Correspondence, Field Questionnaires 1978, 80.

communities; to translate their responses into Spanish; to compose texts following a previous rationale; to express their opinions in written form when any clarification was needed; to audio record *oyno* ceremonies and other expressive performances in their communities; and finally, to return the complete material to Goldman in an envelope with a letter presenting any personal reflection about the ethnographic project. The agreement included that Monsignor Correa would pay the salary to each research assistant and send the envelopes back to New York City.

It is important to point out here that during this decade, Amerindians in Vaupés were not Colombian citizens. As result, to do any labor, Amerindians had to be recruited by another person in advance. The recruiters were often rubber traders previously authorized by the local Chief Priest to take Amerindians to work. American geologist Harlan Hawkins mentioned that the pay for these “workers” in Vaupés was “rarely in money,” consisting most often “of cloth, clothing, shotguns, transistor radios, sewing machines, or any other item that the Indian might desire. These items are evaluated by the employer” (1972, 76).

In June 23, 1978, Monsignor Correa wrote a letter back to Goldman in which he confirmed his willingness to collaborate and to help the talented students accomplish the assigned tasks. Additionally, he told Goldman that Silva and Rodriguez “found your plans very important, and the fact that you invited them to be part of the research team made them accomplish their goal of studying their own culture by themselves.”¹⁷ The agreement was completed in September 14, 1978 when Goldman enthusiastically sent sheets of lined paper, envelopes, general instructions about how to conduct and write

¹⁷ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 8, Serie 2, Field Research, Correspondence, Field Questionnaires 1978, 80.

down the answers, the survey No.1 with twenty-two questions, and a check for \$199.99 to pay the “indigenous ethnologists in progress”¹⁸ and to airmail the survey back to New York City.¹⁹

The collaboration between Goldman, Silva, Rodriguez, and Correa lasted from February 8, 1979 (when Silva and Rodriguez sent back the first completed surveys) until October 6, 1981 (when Silva mailed the completed survey No. 5).²⁰ After four years of collaboration under this complex and fragile structure, Goldman received a total of nine completed surveys: five from Silva, two from Rodriguez, and two from another catechist student from Piracemo, Luis Carlos Rodriguez. The last personal letter sent by Silva was filled with a kind of mutual eulogy of intellectual collaboration, charming greetings, and discomfort. Silva highlighted that due the constant reduction of his payments and Goldman’s decision to stop paying for the Elders’ participation in the study, he did not have any choice but to fill out the survey assisted by his father. Silva, who was pursuing secondary education at the time, wrote, “others did not want to help us in this job because they were told that Dr. Goldman was stealing our traditions for [his own] sake. [They said that] our traditions and cultures were very expensive, and for that reason they did not want to collaborate.”²¹

¹⁸ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 8, Serie 2, Field Research, Correspondence, Field Questionnaires 1978, 80. Currently, this amount would be approximately \$800, which means Silva and Rodriguez’s first paid job was far beyond the minimum wage.

¹⁹ Goldman’s enthusiasm with this correspondence was supported by his connections with other North American citizens commuting regularly between Mitú and United States. Aware of the delayed mail service, Goldman wrote a letter to Miss Cobb in March 12, 1980, asking her to return with the surveys from Correa. In the letter, Goldman mentions that her previous assistance was instrumental for establishing his field research and a favorable relation with Correa and his Cubeo Indigenous teacher trainees.

²⁰ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 8, Serie 2, Field Research, Correspondence, Questionnaire No. 1 (Number 1).

²¹ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 8, Serie 2, Field Research, Correspondence, Questionnaire # 5, original.

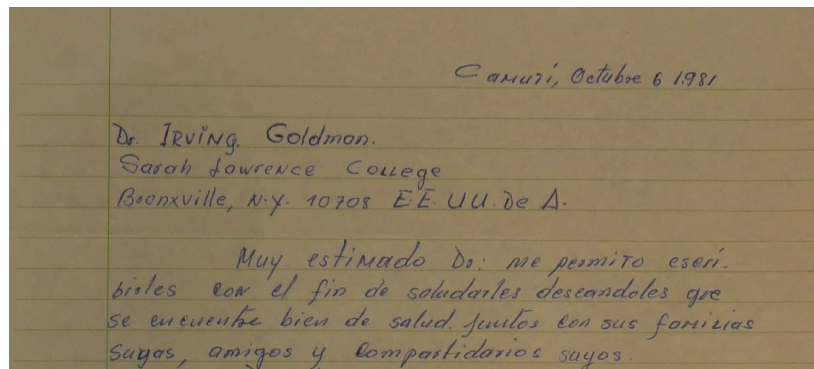


Image 2. Header of the last letter sent by Severiano Silva to Irving Goldman. Photo by the author. National Archives of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

The correspondence between Goldman, Silva, Rodriguez, and Correa shows that Goldman increased the amount for his research team each time he was sending surveys and stationary supplies to Mitú. The complaints Goldman received from his research assistants present a sharp contrast to the dry, almost telegraphic, letters signed by Correa. During my own fieldwork, I interviewed Silva and Rodriguez. Both said that Goldman failed to fulfill his promise to pay them for their work. Neither were aware of the correspondence between Goldman and Monsignor Correa; they knew nothing of the checks in US dollars coming from New York City, which Correa received but did not distribute. Even so, they and their families, especially their sons, Willington, Yamid, Luis Eduardo and Misael, were deeply touched by seeing the surveys again. After looking at the correspondence between Goldman and Correa, they did not know what to say and remained tensely voiceless.

Masking Ethnomusicological Collaborations

Severiano Silva was not the only collaborator who influenced the standpoint from which Goldman was rethinking how to listen to and write about Tukanoan expressive performances. In 1979, Goldman corresponded with American ethnomusicologist Marina

Roseman while she was pursuing her M.A. in Ethnomusicology at Columbia University, and she transcribed some of Goldman's early recordings from Vaupés.²² Goldman, who had a contract with Illinois University Press to publish his extensive research about the Cubeo, commissioned Roseman to prepare a chapter on music for this then forthcoming book, *Cubeo Hehénewa Religious Thought: Metaphysics of a Northwestern Amazonian People*.²³

Roseman proposed an ethnomusicological path that complements Goldman's interpretations. Her contribution follows the path laid out in her unpublished "Prospectus of a Chapter On Cubeo Music," which analyzes the *kuimaiyie* repertoire audio recorded by Goldman and Severiano Silva in Mitú, Camutí and Piracemo. Roseman outlines a specific method of listening to this rendered reality of the Cubeo; she describes the strategic location from which she listens to Goldman's recordings of the *oyno* ceremony:

The primary goal is to penetrate the musico-logic in these Cubeo examples, with the hope that uncovering the ordering of musical phenomena will tell us something about cultural ordering and social action among the Cubeo ... and perhaps, we may be able to venture generalizations on the Cubeo's ordering of their conceptual universe.²⁴

Roseman identifies two central elements ordering this universe: the consistency of the *oyno* repertoire as a whole in terms of its musical specificity, and the untranslatability of the language of magic used in these songs. In her prospectus, she explains how the alternations between segments occurring during the performance of *oyno* repertoires can be analyzed by abstracting the melodic contour from each part of the song using musical

²² That same year, Goldman's Sony recorder and some tapes related to his research in Vaupés were stolen from his office at Columbia University. SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

²³ Goldman's collaborations with Roseman are housed at the National Archives of Anthropology in Maryland, near Severiano Silva's surveys and other personal documents.

²⁴ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music, Roseman Correspondence.

notation, charts, drawings, and transcriptions. After establishing similarities between these segments, she presents them as a “system of cues” that helps Cubeo ritual specialists and the chorus maintain both the continuity of the performance and the specific role they have within it. This system would constitute a central element for her musical analysis. Roseman knew from her correspondence with Goldman that the Cubeo relied heavily on ancestral descent for organizing the repertoire of songs and coordinating the leading voices of the ensemble in ritual performance. These leading voices corresponded to high rank ritual specialists within the Cubeo sib system. Roseman uses this system of cues to identify similarities between segments sung in each song, as well as alternations of these segments through series of variations across the ceremony recorded in Goldman’s tapes.

This system was, for Roseman, the musical phenomena in which cultural ordering and social action became present in Cubeo ritual life:

Could this successively generated song construction be related to Cubeo concepts of time and descent, which recognize specifically hierarchical descent in which the order or emergence decided rank, the temporal process? In this generative succession, the first sib is located at the river’s mouth and is correlated with the head of the ancestral anaconda, while the other sib follows down in rank to the sib which is lowest in rank, living upriver and correlated with the tail of the anaconda (Goldman 1976).²⁵

²⁵ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music, Roseman Correspondence.

TEXT	RHYTHM	PITCH
4. ja vi nu wul ja vi nu wul ya ve ni ni		
5. u u u ... NOTE: Distinctive breathing pattern: 	a. Basic: (iii, iv, v) b. Anticipation: (i, vi) c. Delayed: (ii) 	
6. an na ka bo na ve ho me du wi kwa bo a wi da ri ku ja b) an na ka bo na wi ho me du wi ka wa bo de a wi pa ku da ja NOTE: Extensive staggering masked this section	a. b.	
7. a) maw wa na ba ka te maw wa ve b) maw wa ve be ko u ka ve	a. b.	

Image 3. Excerpt of Marina Roseman's analysis of *kuimaiye* repertoires. Photo by the author. National Archives of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

SHAPE	LEAD/CH.	SYNTAX	ACCOMP.	EXTRA ACCP.	TEXTURE	LENGTH
	4.a.i. 115 E. 4.a.ii. 110 E. 216 W 214 Y 242	3.a.iii/4.a.i./4.a.ii 2.a.iv/4.a.ii./5.a.i 4.a.i./ " / 3.a.ii. 2.a.ii./ " / 3.a.iii. 3.a.ii./ " / 5.a.iv		0 2 2 2	= 3.a.i. = 5.a.iii	4 6 6 6
	5.b.i. 211 W 5.a.ii. 223 EEE	4.a.ii/5.a.i./2.a.i. 3.a.iii/5.a.ii/2.a.i		3 0	5.b.i = 5.a.i 5.a.ii = 5.a.iii 5.a.iv = 5.b.vii	8 6
	5.a.iii. 231 E/W 238 E	10 / 5.a.iii. / 32 12.a.iv. / 12.a.iii		1 1		6 6
	5.a.iv 493 E 59 W 2511 W	4.a.ii/5.a.iv./11. 11.a.iii/ " / 2.a.i. 20/ 5.a.v. / 11.i.		1 1 1		5 4 6
	5.b.vi. 261 E	3.a.v./5.b.vi/7		1	Note: 5.b.vi: could be seen as having 2xk from view of Chorus.	3
	6.a.i. 224 E W(33) 5	5.c.ii/6.a.i./6.b.ii.		1 (S)	6.a.i = 2.a.i	9
	6.b.ii. 225 E Y 5	6.a.i./6.b.ii./7.a.i.		1 (S)	6.b.ii = 2.a.iv	9
	7.a.i. 226 E	6.b.ii/7.a.i./7.b.ii		0	7.a.i = 2.a.i	5
	7.b.ii 227 E Y	7.a.i./7.b.ii/28		0	7.b.ii = 2.a.v = 3.a.ii	4

Image 4. Excerpts of Marina Roseman's analysis of *kuimaiye* repertoires. Photo by the author. National Archives of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

Taking interest in Roseman's conceptual theorization about how ancestral descent could be noticed through the system of cues Goldman in a February 3, 1979 letter, wrote: "your

prospectus is quite far reaching and promises to produce an innovative analysis of Cubeo Music.”²⁶ For Roseman, these were ideas in-progress and she repeatedly called for more information—particularly for linguistic data that would elucidate the meaning of the songs—in order to firmly secure her own arguments.²⁷ She repeatedly states that the translation of song texts was the most difficult aspect of her study: Cubeo singers did not know the language of magic deployed in these songs. Hehénewa ritual specialists sang the “language of *oyno* spirits” without being aware of the proper translation of the text, but they were deeply immersed into the intensity of the elocutionary and performative act. Roseman stressed this intensity in her analysis by establishing a similarity between the musical treatment of some passages of the Cubeo texts of *oyno* songs and the “specific, unusual, [and] quaint” characteristics of the language of Trobriand agricultural magic.²⁸ She heard this language of magic happening in *oyno* songs when compound words were created by the conjunction of melodic configurations over the only words Hehénewa ritual specialists could recognize. Roseman gave musical notation and textual description a prominent role to further analyze these compound words, which she argues, could “determine the tonal and rhythmical manipulations that have effected transformations of vocabulary and grammar.” Although the texts were not immediately translatable, through her research, Roseman hoped

they might be able to offer conditions by means of which future researchers can untangle the “coefficient of weirdness.” Though our presentations of the musical

²⁶ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

²⁷ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music, Roseman Correspondence.

²⁸ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music, Roseman Correspondence.

conditions under which the texts are produced, we may thus be able to promote the uncovering of the coefficient of intelligibility.²⁹

However, Roseman's analysis of the internal logic of this language of *oyno* spirits and the musical conditions of the songs sung by Hehénewa ritual specialists, did not help Goldman understand the active role of the state of inebriation with *mihí*—a mandatory requirement for Cubeo to interpret the songs and conduct the ceremony. Although Goldman remained favorably disposed towards Roseman's ethnomusicological analysis, his ideas about meaning and musical formalism did not travel a shared path. If Roseman misheard Goldman's mic-positionality, it is because she was attuned to a different level of inquiry, which distanced her from the initial concern that sparked Goldman's interest with the Cubeo. Even if she were right about the "system of cues," her arguments did not address Cubeo analytics of singing and listening to songs whose meanings Cubeo singers ignore. Goldman's interest in the amplification of these analytics through song, dance and ritual compelled him to produce more recordings in communities located along the Cuduyarí River. For Roseman, the "weirdness" of the *oyno*'s musicalized language was caught in a disciplinary conundrum due to the incompleteness of a musical analysis that misses the point that only a combination of anthropology, ethnomusicology and linguistics can explain. For Goldman, rather, the "operatic" character of the *oyno* ceremony was intrinsically kept within the progression of mythical events and outlined by Cubeo ritual performances about the inevitability and the powerful continuity of death, which he wanted to record in sound.

In late April 1979, Goldman replied to Roseman,

²⁹ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music, Roseman Correspondence.

“I have just had word from Illinois Press about my book. They agree in principle to include your musical analysis of Oyne [*sic*]. I will send them a copy of the prospectus you wrote for me along with the music charts ... I will assume that your section will appear in the book. The more specific matters of form and content we will deal with later.”³⁰

Goldman sent the manuscript to the editor, Richard L. Wentworth, on May 3, 1979, accompanied by a letter expressing his willingness to have this chapter on Cubeo music to “round out the account of and the analysis of the mourning ceremony.”³¹ At that moment, Goldman—prompted by Roseman’s analysis—decided to pursue further research on the *oyno* ceremony, requesting additional institutional support. In May 15, 1979, Dieter Christensen, Director of the Center for Ethnomusicology of Columbia University, accepted and signed Goldman’s request for twelve cassettes and a tape-recorder.³² Goldman wanted to send the equipment to Mitú for his Indigenous research assistants to sound record “the traditional mourning rites [that] were revived in 1970, with ecclesiastic tolerance, among Hehénewa and Bahukiwa of the Cuduyarí” (Goldman 2004, 232). This request coincided with a period in which Goldman was developing survey No. 3, in which Goldman asked Silva sixteen questions about *yuruparí* instruments, initiation rituals, and more specific details regarding the ceremonial life within *pami kirami* longhouses. Goldman sent the survey to Mitú in October 1979, and Silva completed the manuscript on May 25, 1980.

The last documented correspondence between Goldman and Roseman is a two-page letter written in November 15, 1980, after Goldman was fired from his position at

³⁰ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

³¹ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

³² SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

Columbia University and appointed at Sarah Lawrence College.³³ During this period, Roseman was working with the tapes he deposited at the Center of Ethnomusicology in the early 1980s. Although Goldman was no longer working at Columbia University, the Center for Ethnomusicology kept all recordings related to his research in a collection titled “Goldman Cubeo, Northwest Amazon 1968-70.” In the letter, Goldman, overwhelmed by the new thoughts resulting from his exchange with Roseman, goes through eight different observations about the plural character of the voice, the relation between performance, affect, and myth, and the untranslatability of *upaiwi* repertoires. He ends the letter saying,

I must thank you for calling my attention to this material, which I had been neglecting for the sake of other field matters. As matters stand now I am going to have to tell Illinois Press that I will be unable to meet their end of the year deadline. But you will get your material in before you go off to the field and lose touch with Cubeo.³⁴

In 1988, Illinois University Press declined the Goldman manuscript that included Roseman’s ethnomusicological analysis of the audio recordings about the *oyno* made by Silva and Rodriguez under Goldman’s remote guidance. In 2004, Columbia University Press posthumously published the manuscript, which was edited by Peter J. Wilson, without Roseman’s chapter on “Cubeo Music,” effectively masking the sonic presence of the *oyno* ceremony. Roseman’s name received no acknowledgment in the book.

Although Goldman’s scholarly work revealed fundamental insights about what today I call “Pamiva audile worlds,” it also masked the first ethnomusicological contribution to the anthropology of the Hehénewa, as it covered with prose the audio

³³ In 1947, Goldman was blacklisted during the McCarthy era and accused of communist, which costed him the tenure at Columbia University. He was “harassed and constantly tracked” until his retirement in 1980s (Price 2004, 20).

³⁴ SI, National Archives of Anthropology, Goldman Papers, Box 2, Series 1. Cubeo Music Correspondence 1975-1978, 80.

recordings and the music analysis he commissioned: namely, a contribution characterized by a hybrid mic-positionality of multiple ears bouncing between Indigenous analytics, anthropological concerns, experimental methods of transcription, and risky forms of collaboration. Finally, in 2017 with support from the Arcadia Fund, the National Archives of Anthropology digitized Goldman's recordings and other tapes related to his academic career, which are now available online at the Smithsonian Institution website.³⁵ However, the method used to catalogue these digitized materials makes it difficult to distinguish between the recordings made by Goldman himself and the personal copies produced by the Center for Ethnomusicology of Columbia University.

Recordings Made with "Motherly Love"

The extreme violence caused by the replacement of the rubber economy with the cocaine trade during the 1980s and 1990s forced most foreign scholars to abandon research sites in Vaupés. Nonetheless, Catholic priests and other missionaries remained in the region, as was the case of Elorza, who commuted between different Tukanoan villages and the city of Mitú for more than seven decades.³⁶ Founded in 1936, Mitú was initially governed by Catholic missionaries and a small army in charge of granting the "permanence of Indigenous labor" for rubber production and fur trade in Southeastern Colombia (Correa 1996, 31).

Elorza—who belonged to the religious order *Misioneros Javerianos de Yaruma*, founded in Colombia in 1927—began work as a missionary priest in Vaupés in 1949.

During his travels, he heard about Tukanoans worshipping the so-called "cruel

³⁵ Goldman's audio recordings can be accessed at:

[http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=set_name:"Irving+Goldman+Sound+Recordings+1968-1986"](http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=set_name:)

³⁶ I interviewed Elorza in 2014, four years before he passed away. I inherited a copy of his audio recordings and obtained his authorization to use them for this dissertation.

yurupari”—dancing and emitting loud sounds produced by semi-nude men drunk with *mihí*, spilling tobacco and coca-leaf powder out of their darkened mouths.³⁷ Yet, in contrast to other Catholic and Protestant missionary priests in the region, Elorza was not afraid of such practices, nor was he interested in definitively erasing them.

The *Misioneros Javerianos de Yaruma* applied a technique of conversion developed by Colombian-born missionaries across territories densely populated by Indigenous communities during the early twentieth century. Historian Laura Montoya has analyzed this conversion strategy through the lens of what she calls a “politics of Motherly Love” (2015, 120). According to Montoya, these politics were designed to gradually transform Indigenous Peoples’ ways of life into cultural practices and beliefs. This transformation included training nuns and priests to learn about these beliefs so that they could cultivate and care for the Indigenous culture of the new members of the church, rather than erasing it (Montoya 2015, 123). This conversion strategy was first applied on a large-scale to *Catio-Carib* Indigenous groups located in Midwestern Colombia before being exported to Vaupés. The rapid expansion of Javerianos missionaries across territories occupied by Indigenous communities challenged the multilingual strategy developed by North American Protestant missions that were providing religious instruction in Indigenous Peoples’ languages in the mid-1960s (Cabrera Becerra 2015, 21).

Furthermore, Javerianos was the first Colombian mission to document and archive Indigenous Peoples’ practices and artifacts in ethnographic museums, such as the one that Moser and Tayler visited in Mitú. The religious order instrumentalized affect and

³⁷ This expression is taken from the anthem of Vaupés written by Bishop Gerardo Valencia Cano in 1950s.

the ideal of motherly love as their main strategy to foster museification of Indigenous expressive praxes. The increasing care and affect for the cultural richness of new Christians transformed the activities of Catholic missions in Colombia, which became keepers of the material culture of Indigenous origin and experts in cataloging Indigenous Peoples' languages and musical traditions.³⁸

Sonic Epistolary of a Peculiar Local

Elorza's mic-positionality relied on the politics of motherly love and his own adaptation to the way of life within the Indigenous villages in which he was a peculiar local. His recordings are another example of the form of survey exemplified by Alves da Silva, but on a different scale. His recordings built a personal archive—a palimpsest of fragments—which he inscribed, deleted, and re-recorded on cassettes. Indeed, his recordings contained mixed fragments of varied recorded events in which multiple times, locations, and languages were assembled in the sonic present of a single track. Elorza used a boom box as sound recorder and his recordings as a sonic epistolary. He played and re-played the recordings in each community he visited, but never had the opportunity to return or re-listen to the recordings in the places they were made because he only visited remote communities once a year during a seasonal round across the new communities ascribed to the Dioceses of Mitú. During his spare time, he used the boom box to listen to radio programs, missionary propaganda, and cassettes of Vallenato, Fandango, Joropo, as well as Tropical music recorded from radio stations.

³⁸ This reform played an important role producing the idea of “indigenous culture” in Vaupés, prior to the convoluted notion of culture and its varied uses among Indigenous associations in Vaupés fueled by the emergence of the 1991 multicultural Colombian Constitution (Jackson 2019, 62). For the Brazilian case see Ramos 1998, 115.

Finally, in 2012, Elorza digitized his recordings into a CD, which was stored in Medellín's Ethnographic Museum Miguel Ángel Builes, administered and curated by Javerianos missionaries. The CD contains eleven tracks with excerpts of Tukanoan women singing carols in Spanish with guitar accompaniment, songs of married and unmarried women in different Tukanoan languages, and fragments of a 1976 mass conducted in Tukano language by Salesian priest Eduardo Lagorio, as well as programs and news reports from *Radio Reloj FM* and recordings of panpipes and *upaiwi* repertoires. Additionally, these CDs preserve a series of audio letters in different Tukanoan languages, recorded by people wanting to send messages to their relatives living in communities visited by Elorza. Perhaps the most peculiar element of this sonic epistolary is the twenty-six-minute recording of a male initiation ceremony in a Barasano community featuring *yurupari* instruments. Elorza's recording of this ceremony, which is presented in a journalistic style, was the *only* sonic rendition of *yurupari* instruments available until the mid-1980s.³⁹

Open-Ear Mics

This genealogical approach has demonstrated the varied mic-positionalities of those who traveled throughout the region during the twentieth century. I have examined the different purposes of the audio recordings made by these individuals as well as their attitudes regarding the audile and sonic world of Tukanoan communities. These differences allow us to hear contrasts between the form of collaboration established by each of these recordists, and the various interests expressed in the horizons of circulation set by their individual archives. In addition, this approach has allowed me to interrogate how sound

³⁹ This recording is analyzed in chapter four.

recordings have been created at the Northwest Amazon and highlight the need to implement new modalities for inscribing in sound the expressive praxes of Tukanoan language groups that continue to populate the Vaupés River basin. As I have shown, the mic-positionality of sound recordists constitutes an open flux, in which the scope of the reality rendered in sound and the interaction between Tukanoan performers and recorders are called to transform the recent aural and sonic history of the Vaupés region.

CHAPTER 2 — MUSICAL ARCHIVES *OF* PAMIVA

*Sleep is guarded in the same box that contains night and summer,
and is of that tranquil company.*

—Goldman (2004, 161)

This chapter addresses how Hehénewa theorize the archive from which their expressive practices derive, and the ways they manage and assemble instrumental performances.

The first part outlines Pamiva analytics regarding the archive, the processes of discontinuous transfiguration in which their lifeworlds and sensible bodies meet, and the general constituents of their expressive praxes. The second part focuses on Pamiva instrumentality, the construction process of *pedu* panpipes, and the musical analysis of an instrumental ensemble. Finally, in the third part, I introduce the notion of sonic archiving devices. I discuss how these devices assist Tukanoans in storing and exchanging musical repertoires and in bonding their musicking to processes of transfiguration in which both human and other-than-human beings participate.

People of Boxes

The central mode of “domiciliation” (Small 1998) for the Pamiva People to store their musicking and sonic practices appears at first to be quite simple: a box. This box is a container of sonic objects and other regalia made out of reeds and palm leaves that my interlocutors call *mapena tonko* (wisdom trunk). The constituents of this ‘box’ and the tactics deployed today by the Pamiva to keep and exchange their musicking are at the core of this section. As mentioned in the introduction, many Amazonian anthropologists have reported that, “feather boxes” contain and hold the physical and conceptual form

of the musical knowledge of a given Indigenous group (Koch-Grünberg 1909; Goldman 1979; Hugh-Jones 1979a; Århem 1981). Among these anthropologists, it is Stephen Hugh-Jones (1993, 109) who highlighted that these boxes represent the identity and ancestral powers of each Tukanoan group, which also include a distinct linguistic and musical property. I do not disagree with this; however, I want to go further to suggest that these boxes do not carry the given identity or the musical knowledge of an Indigenous group *as such*: the archiving capability of these boxes is *generative* rather than nominal. These complex objects carry heterogeneous knowledge. The items contained in them belong to multiple owners including other-than-human owners, and sometimes, even devices brought by scientific expeditions and missionary activities in the recent history of Vaupés.

I introduce the term “domiciliation” to describe *what feather boxes do* among the Pamiva because their analytics can be productively related to Jacques Derrida’s (1995) writing on the archive in *Archive Fever*, where he discusses a series of propositions about the archive, including 1) the external character of the place where it dwells; 2) the restricted power of certain individuals to legitimate interpretations of it; 3) the commitment it makes toward truth; and 4) the techniques of repetition through which its exteriority is preserved (3-9). For Derrida, the archive transforms and supplements everything it attempts to carry, extending endlessly all sort of implications that loss, death, and desire might bring upon a confrontational appeal to memory. In this sense, whatever is kept, missing, or reproduced in the archive is embedded within the mechanisms by which it operates and assures the possibility of memorization. This brings Derrida to say that “the archive always works, and *a priori*, against itself” (1995, 11).

There is, however, one meaningful difference between these ideas and Pamiva analytics concerning archives. For the Pamiva, the archive requires someone to die in order to *unfold* everything it might carry. I use the word *fold* here, to highlight the unexpected qualities of something that emerges out of a set of tensions, opening and stabilizing new relations and experiences.⁴⁰ In this case, the death of a knowledgeable person could become a singular point which brings the community to interact with their own *mapena tonko*, or wisdom trunk. This archive reminds them that the only way of preserving something truly memorable is by extending and unpacking what Kwaiwa deities gave to them when the Pamiva People were *not-yet-human*. This is comprised throughout the *oyno* mourning ceremony celebrated when an outstanding individual from the community dies, and through other ritual performances that Kwaiwa used to do, which featured the dismembered bodies of community ancestors. It is in this sense, for the Pamiva, that the archive does not only work against itself.

The replication of the *oyno* mourning ceremony via mythical narrative and performative action stands as the possible path for the Pamiva to reach the legibility of their main archive. The *mise-en-scène* of this ritual action demands the most difficult and expensive resource they have: commensality, understood here as the act of working diligently day and night to prepare a ritual that requires mutual collaboration of the two moieties. My Pamiva interlocutors Enrique Llanos and Ernesto Gutierrez mentioned that this mourning ceremony was offered to Mavíchikuri: a deity originator of all other Kwaiwa deities and the sole deity who experienced death. The preparation for the ritual includes the elaboration of *ta kahe* masks under the tacit reminder that makers, or their

⁴⁰ For other ethnomusicological research engaging with Deleuzian ideas such as “fold” see Moisala et al. 2017.

siblings, will perish if they do not follow proper rules for their manufacture. During the ceremony, all human-like animals that existed before current Pamiva drink *mihi*, dance, and sing *kuimaiyie* songs in pairs adorned in masks instructed by other Kwaiwa deities, in praise of Mavíchikuri. In the morning, after the conclusion of the ceremony, all masks and instruments are burned to ashes. As *bikó* (smoke) travels eastward toward *Taku* Mountain, all masks and instruments are carried and returned to their box, kept by Kwaiwa deities at the center of the mountain.⁴¹ As Goldman remarks, “the presence of the entire ensemble [of masks] at *oyno* signifies the reappearance of the formative conditions of existence, the time when death had just begun and sexuality had not yet been established” (2004, 285). Consequently, the Pamiva archive—unlike Derrida’s—is linked to the very beginning of the human. That is, the Pamiva archive is proto-human in itself, as it stores and refers to instruments made for performing the first mourning ceremony by Kwaiwa deities.

According to Llanos and Gutierrez, after Kwaiwa deities abandoned the Vaupés—taking flight back to the skies—the contingencies of this family of deities gave shape to the region’s geological and orographic characteristics. The entire basin and everything it contains cypher the existence of the Kwaiwa, even though they are no longer present under their initial aspect. Later, moiety ancestors of current Pamiva appeared in the territory from the Vaupés River—travelling in an embryonic state as sardines inside the womb of an anaconda. Unlike the celestial origin of the Kwaiwa, these moiety ancestors had an Anacondan origin. It was only after these ancestors became irreversibly human, that the Pamiva began to be born through sexual reproduction, keeping both the moiety

⁴¹ Interviews conducted in August 18, 2017.

alliance and the cosmic and geological inheritance of their territory as two alternatives for strengthening the prototypical reproduction of their immediate ancestors.⁴² Finally, current Pamiva learned to perform the ceremony from shamans called *javi* (jaguar) and knowledgeable Elders of their moiety, assisted by local varieties of *mihí* and all the mechanisms and instruments stored by the Kwaiwa in the Vaupés. These *javi* shamans were the sole humans able to put on multiple *kahe* (skins), to enter and travel through multiple worlds, and to properly learn—and steal—the repertoires, dances, and designs owned by human-like animals.

Death is central to thinking the archive in Pamiva analytics. In Goldman's monograph we find some resonances with Derrida's philosophical writings on the archive, specifically in relation to what Goldman calls the "metaphysics of death" (Goldman 2004, 234):

[Pamiva] have as their primary purpose the re-creation through narrative of the primordial deaths, thereby setting down the historical and developmental bases for the rites that accompany them. As a consequence, routine deaths and their mourning rites are given cosmological significance and joined to the rhythms and developmental process of nature ... Apart from direct statements about death and mourning, the congregants will also understand that their own rites are simulated and therefore distinctive and categorically separated versions of those that were conducted originally by their ancestral prototypes. For that reason, Cubeo cannot expect to get from their own rites what the first participants got from theirs. The myths are not a guide to magical actions but are social recreations of original events. Magical expectations are *raised*, but not necessarily to be fulfilled. (Goldman 2004, 235; emphasis added)

In sum, for Goldman, this metaphysics sets in motion both the performances associated with the death of Mavíchikuri and the conditions of possibility for Pamiva moieties to own the analytics in which their lifeworlds make sense and endure. Mavíchikuri's

⁴² For a more detailed description of these two modalities of reproduction of Pamiva lifeworlds, see Goldman 2004, 30 and Llanos 2019, 59.

death brought human mortality and finitude to the Pamiva People, and finally infused joy into a social life in the affective horizon where there was place for neither loss nor decay. The feather box, then, assembles all these relations.

Present-day Boxes

At a fundamental level, the Pamiva archive constitutes a complex negotiation with memory and temporality in which loss is a constant possibility for reemergence, particularly for a society in which the archive works against themselves. People living in cities where written-based literacies ground knowledge-building often say that, “to lose an Elder is to lose a library.” This comparison reinforces the value and the impact that knowledgeable people have in a given community. What I have understood about the death of a knowledgeable person from the Pamiva is quite different. For the Pamiva, losing a knowledgeable person opens a possibility to re-embody an archive. In other words, death among this category of persons, either male or female, makes relatives wonder when an *oyno* ceremony in their name will be offered or raised. As I have mentioned, this ceremony, which renders the death of Mavíchikuri, is presented in the name of a singular individual. Their singular death reminds the Pamiva People of the twofold realities of their human finitude and the everlasting presence of their Kwaiwan deities. The Pamiva acknowledge the historical existence of these deities through the physical and metaphysical presence of the Vaupés basin, as noted before, and through the performance of instruments and repertoires associated to the transformation of the territory.

Unlike Kwaiwa deities, present-day Pamiva People keep *mapena tonko* boxes in the ceiling of the headman’s house. These “boxes,” their owners, and what they both

carry, constitute the conjunction through which these supposedly housing and utilitarian items become powerful and dangerous agents within the contemporary regional context of Vaupés. These artifacts act as tokens for hierarchic types of ritual specialization and territorial expansion. Indeed, owning one of these tokens allows certain individuals and groups to expand and reproduce asymmetrical relations over other people who know how to play the instruments, without necessarily owning them or knowing the repertoires they make audible.

While Barasano and Makuna Indigenous People from the lower Vaupés region are usually considered the specialists in elaborating these artifacts (Hugh-Jones 1979a), other Tukanoan groups from the region have obtained feather boxes as ceremonial gifts, dowries, or as expensive manufactured products paid for in cash. Even though these practices continue today, there are also groups that have locally restored and transformed their boxes out of recent confrontations with other Pamiva neighbors, as is the case of Emi-Hehénewa of Camutí. This moiety lost its previous *mapena tonko* in the early 1990s after Hehénewa headmasters of Piracemo borrowed it for a special occasion and failed to return it.



Image 5. Emi-Hehénewa and Carapana dancers of Camutí without feather-crown garments standing with *kumambi* stomping tubes. From left, Severiano Silva, Ernesto Gutierrez, Fernando Cubea Correa, Mauricio Correa, and Ignacio Correa. Picture by the author. 2017.

As Severiano Silva explained to me, “because we are brothers with Hehénewa, one cannot refuse to lend the *mapena tonko* if they make such a request. We have a hierarchical order among us, but we are brothers.”⁴³ Since then, Emi-Hehénewa dancers of Camutí have performed *upaiwi* repertoires “*cabecipelados*,” without feather-crown garments (Image 4). When speaking about this event, some community members mentioned that this misfortune occurred when the last *pami kirami* longhouse was very deteriorated, finally collapsing when Ramón Gutierrez was headmaster and captain of Camutí.⁴⁴



Image 6. Mapena tonko box on top of Ernesto Gutierrez’s house, Emi-Hehénewa leader and storyteller of Camutí. Picture by the author. 2017.

Instruments and other regalia that come in these containers constitute the engine to set in motion the lifeworlds in which Tukanoan phratries—a cluster of moiety groups—live (Cayón 2013). Some of these instruments cannot be seen and touched by women, as it is the case with *yuruparí* ancestors, while others can be used by male specialists and seen by women, such as *~kiraiñia* long flutes, *~tanayio* duct flutes, and *pedu* panpipes. The reasons behind the secrecy and the efficacy of these instruments are

⁴³ Emi-Hehénewa of Camutí are called Bahukiwa by the Hehenewa phratry of Piracemo. According to Ernesto Gutiérrez, healer and storyteller of Camutí, bahukiwa also means “those who paint the body of Elder dancers.”

⁴⁴ Ramon Gutiérrez served as captain of the community for forty years (1940s-1970s).

grounded in ideological assumptions about power formation, production and circulation of knowledge and morality, and “maintenance of difference,” in which denial of maternal, social, and “cosmic feeding” is at stake (Hill 2002, 231; Costa 2017, 19).

Periodization of Performances

Among current Hehénewa of the Cuduyarí River, instruments are performed collectively across a wide range of events held throughout the two main seasons of the year: summer season (*Uhrum*) and rain season (*Okurum*). Whereas the summer season begins in approximately early December and ends in March, the rain season covers the remainder of the year until mid-November. Each of these cycles is subdivided into four periods of three months, with different moments when wild fruits (*hoku heinum*), larvae (*kahedo haraw*), and Anacondan rain (*Aik koró*) become recognizable, and which are confirmed by stargazing (Rodríguez 2000; Goldman 2004).⁴⁵

The events in which instruments are performed include familiar and regional gatherings scheduled according to the harvesting and raining periods. But events also occur according to local activities organized by politicians, state institutions, NGOs, and celebration cycles synchronized by the Apostolic Vicariate of Mitú. During these events, men, women, children, and newborns join reenactments of different themes of Hehénewa mythical narratives. In these reenactments, instruments and body movements set in motion repertoires in which humans and other existents become sonically present for a short period of time. After the performances, these other existents return to their dwellings, disappearing from the village until the next season.

⁴⁵ The subdivision of cycles varies between Indigenous specialists, each of whom elaborate calendars based on their relation with the environment. The aforementioned cycle is based on a characterization done by *javi* shamans for seasonal disease diagnosis.

I am not suggesting that Hehénewa performances are locked in a ritualistic logic, or that drinking parties with live music are equal to initiation rituals, or *oyno* ceremonies. Instead, far from overemphasizing the shamanistic dimension of instruments across the Vaupés basin, as is common in recent publications (Rodriguez de Mello 2013; Hugh-Jones 2017), I am drawing attention toward another meaningful dimension of these performances: at their very core is a persistent tension and zeal regarding instruments and other regalia in which reside both repertoires and the structural qualities of the performance.

This tension is amplified when other archiving devices—such as audio recorders and cameras—begin to challenge Tukanoans “outerfaces” by subtracting their items and allowing new owners to keep and circulate them through different networks.⁴⁶ Scholars have noted this tension in their ethnographic descriptions of encounters among travelers, scientists, and ritual specialists, as well as in their analyses of structures of power, shamanism, and modes of representation (Fischer and Krauss 2015; Viveiros de Castro 1992; Taussig 1993; Gow 1995; Bessire 2012). Few scholars, however, have focused their efforts on elaborating a media theory from this tension, yet I believe this approach offers powerful new explanatory resources for understanding how Tukanoans manage and decode information regarding their expressive praxes. In the following section, I develop an account of Pamiva media theory, which is grounded in the themes of Pamiva instrumentality.

⁴⁶ I use the term *outerface* as opposed to *interface* to highlight the external and separate quality of a device used for archiving purposes in comparison to what it carries. This emphasis is important because the external character of the device (and the mechanisms by which it accumulates, counts and tells), introduces a distinction between narrative and non-narrative forms of telling. This distinction, according to Wolfgang Ernst (2003, 43), allows us to identify how storytelling and audio recording of oral histories, respectively relate to narrative and non-narrative (digital) forms of memory.

Pamiva Instrumentality and Pedu Panpipes

In this section, I explore a theoretical approach to understanding how human interaction with instruments is linked to tactics of becoming in which multiple worlds come together sonically. This exploration suggests an integration of various levels of inquiry—the construction process of musical objects, performance, and musical analysis—within a new organological approach applied to *pedu* panpipes in Vaupés. On the one hand, this exploration follows the critical organology outlined by John Tresch and Emily Dolan, which emphasizes “thinking about instruments as actors or tools with variable ranges of activity, with changing constructions and definitions, and with different locations in both technical and social formations” (2013, 281). On the other hand, it participates in the discussion about ontologies and modes of existence of technical objects, and the reformulation of social practices between the edges of human intentionality and technical rationality (Hill and Chaumeil 2011b; Leroi-Gourhan 1993; Simondon 2012; Stiegler 1998). In this organological exploration of the *pedu* panpipe, I use some of the concepts developed by these authors to analyze how this (and other) instruments have helped the Pamiva reveal organized sound and navigate the worlds they make audible.

After presenting Pamiva analytics about the materiality of instruments for musical performance and the context in which mythical narratives and the everyday of instrument making fold into one another, I will introduce the formal characteristics of Pamiva *pedu* panpipe and the field recording I used and analyzed in this study. Finally, I describe a *pedu* panpipe piece, analyzing the performance with staff notation, to demonstrate how humans, nonhumans, and Kwaiwa deities meet during instrumental performance.

Tying Up a Pedu Panpipe: Human and non-Human Responsibility

According to Enrique Llanos, the reeds (*Phragmites australis*) used for making pedu panpipes emerged from the ashes of Mavíchikuri's body after being meticulously dismembered, cremated, and buried by his murderer in specific locations across the Vaupés basin. When Mavíchikuri and his Kwaiwa sons were living in the region, Nyemíkü, owner of Night, Sound, and Night Birds, made these instruments. However, Neohi, owner of Attraction and son of Mavíchikuri, went to Nyemíkü's house to negotiate a box that contained all ritual instruments, including *pedu* panpipes and other designs of organized sound and body painting owned by Kwaiwa deities. At Nyemíkü's house, Neohi declared his steadfast love for Nyemíkü's daughter; then, as an act of marriage, he received a mission to travel to Urania Valley to place the box atop the house of his betrothed (Kwai's long house), promising to open it only after Kwai arrived.

Yet, the box was so heavy he could not carry it during the long journey and he opened it before arriving to Urania Valley (Map 3). After Neohi opened the box the long house was roofed, and all instruments, objects, and designs became available, but dispersed across the valley. As a consequence of Neohi's disobedience, the Pamiva lost the opportunity to inherit the instruments directly from the Kwaiwa. Thus, the Pamiva inherited the necessity to search for reeds far from their villages. This included the hazardous job of building *pedu* panpipes by measuring them with the palm of their hands, and the precarious task of storing instruments in a box placed on top of a roof, or at the bottom of a creek.



Map 3. Main locations for harvesting reeds in Pamiva territory.

From the standpoint of my analysis, this narrative presented by Enrique Llanos renders Pamiva’s everyday necessity for technical and ritual action, while presenting the human body as a tool analogous to the way in which Kwaiwa’s body parts became reeds. Or as Llanos puts it, “the panpipes we used today are copies of those used by the Kwaiwa”.⁴⁷ However, there is a crucial difference between Kwaiwa and Pamiva instruments. Human-made instruments came out of reeds seen as bones by Pamiva, thus conditioning them to a constant assembly of body parts, limbs (*miembros*), in order to remember and reassemble, quite literally, the transfigured body of Kwaiwa deities for short periods of time established by the duration of instrumental performance. There were no conditions of possibility for remembrance, as social discourse, during the time Kwaiwa deities occupied the Vaupés basin.

Pedu as Technical Object

For Pamiva, the construction processes of each *pedu* begins with acquiring good quality reeds from three particular places: *Pupuña*, *Mirití*, or near to the stream *Caño Aguablanca*, located in middle Vaupés. When *payé* shamans from different regions

⁴⁷ Interview with the author conducted on April 20, 2013.

acquire reeds, they know that each bundle is equivalent to one reed previously segmented by the person who cut it. During the cutting process no segment can be mixed with others. In this sense, each reed trimmed and knotted in a bundle must be equivalent to one *pedu*, otherwise it would be defective in shape and sound. Segments are ordered by diameter from wide to narrow, keeping the bottom side as reference to indicate where the sound is produced.

Pedu, *pidiwa*, *peduwa* is a word in Pamiva language that designates panpipe flutes of eight or seven tubes used in ceremonies and joyful activities. Tubes are made of a reed (*Phragmites australis*) tied up with *kumare* twine (*Astrocaryum aculeatum*) harvested and manufactured in the Vaupés region. Older and talented music and dance specialists, or *badabi*, consider that a basic instrumental ensemble must have a minimum of three or five instrument in order to be a proper *pedu* ensemble. A set is constituted by one *pedu*, called “major” and the other, called “minor” (Image 6 and 7). The *major pedu* commonly has *eight tubes of different lengths*. Using both instruments, performers produce eight pitches with intervallic distances of perfect fourths and major and minor thirds in the lower register (up to B5), and thirds and a major second in the higher register. The minor *pedu* features only major and minor thirds.



Image 7. Pitches produced by a major *pedu* panpipe.



Image 8. Pitches produced by a minor *pedu* panpipe.

The length of the first tube—which contains all possible sounds and is rarely used during the performance—is trimmed according to the length of the maker’s forearm when aligned to the middle finger. Other tubes are trimmed according to a proportional dimension between the first tube and the proximal, intermediate and distal phalanges of the maker’s hand. Finally, after cutting each segment, all of them are knotted using a *cumare* thread and trimmed equally at the top. Having readied the major *pedu* panpipe, instrument makers replicate the process, keeping in mind to cut the first tube of the minor *pedu* panpipe one intermediate phalange below the distance in between the first and second tube of that of the major *pedu* panpipe.

The minor *pedu* panpipe has only seven tubes. The length difference of each tube covers a diverse set of pitches when *major* and *minor* panpipes are put together. Although the intervallic distances between each note are almost the same, there is a second major difference between the panpipes.



Image 9. Left to right: major and minor *pedu* panpipe. Photo by Marika Vistré.

These slight differences between the two panpipes enables the production of a sequence of sounds out of which performers assemble their musical repertoires. Panpipes do not double each other, except for one pitch (the high G). The Pamiva make large-size

panpipes called *pupuña* palm fruit (*Bactris gasipaes*) according to the quality, length, and diameter of the reed. Instrument-makers can transform a minor *pedu* panpipe into a major one, producing pairs called *mojarras* fish (*Gerres equulus*) out of small reed tubes shortened due to any failure. Whereas *pupuña* panpipes are appropriate instruments for adult celebrations—because they produce strong voiced instruments—*mojarra* panpipes are appropriate for youth performers.

A Pedu Panpipe Performance

In this section, I analyze a *pupuña* panpipe piece featuring the instruments I have introduced. “Women from Cuduyari” was performed in Camutí during a drinking party. The 2013 audio recording appears on a CD titled *Bahukiwa Emi Hehénakí* Singers, co-produced with this community.⁴⁸ During the piece, musicians explained to me, performers are voicing a clause in the Pamiva language on the *pedu* panpipes. Accordingly, panpipe sounds in the recording appear as the sonic transfiguration of the following clause: *tere re re tu re te re, tutere ture tere, Kuruhariya kakore, Kuruhariya kakore, tere re re tute turu, tute re re ture tere* (tere re re tu re te re, tutere ture tere, *Cuduyary ladies, Cuduyary ladies, tere re re tute turu, tute re re ture tere*).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The recording can be accessed clicking here.

⁴⁹ I analyze the use of these vocalizations among Tukanoan instrumental ensembles in the third part of this chapter.

Women from Cuduyari

$\text{♩} = 70$

Intro

Closing theme

Theme

Var. 1

Var. 1.1

Closing theme

Theme trans.

Var. 1

Var. 1.1

Closing theme

Theme trans.

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a tempo of quarter note = 70. It consists of a melody line and a piano accompaniment line. The score is divided into several sections: an Intro, a Closing theme, a Theme, and a Theme trans. (transposition). There are also three variations: Var. 1, Var. 1.1, and another Var. 1. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with chords and single notes.



0:47

This system shows the beginning of a musical phrase. The treble clef staff contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter rest, then eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The bass clef staff provides a simple accompaniment of quarter notes G3, A3, and B3.



Var. 1

Var. 1.1

This system contains two variations of the melody. The first variation, labeled 'Var. 1', continues the melody with eighth notes. The second variation, labeled 'Var. 1.1', introduces a chromatic alteration with a sharp sign on the eighth note A4. The bass clef staff continues with quarter notes G3, A3, and B3.



Closing theme

Theme trans.

This system features a 'Closing theme' in the treble clef staff, which is a variation of the main melody. It is followed by a 'Theme trans.' section where the melody changes to a new key signature, indicated by two sharps (F# and C#). The bass clef staff continues with quarter notes G3, A3, and B3.



Var. 1

This system shows a variation of the 'Closing theme' melody. The treble clef staff contains the melody with eighth notes and a quarter rest. The bass clef staff continues with quarter notes G3, A3, and B3.



Var. 1.1

Closing theme

This system contains two variations. The first, 'Var. 1.1', is a chromatic variation of the 'Closing theme' melody. The second, 'Closing theme', is the original 'Closing theme' melody. The bass clef staff continues with quarter notes G3, A3, and B3.

Theme trans.

1:29

Var. 1

Var. 1.1

Closing theme

Theme trans.

1:49

Var. 1

Var. 1.1

The musical score is presented in five systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals. Brackets above the staves indicate sections: 'Closing theme' (first system), 'Theme trans.' (second system), 'Var. 1' (third system), 'Var. 1.1' (fourth system), and 'Closing theme' (fifth system). A 'Cadence' section is also indicated. Time markers '2:50' and '3:10' are placed within the score. The key signature is one sharp (F#).

Example 1. Rendition of the pedu panpipe piece Women from Cuduyarí performed by Fernando Correa Cuba, Mauricio Correa, Indalecio Gutierrez, Wilson Correa Gutierrez, Jesús Correa Romero, Jaime Correa Valencia, Gerardo Correa Valencia, Juan Carlos Correa Valencia, Fabiola Correa and Claudia Mosquera.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Free version of the recording into staff notation by Keisuke Yamada.



Image 10. *Pedu* panpipe performers of Camutí accompanied by women during a drinking party, followed by Juan Castrillón. From left to right: Gerardo Correa, Juan Carlos Correa, Claudia Correa, Fernando Correa, and Fabiola Correa. At the back-row Jaime Correa and Jesús Correa. Camutí 2013.
Photo by Jesús Llanos.

Fernando Correa, leader of the panpipe ensemble, uses this vocalization to distinguish the piece from many others within the repertoire he keeps and manages. At the beginning of the performance, male stand in two rows, equally distributed. While holding their instruments with their right hand, performers grab the shoulders of the performer immediately to their left. Beats are not accentuated during the beginning of the performance. Instead, performers zig-zagging between the four corners of the indoor venue, rendering the water stream of a river, or the movement of a snake. Beats are established only when women join the ensemble, embracing the male performers from their waist (see Example 1, 4th system). Women leave the ensemble before the piece ends, when the performers have played the theme seven times.

In general, male performers play two main roles in instrumental ensembles: leader and respondent. Fernando Correa, the leader, or “capitán,” of this ensemble (Image 10), first man from the right in the front row), was the only person playing a major panpipe.

bringing together humans, *other-than-humans*, and Kwaiwa deities. The fragmented, productive outcome of their relatedness presents a fundamental insight: a shared responsibility over a myriad of expressive praxes in which the Pamiva appear to be helping other actors, while reciprocally receiving help from them.

To sum up, the construction of sonic objects, measures, and proportions linked to the body of performers and instrument-makers are themselves intimately connected to narratives about pre-Pamiva temporalities, the production and reproduction of multi-natural elements out of the bodies of dismembered and calcined Kwaiwa's deities distributed across the Vaupés basin. From their bodies, and from the places where they were burned, vegetal beings are born, which multiply their qualities and modes of presence. *Payé* shamans, *badabí* music, dance specialists, and instrument-makers are aware of how their musicking action remembers their Kwaiwa ancestors, and this makes them reticent to claim any personal authorship over the repertoires they know how to perform.

Several questions arise from the analysis of Pamiva instrumental performance: How do the Pamiva learn to play the musical instrument? How do they manage musical notation, understood in a broad sense as sonic inscription? And are there other ways to inscribe/memorize the sounds of communal repertoire? If the Pamiva and other Tukanoan groups of the Northwest Amazon share instruments in a general sense, and through their “processes of being” with the territory they shape linguistic, shamanic, and “sonic differences” (Cayón 2013, 24; Hill 2013, 326), how can we understand these processes, sonic gestures and technical rationalities produced in Vaupés over the last century? I explore these questions in the following sections.

Musicking Archives

Tukanoan specialists from the Vaupés region articulate and manage expressive discourse, indigenous analytics, and instrumental performance under what I call the “musicking archive.” The musicking archive refers to how an action stores itself in its iteration. This is a working concept intended to analyze how this archiving procedure assists Tukanoans in storing and exchanging musical repertoires, and in bonding their musicking to processes of transfiguration in which human and *other-than-human* beings participate. While the concept of the musicking archive does not explain everything about Indigenous Peoples’ musicking in Vaupés, it does illustrate three fundamental tenets: 1) how Tukanoans maintain the specificity of musical works within repertoires; 2) how these repertoires are inscribed in sound, making themselves distinguishable from one another; and finally, 3) how Tukanoans use this sonic inscription device to re-connect their instruments and repertoires throughout a dense media ecology of multiple species, linguistic differences, and everyday life situations.

In relation to these tenets, I introduce the term “media ecology” to emphasize a modality of shared responsibility featured in Tukanoan expressive praxes, in which everything taking part in a relation is understood as an agent manifesting interaction. In our ongoing conversations, Enrique Llanos explained that, “everything that communicates does exist in different dimensions we call *tukubu*. These *tukubu* arrange the worlds as if they were layers, atmospheres or roofs; and at the same time, they contain everything that manifests and expresses there.”⁵¹ While my mobilization of the term media ecology does not translate Llanos’ notion of *tukubu*, it does allow me to highlight

⁵¹ Interview with the author conducted on August 10, 2013.

this shared responsibility of Tukanoan Indigenous archives in conjunction with Llanos' analytics.⁵² As I show using staff notation in the following section, the same piece of Tukanoan repertoire varies every time instrumental ensembles get together to perform it. Ensembles create a sonic and moving image, rendering the piece without duplicating it. That is to say, the performance varies the piece of the repertoire but also keeps its own singularity. Musicking archives, then, maintain a generative tension between storage, variation, and shared responsibility.

My mobilization of media ecology puts Tukanoan musicking analytics into conversation with discussions about ontologies, politics, and the circulation of archives in ethnomusicology and sound studies (Sykes 2018; Fox 2013; Moreno 2016; Novak 2013; Ochoa Gautier 2014; Lewy 2015; Brabec de Mori and Seeger 2015; Hill 2015b). These discussions are characterized by an increasing interest in analyzing how the archive operates musicking relations and sonic interactions between humans, nonhumans, objects, and media artifacts. From this analytic perspective, the notion of archive refers not only to a stock place. Rather, as Jairo Moreno puts it, "a complex set of relations constitutes the archive beyond a depository and instead as a dispositive for the production of affective intensities" (2016, 139). Understood in this sense, as existing in multiple overlapping registers, that archives are able to redefine audiences, contents, modalities, types of legibility, and regimes of circulation.

The archiving devices developed by Tukanoans to keep and manage their instrumental repertoires differ from those used by scientists, travelers, and missionaries in the early twentieth century to repackage Indigenous Peoples' repertoires. The difference

⁵² For a more detailed elaboration on Pamiva cosmology and cosmogony models, see Llanos 2019; Llanos y Castrillón 2020; Goldman 2004; and Rodríguez 2000.

between these archiving devices matters not only for the meaning of instrumental musicking within Tukanoan Indigenous audile worlds; in fact, it matters most acutely for the endurance or finitude of the media ecologies that keep Indigenous Peoples' societies in constant transfiguration. This transfiguration includes all cycles of domestic and communal work, processes of death, birth, health and illness, and the restoration of commensal relations with the mythic and cosmographic worlds inextricably linked to and enmeshed with their territories. In the media ecologies of Tukanoan worlds, the constitutional aspect of expressive performances and the shared responsibility of humans and *other-than-humans* within the archive are touchstones that hold multiple agencies in a generative tension. For Tukanoans, this assemblage is irreducible to classic categories or static dualisms such as “archive/repertoire,” “setup/action” (Taylor 2003, 28). Thus, without this generative tension in place, Tukanoan expressive performances will become irreversibly *just* music—repertoires. Similarly, the dense materiality that forges Tukanoan organological relatedness to prototypical ancestors would melt into *material* culture within the governmental logics dictated by Colombian state multiculturalism.

Sonic Inscription Device and Ideophony

Tukanoan performers have developed tactics for managing—and *interacting with*—this generative tension, or “fertile ground” of Amerindian aurality (Beaudet 2011, 389). Among these tactics are vocalizations made by the conductors of instrumental ensembles prior to any performance, which work as ideophones in the sense that they allow Tukanoan specialists to transfigure their speech language into the textured, interlocked sounds that characterize their instrumental performance. In this section, I analyze three examples of ideophony used by Makuna, Barasano, and Pamiva specialists in relation to

instrumental repertoires performed with *pedu* panpipes and *~kiraiñia* long flutes. Managed by male adults, each vocalization presents the theme, repetitions, variations, cadences, and closing themes of the piece before the instrumental performance occurs. Additionally, the vocalization anticipates discrete pitch levels, sound organization, rhythmic flow, and, in some cases, the semantic meaning that is musicalized when instruments and body movements are performed. These vocalizations do not have a specific name within these Tukanoan language groups nor are they considered musical works as such. They exist sonically between the set of repertoires remembered by each *badabi* dance specialist and the musical event that happens immediately afterwards. Constituting a fundamental feature of the Tukanoan archiving device, these vocalizations allow specialists to store, maneuver, and transmit specific repertoires to their siblings.

Tukanoan vocalizations are closer to the linguistic device called ideophone, understood as specific words that convey complex sensory information through sound. This information can be the feeling of colors, movement, shapes, figures, or even affect. Within the Amerindian context, ideophones have been studied as “context-invocative and frame-changing devices that call attention to a momentary shift, usually from a human to a non-human perspective” (Nuckolls 2010, 31). According to anthropological linguist Janis B. Nuckolls, Amazonian Indigenous People are referring not just to a silent nature when they explain how birds sing using ideophones. More precisely, they are presenting how the device *aligns them sonically* to participate in an event in which “the difference between the extra-linguistic event level and the speech level collapse” (Nuckolls 2004, 71).

Building on Nuckolls' account of ideophony, I present three examples from four audio releases I co-produced with Enrique Llanos in three Indigenous Communities in 2012 and 2013: 1) vocalization of *Jarabõ* (Palm nodes), a *~kiraiña* long flute piece sung in Pamiva language by Enrique Llanos (Image 13); 2) vocalization *Take* (Monkey), a *pedu* panpipe piece sung in Makuna Language by Raimundo Valencia (Image 14); and 3) vocalization of *Ineyicame miyiró bee* (It was him), a *pedu* panpipe piece sung in Barasano language by Emilio Hernández (Image 15). This third example includes the instrumental rendition of the panpipe performance of the vocalization (Image 16), as well as a dedicated excerpt showing the accentuation of beats during the five repetitions of the piece (Image 17).

The characterization of these recordings follows a differentiation suggested by Llanos between vocal and instrumental repertoire, first language, musical form, ethnic origin, name of the piece, and title of the releases as they were established by each group of performers during recording sessions. This information was organized in forms that highlight the distinctiveness of each piece, even if the recordings were made in a territory other than where adult performers were born. Although the geographical location of the communities overlaps with the ancestral territory of Pamiva, the content of the releases cannot be circumscribed to a single Indigenous group. (Map 4) Rather, the relatedness between the languages and ethnic identities of Tukanoans and Arawakeans living in the Vaupés region, the result of “intensive regional and interregional exchanges over many centuries” (Hornborg and Hill 2011, 16).

Examples 1 & 2
Pamiva

Example 3
Makuna

Example 4
Barasano



Map 4. Department of Vaupés Examples of sonic inscription device.

Palm nodes

The image shows five staves of musical notation for a piece titled "Palm nodes". The notation is in 6/8 time and uses a treble clef. The first staff is labeled "Theme" and "Var. 1". The second staff has "Var. 1" and "Var. 2" labels. The third staff is labeled "Cadence 1". The fourth staff is labeled "Theme" and "Var. 1". The fifth staff is labeled "Var. 1" and "Cadence 2".

Image 13. Vocalization related to a ~*kiraiñia* long flute piece titled *Jarabõ* (Palm nodes) sung in Pamiva language by Enrique Llanos.⁵³

⁵³ The audio recording can be accessed clicking here. Free version of the recording into staff notation by James Díaz.

Monkey D

The musical score for 'Monkey D' is presented in a single staff with a treble clef and a 6/8 time signature. It consists of the following sections:

- Theme:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Var. 1:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Var. 2:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Var. 3:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Cadence 1:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Theme:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Var. 2:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Var. 1:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Var. 3:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Cadence 2:** A melodic line starting with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4. The second measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The third measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fourth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The fifth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4. The sixth measure contains quarter notes G4, A4, Bb4, and A4.

Image 14. Vocalization related to a pedu panpipe piece titled *Take* (Monkey) sung by Raimundo Valencia.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The audio recording can be access clicking here. Free version of the recording into staff notation by James Díaz.

It was him

The musical notation is presented in four staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 6/8 time signature. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes. The first staff is labeled 'Theme' and 'Rep.'. The second staff is labeled 'Closing theme' and 'Theme trans.'. The third staff is labeled 'Rep. trans.' and 'Cadence 1'. The fourth staff is labeled 'Closing theme', 'Var. 1', and 'Closing theme'. The piece concludes with a final cadence in 4/4 time.

Image 15. Vocalization related to a *pedu* panpipe piece *Ineyicame miyiró bee* (It was him) sung by Emilio Hernández.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The audio recording can be access clicking here. Free version of the recording into staff notation by James Díaz.

It was him

Theme Rep.

6 Closing theme Cadence 1

12 Rep. trans.

17 Theme Closing theme

Image 16. Rendition of a *pedu* panpipe piece *Ineyicame miyiró bee* (It was him) performed by Daniel Hernández, Emilio Hernández, Raimundo Valencia, Joaquín Londoño, Ismael Rivera, Efraín Estrada, Héctor López, Bernabe Vanegas, Leticia Cardona, Elvira Romero, Beatriz Castañeda, Luz Marina Torres, Cristina Ortiz and Francy López.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The audio recording can be access clicking here. Free version of the recording into staff notation by Dang Minh Anh Vu.

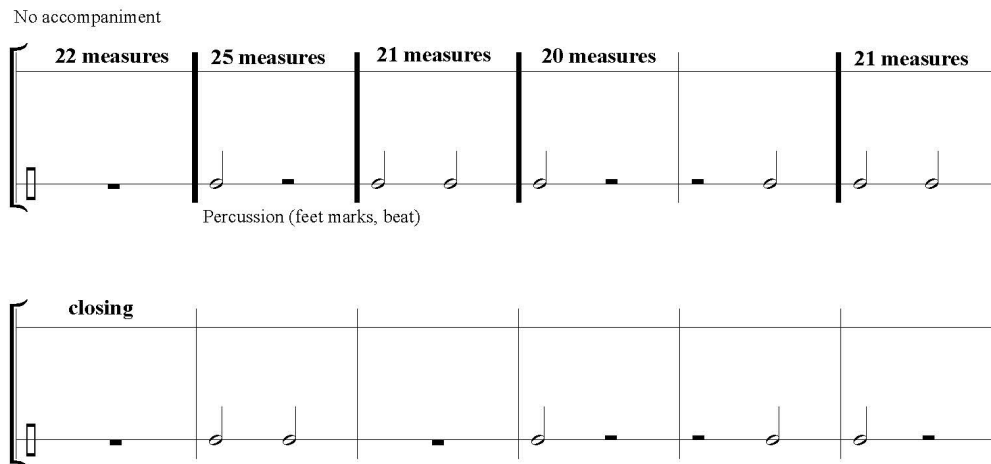


Image 17. Accentuation of beats during the repetitions of the *pedu* panpipe piece *Ineyicame miyiró bee* (It was him).

These examples demonstrate how *badabi* dance specialists set the performance of Tukanoan ensembles, as well as how their vocal and instrumental performance coordinate the rendition of singular components of the repertoires they keep. These vocalizations are not shared with all members of the ensemble. Similar to what happens with instruments (*pedu* panpipes and ~*Kiraiñia* long flutes), they belong to *badabi* specialists exclusively. Members of the ensemble have access to the instruments only during the performance. In some cases, *badabi* specialists will demand that performers return the instruments to them multiple times during the same event and immediately after the performance of a piece.

In some cases, vocalizations introduce semantic content associated with the piece, as is the case of *Monkey* and *It Was Him* (Images 14-15). In *Monkey*, Raimundo Valencia utters in the celebratory mode of hunters' siblings bringing and distributing monkey meat among the community (Image 14). In the second example, *It Was Him*, Emilio Hernandez expresses the joyful ambiguity of blaming someone else for getting a woman pregnant. In his explanation, Hernandez commented that it is a joke in which “the deer of the garden”

is ultimately the one found guilty: “It was him” (Image 15-16). In another case, Enrique Llanos explains that *Palm Nodes* (Image 13), describes “how the palm nodes sing; each of the seven parts of the palm have their own voice.”

In this type of panpipe ensemble, explain Valencia and Llanos, leaders play the main theme, prompting respondents to reply. However, the graphic analysis I present here shows that the exchange between leader and respondents also goes beyond call-and-response. The exchange adds nuances to each section creating a variety of segments that develop across the piece. Leaders’ segments are *always already* interdependent of what respondents do, in such a way that any segment of the piece can be performed by a single person (see Images 11-12). In other words, leaders do not perform independent segments, and in any case, respondents repeat segments, or reply to them. From the standpoint of this analysis, it is inappropriate to describe this musical exchange as “call-and-response.” It seems to me that Valencia and Llanos mobilize the term to emphasize the hierarchy of leaders during the performance, as well as the fact that major panpipes always begin *to speak* before others and call them to stop when they blow in ascendant form all the pitches of their instruments (Image 9, 26th system).

These examples present in detail how vocalizations and their instrumental renditions configure a more nuanced treatment of what performers do. Each of these examples shows that themes are not simply “replied to” by respondents. Although leaders are the ones who prompt and know all the themes, the musical specificity of each theme features the pitches of leaders and respondents as having a shared role throughout all the examples. This shared role is also integral to the construction of the entire pieces. In *Palm Nodes*, the theme only comes again after two variations and a cadence (Image 13),

and in *Monkey*, the theme comes after three variations and a cadence (Image 14). It is only in the vocalization of *It Was Him*, that the theme is repeated right after it appears. But even there, it is followed by a closing theme, a double repetition of theme transposed, a cadence, the closing theme, a variation and the closing theme again before connecting with the theme (Image 15). The instrumental rendition of *It Was Him* largely follows this distribution of subsections, although, after the cadence, the theme becomes more regulated by the closing theme and the transported version of the theme (Image 16). This analysis shows from a musical standpoint, that interdependence appears in Tukanoan instrumental performance as a leading force that allows performers to accompany one another as they navigate through segments that develop across the piece.

Another characteristic of the instrumental ensembles is the participation of performers from different Tukanoan language groups. Most of these performers know how to musically interact with the ensemble's leader during the performance, even if they do not know the specific repertoires. Specialists who recorded the vocalizations analyzed in this chapter reported that most of the interpreters do not know them, and sometimes even lack knowledge of the words they utter while performing the instruments. In fact, performers do not inherit repertoires. Most of them make them audible—or amplify them—by replicating a Pamiva, Makuna, or Barasano sonic atmosphere that is folded with knowledge of how to perform a musical instrument that belongs to the leader of the ensemble. Despite the diversity of the language groups that establishes the “multilingual network” of ritual communications in the Vaupés region (Basso 2011, 157), some groups assimilate others through the instrumental performance. This assimilation works especially in Mitú, when *badabi* dance specialists were selected to organize instrumental

ensembles for varied musical events I attended between 2013-2018. The organization of these ensembles reproduces the inequities and hierarchies between owners of instruments and performers. This is not the case in Camutí, where the panpipe ensemble is conformed and directed by a Carapana dance specialist, his son and cousins (see Image 10). Despite their familiarity, Correa warns “they know how to sing [perform on the panpipe], but they don’t know how to be the leader”.⁵⁷

Vocalizations and Transcriptions

These examples demonstrate how sections are connected through melodic and rhythmic cadences as well as different ways to musically interact with the working particles of these pieces. These particles include musical and non-musical prompts—such as glances and gestures—used by leaders to guide the movements of the ensemble, cuing performers through the choreographic designs associated with each specific piece, helping them move gracefully through space. Vocalizations do not present pieces of repertoire as they are, or how performers must interpret them, similarly to the transcriptions I have presented in this chapter. Rather, they are used as analytical tools to arrange a sonic ground that potentially frames in advance respondents’ interactions with the leader. In the case of transcriptions, they underline the interactions between vocalizations and these new graphical renderings of recordings. Both devices highlight the generative character of vocalizations in Tukanoan instrumental performance, or in other words, their *musicking archival qualities*.

Yet, these sonic and verbal pre-interventions to instrumental performance, do not occur in other events that feature *ta-kahe* masks and *yurupari* instruments, such as *oyno*

⁵⁷ Interview with the author conducted on August 10, 2013.

mourning ceremonies and male initiation ceremonies. In these events, vocalizations and verbal interventions *precede* instrumental performance, functioning in a completely different way from how this sonic inscription device sets the iteration of *pedu* panpipe and *~kiraiñia* long flute repertoires. All sounds (musical, verbal, and inaudible) heard, felt, and noticed by performers, non-performers, community members, and outsiders of the long house are part and parcel of the mythic narrative voiced by *yuruparí* instruments. Often, these explanations are long conversations in which mythical and ritual discourse set the audience and exchange between youth and Elders during the ceremony, or when absent instrument-ancestors have returned to the community in their primordial boxes.

These sounds—and the multiple modes whereby they become noticeable—teach, remind, and exhort Tukanoans to believe, behave, remember, and explain things and events that only shamans can accurately report. Whereas in previous examples Tukanoans needed to sonically render what would happen *before* the ensemble begins, conversely, in the instrumental performance of *yuruparí* instruments, they need to explain and set everything that comes *after* sounds are heard. The powerful sound voiced by *yuruparí* instruments and *ta-kahe* masks themselves open (assisted by “drunk” Tukanoans, or those dressed in *mihí*’s skin) the fertile ground where multitudes of beings mask each other through different modes of communication. All of this happens without the assistance of sonic inscription devices, or the single voices of expert *badabi* dancers setting the arena for interlocking sounds. The sounds of these powerful instruments exteriorize the *tukubw* dimension, making it possible for Tukanoans to hear something from their prototypical ancestors. This tension between anticipation and becoming diversifies the modalities of the Tukanoan archive, thus, establishing these differences

between instruments, compartmentalizing media ecologies, and folding all the indices that allow Tukanoans to set affect and expressivity into motion.

Tukanoan Archives

Tukanoan analytics of the archive aggregates notions of performance, ownership, multiple-species languages and devices of inscription working in environmental and instrumental dimensions. Tukanoan archives require performance, instantiation, and assemblage in order to set in motion generative spaces where a multitude of existents and sounds make others audible through musical and expressive praxes. The vocalizations analyzed in the previous section have a mnemonic function (Urban 1986) in relation to the archive, insofar as they underline the textual replicability of the sonic event. Yet, if we listen to these vocalizations otherwise, we find that they also inform us about two complementary aspects that characterize Tukanoan analytics of the archive: intermediation and systems of computation.

The first aspect involves the intermediation Tukanoans have with the forest and all beings capable of expressivity and thought, in which semiotic propensity is a quality shared among all that exists and has a presence (Kohn 2013, 42). The second aspect draws on Jean Pierre Chaumeil's account (2007) of "Indigenous systems of computation and memorization." According to Chaumeil's theorization, these systems "imply a particular idea of chronology [whereby] other societies have sought to preserve their historical memory by inscribing it" (2007, 272). This emphasis on inscription resonates with my argument about non-narrative forms of memory that accumulate and transmit instrumental repertoires. I see these systems of computation backing the binary calculations of my Tukanoan interlocutors, particularly when they differentiate a

“Monkey dance” from a “Palm Nodes dance” using a sonic chain of differential sequences to “re-count time instead of stories” (Ernst 2003, 33).

It is because of the centrality of these two aspects within Tukanoan archives that I emphasize calling these vocalizations sonic inscription devices. First, they stand by themselves, separately from the performance they relate to. Second, they can be either human or *other-than-human* utterances, as they mask each other during enunciation. If these vocalizations were considered exclusively as a Tukanoan technic, we would lose the co-constitutional aspect that keep multiple agencies in generative tension.

As I have shown through the examples presented in this chapter, these regional devices allow Tukanoan musical and ritual specialists to store repertoires by securing, inscribing, and rendering their sonic existence. The efficacy of these inscription devices stands as an aural conjunction of verbal and musicalized expressions, in which instrumental performance and Tukanoan multi-natural ecologies are bound through sonic alignments. Yet, these examples of human and *other-than-human* responsibility for setting in motion Tukanoan musicking archives across the Vaupés region, also give rise to questions about the role of musicians and their listening skills within this specific media ecology. Similar to what fascinated Koch-Grünberg, Alves da Silva, Goldman, and Roseman, the question of what Tukanoan musicians do through instruments instantiates a crucial concern about Amerindian musicking in general. Are Tukanoans imitating nature? Are they amplifying a language that is dictated and inspired by nature? Are they gesticulating the multi-natural speech of non-humans through instruments?

Finally, as I have shown in my analysis, instrumental ensembles and musical repertoires of *pedu* panpipes and *~Kiraiñia* long flutes do not exemplify, for instance,

“intersemiotic translation” (Jakobson 1959, 235). Tukanoan instrumental performance does not seek to translate meanings into non-verbal registers. Rather, these performances are better understood as instances of transfiguration that mask and reveal through sound all participants of this expressive action. Sound alignment and sonic inscription participate in well-known processes in lowland South America of sonic interactions between humans and non-humans, which “blur linguistic, verbal and musical levels” in order to manage and navigate “relations of alterity” (Hill 2011, 15; Hill and Castrillón 2017, 6). Nonetheless, the main difference between alignment and inscription is that while sound alignment establishes a direct relation between a single speaker and “the force that creates a movement, sound or rhythm” (Nuckolls 2010, 31), sonic inscription provides a triple alignment within the same event: first, it allows Tukanoan specialists to manage in sound the singularity of each piece and its location among other repertoire; second, it allows members of the ensemble to orient their interventions in the overall design of the musical piece; and third, it brings the ensemble in conjunction with the audible worlds it amplifies and sets in motion.

Repacking the Archive of the Pamiva

What, then, do Tukanoan musicians do through instruments? This seems inextricably linked to what I render in sound and words *about* them. On the one hand, they re-connect their instruments and musicking praxis within dense media ecologies of linguistic differences and themes of local and mythical history during daily life situations in the Northwest Amazon. On the other hand, their proclivity toward musicalizing processes, reinforced by the ecologies in which they live, make them at one and the same time, skillful imitators of nature (Moser and Tayler 1965), natural poets and composers (Alves

da Silva 1961), and fluid ventriloquists of multiple worlds (Goldman 2004). This proclivity is all the more evident in the exploration Tukanoans carry out of ideophones, up to a point that makes them carbon-free archivists of instrumental repertoires, as they keep them in motion in between sounds, natures, and musical performance.

The conundrum caused by any mic-positionality in the act of studying another people, of writing and making sound recordings *about* them, calls on ethnomusicology to reformulate its question about “what others do musically.” It is a decolonizing shift towards a non-self-referential approach to knowledge production that is at stake. Such an approach interrogates politics of representation and translation. But more importantly, it centers attention on alternative positionalities that come from the archive, when it is understood as “*a storehouse* of poetic images of social, political, and historical transformations” (Hill 2020, 2), or as “a dispositive for the production of affective intensities” (Moreno 2016, 139). An archive that does not prioritize self-referential objects and types has the capacity to take its audiences into another set of possibilities, such as those imagined by Roy Wagner when he wrote, “anthropology will not come to terms with its mediative basis as its professed aims until our invention of other cultures can reproduce, at least in principle, the way in which those cultures invent themselves” (2016, 30). This emphasis on a shared need for invention and the varied figures it might take, brings me to the following question: What can we know about others’ worlds of musicking if our mic-positionality becomes entangled with the mic-positionality and the analytics of the archive that others might have?

A mode of knowledge production that acknowledges shared mic-positionalities can prompt ethnomusicologists to render musical realities otherwise, in a participatory

endeavor of theory and praxis. In other words, rather than extracting and re-packing Indigenous archives in yet another box under the premise of studying them or describing them “through literalization or reduction to the terms of our ideologies” (Wagner 2016, 31), my work calls on ethnomusicology to unfold audible worlds and musicking archives in their alternative meanings, as a way to acknowledge other music theories, forms of ownership, and sovereignty.

Embodying a new position is a necessary condition for archiving and rendering Hehénéwa’s worlds of musicking in a different way, or “otherwise.” This new position facilitates a decolonial shift in writing about others, as it articulates the need for a shared ground for thinking and producing another modality of archive. One in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous analytics can meet, and where media infrastructures can do justice to what they aim to present. This alter-native (and alternative) mode of knowledge production, based on shared mic-positionalities, can benefit critical ethnomusicological thinking and participatory research methods. Of course, the collective spirit of this endeavor is by no reason free of tensions or contradictions. Rather, it understands these tensions as generative, and aims to open a space for growth and expansion that keeps open the possibility of producing types of non-normative knowledge responsive to its continuous transformation.

CHAPTER 3 — DIFFRACTION OF MUSICKING ARCHIVES AND MULTIMODAL ETHNOGRAPHY

This chapter addresses the Tukanoan archive that is grounded in the world of situations of Pamiva specialists who live in Camutí and Mitú. It develops a proactive relation between experimental ethnography and Indigenous analytics that fosters a decolonial attitude of producing knowledge *with* Indigenous People through a form of exchange in which archival repatriation becomes unnecessary. I propose “diffraction” as both a proactive relation to Tukanoan archives that does not seek to represent (i.e., produce archives *about*) or speak on behalf of Tukanoan People (i.e., produce archives *of*), and as a point of departure for scholarly discourse and Indigenous analytics to access shared archives of perspectives and affective intensities. I suggest that the idea of a single ray of light dispersed into multiple ones, even though it is a visual image, fits with the goal of amplifying multiple perspectives. I chose the term refraction instead of representation because the latter does not turn this single ray into multiple ones. Representation keeps the ray as it is, even if it is placed or projected on different formats and surfaces. I am using this analogy to theorize my relation with these two archiving modalities, and to produce different positionalities to attend to this single ray instead of multiplying the source. This proactive relation is characterized by an archiving work carried out in response to the challenge to open plural and multi-vocal audiences and scenarios. Diffraction entails becoming entangled in various formats of legibility required for these audiences to thrive. This approach, then, “demands that we reflect on this multiplicity,

while working to engage and collaborate along media forms our interlocutors *find relevant for their lives*” (Collins et al. 2017; emphasis added).

A Refusal of Repatriation: Transfiguration

During my participatory research in Vaupés, I organized experiments to examine how my Tukanoan interlocutors and I engaged their own archives, as well as those made about them. Working intensively with Tukanoan communities between 2016 and 2018 transformed my conception of doing ethnography. During this period, I came to realize that often our desire to please Indigenous populations with repatriated gifts has replaced, to a great extent, the analytics they use to make sense of the exchange, the actors involved, and the various natures of what is given, received, or transmitted. My commitment to no longer positioning myself as a “data collector”—or “gift giver”—when doing fieldwork as an ethnomusicologist, raised two concerns. First, if all the categories, methods, and ideas about previous subject positions with which I struggled in chapter 1 were ruins of previous techno-scientific and religious experiments, what would the experiment in which I want to participate look like? And second, what could “music repatriation” mean for an audible world in which voices, sounds, events, and actors are constantly *transfigured*? These concerns modified my own mic-positionality and subsequently, shifted the dynamics of doing participatory research *in situ*. This transfiguration refers to the ever-changing outcome my interlocutors’ ongoing evaluations of everything that relates to their expressive praxes. This evaluative process situates the production of sense beyond the replication of meanings, amplifying a full range of diffractions and associations that characterize and shape how my interlocutors make sense of existence.

This chapter addresses the shapes and themes of the several co-theorization exercises developed with Indigenous interlocutors, including: a radio podcast, three medium-length films, and a long house built in partnership with the Emi-Hehénewa village of Camutí. During this participatory research, I avoided making sound recordings intended to collect and identify musical styles or genres. Instead, I engaged with sound inscription and moving image editing as experimental methods for producing affects, questioning and circulating ideas, and sharing experiences, in which voices, listeners, performers, and audiences could redefine themselves as they circulate through mediated infrastructures.

My ethnographic work joins the call for decolonizing the ethnomusicological archive by exploring new archival practices (Fox 2013, 2016; Seeger and Chaudhuri 2004, 16) in order to deterritorialize “the univocality between what the Other and We are saying” (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 8). Rather than receiving media uncritically, as given tools for documentation purposes, the decolonial moment, in which new media affordances meet research methods, offers scholars tactics for fostering equivocalty, experimentation, and what Elizabeth Povinelli calls “transfiguration” (2016, 115). My contribution to doing ethnomusicology, then, embraces research methods and recording technologies as devices with a unique capacity to render the relations my interlocutors and I might have with Tukanoan archives of expressivity, thus, unfolding and keeping them in motion.

By decolonizing the ethnomusicological archive and positioning myself as a “postcolonial archivist” (Povinelli 2016, 116), I aim to foster paths of exchange that include, but are not restricted to, sound, music, and performance. In pursuing this singular

goal, I assume, on the one hand, that Tukanoans have their own analytics and techniques concerning the management and circulation of their expressive traditions, which they continue to rework. On the other hand, I assume that opening ways to make these analytics locally available to my Indigenous collaborators can also contribute to academic debates within ethnomusicology.

Economies of Desire and Exchange in Doing Collaborative Research in the Northwest Amazon

My account of artifacts made through participatory research experiences will first revisit two topics: the first, is akin to Steven Rubenstein's theoretical interests on political economy, the second approach bridges Boasian anthropology and post-structuralism in Amazonian ethnography. These topics involve the "material production of desire" within contemporary Indigenous societies in Lowland South America and the "formation of new modalities of power and sense" via circulation and exchange (Rubenstein 2004, 1042; 2007, 362). Rubenstein's work on desire shares with Michael Taussig (1992, 1993, 2015), an interest in mimesis and the modes in which singularity, differentiation, and empathy are related to the tension between state politics and Indigenous analytics.

Rubenstein elaborates on desire and new modalities of sense and power through what he called "symmetrical ethnography,"⁵⁸ which I mobilize in my work as an ethnographic imperative remain attentive to signatures of difference when navigating literature *about* the Hehénewa, as well as in the participatory research activities I carried out *with* them. Rubenstein's approaches to forms of desire, power and meaning among contemporary Indigenous communities living within nation state territories informs my

⁵⁸ Rubenstein drawing on Bruno Latour's notion of symmetrical anthropology (1993, 103).

understanding of Hehénewa's territorial relations to the nation state of Colombia. My interest in how Tukanoan musicking archives circulate within and outside Vaupés follows Rubenstein's attention to the rapid transformation of Kayapó Indigenous territories in Central Brazil and the impact of this transformation on the meanings of Indigenous ritual artifacts. Rubenstein highlights how the incorporation of Xikrin territories to the cosmological space of capital under the idea of the Indigenous Reserve, introduced new concerns regarding the meaning and the nature of Xikrin expressive performance. In his example, he analyzed pictures staging different forms of labor, including a Yakwigado mask dancing, a dance crew of Xikrin men bearing an assortment of firearms, and a Xikrin chief Jaguar speaking into the two-way radio. Each image is accompanied by a single description redirecting the image towards two singular and superposed meanings indexing "spirit" and "commodity" concurrently (2004, 153-4). This dilemma situates contemporary Indigenous musicking archives on a two-way road. Whereas one direction fosters the possibility of "masking the political nature of the production of desire" (2004, 153), the other situates research beyond a normative dual translation exercise, in which Indigenous worlds are legible only via literalization, or through reduction imposed by foreign ideologies, such as those discussed in chapter 2.

Rather than signifying the stagnancy of Indigenous semioticity, or acculturation within cosmological space of capital, Rubenstein's symmetrical ethnography inveighs scholars to attend to possibilities for alternative structures of power and meaning. Accordingly, it is through both pathways of exchange that other ears and bodies are increasingly masking, valuating, consuming, and transfiguring the sense and meanings of these musicking archives and repertoires. By introducing sound recordings made three

decades ago in Vaupés and by producing films in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous audience meet and diffract one another, my work highlights Rubenstein's account of repatriation practices. Rubenstein analyzed the conditions that made it possible for shrunken heads to circulate back to the periphery by putting the contemporary reception of these artifacts at the core of his fieldwork (2007, 382).

In the case of my ethnographic work, beyond returning sound recordings and producing films, there were three main issues at stake: 1) the proliferation of new meanings related to Tukanoan musicking repertoires when broadcasted and presented through film and radio, 2) the present history of new media infrastructures through which these archives are transmitted and portable across the state capital of Mitú and the broader Vaupés region, and finally, 3) the analytics used by my interlocutors for returning dormant voices and the speech of *other-than-human* actors, particularly when they appear through unintended venues and scenarios.

Unlike Rubenstein's analytical approach *about* exchange, my fieldwork focused on the exchange *itself*, turning the artifacts—and the processes of producing them—into an alternative to repatriation initiatives in ethnomusicology. This alternative is an “otherwise,” in the sense Povinelli proposes (2009, 2011), one that advocates for an academic form of life in which repatriation is no longer the inevitable endpoint of circulation for all materials produced during ethnomusicological fieldwork. In order to achieve this goal, I went to the field to write ethnographically about the expressive culture that Emi-Hehénewa People use in their everyday lives without objectifying it as “Indigenous,” especially given the multiplicity of agents who are co-responsible for it (see chapter 2). This aprioristic refusal to objectify Indigeneity allowed me to turn my

attention to the various and unexpected ways that musicking, movement, and aural-oriented relations overlap with the everyday life of Tukanoans in Vaupés.

Artifacts of Ethnography

This section discusses how the affordances related to my ethnographic artifacts, which include a radio program and three films, unfold Tukanoan musicking archives. Along with descriptions of each artifact (and online links where they be accessed), I elaborate on their affordances and the processes of producing them, while proposing an alternate way of thinking about sound and moving images in ethnomusicological filmmaking.

Radio Program - Tataroko

In 2016, I partnered with a grassroots radio station in Mitú to broadcast sound recordings produced during the twentieth century *about* the Indigenous music of the Vaupés region, including the releases produced by Llanos and I in 2013. These recordings were featured in twelve episodes entitled *Tataroko*, presented in Cubeo and Spanish languages in an experimental dialogue, in which neither of us translated the other. Access to this radio station was granted by Nadiezda Novoa, an Indigenous journalist of Mitú who joined the preliminary project as developed in 2013. Her family owns the radio station, for which she and her father serve as the main operators.

Radio fans who tuned in to *Yuruparí Estereo* around 6:30 AM on a Sunday during the first quarter of 2016, were suddenly listening to the nasal, thick, and male voice of a Pamié speaker, accompanied by a Tukanoan ensemble of *~kiraiñia* long flutes. The voice prompted them to have enough tobacco snuff, cigars, or manioc beer nearby in order to stay focused on a radio program called *Tataroko* (Butterfly, in Pamie language). Then,

listeners encountered the gentle and expressive voice of a Spanish speaker that invited them to see the butterfly every week, to learn more about the sonic and musical expressions that, “fly over the Indigenous communities of Vaupés.” Below is a summary description of the episodes (Table 2).

Even though the content of these episodes was not new to Tukanoan and non-Tukanoan audiences living in Mitú, the way they came to be auditioned by Indigenous audiences underscored a completely new scenario. Some Tukanoan listeners celebrated the radio program, finding in it an opportunity to feel *as if* they were within a ceremonial long house, listening to conversations about sounds and expressive practices that rarely happened in different venues.

Tataroko was the first series of programs broadcasted in Mitú in which the Tukanoan language Pamié was prominent and these Tukanoan listeners believed this was something that should happen more often. They felt the program ended too soon, leaving out many relevant points about the music of other regions of the Vaupés. However, for other Tukanoans, *Tataroko* was received with discomfort. The broadcast conversations were open to many different people (Indigenous, white, mestizo) who could hear what these practices were about. Even though Llanos and I excluded many subjects that could be inappropriate for a general audience, the fact that most of the program was presented in a Tukanoan language made audible the presence of a scenario for communication in a media-scape in which Tukanoan Indigenous People have been completely absent.

Episode #	Date broadcasted	Contents
1	2/21/16	Audile trip to <i>Camuti</i> , <i>Mitú</i> and <i>Ceima Cachivera</i> 's villages conducted by Enrique Llanos and Juan Castrillon in 2013.
2	2/27/16	The details on how the shaman and the anthropologist arranged the trip to <i>Camuti</i> and <i>Ceima Cachivera</i> , and about all details of the sounds broadcasted in episode one.
3	3/5/16	Homage to Gaudencio Moreno a Kotiria shaman, the only living musician who participated on the recordings made by Carlos Garibello in <i>Mitú</i> , in 1962.
4	3/13/16	Homage to Gaudencio Moreno (part 2).
5	3/20/16	The dedications and feelings of children through dancing, game playing and listening to songs.
6	3/27/16	A special program (part 2) about affect and relations expressed through children's songs and games in Vaupes.
7	4/3/16	Elder women songs from <i>Camuti</i> , <i>Ceima Cachivera</i> and <i>Virabazú</i> .
8	4/9/16	Elder women songs (part 2), men songs, and comments about the continuous flow of <i>manioc beer</i> , sound, and spoken word.
9	4/16/16	About the idea of developing the radio program, its purpose and the meaning of its name.
10	4/23/16	The jungle beings, their sounds, their voices, and the ways they have to be experienced by humans
11	5/1/16	Some findings from research about recordings related with musical and sonic practices in the region. Commentary about the Anglo-Colombian expedition conducted by BBC in 1961.
12	5/8/16	The Owner of the Instruments and his central role in the organization of musical life among indigenous communities from Vaupes.

Table 2. *Tataroko*, Season 1 (2016)

Transfiguration of a Situation

The idea for the radio program first emerged in 2013 when Llanos and I visited a Makuna family residing in Mitú with a set of sound recordings made at the Pirá-Paraná River in 1960 by Moser and Tayler (see chapter 1), which, as usual, they stored in official State Archives in Bogotá without returning them to the Indigenous communities for over five decades. We visited this Makuna family—to whom the recordings were related—after Llanos identified the name Ignacio Valencia, a *payé* he had met before. When we gathered to listen to the recordings, Llanos stated that we were traveling through

powerful and meaningful events. He was deeply touched. According to him, these events were rooted in a recent past and were driving us to recover sounds, situations, and images by placing them within our bodies without the mediation of his plants of power—tobacco, *duppa*, or *mihi*. He even mentioned that the *duppa* snuff was his “*grabadora espiritual*,” or spiritual sound-recorder, because it had similar effects on how memory and time were manufactured.

This singular event in which we were all involved was meaningful in another way for Llanos and for Raimundo Valencia, the Makuna *payé*. The situation was embedded within a harvest distribution ritually performed for our benefit, in which recordings were exchanged instead of fruit. In other words, we were participating in a *dabukuri* of recordings previously scheduled by another powerful and unknown *payé*. Suddenly, I came to realize, contrary to my teleological order of things, that I was not the person giving the recordings back. Whatever the logic of agency I was holding for myself, it was simply non-existent in the event in which I was participating. Instead, I was witness to the mic-positionality of these two *payés*—a mic-positionality that transfigured the given historical value of these recordings into nourishment to strengthen and feed their own embodied temporalities. Valencia saw me as his *socio*, or partner; everything he gave me to inhale or apply to my body was my medicine, but also the seal of my promise to continue providing him with what he and his family needed. From their perspective, another powerful *payé* was feeding them and fulfilling a previous hidden spell. My presence was hardly required for any of these exchanges. Llanos and Valencia’s perception of me confronted my own sense of self in a profound way. I was someone simultaneously present, absent, and also, masked by the unknown *payé* Llanos and

Valencia were thinking about. At the end of this *dabukuri* of recordings, they both received joy and I a perplexing insight into the fluidity of my own self within Tukanoan lifeworlds.

A Tataroko Butterfly in the FM

According to Hehénewa analytics, butterflies—from the colors of their wings to the type of pollen they like to suck—afford viewers two means of understanding them. On one hand, they appear as the body of ancestors who knew a repertoire of songs given by the Creators, when the rainforest was covered by water. On the other hand, they appear as the group of voices heard in the first *oyno* performed by the Kwaiwa siblings at that moment when the forest was still unfit for human habitation (see chapter 2). Additionally, Llanos recalled, *Tataroko*, or butterflies always accompany “las nuevas generaciones” (new generations) of youth in their own way to help them remember how to properly accomplish everything they need to do in the everyday. Llanos’ insistence on butterflies made me think about different Hehénewa media analytics in which songs and heard voices can be brought from distant places, transduced to multiple formats and locations, missed on their way, or dramatically transfigured into something else, like a morpho butterfly with iridescent colors (Image 18).

I developed *Tataroko* in Philadelphia in November-December 2015, inspired by the centrality of the butterfly for understanding multiple realities, I aimed to bring Tukanoan mic-positionality to the forefront of my academic endeavor. On the one hand, the radio program had a descriptive role, because it explained how memorialization, iteration, and transmission of musical and verbal performances might occur among Tukanoans. On the other hand, it had a performative role because it benefited from the

technology of signaling and communicating through radio waves to render Tukanoan communicative ideologies and their affordances, such as speaking without been seen, projecting voices through powerful instruments, and establishing complex communication via remote sensing. The recordings featured in each program became the reported speech and the heard voices of those previously recorded. As an experiment, *Tataroko* afforded a speculative and a concrete space to explore the distinction between theorizing, masking, and transmitting affectivities in-between Tukanoan analytics and media infrastructures.



Image 18. *Tataroko*. Free version of a morpho butterfly inspired by the radio program. Oil on canvas by Oscar Javier León (Gualanday), 2016.

During the making of the program, Llanos and I avoided speaking to the audience using commercial radio slang, as Indigenous radio operators are often expected to do after being trained by state-based institutions in multicultural governments, such as Colombia's (Fisher 2012; Cuesta 2012). We took seriously three aspects of Tukanoan

analytics about “musicalizing the other” (Hill 2011, 98),⁵⁹ and turned them into deliberate ways of interacting with the contents of each program and of interpellating Tukanoan and non-Tukanoan audiences. These three aspects were: 1) the transformation of existents into sounds via instrumental or vocal interpretation of specific repertoires, 2) the appearance of existents by the sounds or movement they might make, and, finally 3) the eventfulness in which modes of perception and attention are intensified and conditioned to differentiate listening positions, as well as the tense of those who participate in sonic events (see chapter two). The program aimed to locate sight and hearing as adjacent layers of the same event as occurs during *yurupari* initiation rituals. During these rituals, only certain listening positions can see and testify to what is happening inside long ceremonial houses, while others try to make sense of noises, sounds, voices, and musics assembled around this larger scenario where the ritual might occur. For Hehénewa, this asynchrony of senses comes from modes of communication with Kwaiwa and prototypical ancestors.

Undoubtedly, this performative takes on radio infrastructures was influenced by recent ideas such as sonic generosity, circulation of archives, Amerindian ritual communication, and anthropology in sound, in the sense that they heavily relied upon the virtual openness and relatedness of “the sonic” and “the aural” (Sykes 2018; Fox 2013; Moreno 2016; Novak 2013; Ochoa Gautier 2014; Lewy 2015; Brabec de Mori and Seeger 2015; Hill 2015b; Feld and Brenneis 2004). Nonetheless, our radio program and its sounds were entangled in, and conditioned by, the world of situations of the Northwestern Amazon in Colombia. This is a world in which Tukanoans are forced to

⁵⁹ With the expression “musicalizing the other,” I follow Jonathan Hill’s ideas about the processes in which relations of alterity are established and experienced through sonic, musical, verbal and expressive performance (2011, 98).

consider their worlds of musicking as something objectified in itself, as “música indígena,” a form of cultural good strongly demanded by the Ministry of Culture and profited-from by mestizo audiences and NGOs in Mitú. It is also a world secluded by a form of governance that restricts and misleads Indigenous organizations as a way to administer their lands, resources, and media infrastructures. That is to say, this experiment was grounded and produced in the intricacies imposed by these audiences and on our own expectations.

A Yuruparí Instrument In-Between Myth and Media

When *Yuruparí Estereo* first went on the air in 1998, its main purpose was to provide playback for messages recorded by mothers to their missing sons—sixteen young Indigenous and non-Indigenous policemen kidnapped by FARC guerillas during a military attack on Mitú.⁶⁰ The station has been particularly open to different programming and has been less attracted to commercial purposes, entertainment, and institutional propaganda, such as those promoted by the police and the Catholic church’s stations, the other two radio frequencies operating in the city. Even though the word *Yuruparí Estereo* makes explicit reference to one of the themes that pervades all Amazonian shamanism and storytelling (Bierhorst 2002, 45), its main concern has not been the dissemination of Indigenous analytics to its audience, but to contribute to the “integral development of human dignity of the people who live in the region” (Corpodihva n.d.). As a radio station, *Yuruparí Estereo* still negotiates the tensions that characterize grassroots movements in the late liberal context of the Northwest Amazon.

⁶⁰ These young policemen were called “bachilleres,” having just begun their practice immediately after finishing high school (“bachillerato” in Spanish). As such, they are distinguished from cadets who enter the police force as a career.

As Antoni Castells suggests, these movements are not entirely grounded in Indigenous communities, as these radio stations broadcast across Indigenous regions where “media infrastructures are still funded and managed by mestizo owners” (2011, 134).

Another intricacy that added grain to our voices by airing *Tataroko* through *Yuruparí Estereo* involves what Daniel Fisher has called “the local complications of speaking in one’s ‘own’ voice” (2012, 72). In his work with Indigenous radio in Australia, Fisher describes the situation faced by individuals who find themselves simultaneously suffocated by the need to join informal market economies and under pressure from governmental and non-governmental investment. In the case of Vaupés, Llanos and I spoke through radio in a region of Colombia in which the right to speak authoritatively about something is always already understood as an abuse of someone else’s right. Such mistrust of another’s voice has poisoned the local atmosphere of breath and the “tenor of the communicative interaction” among differentiated subjects and their varied systems of affiliation (Piot 2010, 5). Equally violence practices of extraction and museification have replaced and “reshaped missionization,” dispersing mistrust over Tukanoan discourse ideologies (Cole 2001, 16). As anthropologists such as Chaumeil (2009), Stephen Hugh-Jones (2010), and Jane Jackson (1995) have reported, for Lowland South America, museification and patrimonialization has colonized multiple contexts in which Indigenous languages and practices of their analytics of existence have been instrumentalized, objectivized, and rigidly formalized by Indigenous associations and national governments in order to negotiate the adoption of UNESCO’s policies for Cultural Heritage in their lands.

It is within this network of instability and interference that the complex dialogue

intended by *Tataroko* took place. Despite all of this, the experiment was designed to engage Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences for thirty minutes in fully detailed explanations in Pamié and Spanish about myth, voices, timbre or sound quality changes, linguistic exogamy, shared listenings, ingestion of substances, and the processes of instrument-making. Every Sunday for three months, *Tataroko* sought to make the audiences of Mitú part and parcel of this audible complication in which Pamié and Spanish voices were masking, revealing, and “transforming each other” by talking without being someone else’s ventriloquist and “without translating what the other wanted to say” (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 12; Spivak 1988, 74). Finally, on May 8, 2016, after the twelfth episode aired in Mitú, an Internet podcast became *Tataroko*’s first afterlife form, so to speak. As a result, all sound recordings produced during my fieldwork were no longer items to be repatriated. In addition to being housed in two local libraries in Mitú, each of the sound recordings were aired and entangled through the dense and humid media-scape of Vaupés.

The Films

I turn now to an exploration of my film trilogy, which includes: *~Kiraiñia* (Long Flutes), *Pami Kirami* (Long House), and *Nady’s Yuruparí in Stereo*. The first film, *~Kiraiñia* (Long Flutes) is an essay film that explores what an instrument sounds like.⁶¹ The film is a deep immersion into the process of remaking instruments and affect in an Indigenous community living in the Vaupés River Valley in Southern Colombia. Its approach breaks with the factual perspective of ethnomusicological films about instruments, opening a cinematic dialogue informed by Emi-Hehénewa nonlinear linking and storytelling. This

⁶¹ The film *~Kiraiñia* (Long Flutes) can be accessed at <https://vimeo.com/370980715>.

film renders the resilience of the Cubeo Emi-Hehénewa community to assemble emotion and memory out of ritual and expressive practices that have been prohibited by Catholic and Protestant missionaries since the mid-1950s. In its essayistic gesture, the film constellates broken pieces of the everyday shared by an ethnomusicologist and an Indigenous community in their common attempt to remember and retell what ~*Kiraiña* long flutes sound like. The film aims to repair the multilingual, perspectival, and thought-provoking exchange between Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences, rendering a cinematic language that is respectful of Indigenous standpoints and open to contemporary debates about hybrid audiences.

The second film, *Pami Kirami* (Long House) features the process of building a longhouse in an Indigenous village after four decades of its absence.⁶² Longhouses have traditionally been the proper venue for musical and ceremonial performance across Indigenous villages located in the Northwest Amazon in Colombia. The way in which Indigenous populations perceive and participate in the cultural and ecological appropriation of their territories has changed recently in the face of multiple intersecting forces, including the success of Catholic missionization through the region, the partnership with pan-Indigenous initiatives, and the emergence of new facilities for community life introduced in the Vaupés region by the local government in the mid-1960s. The film presents community efforts to rebuild the longhouse, and my expectations as a non-Indigenous person, about the emergent meanings of this ceremonial place. The long house was funded largely through my own personal funds in 2017.

⁶² A rough-cut version of *Pami Kirami* (Long House) can be accessed at <https://vimeo.com/544412103>.

The third film, *Nady's Yuruparí in Stereo*, features a contemporary retelling of the Tukanoan myth of the *yuruparí*.⁶³ For Tukanoans, *yuruparí* appears as their mythical ancestor and the prominent ritual instrument from which all societies of the Vaupés River originated. Known as a ritual instrument jealousy hidden from women's gaze, *yuruparí's* sounds and voices carry fundamental messages largely understood by the ear and eye of Tukanoan male *payé*. The film follows an Indigenous woman, Nady, as she struggles to broadcast Indigenous music at *Yuruparí Estereo*, the grassroots radio station located in Mitú. Prompted by her Indigenous origin, Nady attempts to connect with *yuruparí's* powerful sounds and fundamental speech underwater. Simultaneously, the film portrays her social commitment as a professional journalist, showing her effort to disseminate everything she knows about the foreign scholars who returned recordings of Indigenous music to Vaupés.

Audiovisual Arguments in Ethnomusicology

I approached these films with the hope that they might offer insights into the problematics of representation in filmmaking practices, as well as the epistemological problem within the development of ethnomusicology, without, however, borrowing from literature or film studies. Thus, I contend that ethnomusicology has generated the conditions of possibility under which its own film objects and subjects are rendered legible, visible, and audible. This is so because “style” has been functioning as a general category informing both our focus and our sense of reality. Here, I am referring to Alan Lomax’s understanding of style as at once, “the qualitative end-product of a certain set of actions” and “the goal the culture aims for.” For Lomax, “the study of musical style

⁶³ A rough-cut version of *Nady's Yuruparí in Stereo* can be accessed at <https://vimeo.com/544413707>

should embrace the total *human* situation that produces the music” (1959, 929; emphasis added).” In other words, style contains our perspective within two scenarios: one in which we perceive embodied and motioned sound-images moving between human bodies and another, in which we capture and represent the diversity of musical figures that human existence has. This definition of style proposed by Lomax naturalizes and generalizes the notion of humanity in such a way that any notion of difference and variation is a matter of behavior, excluding other qualities of existence such as intention, perception, or affect.

Driven by this interest in musical styles from a behavioral approach, the ethnomusicological point of view has trained itself to identify types through figures and characters through subjectivities according to how they appear to ethnomusicologists when people around the world present themselves as humans through musical performance. Music style has been a powerful and persuasive paradigm, which has prompted ideas such as “musicality,” “bi-musicality,” “musical identity,” and subjects shifting between “worlds musically experienced,” among others (Hood 1960, 57; Skinner 1995, 290; Baily 2001, 90; Tilton 1995, 291; Gimenez 2014, 6). This habituation occurred even before incorporating the camera for personal or professional expression. The ethnomusicological gaze has developed in this way by learning, memorizing, and embodying how to listen, see, feel, focus, and theorize musical style and performance exclusively. Any other components of being musically in the world, such as the ideas and different ways in which humans and other-than-humans listen to sounds are hardly seen by a gaze that prioritizes and values behavior. This type of habituation leaves little room for accounting audio-visually for how sounds and musical practices render (human)

existence noticeable otherwise. The issue with this notion of style and its attachment to external human behavior is that it makes difficult for viewers to see other ways in which musicality can be presented. In fact, when reviewing filmmaking in ethnomusicology manuals, statements that ask us to focus only on “ethnomusicological material” (Meyers 1992, 77) are common. However, I am left wondering, what is proper to “ethnomusicological material”? Who is the intended viewer of this material? And if it is the singular perspective of one person, then, who is this person? What about the “otherwise” left outside the frame? Under what condition of possibility do various kinds of material become “ethnomusicological material”? Which markets and audiences is it that ethnomusicology films target and how do they circulate within them?

The methodological preference for producing films using long-take shots accompanied by synchronized sound has offered a comfortable and stable look for two privileged viewers: those who seek performance transcriptions and those who willing to see musical performances as if they were present in an ethnomusicological setting. The disembodiment of the camera’s point-of-view in the long-take produces and authorizes the gaze of a witness. Yet, observational styles of filmmaking attempting to convey a documentary feeling of authenticity are as problematic as narrative films placing the camera through different spots that look to embody selective perspectives on given subjects. Both techniques equally attempt to stake a position from which audiences can interact with the audiovisual narrative unfolding on the screen, whether it counts as fact or fiction.

Regarding these concerns, Leonardo D’Amico has recently suggested that the enactment of these techniques in ethnomusicological films does not modify the fact that

documentary and docu-fiction genres both “re-represent reality” (2017, 23). Although I agree with this argument, I want to take it further by arguing that everything appearing on screen is already crafted according to the grammar and authoritative position performed by anyone rendering texts, images, or sounds. This authoritative position, and the various ways it arranges audiovisual narratives and diegesis, are indeed the kernel of representation (Brady 1999; Feld and Brenneis 2004; Born 2015; Burke 2010; Clifford and Marcus 1986). This leads me to suggest that films authored by ethnomusicologists represent their assumptions and concerns about the realities they study, rather than thinking about films as similar to transparent glimpses into the lives and realities of the people.

Thus, some aspects of the general perspective on filmmaking in ethnomusicology need to be rethought in order to accomplish the necessary shift of perspective. Two main concerns prompt this need for revision. On the one hand, there is a homology between disciplinary concerns and audiovisual narratives that ethnomusicologists expect to see on-screen. Ethnomusicologists have learned to expect to see particular people performing a musical piece in a context that must be determined. The outcome of this homology, additionally, produces ideas such as films representing (musical) reality (Zemp 1988, 1990; Meyers 1992), while energizing anxieties about framing primarily musical styles on-screen, even if they happen under singular regimes of secrecy. On the other hand, a film’s value and productivity are appraised with reference to academic goals. These notions of meaningfulness not only establish the merit of the work itself but give weight to ideas about the extent to which films count as a scholarly accomplishment.

Alternatively, when the development of authorship forms and argumentation styles in ethnomusicological films are treated and valued as audiovisual essays, they offer a proactive way to develop filmmaking as an “analytic thinking expression” that interacts with more diverse audiences and gendered spectators (Rascaroli 2017, 16). While for practitioners of observational cinema, audiovisual images are the imprint of a unique event or the representation of told stories, for “essayistic filmmakers,” cinematic images are experienced according to their mediated form and their conditions of replicability (Corrigan 2011, 17). The main difference between these perspectives resides in the attachment the former has to the authenticity that film seems to capture, and in the emancipation the latter inaugurates *vis-à-vis* media that allows for discontinuous reenactments, intermediations, and articulations (Alter and Corrigan 2017).

Defocusing Music Style in Ethnomusicological Filmmaking

If one agrees with the definition of the ethnomusicological film as the genre that, “shows a deeper ethnomusicological insight and has the ability to communicate ethnomusicological concepts and contents” (D’Amico 2017, 5), to what extent are shifting paradigms in the discipline transforming the way ethnomusicologists see, listen, think, and feel through filmmaking? I suggest that decentering the aprioristic mode of perception of the ethnomusicological gaze requires, on the one hand, a notion of style in which our understanding of replicability and reality can be interrogated. For instance, a notion of style in which performance does not represent, replicate, or capture identity as human behavior, and a notion of reality, or more accurately, an attitude within reality that remains open, problematic, and sensitive to singular and discontinuous audiences, existents, and registers. On the other hand, this shift of perspective requires a notion of

ethnography that is less concerned with the classification of recurrent behavior, than it is with engaging situated interventions and intermediations through which daily life events are constantly in-process of becoming something else, making us someone else on the move. This openness characterizes the experimental ethnography where ethnomusicological filmmaking can be informed by other theorizations of style and musical relationality.

To this extent, Timothy Rommen and Pirkko Moisala, both ethnomusicologists, have articulated proactive elaborations of the two concepts I use to foster my conceptualization on cinematic thinking in ethnomusicology. Rommen suggests that, “musical style participates in an imaginative game” which serves as “an important vehicle through which individuals reaffirm, change or articulate the status of their relationships to community” (2007, 44-45). In this sense, rather than functioning as an index of given identities that would make people feel and experience their cultural differences, Rommen contends that style “is a polarizing and insistent reminder of the impossible struggle for unity” (46). This impossibility of unity is, for Moisala, the driving force that shapes our attempts at meaning-making. It is through the repetition of these attempts, she suggests, that we begin to realize—and notice—what makes these imaginative games so fundamental to our relationality, without fixing in advance the ingredients of the interactions:

Noticing, in its turn, proceeds from never being definitely sure of the feature, qualities, or participants of musicking in the first place. It seeks to move forward toward observing—and taking seriously—becomings, the unexpected, and what I will call singular processes of differently situated musicking, including researchers’ entanglements with them (Moisala et al. 2014, 74-75).

Finally, by bringing the aforementioned notions of style and musicking into the

diegesis of sounding and moving image, films could gradually diffract other epistemological and ontological concerns in ethnomusicology. The artifacts of ethnography produced during my fieldwork attempt to present the configurations of the sensible informed by the audiovisual analytics of my Tukanoan interlocutors. In these three films, the camera became a means for professional expression and the diegetic space offering a fertile ground for argumentation. In this light, filmmaking in ethnomusicology is called to move towards a modality of cinematic thinking, without diminishing the role it has played as a subsidiary tool for transcription purposes. The modality of cinematic thinking could expand the affordances of new concepts, grapple with the challenges of community work, and evolve the teaching infrastructures of ethnomusicology.

Multimodality and New Infrastructures

To conclude, the experimental character of *Tataroko*, ~*Kiraiñia* (Long Flutes), *Pami Kirami* (Long House), and Nady's *Yurupari Stereo*, attempts to re-pair the multilingual, perspectival, and thought-provoking exchange between Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences, rendering a cinematic language that is respectful of Indigenous standpoints and open to contemporary debates relevant to hybrid audiences. This shift of perspective attempts to transform the way we listen and see, taking us closer to how the interlocutors we work with conceive the world (Hill 1993; Seeger 2004). The multimodal approach of my dissertation is in line with this premise but goes further by producing artifacts through which we listen, see, and think *with* Tukanoans without necessary listening, seeing, or thinking *as* Tukanoans do. These ethnographic artifacts are produced with the intention of introducing listeners and viewers to ambiguous, "indistinct and fertile grounds"

(Beaudet 2011, 389), in which they can re-configure themselves through a form exchange akin to a Tukanoan *dabukuri*, and/or as a co-theorizing exercise that uses media as a medium for argumentation. Multimodal and experimental ethnography, then, has allowed me to diffract Tukanoan analytics, foster new collaborative infrastructures, and unfold archives *of* and *about* Tukanoans. This diffraction situates Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers alike outside the archives they produce, bringing them into multisensory engagements where they can reconfigure decolonial horizons.

CHAPTER 4 — *YURUPARÍ'S* DISAPPEARANCE: WOMEN'S LAUGHTER AND INSTRUMENTALITY IN VAUPÉS

Scholarship about *yuruparí* instruments has revealed in detail—even graphically—its mythical origins, shamanic functions, symbolism, and formal characteristics across Tukanoan Indigenous communities of the Northwest Amazon. Yet, in writing about these instruments from an ocular-witness position, scholars have reproduced male-oriented politics of labor and gender in the region, taking them as fixed constituents of Indigenous Peoples' social life. Consequently, *Yuruparí* instruments remain unheard, while knowledge about them remains partial along gender lines. However, on the one hand, few analyses have discussed women's proactive attitudes toward the *yuruparí*, which are uniquely non-occur, due to the fact that women are not allowed to see, touch, or handle these instruments during initiation rituals. On the other hand, sound recordings and other sensorial renditions of the instruments have rarely been taken into account as primary sources for inquiry and interpretation, thus, categorizing the most fundamental component of Tukanoan instrumentality within an exclusive male and visual domain. In this chapter, I engage these two threads to theorize Tukanoan expressivity in a “new organology” (Tresch and Dolan 2013) that presents *yuruparí* instruments *otherwise*. The shift to a female attunement for perceiving *yuruparí* instruments fosters Indigenous creativity and modes of transformation, which remain open to possible futures.

In Vaupés' everyday life, forms of aggression between members of different Tukanoan language groups have shifted from backtalk and sorcery to other less “symbolic” forms of threat, such as sexual assault, job discrimination, and shaming those who are considered “less Indigenous.” These later threats, often deprived of symbolic and magical sophistication, establish forms of difference into new figures of technologically mediated social interactions that made a deep imprint on my fieldwork between 2016 and 2018. During this period, I found Tukanoan themes such as the *yuruparí* emerging into new scenarios and expanding their resonance beyond the restricted domain of the initiation rituals I attended. My theorization aims to address the significance of this emergence for the conceptualization of sensory modes of engagement brought up by *yuruparí* instruments.

This chapter mobilizes what John Tresch and Emily I. Dolan call a “new organological taxonomy” (2013, 284) to examine the strong connection established by Tukanoan women between the powerful sounds of *yuruparí* and the set of instruments they are not allowed to see. According to Tresch and Dolan, this organological approach studies the ethical work instruments help humans accomplish, as well as the situations in which instruments are assembled. In so doing, it recasts instances where non-human agency can be understood. Similarly, my analysis directly echoes Rafaél José de Menezes Bastos's influential work on instruments in Lowland South America. Menezes Bastos addresses “the broader ethnological concerns about power relations, sociocultural constructions of the senses, and of world constitution in general” (Menezes Bastos 2011, 76). His works on the sexual life of the *Kamayurá* ritual flutes pioneered the awareness of

an alternative organology similar to my study of sonic features of *yurupari* instruments, and the powerful effects they have upon the constitution of listeners' enfleshments.

A perspectival shift in classifying instruments beyond musical properties and affordances contributes to an analysis of the relation between listening and creativity, understood as praxes grounded in communicative ideologies. In these ideologies, the co-constitution of listeners' flesh and the possibility to make sense of sounds are two sides of the same coin. *Yurupari* instruments are powerful actants that provide a context of signification for humans, particularly in the context of initiation rituals in Tukanoan villages where they are often linked to harvesting seasons. While the instruments' appearance is sonically established, not all residents of Tukanoan villages make equal sense of them. Being exposed to *yurupari*'s sonic motions and having the aural skills to make sense of them reveal the Tukanoan sensorium to be part and parcel of a moral economy that serves to differentiate listeners and produce sensorial positionalities each and every time the instruments are heard. These sensorial positionalities can be understood as "enfleshments," a notion introduced by Povinelli to highlight the uneven constitution of the flesh:

The flesh may be an effect of these discourses but it is not reducible to them. To make sense is to shape, etch, and engender discourse as much as it is to direct and frame physicalities, fabricate habitudes, habituate vision, and leave behind new material habitats that will be called on to replicate, justify, defy, and interfere with given sense-making and with the distribution of life and death, wealth and poverty, that this sense-making makes possible. (2006, 7)

This alternative organology studies the relationship between sense-making and the direction and framing of physicalities as the ethical labor of *yurupari* instruments. My close analysis of the sensorial and ethical work of *yurupari*'s sounds provides a groundbreaking position for studying the attempts of Tukanoan women to reclaim

primordial ownership over *yuruparí* instruments. Tukanoan women are re-appropriating *yuruparí* instruments through creative processes in which their well-being is at stake, and where the gap between myth and everyday life becomes ambiguous.

Toward an Alternative Approach to Tukanoan Instrumentality

My approach to the Tukanoan *yuruparí* focuses neither on the set of rules and prohibitions that regulate men and women's behavior, nor on the intrinsic meanings of the instrument, but rather, on what Tresch and Dolan call "the ethics of instruments" (2013, 282). According to Tresch and Dolan, instruments are not only resonators of human volition or inhuman mechanisms, but are subjects of agency, quality, and intention. Building on this, my organological approach shifts from the conventional emphasis on given objects, their function and meaning, towards the ethical work they help accomplish and the world of situations and mediations in which they are assembled.

I analyze the ethical work performed by *yuruparí* instruments, as well as the activities through which these instruments are constituted and in which "they seem to be still in transition" (Augustat 2011, 368). These activities include the occasions when *yuruparí* ancestors are heard and noticed by my Tukanoan interlocutors, whether or not they are attached to a musical or ritual performance. The instrumentality of these ancestors has a dynamic character that touches on multiple aspects of community life, including the constitution of the person and the possibility of communicating with others beyond spoken words. Consequently, my take on this new taxonomy introduces sound

recordings and other inscriptions of sonicity into the map of mediations through which *yuruparí* instruments exist in a process of becoming.⁶⁴

As is well known in Amazonian ethnology, *yuruparí* ancestors appear as a set of powerful instruments featured in male initiation rituals in longhouses (Koch-Grünberg 1909; Goldman 1979; Hugh-Jones 1979b; Århem 1981; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1996; Hill and Chaumeil 2011b; Århem et al. 2004; Goldman 2004; Karadimas 2008). Women listen to these rituals from a distance, while men are accompanied and guided by initiated *payé* who provide substances to be ingested and redistributed among participants. The distance of women from longhouses reinforces their aural proximity with *yuruparí* ancestors. After *yuruparí* ancestors leave ceremonial places accompanied by men, the entire community gathers together and the celebration ensues until the following day. In the telling of their mythical narratives, most Tukanoan groups from Northwest Amazon say that women were *yuruparí*'s owners in primordial times until men stole the instruments (Hill and Chaumeil 2011b). Later, men forged an agreement amongst themselves that prohibits women from seeing the instruments, so as to prevent them from taking them back; they warn of compromise their mental, gynecological, and prenatal health should women set eyes upon the instruments.

There are two main differences between my approach and recent scholarly work on the Tukanoan *yuruparí* by Juan Camilo González Galvis and Natalia Lozada Mendieta (2012), Luis Cayón (2013), Gláucia Burrato Rodriguez de Mello (2013), Janet Chernela (2015), Edson Tosta Matarezio (2015), and Stephen Hugh-Jones (2017). On the one hand, my approach is concerned with how a Tukanoan audience that cannot see these

⁶⁴ See Hugh-Jones (2017) for a recent study of instruments already constituted and their *formal and visible characteristics* among Tukanoan language groups of Northwest Amazonia.

instruments makes sense of them. I am less concerned with how Tukanoan men perform on them or with what these instruments signify within male-regulated systems of shamanistic orientation. I do not elaborate the issue of male-regulated systems because, by definition, they prevent *yuruparí* instruments from being in contact with the primordial qualities these instruments have under the female domain. On the other hand, my analysis relies on media and other ethnographic artifacts in which sounds associated with *yuruparí* instruments are digitally and mechanically reproducible, while the aforementioned anthropologists have, for the most part, based their analyses on written reports about the instruments.

The aforementioned anthropologists have commented extensively on the secrecy aspect of *yuruparí* instruments, highlighting their shamanic power and meaning among Tukanoan language groups. Despite the mediation introduced by their printed scholarship, which in some cases includes diagrams and drawings, it tends to challenge the secrecy aspect of the instruments they study. Tensions around this secrecy are intensified in two separate and complementary dimensions of anthropological research. First, during fieldwork, scholars interact on an everyday basis with a set of names and words for sites and objects that women, especially, cannot know, name, use, or even hear. Alexandra Aikhenvald has called these names and words “the deceiving women register” (2019, 96). This linguistic register, however, does not restrain women from having an aural and haptic relation with the vibrant and material presence of *yuruparí* instruments. Second, on a more theoretical level, due to the aprioristic orientation of their research, scholars often disclose and bring forward everything they study, thus, disappointing their

interlocutors and mistranslating the propositional analytics of Indigenous Peoples' lifeworlds.⁶⁵

My alternative approach to Tukanoan instrumentality calls scholars to transfigure the ways through which they have seen and studied *yuruparí* instruments. I aim to develop methods that amplify the sonic presence of these instruments, in order to analyze the *yuruparí* without diminishing its secrecy, thus safeguarding Tukanoan analytics.⁶⁶ My approach to Tukanoan instrumentality centers on recorded sound, because it draws attention to the “magnified density” of *yuruparí* properties (Allen 2016, 416). In so doing, I reveal the varied scopes and differential registers in which listeners interact with these powerful instruments.⁶⁷ These aural and sonic registers may not equate to *yuruparí* instruments in their given materiality as perceived by men and shamans. Nonetheless, they are important realms where *yuruparí*'s instrumentality acquires presence, agency, and dimension in Tukanoan lifeworlds—lifeworlds in which “sound is more important than the object in itself, and [where] sound is the real materialization of the invisible” (Augustat 2011, 368).

Accordingly, I do not suggest that ritual performance and mechanical reproduction of sounds are the same, or that the analysis of recorded music replaces in-depth fieldwork renditions of performances. I am aware of the potential effect that recorded sounds may have on the study of musical practices in Amerindian societies,

⁶⁵ Luis Cayón explicitly mentioned these “conflicts between anthropologists and communities” derived from printed scholarship on *yuruparí* related subjects and other matters associated to healing procedures (Cayón 2013, 218).

⁶⁶ See Pitrou (2012), Olivier and Neurath (2017), and Lagrou (2007) for recent discussions on how ritual and artistic practices develop diverse perspectival shifting strategies.

⁶⁷ The idea of recorded sound I elaborate here relies on a comparison between the transduction process of audio recording and the miniaturization of camelids into tiny stones in highland Andean communities studied by Katherine Allen (2016). Allen argues that even though the number of properties and scale of camelids are reduced by this process, the outcome amplifies a dense materiality that is also of special interest for ritual practices among these Andean communities (417).

particularly when scholars use sound recordings to define what Indigenous musics are about (Seeger 2015, 267). However, avoiding theorizing Tukanoans' relation with media technology on a deep level also presents an erroneous idea of Amerindians as passive users of technological devices.

In sum, my approach fosters the ethical work of Tukanoan instruments, highlighting the creative mediations widespread around the Amazon region between Indigenous and non-Indigenous technics (Gow 1995; Wilson and Stewart 2008; Alemán 2011; Bessire 2012). The analysis of these creative mediations of Tukanoan musicking is especially relevant as it is through sounds that enfleshments of gender and “relations of alterity” are noticed and expressed (Menezes Bastos 2011, 82; Hill and Castrillón 2017, 25). My approach is deeply informed by my encounters with *yuruparí* instruments and with my female interlocutors during my fieldwork in 2012 and 2018. Indeed, the assemblage of aural and sonic registers happens in various occasions when *yuruparí* instruments are noticed inside and outside of ceremonial longhouses, when they are about to be shown on a video, when they are heard at a distance through the cold midnight air, or through the humid atmosphere of a sunny day. Because these occasions do not make direct allusions to musical performance, I propose an organology without musical instruments as a methodology for an inquiry about sonic processes of *becoming*, where senses, instruments, and notions of difference are set in motion in other possible ways.⁶⁸

In this study, similar to the “sound-centered” approach to notions of alterity I have advanced elsewhere (Hill and Castrillón 2017, 25), emphasis is given to processes

⁶⁸ See Povinelli (2011, 7) and Moisala (2014, 88) for a more extended discussion on the proactive collaboration between “anthropology of the otherwise” and the introduction of practices of “experimental methodologies in ethnomusicology” in the study ontologically open lifeworlds.

whereby objects, affects, relations, actants, and situations are sonically co-constituted, inscribed, disassembled, and transfigured.

A Woman Listening to Yuruparí Ancestors in Mitú

In a small city in Southern Colombia, an adult Indigenous woman is excited to finally

have the chance to watch a documentary film about the musical instruments of her

region. Sitting in her office in the city of Mitú, Nadiezda Novoa turns on her laptop.

Awaiting with curiosity and joy to the contents of the USB file, she activates full-screen

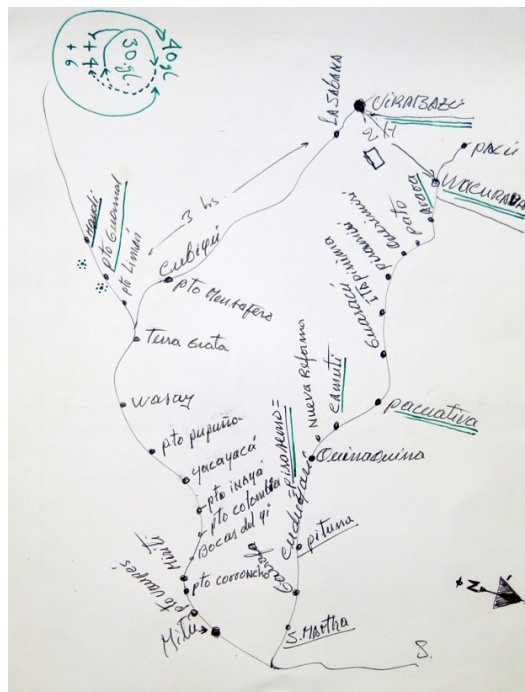
mode. On seeing the logo of the Colombian Ministry of Culture and the State of Vaupés,

her excitement drains and turns to anger, as a disclaimer prohibits her from watching the

film. An Indigenous Elder appears on screen wearing a feather crown and loincloth.

Speaking through the laptop, accompanied by the Spanish captioning, he warns women

and children they may fall ill if they watch the documentary that follows.



Map 5. Mitú and adjacent communities along the river Vaupés and Cuduyarí

Novoa, a journalist and radio broadcaster who lives in Mitú, works for the National Health Organization. She is the daughter of two schoolteachers: her mother is a Pedikwa-Hehénewa woman, and her father a mestizo from the urban center of Villavicencio who has traveled and lived in various locations across the Tukanoan communities of the Cuduyarí River (Map 5). Novoa is a fluent Spanish-speaker and has spent most of her life in Mitú, in closer proximity to her mother's cousins than her father's relatives in Villavicencio. Even though she invests all her efforts supporting her mother's relatives, she barely communicates with them in Pamie due to the fact that, as a Tukanoan woman, she is expected to prioritize speaking her father's language. Among Tukanoan families, children learn to speak their father's language, or *patrilecto*, as they socialize in small communities near their father's extended families, and distant from their mother's relatives. In Novoa's case, her Tukanoan identification goes beyond a linguistic ability to communicate with her cousins. She intervenes on a daily basis as a journalist in advocacy activities, with the aim of promoting better living conditions among her relatives and their communities.



Image 19. Nadiezda Novoa. Photo by the author.

I was interviewing Novoa in 2017 when she wanted to share the video with me, but then suddenly decided not to watch. Immediately after we saw the trigger warning she shouted:

Juan that's so rude! As if we were not having enough violence against women in Mitú and Vaupés. What should we expect from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and its mission to reinvigorate the life of our people? As you can see, this is another example by which I feel so diminished in my self-determination to do or not to things in the public sphere. Can you imagine what else is happening within our Indigenous communities in Vaupés if this documentary film was accepted at the level of central government in Bogotá?⁶⁹

Novoa's discomfort with the prohibition against watching the state-funded video intended for a public audience also resulted from the fact that it was Javier Suarez who produced this video. Suarez, a well-established engineer of Caribbean origin, arrived in Mitú in the 1970s. According to the Ministry of Culture's website, Suarez was recognized as "the most prominent living musical figure of the Vaupés" (Ministry of Culture of Colombia 2009). Since 1990, Suarez has conducted projects about traditional Indigenous music through his NGO, Asociación Etnoselva, which is supported by the Financial Fund for Development Projects (FONADE). Apart from these activities as a local researcher, Suarez is the only coffin seller in the city, and the main composer of Vaupés. Suarez' most renowned compositions include the anthems of three districts and three municipalities. When I interviewed Suarez in 2013, he bragged about the work of his NGO and his approach to Tukanoan traditional music:

Our [recording] collection is original; there is nothing that resembles it. We have everything clear and we always go directly to the origin of things. We haven't read books by other authors because they are wrong. We haven't made any publications or outreach materials for the general public. We aren't interested in bragging about unfinished projects. We want to do something purer and more pristine. We know that this is not healthy neither for research interests nor for the

⁶⁹ Nadiezda Novoa, Interview with the author, Mitú, March 12, 2017.

National System of Public Libraries. We haven't had any problem with people saying that there were unauthorized songs or pictures going around. We aborted projects after knowing that Indigenous communities were fusing musics. We are interested in roots, artists' identities, and their biographies. We trust pretty much our own work. Now there is an audiovisual component coming with transcripts on Indigenous languages. The collection is so important. It is like honey.⁷⁰

Novoa's discomfort about the opportunistic nature of Suarez's projects mirrored my own reservations regarding his folkloristic approach to Tukanoan expressivity.

Even if I acknowledge Novoa's ambiguous ethnic identification, given that she could be considered both a local and a foreign observer of the *yurupari* tradition, I still wonder why Novoa was determined not to watch the film, even mediated by her laptop. Perhaps the media infrastructure in which the warning operates sets the scenario for decision-making. If this is so, then Novoa's encounter with her laptop is less a technological mediation through which the prohibition is enunciated, but rather a scenario in which gender appears as the outcome of a sensorial positionality.

Since the beginning of my fieldwork in 2012, women introduced me to Indigenous communities, local libraries, and radio stations in Vaupés. In these venues, I have had the opportunity to speak openly with men about matters that women rarely brought into conversations. During the initial months of residency in the region, I was repeatedly referred to men when I wanted to speak with women. It took me several months to realize that *having a conversation* with Tukanoan women about these matters will simply take years. For that reason, everything I have learned through women about musical and expressive performances during years of research does not come from interviews. Rather, I gradually accumulated moments of realization when women were

⁷⁰ Javier Suarez, Interview with the author, Mitú, October 18, 2013.

linking events and previous conversations related to my own interests while talking to other women in Mitú; when I was traveling in a skinny canoe packed with children, products for sale, and drunk adults; and while I was working with women in their gardens, when, all of a sudden, the subject of a previous conversation became associated to another person, plant, or animal they saw around. Or, as in this case, of Novoa refusing to watch this documentary film about *yuruparí* instruments through her laptop. Women do speak about musical and expressive performances, but they do so in a tense in which direct conversations are diffused into a variety of separate—even unrelated—events.

A Man Trying to Record a Serious Ceremony

For more than fifty years, Elorza, the Catholic missionary, had no opportunities to record the Tukanoan ceremonies he witnessed in Vaupés throughout the 1960s. It was only in 1982 that Elorza first recorded excerpts of a male initiation ritual in a Barasano community near the Caño Colorado River in the Middle Vaupés region. Elorza's recording constitutes the only available audio recording made during this period associated with *yuruparí* instruments.⁷¹ The recording, titled *Fiesta de Yuruparí* (Yuruparí Party), was stored at the Ethnographic Museum Miguel Ángel Builes in Medellín with three other tapes that together total three hours of sonic documents produced in Vaupés during the six decades of Elorza's work in the region. Following is a transcription of two conversations—along with an exchange of laughter between

⁷¹ Another contemporary audio work featuring Tukanoan expressive practices produced around the time Elorza worked in the Vaupés region was produced by British Institute of Recorded Sound in 1972. This release came out of the Anglo-Colombian Recording Expedition that visited the Pirá-Paraná drainage region in 1960-61. This release does not include any sonic register of *yuruparí* instruments, but Tukanoan panpipe dances, male choirs, duct flutes. A melancholic note written by Donald Tayler and Brian Moser in the recording's liner notes a sound of regret in regards to their misfortune of not having an opportunity to capture those "mysterious sounds highly repudiated by missionaries" (Moser and Tayler 1972, 10).

Barasano women—extracted from a 26-minute audio sample that features excerpts of the initiation ritual recorded by Elorza.⁷²

17:06 – 20:27s. *Yurupari* sounds are back. They appear combined with ~*kiraiña* long flutes' sounds. The distortion of *Yurupari* sounds increases. Involuntary movements of the recorder are noticed. Rooster crowing.

20:28 – 25:11s. *Yurupari* sounds and ~*kiraiña* long flutes sounding together. A dog begins to bark continuously and Elorza apparently leaves the longhouse. “What is going on?” he asks. A man answers, his response is not clear. Then, girls and women begin to talk and laugh profusely. There is a moment in which Elorza also laughs, briefly. The conversation among women continues. Louder volume is noticed:

Juaquinanare va cuasujo yi coarūgumū yū juama va coacomo ado june gajerama nyacoabū

(Juaquina is gone, I am telling you while thinking, others are saying that she is here and has not left)

Rigia Vadío ... ja ja ja ja vama uga

(Ligia Vadío [Women's laughter] wear the feather crown and tuck it!)

Vama uga yibeja tame ja yūcayairo

(There is a way to put on the feathers, but there are some people with such a head that the crown doesn't fit well)

Eroyaju ja ja ja

(Mister Ero try it [Women's laughter])

Tuya tuya bibecoaña budicoaña dakera

(Close the door, close it! Children, get out!)

Ni ne dakeramare vari ba masīnyuju

(Yes, close the door so that kids won't take a look. They may get sick).⁷³

The low-fi quality of Elorza's recording device is overloaded with low frequencies and louder sounds of *yurupari* instruments so that it opens a sonic space for women's laughter, which is usually masked during ethnographic descriptions of initiation rituals in Vaupés. As a result, this sonic rendition shows how the recording process not only inscribes sounds, but also amplifies points of listening over certain events, setting possibilities for further evaluation.⁷⁴ The sound recorder operated by Elorza constitutes a

⁷² Click here to access the audio recording. Elorza granted me permission to analyze his set of recordings in a letter he signed after I interviewed him in 2014, four years before he passed away.

⁷³ Translation from Barasano language to Spanish by Etelvina Gómez. English translation by the author.

⁷⁴ As discussed in chapter 2, these mic-positionalities refer to the mediation produced by recording technology and scholars during ethnographic encounters, in which sound recording and playback devices

non-human agent that refuses to silence women in front of the loud, sacred, and prominent presence of *yurupari* instruments. In this sense, his sonic rendition of the ritual constitutes an unprecedented and disturbing (although highly insightful) contribution to the study of these Tukanoan instruments as it reverses the male perspective on the ritual, unmasking women's behavior and featuring *yurupari* sounds and women's laughter happening simultaneously. Listening to this simultaneity, I wonder, what does women's laughter do to the *yurupari*'s sounds in Elorza's recording?

This analysis foregrounds the fertile space created among of points of listening in which communicative ideologies are densely grounded and where creative interventions shift contexts of signification. Hugh-Jones mentions women's behavior in his description of male initiation rituals in which *yurupari* instruments are featured guests: "During the rite," he recounts "all unnecessary noise and especially laughter is forbidden; only the sacred sounds of chanting and of *He* [*yurupari* instruments], the sound of the *He* people or first ancestors, is allowed" (1979a, 89). Yet, the only mention Hugh-Jones makes of other unnecessary noises is men's ritualized joking shouts expressing approval and happiness. In establishing continuity between Hugh-Jones' ethnographic description and Elorza's recording I hope to show that Tukanoan women are not solemnly silent during these events. Women too occupy points of listening.

Indeed, women's behavior seems to frustrate the expectations of Tukanoan and non-Tukanoan males concerned with the seriousness and sacred dimension of the ceremony in which their masculine enfleshment is felt, enhanced, and fabricated. Both Hugh-Jones and Elorza participated in embodying this enfleshment through their

are understood as "bridging modes of relationality" (Hill and Castrillón 2017, 10). This notion emerges as a critical reflection to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's perspectivism (1996), suggesting that phonographic technologies also instantiate shared perspectival encounters rarely theorized in Amazonia.

processes of documentation, not because their gendered bodies changed irreversibly into a sort of “Tukanoan male body” through the ritual, but because they silenced women and marked their behavior negatively, just as Tukanoan men often do. In other words, both were biased toward Tukanoan men through an enfleshment characterized by a listening standpoint grounded in gendered difference.⁷⁵

Gripping Laughter

Elorza’s recording exposes our ears to unheard women’s behavior, covering the voice of *yurupari* instruments through laughter. This laughter does not seem to upset the ritual, as laughter continues until a fragment of Vallenato music suddenly interrupts the recording. It folds and triggers the voice of *yurupari* instruments along three trajectories of thought and action. First, this laughter signals women evaluating the performance of men and strengthening their own power and desire. Second, it mobilizes anticipated forms of women’s hope and joy inherent to manioc beer’s preparation. Third, this laughter enhances women’s own willingness to be positively valued by the community, that is, hoping everyone will ingest all manioc beer and eat the food they prepared for the ritual while men were busy in their intimacy with *yurupari* ancestors in the deep forest, near to fruit trees, or underwater. Women like to feed the community and enjoy making men drunk with the beer they make from the products of their gardens.

In a more general sense, laughter happening during this serious event allows women to witness the contradictory genesis of the historical time of Tukanoan men, which is reintroduced by the initiation ritual every time it occurs. This foundational

⁷⁵ For Hehénewa speakers (aka Cubeo) these enfleshments are closer to what they call “*kahe*” (Rodriguez 2000). This *kahe* can be the shell, a dress or a mask of a three “*ta-kahe*,” of tobacco “*buchi-kahe*,” or *yagé* “*mihi-kahe*.” To put “*kahe* on” refers, then, to submerging or to covering one’s existence with it.

contradiction can be presented in two parts. First, men renew an order where they grant ownership over *yurupari* instruments. This ownership allows them to stabilize a modality of sexual difference that, according to men, will maintain the reproduction of cosmic sociality, thus, keeping the world cured, healthy, and safe from primordial danger. In primordial times, reproduction occurred through the generative force of Tukanoan prototypical ancestors and sexual intercourse was absent. Sexual intercourse emerged as a mode of social reproduction only when Tukanoan moieties began intermarrying with other groups, immediately after prototypical ancestors left the region. Second, the contradiction marked through laughter characterizes women's decision to enact the arbitrariness of not watching something that used to be theirs, as when Novoa refused to watch the documentary film on her laptop. By way of laughter, then, the Tukanoan women featured in Elorza's recording appear to simultaneously experience pain and pleasure, sourness and sweetness. Such is the tenor of Tukanoan women's affect, which is noticeable when they are called to enter longhouses to dance, eat, and drink right after *yurupari* ancestors are gone.

Laughter underscores layers of sense unconcerned with specific meaning. To ask only for the meaning of laughter mutes the enormous dissonance it provokes, transposing it to a referential ground in which it could mean something, but still not make any sense. Instead, the layers of sense opened by this gripping laughter, catalyze the active forces of Tukanoan women to perform their primordial ownership of instruments. These forces allow them to expel not mythical narratives, but powerful laughter through their mouths, reacting and replying to a *world* and a *language* to which they do not want to belong. "World" refers here to the patrilocal sphere where Tukanoan men live, independent from

women's worlds; and "language" to the set of interpretations given by male specialists to what was once women's business.

The Ethical Work of Yuruparí Instruments and the Paradox of Women's Laughter, or Vice Versa

Scholars have attempted to describe rituals featuring *yuruparí* instruments from a dialectical perspective, gesturing toward a balanced idea about what is still considered a male initiation ritual. Whereas Leonor Herrera, in her early work titled "*Yuruparí* and Women," suggests that the prohibition of seeing the instruments resolves ritually the structural tension between men and women (1975, 430), Hugh-Jones argues that male and female "create a unity of a higher order than the creative elements [...] a heterosexual community who eats the meal in the center of the house" (1979a, 203). Finally, Luis Cayón strives to reconcile sexual difference by establishing a similarity of powers organized in separate domains: "in the human world," he writes, "*yuruparí* flutes are to men what menstruation is to women" (2013, 215). Yet, this symmetry of powers still portrays the ethical work of *yuruparí* instruments bouncing dialectically between sameness and equilibrium in Tukanoan lifeworlds.

Jean Jackson takes another position in her analysis of the ontological and sexual asymmetry featured by *yuruparí* rituals, when she argues that *yuruparí* instruments: unmistakably symbolize—to Tukanoans as well as ethnographers—male dominance and superiority. But in addition to rejecting women (both actually and symbolically) and demonstrating the dangers of female sexuality, they are also an expropriation of female power, an excellent example of flattery, envy, and non-rejection (Jackson 1983, 191). Jackson's mimetic analysis ascribes to women the capacity to hold in reserve

a capacity that Tukanoan men appropriate via initiation rituals. Here emerges the need for performances that signify, not so much power, but its management through the space-time opened by ritual action.

Let's think for a moment of the space-time of this ritual as a sort of reflection of an origin myth in which men have transformed and managed an initial order of things. And let's remember another foundational myth, this time of Western metaphysics: Plato's cave, where thought is understood as a flat mirror in which the real is reflected. Luce Irigaray (1985) turns Plato's cave upside down introducing a concave mirror (*speculum*) that diffracts the real according to the surfaces of the cave. The introduction of this other mirror breaks the "unidirectional reflections" that the real might offer to men's thought only (Irigaray 1985, 149). Jackson (like Irigaray) curved upside down *yurupari* rituals, exposing the non-self-referential connotations these rituals have for women. Janet Chernela's analysis of Tukanoan women's ritual action follows a similar orientation. Chernela gives examples of how women destabilize and twist forms of knowing during the performance of *buhupu basa* songs presented before serious audiences. According to Chernela, ritual mockers target not the truth of what is being said, but "the purposeful misrepresentation of the speaker's relationship with the information conveyed" (2011, 205).

Like Jackson and Chernela, I am interested in developing more radical positions toward the study of Tukanoan communication ideologies by demonstrating how sonic and verbal art, speech genres, and other creative and expressive praxes help diffuse fixed cosmological orders. These praxes unfold plural enfleshments and the unequal dynamics of Tukanoan forms of knowledge and communication.

Differential Listening in Tukanoan Lifeworlds

The expression “differential listening” refers to the aural production of difference within the community, that is, to the aural register in which interactions among participants of sonic events are set in motion, rendering their alterity as one among others. This aural register is part of communication ideologies in which humans, non-humans, and others-than-Tukanoans interact through the fertile overlap of music, voice, sound, speech, and instrumentality across the Vaupés basin. Differential listening is co-constituted with varied modes of sensory exchange with *yuruparí* ancestors to produce differential types of engagement. On the one hand, engagement goes beyond forms of communication based on fixed meanings, expanding into alternative ways to evaluate, notice, and listen. On the other hand, the evaluation of the engagement with *yuruparí* ancestors happens in relational spaces, in which instruments and listeners breathe together and “acclimatize the atmospheres” of their lifeworlds (Castro 2009, 92).

From a Tukanoan standpoint, this atmosphere was set as the first possible conjugation between any subject of sound and prototypical ancestors, often en fleshed by *yuruparí* instruments—by subject of sound I refer to any human or non-human existence able to hear. Mythical narratives report that Tukanoan permanent sites of residence were the spots in which different not-yet-human subjects of sound listened to the call of *yuruparí* ancestors (Goldman 2004, 50). This is the case of the Cubeo, who listened to the *yuruparí* ancestors as sardines searching for their given territory. The skill to make sense of this call opens the possibility for a Tukanoan to become subject of a cluster of grammatical solidarities and linguistic laws of what Chernela calls “alterlecto” (2013, 226): a language different from the mother-tongue and father-tongue among Tukanoan

language groups. In other words, *yuruparí* ancestors are the privileged speakers who set in motion the enunciation force of a *non-human tongue*.

At the moment a Tukanoan is touched by the motion of this non-human tongue, two fundamental processes of the Tukanoan language as a system (*langue*) are established for the female audience member. On the one hand, she learned to listen to and speak the language of her mother (*matrilecto*) during childhood. On the other hand, she learned to replace this *matrilecto* during her youth when she adopted her father-language (*patrilecto*). Even though all members of Tukanoan Indigenous communities have something to do with the unusual, loud, and propitious visit of *yuruparí* ancestors during rituals, not all members make equal sense of everything these ancestors have to communicate. For instance, to the ears of Tukanoan male shamans, *yuruparí*' sounds are signifiers whereby their knowledge and proto-history are inscribed, heard, and seen (Århem et al. 2004; Goldman 2004). From their perspective, there is not just mere sound heard from these instruments, but a “geo-social” pre-existence uttered by living entities through the interlocking and cyclic power of “musicalized action” (Cayón 2013, 411; Hill 2015b, 185). Everyone and everything may be a subject of sound, but communicative ideologies perform enormous social work in assigning value for sound in the community.

The non-human tongue that *yuruparí* instruments deploy transforms every person attending the rituals into listeners, regardless of the language they speak. Most of these listeners, especially young and adult males, can also be viewers, yet only a few male Elders are capable of understanding (e.g., *yavíva*, *kumú* or *payé* shamans). Women (and to an extent children), however, can *only* be listeners, never viewers and never beings with understanding. In contexts where *yuruparí* instruments are present, male Elders

often use their authorized voices (*parole*) to transform what appears unintelligible (sounds or speech) for audiences in longhouses. They are the main and only operators of the *alterlecto*'s signaling, through which Tukanoan geo-social preexistence is witnessed, retold, reinscribed, and re-membered. Unlike what occurs with male Elders, the Tukanoan encounter with the sonic motion of this non-human tongue generates significant ambiguity. Suddenly, listeners are called to evaluate the eccentric sounds of these instruments and make sense of them within the framework of their own semiotic skills. The intensity of this ambiguity is redoubled for women within the register of Tukanoan differential listening.

For a woman who must listen in order to laugh, to notice and evaluate are already attitudes towards worlds disconnected from essentialist or fixed characterizations. The emerging assemblages of the relations between semiotic and listening acts are, for Tukanoan women, creative and powerful reenactments. This attitude is opposed to Tukanoan men's unity of thought, in which everything is *always already* seen as alive, animated, and connected beyond any understanding women can have about the fundamental concerns of Tukanoan shamanism.

From this pallo-ocularcentric standpoint over *yuruparí* instruments, women's evaluations are deemed ambiguous and deceptive misrepresentations. It is in this ambiguity, however, that women can continue what they did when men stole primordial ownership of these powerful instruments: that is, they can take back the *yuruparí*.

The Labor of Taking Back Yuruparí Instruments

My forthcoming ethnographic film *Nady's Yuruparí in Stereo*, follow a Tukanoan woman as she listens to *yuruparí* instruments in sites where they are said to be stored. The film

features Novoa's daily routine, her advocacy for cultural recovery, and her work at Mitú's grassroots radio station, 104.3 FM *Yuruparí Estereo*, where she speaks without being seen. The narrative thread of the film presents Novoa as she attempts to listen to mythical ancestors underwater and as she calls on scholars to return the audio recordings of traditional music they made in the region decades earlier. The opening scene shows Novoa: surrounded by sounds of aircraft and shouts of men participating in a *yuruparí* ritual, she submerges herself into a river. During the underwater sequence, Novoa listens to *yuruparí* sounds. She floats motionless, her body dragged along the river as if dead. She does not breathe. Loud *yuruparí* sounds take prominence over water's sounds, as iridescent colors bubble in sharp contrast to the deep reddish-brown riverbed characteristic of the Vaupés region. At the end of the sequence, Novoa suddenly emerges to catch her breath. Drenched, she starts up her motorcycle and leaves the scene.⁷⁶

In its audiovisual form, the film renders the sensorial engagements of Tukanoan women with *yuruparí* instruments, highlighting their primordial proximity throughout the film. Additionally, it exposes the spectators to the sensorial engagements that Tukanoan women have with *yuruparí* ancestors, enabling them to listen to and wonder about sounds with no visual confirmation of their evaluations. The purpose of showing Novoa performing acts of deep listening surrounded by sound and water is to explicitly present one enfleshment through which *yuruparí* instruments are noticed. Enfleshments, more than instruments themselves, are the middle ground in which relations of alterity are continually contested and redefined, rather than fixed or defined. It is in this middle ground that the gap between myth and everyday life, or between fact and metaphor, is

⁷⁶ Access the opening sequence of the film [clicking here](#).

rendered ambiguous, where enflishments enable people to make —or dispute— their sense of sociality. This dispute is always present but is particularly acute when adult women speak of reclaiming their *yuruparí* instruments.

In Vaupés, Indigenous women continue to take these instruments back from men, piece-by-piece, instigating episodes in which gender appears to shift, for example, when men critique women for holding a qualified job. After pursuing post-secondary education, Novoa and other women from Vaupés have reached prominent positions that keep Tukanoan Indigenous analytics moving. Many women, like Marina Galvez and Diana Guzmán, share Novoa's experience as they occupy prominent roles in Mitú's institutional life. Whereas Galvez is a business manager who has directed the district archive and Vaupés library for the last ten years, Guzmán is a schoolteacher. Since 2013, she has coordinated a research exchange between German scholars, Tukanoan Elders of Wanano origin, and teacher trainees from Mitú's oldest boarding school (Guzmán and Villegas 2018). Guzmán also serves as a keeper at Museo Etnográfico Antonio Guzmán—an ethnographic museum that bears her father's name.

In 2016 and 2018, Galvez and Guzmán described frequent threats from men who think they are misplaced in society because of the prominent positions they occupy in Mitú's public sector. "I told my dad," she reported to anthropologist Maria Rossi, "we women are going to take back the *yuruparí*, and he laughed, and then he answered that I had *the heart of a man*" (2016, 145; emphasis added). Rossi describes this 'theft' as,

A possibility for a symbolic equilibrium between the ritual elements and the myth without excluding that women's current interpretations could accumulate the power coming from men's *yuruparí*. This possibility for *stealing* the flutes, also as a statement, denounces such disequilibrium and establishes a position against it (2016, 146; emphasis added).

Yet, this can hardly be considered a “theft.” Rather, it is an *enfleshment* that enables Tukanoan women to attain a primordial quality of life in which they rely upon themselves, satisfy their joy, and carry that which is fundamental for their everyday lives, with or without men’s approval. This enfleshment, which performs gender shifting labor, then, is crucial for understanding the ethical work that *yurupari* instruments help accomplish aurality, “by ear,” so to speak. Enfleshment highlights the labor struggle that speaks to women’s perennial happiness, erotic life, and sexual power. This primordial and joyful well-living terrifies Tukanoan men, particularly during sexual maturation, the period of organic life Goldman called “dialectic of eros, growth and death” (2004, 213).

Indeed, I hardly think of contemporary Tukanoan men allowing a form of dependency from women similar to primordial eras, in which men performed the hard work that was supposed to be women’s business. In his monograph on Hehéneva people, Goldman refers to a Tukanoan moral economy that illuminates this discussion of gender, labor, sensory engagements, and media:

Kwai decided to leave us our legacy of labor. He left instructions for making *chicha* [manioc beer]. He told people they would *learn to wear clothing*, that the white man would come and give them all the things he alone knew how to make such as machetes, guns, steel axes, airplanes, factories, and *tape recorders*. Kwai himself created summer so that people would have their right season for burning over *chagra* [gardens]. Having said this, Kwai went away and never returned. (2004, 137; emphasis added)

When God-Kwai was living in the Vaupés, Goldman reports, he taught people how to keep gardens without pain or fatigue. But due to the excessive happiness and disobedience of women, and men's incapacity to regulate their behavior, people were left alone with exhausting work in the *chagra* and technological dependence on Whites.

Today, Hehénewa and other Tukanoan men are slowly being forced to become *chagra*

workers, or farmers, as they were when women controlled *yurupari* instruments. During the last two decades, Colombian central and local governments in conjunction with NGOs have implemented environmental policies and expanded regulated market economies in Indigenous communities around the Vaupés river basin. In 2018, Wilson Silva, one of my collaborators from the Emi-Hehénewa clan expressed his frustration, “we don’t know how to make the government understand that we are not *campesinos* (farmers)”⁷⁷

As I have shown, these processes are transversally harming men’s modality of sexual difference and moral economy as well as fundamental tenets of their sensory engagements with Tukanoan mythical instruments. These processes do not reverse their historical present into a mythical era, rather, they make indistinct the boundary between the recent present and the mythical everyday of their ancestral territory. The harm is thus twofold for Tukanoan women.

Beyond Perspectival Astigmatism

The ethical work of *yurupari* instruments defined by the myth, as men tell it, is accomplished only if the aforementioned “legacy of labor” remains blind to the current transformation of Tukanoan women’s labor. This situation spreads a sort of astigmatism that hardly sees women’s enfleshments of powerful instruments. From this perspective, any creative encounters Tukanoans might have with other experimental resources or collaborations are seen as non-original, unacceptable, or impure, as exemplified by the curatorial attitude of Suarez. The colonial imagination, for which Indigenous Peoples’ musical repertoires are “like honey,” forecloses Tukanoans within a nostalgic museum of

⁷⁷ Wilson Silva, Interview with the author, Mitú, March 12, 2016.

mirrors where everything appears as fixed, folklorized, and legible for the “public consumption” from a multicultural perspective (Jackson 1995, 25; 2019, 79). Indigenous expressive repertoires are presented for these publics in a way in which current Tukanoans cannot recognize themselves through their own differential registers.

The labor of taking back *yurupari* instruments, in conclusion, is a modality of permanent becoming through which Tukanoan women readjust relations of alterity for their benefit, providing new understandings of Tukanoan aural worlds, and their creative transformations. Tukanoan attitudes towards *yurupari* instruments are shifting contexts of signification and evaluation, which occasion new roles in gender and labor scenarios in the Vaupés region, in contrast to other ethnographic contexts, in which *yurupari* cults have been described as acculturated or reduced in their cultural significance for other communities (Aikhenvald 2019; Chernela 2015). I have learned from close study of these new roles to keep these instruments hidden in their secrecy (Guilhem and Neurath 2017), but outspoken in their generative and creative resonance. Additionally, I have learned from conducting fieldwork in the Vaupés region that to put on “the ear of a Tukanoan woman” means to try to make sense of powerful sounds, accepting not to see anything other than a steadfast commitment to take care of what is fundamental. Finally, a sonic-oriented approach to Tukanoan instruments calls scholars to rethink their own organological perspectives in order to identify how musical and other instruments are helping other social worlds accomplish a multitude of ethical and creative works, where interpretants, audience, events, enfleshments, and listening registers are entangled in everyday life.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation began with the story of a centipede with two heads. The Cubeo *pokaheki* story introduced this study of Tukanoan musicking archives between two areas of interest: music studies and Amazonian anthropology. Now, I will retell the story of the centipede emphasizing how the *sense of the person* conveyed in this story is continuously harmed by state-funded initiatives. This retelling concludes my dissertation and highlights its main interventions.

Under cover of its first night, a centipede crawls into a hammock and enters into the ear of the newborn. There it will stay—within the ear—accompanying the person in conviviality over the course of a life, moving in and out, eating leftovers from the mouth of its host without ever being seen. The centipede becomes the sense of the person. During the course of a life, the person shares its mouth and the ear canal with the centipede in such a way that this level of conviviality is completely forgotten. Yet, if, for whatever reason, the person receives a strong blow on the temple, or in the ear, that causes the centipede to die, the host will die as well.

In recent decades, the Colombian State has developed three main initiatives to celebrate and document Indigenous musical traditions. These initiatives did not make sense for Tukanoans and have hardly enhanced their conviviality. In March 2014, I encountered the uneasiness of attaching geographical positions to some Tukanoan communities in a government-based map intended to render their traditional music and languages visible. After I provided all geolocation data about the specific sites I visited in Vaupés to make audio recordings, it turned out that the map did not display any of them. Jaime Quevedo, director of the Center of Musical Documentation of the National Library

of Colombia and manager of the map, explained that the platform only recognizes generic names of Indigenous People based on the linguistic badges listed by the Geographic Institute Agustín Codazzi. This institute is the government agency provider of cadastral infrastructure and soil survey in Colombia. Until today, this agency uses the badges assigned to Indigenous People in Vaupés by missions and commissaries prior to the multicultural constitution of 1991, because recent cadastral information about recognized territories of emergent Indigenous associations are still under legal challenge. As a result, my recordings appeared scattered on the map throughout the vast territories of three departments: Vaupés, Meta and Guaviare, indicating places that I never visited. My attempt to visibilize Cubeo, Makuna, Carapana, and Barasano musicians, guided by the idea of providing the National Library of Colombia with more specific information about them, produced contrary results. The government-based map mis-located Tukanoan communities, situating them within a cartographic imagination that does not attend to their lived geographical singularities.

The second initiative out of step with Tukanoan worlds of expressivity involves the introduction of Indigenous musical contests called “*carrizódromos*.” Mitú’s first mayor of Hehénewa origin introduced the contest in 2007, borrowing it from folkloric festivals celebrated in Villavicencio, the intermediate city that connects the region (Vaupés, Inírida, Caquetá) with Bogotá, the country’s capital. Villavicencio has a renowned and vibrant musical scene enriched by a variety of genres of Venezuelan influence, such as *Joropo*, and a solid infrastructure for musical education connected to larger regional festivals funded by local commerce and meat production industries. The Hehénewa mayor saw in *zoropódromos* the possibility to create an Indigenized version of

the music contest with the aim of acknowledging and safeguarding the tradition of Indigenous local musicians. *Carrizódromos*' winners received lanterns, machetes, batteries, fishhooks, cash, and sugar to reimburse women of each community for preparing manioc beer for the contest. But the format of this contest left the vital components of Indigenous sociality off the map of relations on which Tukanoans rely to engage with their own art forms.

Carrizódromos are contests in which Indigenous communities, especially the elderly population, perform Indigeneity through dance and song for Mitú's audience. These contests occur every October during the so-called "Fiesta de las Colonias," which features a beauty contest, concerts, and parades. Describing his experience as a juror, Llanos described evaluating costumes and choreographies:

If people can sing, as they usually do, then we need to evaluate other aspects of the performance, such as age, for example. There have been many communities who have participated by including crew-members that were below the age limit. One year there were participants who were 40 years old. They cannot do that, because the age limit has to be equal or beyond 60 years old. Another issue has to be with the performances they chose to present. We need to evaluate this too. For example, one day, people from Macaquiño community performed an *oyno* dance during the contest. But it was not a dance at all; it was more like a ritual excerpt taken from a larger context. They were out of the running because of this.⁷⁸

Usually, people who win a *carrizódromo* go on to compete in national contests organized by the Ministry of Culture, and in some cases, they are included in a tour of the Colombian Caribbean. José Mejía, a Wari-Hehénewa *payé* of Wacurabá who lives in Mitú told me:

When we won the *carrizódromo* dancing with Raúl Gómez and others elders from my community, we went to Santa Marta with our wives. I brought *coca* powder, the instruments, but we couldn't smoke during the entire event. They did not like the smoke. So, we couldn't use our tobaccos. We visited Simon Bolívar's House, I

⁷⁸ Interview with the author conducted on October 5, 2015.

remember that it was so big that I would have been lost, I think. And the floor, the entire floor was completely smooth and shiny.⁷⁹

Hehénewa musicians who participated in *carrizódromos* see these contests as the opportunity to party without the prior labors of the harvest, as is required for the celebration of the *dabukurí* feast, an event that combines cultivation, consumption, performance, and redistribution of expressivity. On the other hand, Indigenous leaders see them as paid gigs with some benefit for their communities. During our 2017 interview, Esperanza Santacruz, wife of the former Hehénewa explained, “*carrizódromos* have rapidly become spaces where Indigenous communities waste the opportunity to cultivate their own traditions, while mestizo politicians secure voters with the argument that they funded the *carrizódromos*.”⁸⁰

Perhaps the most dramatic state-funded cartographic intervention of Tukanoan expressive practices, was the 2013 attempt to revitalize the *oyno* mourning ritual by sponsoring a Hehénewa community to organize and perform the ritual. Mestizo cultural brokers in Mitú were appointed to evaluate which Hehénewa communities of the Cuduyarí River should receive funds. For months, several communities provided brokers with evidence of their eligibility. Santa Elena de Tiposo, another Emi-Hehénewa community located near Camutí, went ahead and made the masks for the ritual only to discover that the brokers had selected Wacurabá, another Hehénewa community, due to its previous involvement on a large eco-tourism program funded by the Ministry of Culture, which included the construction of a long house and a landmark designation as a touristic destination. In 2018, I visited Santa Elena de Tiposo and interviewed Servando

⁷⁹ Interview conducted on August 12, 2018.

⁸⁰ Interview conducted on June 10, 2017.

Sierra, an Elder who helped his father and uncles with the preparation of masks. “My father [Emilio Sierra] passed away, and other senior ritual specialists became severely ill weeks after the selection results were known,” he told me. The mask made by Sierra's father was hanging on the wall of his house. When I inquired as to why he kept it, he answered, “people are still so sad that they do not want to burn down the masks they made with so much effort.”

That same year I spoke to Juan Carlos Gómez, community leader of Wacurabá who told me with joy that finally, in 2013, they offered an *oyno* ritual to Lorenzo Gómez, one of his uncles, a headmaster who gave instruction and guidance to the community on expressive and ritual matters after a period of intense censorship imposed by a protestant mission. According to Gómez, “Lorenzo was able to resolve so many problems among families that were enemies for years. Lorenzo ended the war we had against ourselves. He passed to Raúl Gómez, my dad, the responsibility for moving the ancestors.”⁸¹ After this incident, Hehénewa People from Santa Elena de Tiposo see their Hehénewa relatives from Wacurabá communities with distrust and resentment because they believe their right to receive the funding was stolen.

Undeniably, Indigenous communities have been in much need of honoring their deceased members due to the deadly interventions foisted on them with state support, and for its own profit over the past century. Nonetheless, the popularity of protocols for evaluating cultural authenticity introduced by the government to justify its investments are affecting these communities deeply, causing a harm that multiplies a sense of precarity which Tukanoan communities think—paradoxically—can only be resolved via

⁸¹ Interview with the author conducted on May 10, 2018.

state intervention. The Colombian government expands this cultural mapping through these initiatives, deterritorializing Tukanoan Indigenous communities and their expressive practices as they tie certain sounds and musics to the public performance of a particular form of Indigeneity.

If the host keeps food available, the centipede grows. This appetite will strengthen its teeth up to the point that it will be able to penetrate the person's tooth in search of more food, creating multiple cavities. Conversely, the centipede could bite the middle ear, producing an immense pain that continues until the person feeds it: dripping into the ear a few drops of squeezed food, dispensed from onions, or from live cockroaches wrapped and pressed on a clean piece of cloth.

The interventions made by this dissertation provide an academic mapping of some aspects related to the conviviality between Tukanoans and musical and expressive praxes. This mapping does not intend to tie such conviviality to a certain model. Rather, it acknowledges the multiple challenges of studying what makes sense to Tukanoans on their own terms. These challenges include the production of critical knowledge presented in formats, which Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences can engage. These interventions theorize overlapping realities presented through sounds and the types of positionalities that have made Tukanoan expressive praxes reproducible through technological and social infrastructures alike, throughout the twentieth century.

I have presented an alternative method for studying sound archives, while analyzing points of listening of those who produced recordings *for* and *about* racialized subjects using a method I call mic-positionality. This intervention calls on scholars working with sound archives in Lowland South America to shift their projects towards

new epistemological synergies informed by debates about knowledge production and biopolitics, decolonial approaches to colonial archives, and the need for thinking Indigenous Peoples' media analytics and new media archaeologies together.

What I call *musicking archives*—a working concept that examines Cubeo Hehénewa's analytics of the archive with regards to instrumental musical performance—refers to an action that stores itself in its iteration, allowing music specialists to map the conditions of replicability for specific musical repertoires, and inscribing in sound the set of compositional elements rendered by instrumental performance. Through this intervention, I have demonstrated that this modality of sonic inscription has the capacity to reveal the shared responsibility of humans and *other-than-humans* for keeping lifeworlds in a generative tension and constant motion. The varied examples I analyzed, present how this type of musicking action works in the instrumental ensembles of *pedu* panpipes and *kiraiña* long flutes of Cubeo Hehénewa, and other Tukanoan groups of the region.

Despite this shared responsibility of expressive practices, sonic events take place in front of audiences that by no means make equal sense of them. This qualitative difference of sense-making and evaluation, which I call differential listening, positions Tukanoans in relation to modes of sensory exchange of such intensity that they produce differential types of engagement. This concept allows us to understand various ways in which these sonic events, such as initiation rituals, become scenarios where gender appears as the outcome of a sensorial positionality toward *yuruparí* instruments.

The amplification of these forms of gender, sense-making, and evaluation, which occur seasonally at the community level in Tukanoans villages, mingles with the social

mobility of professionalized Indigenous women in urban areas as they question Indigeneity beyond manioc gardens. This position of educated women, combined with the struggle of men to safeguard a gendered division of labor and ritual specialization within the normative structures of their Indigenous identity, attends to new creative and sonic interplays between myth and everyday life of current Tukanoans, who live and die under multicultural forms of governance.

It is through these interplays that I see ethnographic interventions participating in holding open the possibility for well-dying among Indigenous People in the Vaupés region. There are multiple ways of dying in which death is not about loss, but also incompleteness. This hope—for doing ethnography otherwise—springs from the challenge to decolonize the archiving procedures inherited through fieldwork methodologies. The development of multimodal interventions, such as the radio program and the films presented in chapter 3, constitute a step in the direction of decoloniality, that sends a critical message to those academic approaches eager to conquer, within an authoritative description, the meaning of Indigenous Life.

I provide the following example to illustrate this relation between well-dying and incompleteness. After the film screening of *~KIRAIÑIA* in Pituna, an Indigenous village of the Cuduyarí River, Zaiza Rivera, a Cubeo Yavíkare-Hehénewa community organizer told me,

In general people liked your film because they can see what is happening with the [musical] traditions that are disappearing with elderly people. But a man said that the film was incomplete, because you didn't show the *~kiraiñia* [long flutes] long enough so that youth will know how to perform the music. So, he told the community that he is going to make the instruments to show people what the film fails to present.⁸²

⁸² Interview conducted on July 25, 2018.

In this sense, I think of well-dying as a set of conditions in which incompleteness stands as the call for participation in multiple and unexpected exchanges within relations of commensality.

Finally, a new study of the *kuimaiyie* repertoire associated to the *oyno* ceremony is yet to be undertaken. A rendering of the recordings made by Goldman and Severiano in the 1970s in conjunction with the Cubeo communities of the Cuduyarí River could lead to a productive engagement between ritual specialists and Roseman's preliminary musical analyzes. A study of this kind could transfigure her system of cues into an occasion of re-remembering that could benefit the performance of Hehénewa choir singers in the region. In 2012, John Jairo Rodriguez, a young Yavíkare-Hehénava scholar from Piracemo, pioneered this type of approach. Rodriguez drafted a preliminary work on the *kuimaiyie* repertoire that compiled lyrics, designs of masks, and a general description of the *oyno* ceremony written in Pamie language under the guidance of the now deceased Emilio Sierra, ritual specialist of Santa de Tiposo. Unfortunately, Rodriguez passed away after he finished the manuscript, which is currently kept by his family members.⁸³ A veil of sadness and mistrust related to the bitter confrontation between Wacurabá and Santa Elena de Tiposo regarding government funding for the celebration of the *oyno* ceremony covered the enigma of Rodriguez's death.

When the person dies, the centipede will leave its transitory home in search of another newborn resting on a hammock in order to resume its existence in a new ear.

⁸³ A partial version of this manuscript was published by Centro Agropecuario y de Servicios Ambientales Jirijirimo (SENA).

I wrote this dissertation during a moment that is different from the temporalities that saw the emergence of Vaupesán ethnology in the 1980s and 1990s. My work is located in a moment of ruination, in which the Colombian Government is funding Tukanoans to ruin their lifeworlds, pushing them to document, represent, and re-enact practices and repertoires *as they really should be* under an imperialist form of nostalgia; echoing and animating the museum of *oyno* masks of the Mission of Mitú visited by Moser and Tayler. Therefore, the main concern under which I developed the interventions presented throughout this dissertation still dwells on the following question: which forms of knowledge production should be taken into consideration to present Indigenous expressivity opened to multiple futures, instead of closed and documented within the boundaries of a colonial and imperial imagination?

I do not think Indigenous associations are damaging the manifestations of Tukanoan expressivity when they manage and promote *their culture* for sporadic visitors; or when during *Las Fiestas de las Colonias*, in October, they decide to choose *carrizódromo* over *dabukurí* in order to gain access—momentarily—to a monetized economy, which the government has largely foreclosed by limiting their participation in the extractive economies that have cost them much of their languages, territories, and modes of existence. Indigenous organizations are damaging the communities they represent when they agree to be viciously undermined by government agencies and third parties based in Mitú that ruin their resources, grammar, and instrumentality. What is certain, is that this ruination is nothing new in the Vaupés region. The main and paradoxical difference is that, in this case, the ruiners are the ones who want to preserve Tukanoan expressivity. If White and mestizo cultural brokers want to do something that

makes sense for Tukanoans, they would need to accompany them as they honor, burn, and ingest the ashes of the most memorable aspects of their lives, all the while taking care of everyday duties, gardens, deals with politicians and government agencies, and then, wait for the next rainy season to see what comes up.

The awkwardness of the aforementioned state-funded initiatives resides in their ability to dismember the complexity of Tukanoan sociality and expressive practices and their grave inability to wait, and to inhabit the non-linear temporality that is the very fabric of their existence. Instead, they introduce a colonial cartography of identity badges, static representations of a past, and figures of a political economy, to which Tukanoans must conform in order to fit in. Under these categories, Tukanoans lifeworlds are located and compressed within the limits of the Colombian state's cosmology, in which Indigenous People hardly recognize themselves on their own terms. The damaging and deadly effects these interventions continue to have on these communities exhibit a sharp contrast with Cubeo analytics of death—an analytic strongly committed to restoring the elements that give birth to multiple forms of life. If these forms of life cannot be revitalized, they can be properly honored and accompanied after dying as the salient condition for reemergence.

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