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Shared soundscapes: The (re)activation of an institutional and individual archive of Peruvian music and dance

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Abstract

“Shared soundscapes” is a key concept that allows us to identify the multiplicity of agencies involved in historical sound recordings and their reactivation today. We use the notion to compare two very different Peruvian case studies concerning Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga peoples of the Central Rainforest and Muchik, Quechua, and *mestizo* peoples in the Lambayeque region, along with their respective music traditions. Part of their sonic legacy is stored in archives; one was created by an individual anthropologist, and the other is an institutional ethnomusicological archive. The comparison of historical and current soundscapes brings to the fore anthropological issues regarding how a web of actors—among them sonic activists from academia and these communities—have shaped these archives as a process and practice. It raises questions about collaborative approaches to decolonize repositories, which implies handing over rights to individuals and communities so that they can make decisions about their sonic legacies.

KEYWORDS

soundscapes, sound repatriation, archival reactivation, collaborative anthropology, Peruvian music

Resumen

“Paisajes sonoros compartidos” es un concepto clave que permite identificar la multiplicidad de agencias involucradas en las grabaciones sonoras históricas y su reactivación en la actualidad. Utilizamos esta noción para comparar dos estudios de caso peruanos muy diversos: el de los pueblos Asháninka y Nomatsiguenga de la Selva Central; y el de los pueblos Muchik, Quechua y mestizos de la Región Lambayeque, junto con sus respectivas tradiciones musicales. Parte de su legado sonoro está almacenado en dos archivos, uno creado por un antropólogo y el otro es un archivo institucional de etnomusicología. La comparación entre paisajes sonoros históricos y actuales pone en relieve cuestiones antropológicas sobre cómo una red de actores—entre ellos activistas sonoros del mundo académico y de las comunidades—ha configurado estos archivos en términos de prácticas y procesos. Surgen interrogantes sobre las aproximaciones colaborativas para descolonizar repositorios musicales, lo que implica ceder derechos a individuos y comunidades en la toma de decisiones sobre sus legados sonoros.

PALABRAS CLAVE

paisajes sonoros, repatriación sonora, reactivación de archivo, antropología colaborativa, música peruana

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INTRODUCTION: COMPARING ARCHIVAL AGENCIES BASED ON THE KEY CONCEPT OF SHARED SOUNDSCAPES

Shared soundscapes often emerge when local music and dance traditions are appropriated by different actors for identity politics and cultural revival. Our engagement as anthropologists interested in music, dance, storytelling, and a range of verbal arts, as well as our work with two archives, an individual and an institutional archive, respectively, motivated us to compare two case studies: they concern Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga peoples of the District of Pangoa in the Central Rainforest and Muchik, Quechua, and *mestizo* peoples from the Lambayeque region on the northern coast of Peru. The point of departure was an exchange between anthropologists Kummels and Cánepa, who realized that the Peruvian regions they had followed closely since the early 1980s and early 1990s, respectively, lacked a comparative framework.

We started from the assumption that there are indeed marked differences between our case studies, and that these are connected to the specific local and wider historical contexts in which the audio and audiovisual materials were recorded, stored, and circulated. It seemed probable that a “return” or reactivation of these materials might take different courses depending on the particular archive, its characteristics, biases, and its potential for empowerment based on the agencies operative in the historical recordings and the actors willing to mobilize them today. We considered that musicians, promoters, teachers, political leaders, descendants of former collaborators, and new stakeholders alike, as well as us as anthropologists, would want to get involved in reactivating traditional genres as sonic activists and coresearchers. The term *coresearcher* highlights the expertise of our interlocutors based on recordkeeping skills that originate in their own societies. It also emphasizes the negotiation of a relationship as equals in the quest to generate knowledge jointly in decolonized ways.

Looking for common ground for comparison and asking how the variation of soundscapes shapes the archival agency of protagonists and their sonic politics incited us to revisit the concept of soundscapes. Sound researchers Raymond Murray Schafer ([1977] 1994) and Steven Feld (1982) productively applied the notion to discern the relationship between humans and their sonic environment in different settings, emphasizing how people could use this environment’s potential to increase harmony within the landscape that they inhabit. Yet Feld (1982, 260–61) himself explained in a postscript to his foundational study on Kaluli mourning ceremonies that his anthropology of the senses approach did not properly take into account the social agency and inequalities that pervade soundscapes. We therefore widened the concept in a way that allows for determining:

- the changing web of actors interconnected in such soundscapes; in our case studies they include instrumentalists, vocalists, and dancers, as well as cultural entrepreneurs, teachers, *pinkatsari* (Indigenous leaders), grassroots researchers, collectors, environmental activists, and anthropologists with different interests in reactivating historical music
- the diverse archival skills invested by all of the actors in forming varied archives in a broad sense; these skills include oral tradition, translation, collecting, arts and crafts, dance, and music as community-specific archival practices that are either carried out in parallel to or negotiated with the archival tool kit of anthropologists
- the relationship these individuals have to Peruvian state policies that engage differentially in the country’s regions: in some regions music and dance genres are recognized as the heritage of a culturally diverse nation and as assets in its tourism market, while in other regions policies instead focus on environmental, often extractivist exploitation
- the stakeholders who get involved in soundscapes for the purpose of identity politics; in Peru such strategies have to do with collectivities expressing particularity via discourses in certain languages or by performing music and dance; actors’ sonic strategies may echo or challenge Peru’s tripartite division (see below)

We assume that varied constellations of protagonists and the policies they engage in decisively impinge on soundscape dynamics and therefore on the emic notions and uses of sound. Accordingly, the people who intervene may choose to emphasize sound’s multifaceted immaterial aspects (words, melody; Yamada, 2017), its material ones (instruments; Borrás, 1995), its poetics and performativity (Feld, 1982), or its potential for decolonization (Robinson, 2020; Kummels, 2023) to further their interests.

The abovementioned features are our main interest since they allow for a better understanding of the way soundscapes are shaped by social hierarchies; forms of discrimination based on race, class, ethnicity, gender, and geographical origin; and struggles for more parity. We set out to know more about the way soundscapes are constantly negotiated in the face of inequalities; *shared* is meant to convey the ambivalence of the German term *geteilt*, which means both “shared” and “divided” and allows for perceiving unevenness and disagreement in the web of actors. The Shared Soundscapes project officially began in September 2021, and it now includes anthropologists Barreto and Kummels for the case study in the Central Rainforest and Maradiegue and Cánepa for the case study in the Lambayeque region (see <https://www.shared-soundscapes.net>).¹ We have harnessed the analysis based on shared soundscapes for a collaborative research format with the peoples concerned. The format seeks to dialogue with and to empower them so that they can launch and manage their own repositories as skilled archivists.

The following archives, which reactivated or repatriated sound material, are our professional and personal biographical points of departure into the shared soundscapes we study and to collaboration with people who consider themselves heirs of those who have been recorded:

- The individual archive of the German anthropologist, photographer, and activist Manfred Schäfer (1949–2003). Starting in 1978, Schäfer audiotaped music played and sung by Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga, along with myths and oratory from the Comunidad Nativa Tres Unidos de Matereni. Working jointly with Kummels since 1982, he assembled texts, audiotapes, photographs, and films in what can be characterized as an activist archive (see <https://vimeo.com/778883174>). They filmed the documentary *In Green Heaven* (1989) together with the people of Matereni—whose coauthorship they acknowledged—broadcast on German TV (now available at <https://vimeo.com/705356073>). All materials were intended to mobilize solidarity in both Peru and Germany for Matereni and Rainforest peoples in general in their quest to secure their territory and obtain control of natural resources.
- The Lambayeque Collection (dating back to 1990) gathers field recordings collected as part of a larger cultural preservation project funded by the Ford Foundation (1985–2000). The anthropologists and musicologists who carried out this project saw it as an opportunity to make the country's cultural diversity more visible and to give music and dance a place in the social sciences. The collection is kept by the Institute of Ethnomusicology (IDE, after its name in Spanish) at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, which holds the most extensive archive of traditional and popular Peruvian music (<https://ide.pucp.edu.pe>). For dissemination purposes, the documentary *Musical Instruments and Genres of Lambayeque* (1993), directed by Cánepa, who joined the fieldwork team from 1986 to 1992, was published on VHS (now available at <https://youtu.be/uyOzrGUlrKU>).

Acknowledging the multiplicity of actors, archival agendas, and techniques implies rethinking “sound repatriation”—or rather “the return of music to circulation in communities where it has been unavailable as a result of external power differences” (Seeger, 2018, 2)—along with reactivation activities that rely on the community's own memory and archival techniques as processes that are sometimes separated and sometimes entwined. This multiplicity is crucial for understanding the archive as a process and practice (Gilliland, 2017). Similarly to Miguel García (2017, 17; see also Ketelaar, 2017, 237), we interpret archival knowledge production as an open process in which many participate by investing their own cultural background of intellectual thought and experience. However, we are dealing with archives that are still riddled by postcolonial rifts with regard to technological assets, accessibility, education opportunities, and cultural rights, such as the limited recognition and official use of most of Peru's 48 Indigenous languages. The concept of soundscape not only allows for identifying and therefore mobilizing different agencies today but also relates them to the recordings as uneven historical soundscapes. The sonorities they captured can often be traced back to the agencies of stakeholders with different interests and archival skills. These imprints are not incidental: oratory, voice, music, and dance were emitted or recorded intentionally to achieve a certain purpose, that is, several sonic activists may have intervened in the recordings, and to advance their objectives they needed to collaborate.

From the perspective of the archive as a practice and a process, we will briefly outline the characteristics of the repositories we are working with and show how they require that their epistemic foundations and access policies be questioned—and, thus, why they require decolonization. One context of the establishment of Peruvian archives is the republican geography of the nineteenth century, which created a threefold regional imaginary of Coast/Sierra/Rainforest that still influences how regional and local identities are represented and reproduced today as part of the nation (Orlove, 1993). Comprehensive studies of Peruvian music would often follow this tripartite imaginary, classifying musical instruments and genres as *either* Coastal, Andean, *or* Amazonian. This musical imaginary contributes to the widespread perception of sonic dynamics being encapsulated in the respective regions. Therefore, iconic dances, music, and musical instruments are generally ascribed to one of the three regions and its particular ethnic groups.

Our case studies exemplify such biases. Initially, the IDE concentrated on collecting Andean traditional music, according to regional studies that distinguished between the Andes, the Amazon, and Coastal regions neglecting the latter two. This division, which echoed the geopolitical tripartition, was first questioned during fieldwork in the coastal and highland areas of the Lambayeque region. Later, field recordings were made in several districts of the northern Amazon, incorporating the collections of individual researchers, as well as new publications, to broaden the IDE's regional approach. Conversely, the private archive of Manfred Schäfer is representative of the emphasis given to Peruvian Rainforest peoples' myths and music, primarily by individual anthropologists such as Stefano Varese, Gerald Weiss, and Alberto Chirif, during the period of IDE neglect. In many cases it was only as they approached advanced age that they donated their important personal collections to different research archives. Perhaps they maintained possession for as long as possible to guarantee control over materials that research archives might use for their own agendas. From 1978 on, Schäfer organized his materials for publication and to be freely distributed to a circuit of people with the common objective of empowering Rainforest peoples: to the communities in question, the German Society for Threatened Peoples (GfbV, after its name in German), the Peruvian Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica (CIPA, after its name in Spanish), and Indigenous organizations like the Interethnic Association of the Peruvian Amazon (AIDSESP, after its name in Spanish). Since its inception in 1985, IDE access policies have included bringing back copies of items in the archive to the communities where they originated, disseminating its work via academic publications, and offering on-site consultation of the archive.

In sum, when reactivating these archives, we must take into account the specific objectives of each collection, as well as differences with respect to their circuits of dissemination. One, based at a private university in Peru, was designed to promote the

nation's cultural diversity; the other, an individual archive in Germany, was designed as an instrument to mobilize international solidarity with the Amazonian peoples, transcending the Peruvian rainforest as a nationally bounded geographical entity.

Relying on the most recent recording technology at the time, both institutional archives and individual anthropologists depended on collaboration with local specialists who shared their archival skills concerning oratory, music, and dance. Nevertheless, this complex interplay of archival skills often received little recognition, and at times was even erased. The original metadata in institutional archives privileged the individual authorship of the academic investigator controlling the recording technology and funding and paid less attention—and often gave no rights—to persons whom we currently consider coresearchers. Locally, the authorship of music and dance is frequently considered to belong to families, congregations, or communities. This imbalance in recognition requires meticulous elucidation of authorship today.

At the same time, historical soundscapes that were recorded and later stored in these archives contain potentially empowering agencies that we are now mobilizing for the reactivation of recorded historical music and dance. Reactivation today implies inviting those who were documented decades ago, as well as their descendants, to engage in the interpretation of historical materials based on their own archival methods; they should be the ones to decide how to deal with these recordings depending on their current interests and visions of the future. Our approach to reactivation is inspired by several traditions such as sound repatriation, which was developed in the academic realm of ethnomusicology, anthropology, and museum studies (for an overview, see contributions in Gunderson, Lancefield, and Woods, 2018). At the same time, local or regional identity politics and revival/recuperation movements rely on the reactivation of archival materials regarding music, dance, and verbal arts—whether maintained inside or outside the communities where they were originally memorized or documented—for the purpose of making political and cultural demands audible and visible. Local experts often resort to the specific archival know-how rooted in their regions. Reactivation involves triggering the empowering qualities of archives, and thus decolonizing them for the future. Redressing inequalities inscribed in an archive's historical recordings and renovating potentially emancipative qualities require relationships to be redefined in structurally altered ways: through a symmetrical recognition of knowledges that were once marginalized, by acknowledging the rights of individuals to sonorities and images they consider their own, and by including these knowledges and rights when engaging in joint theory building. These elements are part of a wider, complex picture of sonic decolonization (see the introduction to this issue).

We first consider the reactivation of the archive initiated by Manfred Schäfer, which is connected to soundscapes that concern the Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga of Tres Unidos de Matereni. We then turn to a parallel discussion of the Lambayeque Collection, originally developed by a team of anthropologists and musicologists and now housed at the IDE. How do local coresearchers intervene in regional soundscapes and in what ways do they coproduce them with four anthropologists socialized in archival traditions marked by the specific biases of the Peruvian and transnational Peruvian-German setting described above? We also seek to identify decolonial archival practices that enable more equal modalities of access, listening, and cultural performance in collaboration with local coresearchers who are key players (see Gilliland, 2017). In the current digital era, documenting and archiving have become more accessible in the sense that those once considered nonspecialists now dedicate time to collecting, classifying, and publishing digital artifacts concerning oratory, music, and dance. Yet digital facilities and technology are also unevenly distributed in Peru. Given the constitution of current shared soundscapes, we ask: What archival practices can be developed in the era of digitalization to overcome differential access due to disparities in technology and educational training and to promote instruments that will enable local communities to manage and control their own archives?

RECORDED SOUNDSCAPES AND SINGING THEIR SONGS AGAIN IN AN ASHÁNINKA-NOMATSIGUENGA COMUNIDAD NATIVA

What kind of soundscape did Schäfer record on his first trip to Matereni in 1978? Many agencies are inscribed in this 80-minute-long, reel-to-reel tape that he labeled “Asháninka”—at a time when the discriminatory exonym “Campa” was still widely in use. His first visit to this community in the western Ene River basin was motivated by an action anthropology approach and his desire to support the community's efforts to obtain a land title as a Comunidad Nativa.² Securing land based on the Velasco government's land reform was a strategy employed by the pioneer Asháninka organization led by Alberto Quinchoker to counteract the extractivist policies of the Morales Bermúdez and Belaúnde administrations. The state favored “colonization” or land grabbing by Andean settlers, which forced the original inhabitants to work for them as peons. To secure their remaining territory, Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga who lived from a combination of agriculture and hunting, fishing, and gathering joined forces and founded Matereni as a novel central settlement.

Schäfer's audio recording documents the large centralizing festivities organized for building alliances. In 1983 those alliances resulted in the Peruvian state granting a land title to Tres Unidos de Matereni (to Matereni together with Chichireni and Anapati). The agencies registered on that tape and on later tapes are polyphonic and encompass the soundscapes of festivities, narrating myths, singing evangelical songs, shamanic chanting, and delivering speeches dedicated to claims on ancestral land. Schäfer recorded men, women, political leaders called *pinkatsari*, and the ayahuasca shaman at length as key actors in the political issues at stake; he also intervened in these soundscapes himself when coproducing the recordings with Matereni's inhabitants. The



Figure 1 Cesario Chiricente moderating the performances at a community celebration with abundant *masato*, November 1978. Source: Manfred Schäfer.

analyses supplied in this section are the product of a long-term, collaborative approach to unraveling the tapes and the current Shared Soundscapes project. As an anthropologist, I (Kummels) have kept the multimodal materials of my late companion in my home in Amorbach, Germany, and remember our experiences in Peru, while the people of Matereni have their own memories and tools for evoking these past events. Today various coresearchers from this community dedicate their time to devising collaborative record-keeping and share their archival expertise with that of us anthropologists (Kummels and Barreto) and vice versa.

Cesario Chiricente, then Matereni's *pinkatsari*, was a key sonic activist in 1978 and throughout the 1980s. The tapes reflect his archival skills: the moderation and exegesis of performances at centralized festive soundscapes. His sonic interventions convey the decisive role that Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga ascribe to voices singing, since they perceive their intonation and pitch to be essential for communicating otherworldly forces and mobilizing humans. The voice is pivotal for *matikantsi*, cosmogonical songs chanted by men, *maninkerentsi*, sung by women dancing in a row, and *tamporotantsi*, songs accompanied by a drum. In addition, there are *sonkatantsi*, instrumental pieces played on pan flutes with five pipes (*sonkari*). The performers do not attribute agency solely to the materiality of musical instruments and do not keep them for a long time due to a moral obligation to trade almost any object if asked for it. Addressing both the tape recorder and the community gathered before him, Cesario commented on the role of music within Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga cosmology (Figure 1). He highlighted how the complementary performances of women singing and men playing *sonkari* serve in worshipping manioc, their sacred, staple food. He mobilized the audience by playing pan flute himself and thinking aloud as to how this future remembrance could be accomplished given the limited duration of the tape and batteries. Social hierarchies, gender issues, negotiation of leadership, and concerns over technology are audible in this historical soundscape—as interpreted in the present by his son Simón. In the 1980s, Schäfer would bring cassette copies and photos back to the community, but they have not survived the passing of time, whereas memories of these spectacular festivities, enhanced by novel recording activities, persist.

Which sonic actors become involved in reactivating these keepsakes, and what does a collaborative approach entail? In 2014, after a 25-year-long absence, I (Kummels) returned to Matereni. I also started to bring back materials from my/Schäfer's private archive—printed photos, digitized films, and audio (Kummels, 2016). The people of this Comunidad Nativa immediately responded with enormous interest in accessing what they consider part of their local history of sound innovation in the context of land titling. Meanwhile, I was ascribed the role of bridge to the private archive, because I am now a 66-year-old witness to that local history. One of the major changes since the 1980s is the emergence of a myriad of Indigenous organizations—often in alliance with international solidarity groups—that have pressured the Peruvian government. Nevertheless, the latter continues to support private extractive industries, to an extent that state programs for forest management and promotion of cash crop production are unable to offset. The Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga are therefore forced to conduct tough negotiations and sonic diplomacy with the Peruvian government to affirm their identities and further the preservation of the Amazon rainforest. Indigenous leaders consider the recuperation of traditional Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga genres key for conveying demands to land, sustainable management, and education on their own terms.

At the grassroots level, these demands are often negotiated within soundscapes where *masato*, a lightly alcoholic beer made from manioc, is shared by people of all ages, also with children. In Matereni I rapidly found myself explaining, answering questions, laughing and singing (as important forms of interaction) during *masato* gatherings. This everyday form of Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga sociality (Killick, 2009) has intensified despite radical changes that have occurred since the 1970s—or rather because of them. Exchanging views while drinking *masato* has been resignified as an antidote to the market logics that increasingly pervade other social realms now that the government has expanded transportation infrastructure into remote rainforest areas to promote cash crop agriculture. At these get-togethers, the skills of storytelling, chanting, and crafting artifacts are practiced, thereby generating knowledge (see Hugh-Jones, 2016). The voicing of queries includes listening to each other's expertise on everyday archiving in a respectful way (see Powell, 2019). The audio recordings that I had brought along were always discussed in this noisy atmosphere accessible to anyone. People brought recorded songs back to life by listening to and resinging them in different ways, often depending on their generation and its respective memories.

Masato gatherings are also the soundscape where thorny issues are discussed: To whom do these historical songs belong? How can they be distributed in a way that does not affect the rights of the song's authors? How can they be protected from commercialization? Since the recordings render the voices of central ancestors and were made when the Comunidad Nativa was founded, the opinion that gradually formed was that they belong to the whole community; therefore, they are not an individual, but a communal affair, which requires a consensus at the General Assembly. I proposed publishing a CD compiling historical music from the private archive as a form of securing community rights to that music—discussions all conducted at *masato* gatherings before a decision was taken at the General Assembly (Comunidad Nativa Tres Unidos de Matereni and Kummels, 2022).

In this context we (Barreto and Kummels), together with several community members, identified specific reactivation activities that seemed appropriate for leveling power biases inscribed in the historical materials and advancing the common goal of shifting agency in view of "Asháninkanizing" and "Nomatsiguenganizing" the individual archive: the people in question should be able to manage digital archiving of historical materials on the community's own Internet platform. We are now in close dialogue with Cesario Chiricente's children and the descendants of Shenkari Chobiavante (approximately 1904–1990), a legendary ayahuasca shaman, who play an active part in these issues, due to the agencies inscribed in the tapes. But new stakeholders as well, in particular bilingual teachers, request that the recordings, among them 75 songs of the shaman, circulate in digital versions.

Against this backdrop, an event we called Matikantsi Festival was organized (see Kummels, 2023). It is inspired by revitalization activities that bilingual teachers carry out (see below). During the run-up to the anniversary of Matereni's land title, I (Kummels) was asked at the General Assembly to contribute financially; I responded by offering money prizes as an incentive for the best *maninkerentsi*, *sonkatantsi*, and *matikantsi*. On the main day, the anniversary program was packed with student presentations of folkloric music and dance, neatly divided in the tripartite scheme Coast/Sierra/Rainforest. No one seemed to have provided the space or the time for adult men to sing *matikantsi*. But to our surprise, as soon as land titles for schools had been handed over to the respective authorities, the *pinkatsari* of Tres Unidos de Matereni intoned a *matikantsi*. Other chiefs followed his example. All their traditional songs deal with animals and are cosmogonical songs that reflect on the fluid relationships between humans, animals, and nature. The local audience interpreted this soundscape in light of their claims for rainforest conservation, for a long time denied by Peruvian state policies that promoted cattle raising and deforestation as part of a settler extractivist livelihood.

Bilingual teachers have become powerful sonic activists who have formed the Organization of Nomatsiguenga and Asháninka Bilingual Teachers of Pangoa (OMABINOAP, by its name in Spanish) to advance intercultural education based on Indigenous mother tongues and cultures. Their reactivation of traditional music has evolved in the context of the District of Pangoa, in which Matereni is one of the key player communities. Since the 1960s, Pangoa has been dominated by Andean settlers who invaded the region in response to the coffee boom; furthermore, teachers called *hispanos*, mainly of Andean origin, widely control public education, even in most Comunidades Nativas. The revitalization of Indigenous musicianship is tied to claims to age-old territory and giving priority to speakers of Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga to head intercultural education in community schools. Today, creating a soundscape dedicated to traditional genres is a crucial dimension of competitions commonly called *juegos ancestrales*, ancestral sports games, which include bow-and-arrow contests, Indigenous badminton, and a game similar to basketball. *Ancestralidad* is a term widely used by revivalists to refer to cultural expressions rooted in a long history, as opposed to what they regard as modern or urban and consider volatile and unsustainable. *Ancestralidad* forms part of a bilingual teacher's pedagogical framework for developing cognitive and physical skills that affirm children's status as descendants of the first inhabitants of the Central Rainforest.

At the II . Educational Intercultural Reactivation of the Original Nomatsiguenga Asháninka Peoples of the Anapati Pangoa Basin in September 2022, bilingual teachers organized music resurgence in an intercultural, anticommercial soundscape: monolingual, Spanish-speaking teachers, mostly of Andean origin, were not invited. "Modern" clothing and industrial foodstuffs were banned. Instead, large quantities of *masato* were distributed from giant plastic barrels to the hundreds of teachers and pupils invited. A *maninkerentsi* sung by girls from a first-grade class conveyed *ancestralidad*: they were performing in elegant, bright yellow tunics (*cushmas de gala*) considered ancestral, though not at all usual some 30 years ago (see Figure 2). Their song's Nomatsiguenga lyrics were also contemporary: "We are singing to the whole population and our ancestors so that we will not be forgotten. We indeed exist!" Training schoolchildren according to Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga values in this soundscape is



Figure 2 First-class school girls singing *maninkerentsi* at the II Reactivación Educativa Intercultural de los Pueblos Originarios Nomatsiguenga Asháninka Cuenca Anapati Pangoa in September 2022. *Source:* Screenshot from a video recorded by Ingrid Kummels.

not purely symbolic but instead an essential instrument of “Amasonic politics” (see Kummels, 2023): at the strike they organized directly after this event in November, Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga teachers appeared armed with bow and arrow and intoned the same protest/war songs in their languages while blocking traffic all along the Central Rainforest’s main artery over a week. They were successful in pressuring the ministry of education to restore their cultural rights (Channel N, 2022).

What kind of practice and process does the individual archive become in the course of reactivation? Today the web of people collaborating on this endeavor does not only consist of descendants of those who were recorded decades ago. They also include men and women across several generations, as well as *pinkatsari* and bilingual teachers, who are increasingly becoming politically influential. When these sonic activists follow up on the diverse agencies inscribed in the recorded historical soundscapes, they modify and expand the private archive to advance a common goal: they believe that Indigenous communities like Tres Unidos de Matereni should decide where an individual archive containing part of their cultural legacy is ultimately stored and how it should be used. The Matikantsi Festival and the CD are examples of ways to strike new archival paths geared toward greater equality.

CURRENT COLLABORATIONS IN ACTIVATING THE LAMBAYEQUE COLLECTION: NEGOTIATING HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CHIRIMÍA SOUNDSCAPES

The Lambayeque Collection is taking shape as we (Cánepa and Maradiegue) name it, use it, and reflect on its materials. In turn, the collection shapes the historical and contemporary soundscapes of the region.³ Previous recording methodologies of the IDE team in other regions followed a one-year calendar of religious festivals and rituals, prioritizing the recording of long sequences that captured performances from beginning to end, highlighting festive contexts of music and dance. Therefore, the identity of musicians and dancers and questions of authorship were overlooked.

In Lambayeque, however, aside from public celebrations, private gatherings such as birthdays, marriages, and courtesy visits are important events where musical genres such as *coplas*, *tristes*, *marineras*, and *tonderos* are played for entertainment and dancing. Hence, in 1990 the IDE team arranged interviews and recording sessions during visits to musicians’ homes, which led to closer and longer interactions, allowing the team to gather and keep the musicians’ names.

These methodological decisions also responded to the team’s shared concern regarding how urbanization and mass media were affecting the survival of genres and instruments considered emblematic of the region’s soundscape. Musicians, dancers, and grassroots researchers were troubled by the lack of disciples and the loss of instruments like the *chirimía* (the local name for the coastal oboe). They felt that the proper form of the *Danza de los Diablicos*, a regional representation of the devil figure (Narváez Vargas, 2014), was at risk because of the scarcity of the instrument, the absence of *chirimilleros* (*chirimía* instrumentalists), and the growing predominance of regional *bandas*.



Figure 3 Victorino Acosta staging the replacing of the *pajuela* of a *chirimía* for the IDE team during a visit to his house, February 1991. Source: Raúl R. Romero.

The Diablicos troupes from the coastal districts of Túcume and Mochumí, who perform in February during the feast of the Virgen de la Purísima Concepción, only had a single *chirimillero*. To avoid having to resort to the *quena* instead of the *chirimía* during their main performances on the main day of the festivity, both Diablicos troupes shared the services of Don Victorino Acosta, a local *chirimillero*.

Peruvian and foreign anthropologists involved in the revival of Muchik identity such as Victorino Túllume, Victor Rodríguez Suy Suy, and James Vreeland contributed with their archival practices to marking particular musicians and instruments as an index of Lambayeque's endangered historical soundscapes since the early 1980s. By recording musicians, documenting musical repertoires, and collecting instruments that had fallen into disuse, they also intervened in the Lambayeque soundscapes themselves, a project grounded in archival and curatorial practices in northern Peru that dated back to the eighteenth century. This set of sonic practices and skills, discourses, and historical traditions of sound archiving constitutes what we define as a historical *chirimía* soundscape, in which the material, symbolic, and traditional value of the instrument appreciated as the number of instruments in the region decreased over time. This *chirimía* soundscape thus became a contested space where the instrument, its musicians, and its sonic features coexist with those of the louder *bandas*.

Since the IDE team's methodological approach included visits to musicians' homes so as to bring their work and agencies to the fore in specific recording situations, a visit to Victorino Acosta's home was included in the schedule. He demonstrated the tuning of the *chirimía* and the replacing of the *pajuela*—the vibrating mouthpiece that produces the instrument's characteristic loud and nasal rasping sound (see Figure 3). *Pajuelas* were not for sale locally yet had to be replaced regularly. Since Acosta was the only musician making *pajuelas* out of cane, his *chirimía* was the only one in use in the region. Acosta took an active role in recording this scene and insisted on us zooming the Panasonic VHS camera on him to capture the details of his technique, thus modifying the observational distance we usually applied. I (Cánepa) was part of the IDE team and subsequently included this scene in the documentary *Musical Instruments and Genres of Lambayeque* (1993), where the narrative focused on endangered musical expressions and regional identity. Through his performance, Acosta reinforced his prestige as the legitimate custodian of the *chirimía* tradition and highlighted his own instrument—about 50 years old at the time and which he had inherited from a former *chirimillero*—as the last in use in the region. As an archival record and as a narrative unit in the documentary, Acosta's



Figure 4 Wilder Cajusol (on the left) plays the *chirimía* in his house in Túcume, after watching the IDE documentary. Martin Granados (on the right) photographs for his own records. Walther Maradiegue (in the middle) records a video, April 2022. *Source:* Gisela Cánepa.

scene with his instrument became an index of an endangered *chirimía* soundscape within the Lambayeque soundscape itself, to be remembered for future action.

While following the *chirimía*, the IDE team also documented the *dulzaina* (the local name for the highland oboe) played in the Quechua districts of Incahuasi and Cañaris (Vreeland, 1988) to get a comprehensive picture of this instrument in the Lambayeque soundscape. This work also involved questioning the widespread assumption that Lambayeque is a purely coastal region. Visiting Incahuasi provided the team with footage of *dulzaineros* (*dulzaina* instrumentalists) performing at the Virgen de las Mercedes festival, although it was not possible to visit their homes because they were busy during those festive days. Later, both recordings of the *chirimía* and the *dulzaina* that described their distinctive repertoires, performance contexts, and material qualities were included in *Musical Instruments and Genres of Lambayeque*. However, the absence of a scene that displayed the work of a *dulzainero*—or a scene that mentions the name of a specific player—made it harder to dispute the coastal *chirimía* as being representative of the whole region. These methodological and curatorial decisions, presences and absences in the IDE Lambayeque Collection, shape its contemporary activation in the districts of Túcume and Mochumí.

Economic and political changes have transformed these rural towns into small urban areas where it is not hard to find parties held in homes with loudspeakers, playing genres like Peruvian *cumbia*, *huayno*, *sanjuanito*, *salsa*, and *merengue*. Nowadays, tracks are played from a phone via Bluetooth or WhatsApp, transferred from a flash drive, while recorded live performances are accessed on YouTube. This everyday context is more evident in the festival of the Virgen de la Purísima Concepción and its *Danza de los Diablicos*, an event now intensely streamed on Facebook Live by its audience. As in 1990, *bandas* are still an essential component of processions and parties. And, as the competition among *bandas* becomes more intense, musical innovation arrives faster, and repertoires become richer (Yep, 2015), changes that are shaping new soundscapes of public and domestic parties and religious festivals. Emerging as a result of a web of stakeholders interacting with the instrument, current revival projects, such as the recovery of the *chirimía*, foster a contemporary *chirimía* soundscape that privileges the coastal and non-Indigenous features of the Lambayeque region.

The new relations between culture and nation fostered in the context of heritage policies and the novel sonic practices in the region are bringing to the scene new generations of cultural activists, entrepreneurs, and institutions. These new actors are making innovative uses of multimedia archives. Museums, municipalities, and religious fraternities (*hermandades*) are becoming more interested in ethnographic audiovisual materials (Cánepa Koch, 2016), searching and valuing IDE recordings. These actors engage and discuss the right to keep and show audiovisual materials, and to circulate them in households, organizations, and communities with the aim of strengthening community relations. Likewise, they use the materials to request the government to recognize their dances, as well as to develop pedagogical content. We view these combined archival practices and agencies as innovative uses of IDE recordings that are reshaping the historical *chirimía* soundscape.

During fieldwork in 2022, we mapped the contemporary web of actors involved in the *chirimía* soundscape and arranged interviews and visits where we watched the IDE documentary together and commented on it. Martín Granados, mask maker and *capataz* (leader) of the *Diablicos* dance, who found the IDE documentary on YouTube almost a decade ago, identified in the scene with Victorino Acosta a source of information about *chirimía* techniques that inspired him to obtain this instrument from Spain. Wilder Cajusol, *chirimillero* at the *Diablicos* parade in Túcume, referred to Acosta's video to legitimize his own work as a musician as well as to describe how some *chirimía* techniques have changed (see Figure 4). For instance, unlike Acosta, he does not soak the *pajuela* in cane liquor, explaining that water is enough. In another session, Carlos Inoñán, a *chirimillero* from Mochumí, emphasized that he is Acosta's only disciple and presented his life story and musical expertise in comparison

with that of younger *chirimilleros*. In other words, the IDE audiovisual historical materials are far from being mere ethnographic sources of *chirimía* techniques and material features; they are also part of contemporary interventions in *chirimía* soundscapes. At the same time, Inoñán's claim also poses the question of who can assert legitimate rights to Acosta's audiovisual legacy, beyond familial descent. These archival interactions incite us to design our methodologies for reactivating the Lambayeque Collection reflectively.

There is a consensus in Túcume and Mochumí that the *chirimía* needs to be recovered. However, as few instruments exist, it is difficult to encourage people to play it. Granados and Inoñán have managed to obtain two *chirimías* each, and a local archaeologist at the Museum of Túcume also collected seven wooden *chirimías*, all imported from Spain. Collecting *chirimías*, which not only requires economic resources but also digital skills to maintain contacts with acquaintances in Spain, is a constitutive aspect of an unequal web of actors within a contested *chirimía* soundscape.

Furthermore, this consensus overlooks the presence of the *dulzaina* and *dulzaineros* in the Lambayeque region. The archaeologist mentioned above knew of this instrument and told us that it could not replace the *chirimía* because "it sounded different." He also thought that it was less professionally manufactured than Spanish *chirimías*, which "look well-made and professional." Along these lines, we can see that the arguments claiming that the *dulzaina* sounds different and that the *chirimía* looks more professional explain how these instruments reverberate with marks of sameness and otherness in Lambayeque, a distinction which is both geographic and sonic.

The *chirimía* soundscape entails a tension between coast and highland because the predominant discourse highlights the *chirimía* within the map of the region's traditional instruments, overshadowing the *dulzaina*, its techniques, and its ecologies. While Victorino Acosta's *chirimía* was made of *guayacán*, a tree typical of the coastal desert ecosystem, and his *pajuelas* were made from local canes, Incahuasi musicians made their *dulzainas* from local bromeliads and the *pajuelas* from a native brush. And yet current revival projects on the coast rely on importing the instrument and accessories from Spain, where it is made from olive wood. The fact that the *dulzaina* is often ignored in contemporary revival initiatives is the main challenge to the reactivation of the Lambayeque Collection. It also highlights the variety of instruments and their uses in the highland and coastal Lambayeque soundscapes.

One of the initiatives that emerged during our fieldwork consisted in reactivating the photographic section of the Lambayeque Collection corresponding to the dance of the Diablicos through the exhibition *Exposición de Fotografía Histórica de los Diablicos de Túcume y Mochumí* (Cánepa 2022, 2023) presented at the central parks of these two districts. This exhibition was organized through collaborative curatorial workshops with families who preserve the dance as well as with musicians and elder dancers. Emphasis was given to the historical knowledges related to mask making, to illustrious dancers who have passed, and to the legacy of Victorino Acosta. This last point was an opportunity for us—families, dancers, musicians, cultural entrepreneurs, and the Shared Soundscapes team—to discuss the historical aspects of this instrument. The exhibition allowed to activate traditional repertoires of music and dance that question the exclusionary Coastal/Andean dichotomy that prevails in this region. The recovery of ecological knowledges related to the *chirimía* is encouraging new initiatives in Túcume and Mochumí that will promote the manufacture of this instrument with local woods and the training of young *chirimilleros*. It is with these initiatives that our project plans future collaborative and coresearch actions.

CONCLUSIONS

We contend that the use of "shared soundscapes" as a key concept to frame comparison not only provides insight into the divergent paths of the reactivation of the individual archive of Manfred Schäfer and the Lambayeque Collection of the IDE but also reveals the more general dynamics according to which musical diversity results from the varying features of soundscapes. We have traced how these in turn are related to differences in the ways that the protagonists use archival agency for sonic identity politics. The complexity of these dynamics contradicts the widely disseminated imaginary of Peru as neatly divided into encapsulated Coastal, Andean, and Amazonian regions, a concept we therefore had to transcend analytically. The notion of shared/divided soundscapes is precisely what enables us to grasp the factors that influence an archive's potential for reactivation; the constellation of actors who become involved in the process; and the reshuffling of their positions, motives, and strategies when engaging in sonic politics in the context of territorial defense and a quest for cultural recognition on the national and international level.

Our coresearchers (the Chiricentes, the Chobiavantes, Granados, Cajusol, Inoñán, and others) unsettled many comfortable certainties about the abovementioned archives with which we authors are best acquainted—two of us through long-term engagement. This pushed us as anthropologists to rethink what sound recordings and repositories are, what their mission is today, and how they should work. We had to reassess: (1) the creation of Schäfer's archive in the late 1970s; (2) the original approach of the Lambayeque Collection in the early 1990s to determine (3) the potential for collaborative research designs when reactivating their recorded historical soundscapes today. Finally, we had to appraise the usefulness of comparing these archives and bringing together their respective case studies in our collaborative project.

First, we are able to better understand the creation or reorientation of these archives because of the decisive contributions of our coresearchers. Their knowledge helps to reveal the joint efforts previously invested in archival construction. Shared interest in

supporting land titling incited Manfred Schäfer to systemize the coproduced photos and recordings for the advocacy of Rainforest peoples and to create an activist archive. In contrast, concern for the endangered *chirimía* motivated the IDE team to reorient its archival methodologies, paying more attention to the performance, knowledge, and trajectories of individual musicians, and preserving their names. There are similarities in both archival processes in view of the intent made by anthropologists and musicologists to decolonize against the historical backdrop of their disciplines, which has privileged non-Indigenous researchers while Indigenous investigators remain dramatically underrepresented. In the case of the individual archive, an action anthropology approach guided the recording of sonorities and their use for environmental advocacy and claims of the Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga to cultural rights denied by the Peruvian state. Meanwhile, the IDE team used a theoretical approach emphasizing the fluidity of ethnic identity; therefore, it called attention to cultural diversity even within the Lambayeque region, which is generally perceived as a Coastal region.

Second, in a quest to address this unevenness, both initiatives, pursuing different missions and ways of collecting sonorities, recorded and co-shaped soundscapes. In the late 1970s, Manfred Schäfer did not concentrate on sonic recordings as a goal in themselves, but considered them, together with local collaborators such as Cesario Chiricente, as a crucial instrument to further land titling. Analyzing the combination of sonic and political dimensions within these soundscapes sheds new light on anthropological theories that elucidate the role of voice in Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga cosmogonical songs and how they render a fluid relationship between humans, animals, and nature. Our analysis takes into account the social agency and inequalities that pervade soundscapes; therefore, it complements existing approaches such as Feld's anthropology of senses and current ontological perspectives that emphasize basic differences in the perception of the world mediated through sonorities (see also Kummels, 2023). Our lens highlights the innovative and antidotal character of Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga soundscapes and how they may explicitly contradict archival concepts of the world that marginalize their music. In 1990, the IDE team in Lambayeque faced its own challenges with respect to recording methodology and the goals of preservation that motivated its research. They met musicians, activists, and local researchers who were preoccupied with the disappearance of instruments like the *chirimía* from the Lambayeque soundscape and the consequences for rural communities in the region. The IDE's goals evolved parallel to regional actors advancing their own archival agendas, such as the families in charge of the Diablicos dances and local researchers that promoted Muchik identity. Musicians like Victorino Acosta actively intervened in the team's recording methodologies with his performative and archival skills. Thus, he and the IDE team co-shaped new trajectories and possibilities for the historical *chirimía* soundscapes in this region, centered on the materialities and ecologies of this instrument, a collaboration that became pivotal to contemporary agendas seeking the instrument's revival.

In other words, from their inception, both archives were entangled with regional identity politics, which decisively influence reactivation today: the individual archive (Manfred Schäfer's) remains connected to territorial claims of the Rainforest peoples and international advocacy for their cause, which is considered fundamental to conserving the environment of our planet. Meanwhile, the institutional archive (the IDE's) continues to foster innovative ways of engaging with local agendas regarding musical revival and cultural heritage-making, as a means for musicians, dancers, grassroots researchers, and cultural entrepreneurs to gain recognition as active participants in the shaping of the Peruvian nation. The web of actors who once participated in producing the collections—and their emic views on sound—influences these distinctive missions today by participating in the creation of collaborative research designs for renewing the respective archives.

Third, reactivating the historical soundscapes via collaborative research designs reveals that the actors engaging in this task transcend the descendants of the group that was recorded decades ago and now include new protagonists. Nevertheless, their approaches differ. In the case of the individual archive, Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga bilingual teachers rely on organizing soundscapes as accessible to people practicing the same modalities of courtesy, multilingualism, and noncommercial exchange. The Matikantsi Festival was coordinated in a similar way by the coresearchers and the anthropologists of Shared Soundscapes, as a format that invited participants to share an archival tool kit of storytelling, translation, arts and crafts, dance, and music—which local people use for recordkeeping—while adding audiovisual documentation and internet publication. With regard to the CD production, the issue of decentralizing the Western concept of authorship is tackled, and a process of transferring the rights to control and disseminate historical recordings to the community has been triggered. Support for Tres Unidos de Matereni's claims of community-based rights to historical sonorities and a ban on commercialization have become crucial elements of reactivation.

In the Lambayeque case study, the research methodology included video elicitation of historical recordings, home visits, and informal conversations, which allowed for a better understanding of local perspectives on sound and its material and immaterial qualities. This deepened our analysis of the Coast/Sierra distinction implicit in the historical and contemporary *chirimía* soundscapes. These encounters, which resonate with local logics and repertoires of collecting and exhibiting, also moved a complex web of actors to engage collaboratively in curating a photographic exhibition that included materials from the Lambayeque Collection and local archives. The combined materials will also be featured in a sonic exhibition and pedagogical content that will promote the formation of younger *chirimilleros*. As a result, a shared aspiration has emerged to reactivate the Lambayeque Collection and exchange knowledge and archival skills among curators from diverse backgrounds in terms of gender, age, and digital literacy.

Therefore, the difference between the two archives and the reactivation of their historical soundscapes also results from the ways that their initiators and collaborators related to disparate Peruvian state policies in the respective regions: In the Central

Rainforest, cultural expressions have received little attention by the Peruvian state; instead, organizations of Rainforest peoples have been busy warding off policies promoting extractivism. In contrast, state heritagization policies in the Lambayeque region have been embraced locally.

Finally, the insights gained by both subprojects differ in some respects. From the perspective of the Central Rainforest case, bringing both case studies together in our collaborative project has the effect of a comparative magnifying glass that shows—besides differences in their missions and other characteristics—that the individual and the institutional archive are not homologues and do not connect neatly to one another. By deviating from the convention that directly entrusts collected field-work materials to a research archive, the reactivation of the individual archive strikes a different path: that of securing collective rights for the Indigenous community Tres Unidos de Matereni in accordance with the communal concept of rights claimed by those who today consider themselves heirs of the historical recordings. From the Lambayeque case study perspective, we argue that archival practices and knowledge serve to mobilize the political and cultural demands of diverse cultural agents that seek recognition of their cultural rights as citizens of the Peruvian nation. Such demands are brought forward by heterogeneous and internally differentiated webs of actors, eventually challenging or reproducing inequalities such as the tripartite imaginary of Peru. Designing collaborative methodologies for the purpose of the appropriation of historical recordings requires tracing the archival agencies imprinted on them and critically discussing the contemporary dynamics that are triggered by setting them in motion.

Recognizing the similarities, differences, and diverging vantage points of our case studies is part of a common goal of our project: to decentralize Western concepts of authorship along with the geographical concentrations of archives and their monopolies on historical materials. We are collaboratively doing groundwork for a new archival parity that effectively hands over instruments and rights to individuals and communities to make decisions about their own legacies of sound.

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ENDNOTES

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²Action anthropology critically reflected on the neocolonial entanglements of anthropology. Its practitioners advocated committing themselves as scholars to supporting the former “research subjects” and their communitarian goals.

³Lambayeque’s geography has extensive desert plains crossed by rivers that flow into the Pacific Ocean, forming valleys. Large hydraulic infrastructure projects sustain a flourishing agro-exporting industry. Important archaeological sites, mainly belonging to the pre-Columbian Muchik and Sican civilizations, and the Bosque de Pómac Historic Sanctuary are the main attractions of the emerging tourism industry. Most of the region’s districts are on the coast, with the exception of the highland districts of Salas, Incahuasi, and Cañaris, of Quechua origin.

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