

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:       VERSATILITY, TRADITION, AND MODERNITY IN THE  
                                  ANDEAN *BANDA DE MUSICOS*

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The *banda de músicos* (brass band) is one of the most widespread ensemble types in the Andean area, and its rapid dissemination in Peru through the twentieth century has been partly attributed to its ability to play a wide range of repertoire. Many researchers have tended to focus on the *banda's* modernizing influence, and lamented its displacement of ensembles that are considered to be more traditional. Others have noted that inasmuch as *bandas* continue to perform regional genres, they represent an element of change that is ultimately grounded in regional musical traditions. The central argument of this thesis is that in the Mantaro Valley, in the central highlands of Peru, the *banda's* versatility places it at a nexus between the category of music referred to as *folclor*—the regional and national components of the repertoire—and modern and foreign musical styles.

After a brief overview of the history of brass bands in the Peruvian Andes, I present an ethnography of Mantaro Valley *banda* culture. Then, through analysis of examples from the *banda* repertoire, I demonstrate how a set of musical and extra-musical markers help place various genres on a conceptual musico-historical continuum. *Bandas* perform music from the whole range of this continuum, and I describe how different elements from the repertoire are incorporated into multi-day

performances at patron saint fiestas. Finally, I examine *banda* aesthetics and performance style, relating these to the ensemble's de facto "function" at public fiestas—that is, to confer prestige on the fiesta sponsor who has hired it—and indicating how this is yet one more arena where issues of tradition and modernity are worked out.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SANTA CRUZ

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***ANDEAN BANDA DE MUSICOS***

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By

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Contents of the Compact Disc</b>	iv
<b>List of figures</b>	vi
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	viii
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	
<b>Introduction: The “Ubiquitous” <i>Banda de Músicos</i></b>	1
Theoretical Framework	10
Approach to Fieldwork	13
Regional Identity in the Mantaro Valley	14
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	
<b>A Century of the <i>Banda</i>: Development in Andean Peru and Current Practice in the Mantaro Valley</b>	19
The Case of Southern Ancash	24
<i>Bandas</i> in the Mantaro Valley	27
<i>Banda</i> Institutional Structures	32
Contexts for Performance	42
Recordings	46
Gender	54
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b>	
<b>Music on a Historical Scale: <i>Banda</i> Repertoire</b>	59
Summary	83
Scales and the Musico-Historical Continuum	86
Conclusion	96
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	
<b>“Si no hay banda, es muerta la fiesta”: <i>Banda</i> Performance at Communal Fiestas and <i>Banda</i> Performance Style</b>	98
The Fiesta in San Agustín	101
Other Performance Occasions	112
Performance Style and Musical Aesthetics	115
Conclusion	122
<b>Bibliography</b>	126

## Contents of the Compact Disc

1. *Callada*. Banda Sinfónica Flores; recorded 08/16/07 in San Jerónimo de Tunán
2. *Callada*. Banda Santa Isabel; recorded 08/29/07 in San Agustín de Cajas
3. *Callada*. Banda Tupac Amaru; recorded 08/30/07 in San Agustín
4. *Capitanía*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/31/07 in San Agustín
5. Medley. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/29/07 in San Agustín
  - a. *Wayno* – “Hombre Casado” 0:00
  - b. *Wayno* – “Amantes Perfectos” 3:00
  - c. *Wayno* 4:59
  - d. *Santiago* 6:33
  - e. *Santiago* 7:52
  - f. *Huaylas* – “Huaylas del Pisao Pisao” 9:04
6. *Cashua* – “No me Caso.” Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/29/07 in San Agustín
7. *Muliza*. Banda Super Star Acolla; recorded 09/06/07 in Pancán
8. *Huaylas*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/25/07 in Chuclú
9. *Avelinos*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/29/07 in San Agustín
10. *Corcovados*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/25/07 in Chuclú
11. *Pachahuara*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/25/07 in Chuclú
12. *Carnaval de Huancayo*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/30/07 in San Agustín
13. *Morenadas de Puno* – “Cuánto Cuestas, Cuánto Vales.” Banda Super Sonora Acollina; recorded 09/08/07 in Orcotuna
14. *Marinera*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/25/07 in Chuclú
15. *Marcha Regular* – “Virgen de Saylla.” Banda San Martín de Sicuani; recorded 08/12/07 in Lima
16. *Cumbia* – “Que Levante la Mano.” Banda Super Star Acolla; recorded 09/07/07 in Pancán

17. Rock – “Camino de Vida.” Banda Super Star Acolla; recorded 09/06/07 in Pancán

18. *Dianas*. Banda Continental de Jauja; recorded 08/30/07 in San Agustín

**Note:** All recordings were made *in situ* by the author. Rather than risk providing erroneous information regarding the composers for songs whose titles I have obtained, I omit their names altogether here. Because claims to authorship are sometimes made by several groups/soloists for the same song, and because the names of composers are often unknown, it is difficult to ascertain the original composer(s) of many songs.

## List of Figures

1.1	Map of the Mantaro Valley showing towns referred to in the text	18
2.1	Signs advertising <i>bandas</i> and <i>orquestas</i> across from the Parque Inmaculada in Huancayo (09/01/07)	33
2.2	Members of the Banda Continental at their office in Jauja (08/27/07)	34
2.3	Sinfonía Acollina's sousaphone bells during a performance in Orcotuna (09/08/07)	40
2.4	Banda Tupac Amaru's <i>bombo</i> while processing in San Agustín (08/30/07)	41
2.5	<i>Banda calladas</i> (CD tracks 1, 2; end of tracks 5, 8-11)	43
2.6	Front cover of Tupac Amaru DVD	51
2.7	Banda Juventud Acollina's business card	52
2.8	Track listing for Banda Continental CD	54
3.1	Genres in the <i>banda</i> repertoire and their characteristics	61
3.2	<i>Santiago</i> , as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/29/07; CD track 5-e)	72
3.3	<i>Pachahuara</i> , as performed by the Banda Continental in Chuclú (08/25/07; CD track 11)	77
3.4	The Banda Continental's full percussion section in Matahuasi (08/15/07)	86
3.5	First two phrases of a <i>capitanía</i> , as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/31/07; CD track 4)	89
3.6	Comparison of "música para la corrida de toros" [music for bullfighting], from Holzmann (1968: 12-13), with <i>capitanía</i>	90
3.7	The <i>wayno</i> "Hombre Casado," as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/29/07; CD track 5-a)	93
4.1	Patron saint fiestas attended by the author in 2007	99



<b>4.2</b>	Transcription of <i>avelinos</i> , as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/29/07; CD track 9)	102
<b>4.3</b>	Members of the Sociedad de Avelinos “Nueva Generación” process down the street with the Banda Continental in march formation behind them (08/29/07)	104
<b>4.4</b>	<i>Dianas</i> , as played by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/30/07; CD track 18)	107

**Note:** All photographs by the author.

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## Chapter One

### Introduction: The “Ubiquitous” *Banda de Músicos*

It is not difficult to find a *banda de músicos* performance in Peru. On my first morning in the Mantaro Valley, four *bandas* of more than twenty-five musicians each were playing on the first day of a patron saint fiesta in the town of Matahuasi. That evening, the *vispera* [vespers] for San Roque (Saint Roch) festivities began in nearby San Jerónimo, where two *bandas* would be providing music for the six-day-long ritual. In Peru’s capital city, Lima, migrants from all Andean areas carry out condensed versions of the festivals from their regions of origin (Turino 1988), and *bandas* can be heard at one of these fiestas nearly every weekend of the year. One need go no further than the Plaza Mayor in the heart of downtown Lima to see a prototypical *banda de músicos* marking the changing of the guard ceremony every noon hour at the Government Palace. Here, a *banda* from one of the divisions of the armed forces performs military march arrangements of traditional songs, and the ensemble executes various Peruvian genres in a manner akin to that of ensembles playing at fiestas in rural Andean villages. A vast selection of locally produced *banda* audio and video recordings can be purchased at the kiosks in the Mesa Redonda market in central Lima, and during my fieldwork one was even featured on a Peruvian soap opera.<sup>1</sup> At the numerous musical instrument shops concentrated around the Plaza Dos de Mayo (in Lima), row upon row of brass instruments glimmer in the glass displays; at some of these stores, *banda* arrangements are available by the hundreds.

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<sup>1</sup> *Qué Buena Raza* (08/27/07).

*Bandas* are widespread in regional traditions throughout Peru. Studies on Peruvian music show their existence and importance in regions stretching the entire length of the Peruvian Andes. My own conversations with musicians indicate that *bandas* are important ensembles in the music cultures of many of the coastal cities and the lowland jungle regions, alike. Professional *bandas* have become indispensable to Andean communal festivals and have been a vehicle for musical change, introducing new instruments, new styles of music, and new aesthetic considerations into these events and the broader musical culture. They have also altered the sound of traditional Andean music, still a vital component of their repertoire, since in many cases they have replaced smaller traditional ensembles for performance of regional genres (Romero 1998: 483).

In most of the English-language literature on Andean music, the *banda de músicos* (also *banda de música*) is referred to generically as “brass band.” The term is apt, but slightly inaccurate for most *banda* configurations in Peru, including those of the Mantaro Valley. Ensembles there are indeed dominated by brass instruments—trumpets, trombones, baritones, and sousaphones, but present-day instrumentation also calls for clarinets and saxophones, both technically members of the woodwind family.<sup>2</sup> Four or five percussionists complement the group of twenty to twenty-five wind players. Brass bands can be found throughout the world in the former European colonies, reminders of the extensive influence of military bands that in many cases accompanied colonists and their armies (Herbert 2005: 15; Seeger

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<sup>2</sup> Trevor Herbert places the meaning of the term “brass band” as used throughout the world in its ethos, rather than its instrumentation: “Despite the enormous diversity of groupings to which the term is sometimes indiscriminately applied, a brass band can almost always be taken to be a popular music practice... the musical values of which are different from those found in art music” (2005: 13).

1998: 67).<sup>3</sup> Important brass band traditions are documented throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, from Mexico in the north to Paraguay in the south.<sup>4</sup> Brass bands were connected with the rise of art music in some Latin American countries (e.g. Colombia and Costa Rica; see Gradante 1998: 397; Fernández 1998: 694; Olsen and Sheehy 1998: 114), and in many cases they still retain strong links to military (Peru, Guyana; Ahyoung 1998: 447) and educational institutions (Dominican Republic, Haiti; Davis 1998: 858; Averill and Wilcken 1998: 894). However, despite adoption of the instrumentation and some repertoire (especially marches) from European brass band traditions, these ensembles have in most cases been “assimilated into indigenous musical values” (Herbert 2005: 15).

In Peru, as in some Andean regions of the countries that border it, brass bands have been integral to both Indigenous and *mestizo* culture (Turino 1998: 212). They are an important force in Bolivian music, the most notable tradition having sprung up in the mining town of Oruro, where *bandas* accompany the famous *diablada* and *morenada* carnival dances (Stobart 1998). Bolivian brass band music influenced the approach to composition for other types of Indigenous wind ensembles in southern Peru (Turino 1993: 78, 90). Brass bands appear to be less prevalent in Chile and Ecuador. Juan Pablo González has documented them in Aymara-speaking communities of northern Chile, where they share the performance

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<sup>3</sup> A monographic study on the widespread use of brass bands for wedding processions in India (Booth 2005) reveals a number of striking similarities with the Peruvian case, and yet demonstrates fundamental differences in the ways these societies have adopted (and adapted) this ensemble into their own cultures.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. Vol. 2: South America, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean* for country entries on Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru; see Scruggs (1999: 105) for Nicaragua.

duties at patronal fiestas with various panpipe ensembles, interpreting a diversified repertoire that includes *cueca*, *cumbia*, *wayno*, *taquirari*, and *vals* (1998: 362). Brass bands were central to the fiestas of Quichua Indians in Otavalo, Ecuador, by 1946, where they played local genres such as the *sanjuanito* (Collier and Buitrón 1971: 125-133). Subsequent references in the literature indicate that they continue to figure in the musical culture of the Ecuadorian Andes.<sup>5</sup>

To my knowledge, no substantial ethnomusicological study devoted to the *banda de músicos* from any region of Peru exists in the English language. Scattered references to the ensemble can be found in the works of scholars who have researched the music of specific locales. In her monograph on the music of the Callejón de Huaylas in north-central Peru, Elisabeth den Otter (1985) provides some factual information about the instrumentation, roles, and repertoires of *bandas* in the wider context of musical traditions in the region. Thomas Turino's book on music from the Conima district in southern Peru makes passing mention of *bandas*, Conima being a district, unlike many in the Lake Titicaca region, where Indigenous wind traditions have maintained their prominence relative to the more modern ensemble (1993; 1998: 212). *Bandas* are indeed discussed in Raúl Romero's analyses of musical change in the Mantaro Valley, but in his monograph on the subject thorough treatment is allotted to the *orquesta típica*, an ensemble composed of several saxophones, a clarinet, a harp and a violin, which is considered to be the representative ensemble from the region, and which, along with the *banda de*

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<sup>5</sup> See for example Schechter (1998: 422), where he describes the presence of a local brass band at the 1980 festival of Corpus Christi taking place in an Indigenous village in the central Sierra. Carlos Alberto Coba Andrade (1996: 206) includes in his work a photo of a brass band with trumpets, trombones, baritone, tuba, and *bombo* [bass drum], which is described as a *banda de pueblo* [village band].

*músicos*, dominates the music-making for communal fiestas in the region (1990; 2001).

Peruvian anthropologist Román Robles Mendoza's book (in Spanish; 2000) on the history and contemporary practices of *bandas* in the south of Ancash Department is the first monographic study directed exclusively to the ensemble. Although it abounds with detail about almost every facet of *banda* culture, analysis of musical material—other than a general categorization of repertoire—is limited, and no transcriptions are included. The only other comprehensive body of research on the *banda* in Peru is Virginia Yep's German-language dissertation on the *banda* tradition in lower Piura (Department in northern Peru that borders Ecuador), where "*banda* music"—an all-inclusive term that rolls several genres into one—is claimed to be the "typical music" of the region (2000). Yep has also published an article in Spanish that documents the function and repertoire of *bandas* during Semana Santa [Holy Week] celebrations in Catacaos, Piura. In Catacaos, she states, "La banda acapara la función musical en todas las fiestas, desplazando a otras formas de expresión musical" [*Bandas* monopolize the role of music-makers in all fiestas, displacing other forms of musical expression] (2002: 209).<sup>6</sup>

The displacement of "Indian and rural ensembles" (Romero 1998: 483) by *bandas* is a common theme—if not a preoccupation—in many studies. In Cusco Department, writes Manuel Ráez Retamozo,

...en las últimas décadas hay un paulatino desplazamiento de los instrumentos tradicionales en favor de los más modernos. Por ejemplo, la *banda de guerra* indígena, conformada por *quenás* y *tinyas* de diferentes tamaños, está siendo reemplazada por la *banda de música*... (2004: 24).

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<sup>6</sup> All translations from Spanish- and French-language texts, and from interviews in Spanish, are my own. For the titles of books, I use the translations given by RILM Abstracts of Music Literature.



[...in recent decades there has been a gradual displacement of traditional instruments in favor of more modern ones. For example, the Indigenous *banda de guerra* [war band], made up of *queñas* [vertical end-notched flute] and *tinyas* [small Andean drum] of different sizes, is being replaced by the *banda de música*.]

Elsewhere, Ráez Retamozo has observed the growing popularity of *bandas* and resulting decline of Indigenous instruments that had previously accompanied the principal dances and rituals in the Colca Valley, Arequipa (1993; 2002). Gisela Cánepa Koch observes the same phenomenon in a more specific discussion on the *qhapaq ch'unchu* dance at the Virgen del Carmen fiesta in Paucartambo, Cusco. Illustrating how the increasing use of *bandas* for ritual accompaniment causes tension between forces of modernization and those seeking to maintain tradition, she cites an incident in which the public obliged a group of dancers to dance to the traditional *banda de guerra*, even though they had wanted to switch over to accompaniment from a brass band (1996: 463).

Roy Youdale lodges fairly serious allegations regarding the increasingly professionalized *bandas* and their progressively more dominant role at the fiesta of San Bartolomé [Saint Bartholomew] in Potosí, Bolivia. Inasmuch as dance groups are tending to contract these ensembles from outside communities, creating a disconnect between two components of a holistic ritual and reducing the music to rented accompaniment, he calls the growing separation between dance and music, “la antítesis del concepto andino de la música en la fiesta” [the antithesis of the Andean conception of fiesta music] (1996: 341). Youdale also cites the replacement of *queñas*, *sikus* [panpipes], and *pinkullos* [duct flutes] by brass instruments, as well as the unorthodox use of brass for the *tinku* [a ritual fight between men and women

from different communities]<sup>7</sup>, as examples of profound changes in the festival. In concluding that the changing character of the fiesta in Potosí highlights a dichotomy between urban and rural fiestas—the fiesta of San Bartolomé falling under the first category—Youdale links to this distinction the presence of *bandas* versus Indigenous ensembles, and the concomitant adjustments in the relationship between music and dance.

While they do not ignore the potential social strains associated with the “modern and foreign musical influences” (Romero 1990: 21) *bandas* have introduced into Andean culture, Romero and Robles are more optimistic about the *banda*’s revitalizing effect on traditional music. For Robles (2007), even if the pre-hispanic *pito* [transverse flute] and *caja* [drum] configuration has effectively disappeared from fiestas where they used to occupy a primary function, so too has a much-expanded ensemble replaced the “traditional” *banda* that emerged in the early twentieth century. Musical change, rather than being seen as “corrosive,” is viewed as an essential counterpart to continuity, and highlights the adaptability of Andean expressive modes to modernization. In the Mantaro Valley, the popularity of *bandas*, *orquestas*, and the more recent emergence of *chicha* music—a fusion of the Andean *wayno* with Colombian *cumbia*, performed on electric instruments—are responses to the need for modernizing change that are ultimately grounded in regional musical traditions. Thus, as central contributors to the dynamic fiesta system that has

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<sup>7</sup> This type of ritual battle between opposing “halves” of a community was observed by Spanish chroniclers in the Andes as far back as the sixteenth century, and was documented throughout the southern Andes in the twentieth century (Hopkins 1982).

“caused an upsurge of more intense traditional musical activity in the region,” *bandas* have actually bolstered the performance of traditional music (Romero 1990: 24).

It is worth noting, in concluding this quick survey of ethnomusicological research on the *banda*, that a remarkably comprehensive work such as the *Mapa de los Instrumentos Musicales de Uso Popular en el Perú* [Map of musical instruments in popular use in Peru], which classifies 350 different instruments from various regions of the country, has deliberately omitted the brass instruments of the *banda*:

Por otra parte, nos ha parecido innecesario incluir en nuestra clasificación los diferentes instrumentos de bronce que se utilizan en las bandas de música, pues ellos a pesar de su muy abundante uso no muestran ninguna variación en su morfología ni en su ejecución (Instituto Nacional de Cultura 1978: 21).

[On the other hand, we have deemed it unnecessary to include the various brass instruments used in the *bandas de música* in our classification. Despite their abundant use, they do not demonstrate any variation in their morphology or performance technique]

Nonetheless, we note the inclusion in the catalog of the violin, which has retained its European form and tuning, as well as the clarinet (both the “Indigenous” and European forms) and saxophone. While I can comprehend the justification for excluding brass instruments, in my view the contradiction described here points to the higher “traditional” value that has often been placed, both in the musicological and popular realms, on imported instruments assimilated early in the colonial period. Moreover, this perspective overlooks the uniquely Andean performance style(s) in which these instruments are played, and misses an opportunity to document the wide diffusion of such an important musical ensemble, as well as the use of some older brass instruments that might have still been in use in rural areas (but had disappeared from European practice; see Robles 2000).

\* \* \*

The aim of the present work, then, is multifold. First, given that “Brass bands are the most ubiquitous type of ensemble in the Andean area” (Turino 1998: 212), this study intends to fill a gap in the English-language literature on Peruvian musical traditions. My hope is that, in my ethnography of Mantaro Valley *banda de músicos* culture, detailing the organization, economic dynamics, performance contexts, promotional activities, and gender make-up of these ensembles (as described in chapter two), the reader will gain a deeper understanding of how professional musicians in present-day Peru are adapting their musical culture to modern times and outside influences. I contextualize these findings by beginning the chapter with a historical overview of the ensemble’s development in the twentieth century.

In assessing musical change in the Peruvian Andes, Romero has remarked:

One of the factors in [*bandas*] expansion is that they are more elastic in repertoire than are the regional ensembles. They can play any musical genre—*cumbia*, *marinera*, *pasodoble*, tropical music, and even the latest popular music hit—and this versatility adds to their popularity among younger people (1998: 483).

As we have seen, though, the ensemble’s versatility extends to traditional genres, and their ability to usurp the function of other ensembles stems from this flexibility. Thus, the second goal of this study is to illustrate how the ensemble acts as a nexus between the category of music referred to as *folclor*—the regional and national components of the repertoire (see below)—and modern and foreign musical styles. As such, I argue in chapter three that the *banda* embodies *both* the traditional and the modern, as demonstrated through analysis of examples from the diverse *banda* repertoire, and examination of the musical and extra-musical markers that have a bearing on each genre’s musico-historical identity. Despite the common perception

conveyed in research on Andean culture (which may be based in popular belief) that the *banda* symbolizes a reckless push for modernization, I believe that it is the ensemble's performance of all ranges of what I am calling a musico-historical continuum that roots it fundamentally in regional tradition and contributes significantly to its prominence. In chapter four I describe how the different components of the ensemble's repertoire are utilized during one of their primary contexts for performance in the Mantaro Valley, the patron saint fiesta. The *banda*'s growing popularity in the Andes is partly related to the prestige it confers (as a symbol of modernity) upon the fiesta sponsor who has hired it, and this "function" of the ensemble affects how it is evaluated aesthetically. I discuss how the *banda*'s performance style relates to its role—and how the fulfillment of that role is appraised—at communal fiestas.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The ethnographic component of this study is largely based on field research conducted in Peru in the summer of 2007, including attendance at seven patron saint fiestas in the Mantaro Valley, and one fiesta for migrants from the province of Calca, Cusco, residing in Lima. Paul Berliner's *The Soul of Mbira* (1978) is an ethnographic study that influenced my approach to both fieldwork and interpretation—the material that I have chosen to foreground in this essay. I find that his work reconciles the ethnomusicologist's desire to elicit local terms and categories behind musical conception with the need to transmit analytical results to a fairly specific audience. As such, I have attempted to identify musical terminology and cultural perspectives that are meaningful especially to *banda* musicians, but also to the people who hire them and respond to their music (usually with dancing). It is particularly important, I

think, in the study of an instrumental ensemble that has European roots and is remarkably similar to those in living Euro-American musical traditions (e.g. marching bands)—not to mention the fact that most *banda* musicians read Western music notation—to determine native schemes and aesthetics relating to music. That being said, my own musical experiences as a brass player, and probably those of my primary audience, are grounded in various North American musical practices.<sup>8</sup> Thus, given that “in the very act of doing ethnomusicological research, or reading about the members and music of another society, we inevitably call up myriad comparisons with our own musical experience and social understanding,” it may be necessary at times throughout this work to invoke North American musical and cultural values as the “backdrop” against which the experiences and ideas of Peruvian musicians are presented (Turino 1993: 6). I have also found it beneficial to keep in mind a conception of culture that encompasses both the “similarities *and differences*” among viewpoints of people from the same society (Ibid.: 8). This representation of the Mantaro Valley *banda* world, then, reflects the statements of people I spoke with (and all their inherent contradictions), and is mediated by my personal interpretation and self-reflection.

It is in the spirit of adhering to local categories that I have chosen to employ the term *folclor* to refer to the regional traditional component in the *banda*’s repertoire. *Folclor* was the term used most frequently by musicians themselves to denote the genres that they saw as indigenous to the Central Andes (“folclor del Centro”), and in some cases embraced styles with national breadth (“folclor de

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<sup>8</sup> In April and May 2008, I had the opportunity to direct, and perform with, a fourteen-piece brass band—mostly students from the University of California, Santa Cruz—modeled on the central Andean format; the ensemble performed pieces from the Peruvian Andean repertoire at my graduate recital.

nuestro país”). Zoila Mendoza has described how, in the first half of the twentieth century, the intellectual class in Cusco promoted a process of “folklorization” in which certain rural musical expressions were idealized and grouped under the banner of *folclor*. These could then be drawn upon to carve out not only a regional musical identity, but also a national one based on Andean musical forms (2006: 24, 30). The scope—regional and national—of the word *folclor* as used by working-class musicians in the Mantaro Valley appears to correspond to the intentions noted in this example. It is my opinion, however, that its usage by musicians in the Valley does not implicate (as it does above) the politics of selecting local musical forms for regionally representative staged performances and elevating them to the status of art (Ibid.).

*Banda* musicians never applied the label “modern” to any grouping of genres in their repertoire. In fact, the only time they specifically referred to any type of music as novel was to emphasize the need to renew their regional *folclor* by composing new pieces in regional styles. Nevertheless, as we shall see from the ways musicians discuss their repertoire, and by distinctions in the manner in which different genres are performed, the pieces that do not fall under the category of regional or national *folclor* tend to be those that could be viewed as modern and/or foreign. For his part, Robles does employ the term *moderno(-a)* [modern] to denote an important component of the *banda* repertoire (2000). In his work, the musically modern is also consistently equated with styles that are foreign to the Andes. For example, when discussing the ensemble’s expansive repertoire, he notes that the modern category must include “todo lo novedoso y foráneo que entra vía la capital...” [All of the new and foreign (styles) that enter through the capital...] (Ibid.:

275). Cánepa Koch has also expressed the view that people in the Andes consider that which is foreign to be a symbol of modernity (1996: 467, fn. 21).<sup>9</sup>

If the modern, both in musical and other spheres, stands in contrast—at least discursively—to the traditional, what should be underscored is that Andean societies (like others), are “products of *both* ‘tradition and modernity’” (my emphasis; Romero 2001: 23). As Juliana Ströbele-Gregor has aptly noted,

“Tradición” y “modernidad” en el mundo andino parecen no encontrarse en una relación dicotómica sino formar por el contrario una estrecha unidad. Sin embargo, no se trata de una unidad armoniosa o libre de conflictos (1996: 501).

[In the Andean world, “tradition” and “modernity” do not appear to find themselves in a dichotomous relationship, but on the contrary, in a tight unity. However, this is not a unity that is harmonious or free of conflict.]

The way I see it, the *banda de músicos* exemplifies this “tight unity.” This mode of transcultural expression appears to be for many peoples of the Andes, one of their “peculiar” ways of “confronting and creating modernity” (Romero 2001: 23).

### **Approach to Fieldwork**

Communal fiestas in the central Andes of Peru can be the locus of a tremendous amount of activity and sound: Masses of people crowd the central plaza, eating, drinking and dancing; vendors of all types line the streets; fireworks explode constantly; numerous *bandas* and *orquestas* play at the same time in a space about the size of half a football field. As one *banda* arrives at the plaza, another sets off behind their sponsors on a musical procession, passing on the way an *orquesta* already in the thick of accompanying a dance troupe. In such a busy atmosphere, it

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<sup>9</sup> In studies on different areas of Andean Peru, including the Mantaro Valley, technology, industrially produced goods, and improved infrastructure (roads, water, electricity) emerge as some of the more tangible things that people interpret to be signs of modernity (see Romero 2001; Robles 1996; Cánepa Koch 1996)



is rather difficult to achieve a comprehensive appreciation—not to mention documentation—of the complex network of ritual components and relationships that are woven into the event. It is not my intention in this study to enter into a detailed analysis of the multiple phases, participants, and meanings of the patron saint fiesta, but rather, to describe the role of a *banda de músicos* at one of its principal venues for performance, and to understand its experiences as a central figure in the region's musical culture. As such, the strategy I employed at these events was to stay as close as possible to the sphere of involvement of a single *banda* throughout the entirety of their contract at a fiesta, focusing on the musicians' reactions to and interpretations of performances and other happenings. In this respect I was guided to some extent by Jeff Titon's proposal for a type of fieldwork that privileges "knowing people making music" (1997: 95), taking into account, of course, the reality of field conditions (safety issues, etc.), the scope of Master's-level research (time limitations), and the expectations of the communities I was in and the musicians I befriended.

### **Regional Identity in the Mantaro Valley**

Referring to the diverse geographical settings where highland residents and migrant communities construct "social and musical history," Turino states that "in Peru, at least, and I would guess more generally, bounded, synchronic musical ethnography in an isolated rural setting is no longer a tenable methodology because of the circular links among these different types of spaces" (1993: 13). In this respect, research on the *banda* in the Mantaro Valley is complicated by the fact that these groups travel frequently to Lima and other regions of the country and interact with ensembles from diverse areas (see Robles 2000: 181). Nevertheless, the high

degree of homogeneity that characterizes the Valley's towns and vibrant fiesta system on one hand, and the importance of its two main urban centers—Jauja at the northern edge and Huancayo at the southern—as operational bases for a large number of these ensembles on the other, make it suitable for study at a regional level.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, just about anybody who had anything to say about *bandas* noted that each region of the country has its own particular *banda* style.

The Mantaro Valley's regional identity was fostered by unique socio-economic conditions that date back to the sixteenth century, when a strategic alliance was forged between the Indigenous Wanka nation and the Spanish colonizers that arrived in the area. The Wankas sought an ally to counter the domination of the Inka Empire, and the Spaniards likewise needed support in their southward conquest against the mightier Inka forces. The town of Jauja actually became the first capital of Peru, a legacy that was soon cut short when the majority of Spaniards left in search of gold in other regions. Because the Wankas had cooperated with the Spanish armies, and on account of the latter's greater interest in exploiting resources in other regions, the local population was generally permitted to retain ownership of their lands during colonial times, a situation that contrasted starkly with other Andean regions where Indian lands were expropriated. Access to land, in turn, meant that, when large mining ventures were set up in the Central Andes at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Valley's peasants took up temporary migration, rather than permanent emigration, for mining work to supplement their agricultural income. Moreover, peasants took advantage of the

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<sup>10</sup> Romero cites several precedents in the anthropological literature that have “examined the valley as a homogenous geographical-cultural whole” (1990: 5-6).

increased transportation and communication links with the capital (the Central Railway and Highway) that accompanied mining activity to consolidate new markets for their agricultural production. The net effect has been that peasants from the Mantaro Valley are relatively prosperous, a fact that promotes “pride and assurance in their own regional culture and identity” (Romero 2001: 105). Wanka identity continues to be a unifying cultural symbol (which is also articulated in musical dimensions) and serves to differentiate the region from the cultural trends of elites in the capital and other Andean regional cultures (Ibid.: 13-33).

Another important factor that has shaped the Valley’s regional identity is the process of *mestizaje* that has largely homogenized its ethnic and cultural make-up. Following the lead of the eminent Peruvian anthropologist José María Arguedas, Romero stresses that the transition from Indians to *mestizos* in this region was a social, cultural and economic process, rather than one of racial assimilation (2001: 28). Increased contact with modern society in the capital early in the century exposed the Valley’s peasants to capitalism and new cultural influences; the burgeoning *mestizo* sector was able to appropriate some of these social and economic elements while retaining ties to Indigenous traditions and rituals that continue to be performed into the twenty-first century.<sup>11</sup> In the Mantaro Valley, then, unlike in other Andean regions, performance of *banda* music need not be problematized in terms of whether it is performed by Indian or *mestizo* musicians, or in terms of ethnic inequalities between the musicians and their employers (see

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<sup>11</sup> Some cultural differentiation in the region does exist and generally parallels geographical facts. The higher-elevation villages, removed from the principal transportation and communication arteries, are less economically developed and have held on to some traditional cultural practices that are no longer followed in the more urbanized towns along the main roads that flank the Mantaro River (Romero 1990: 6).

Romero 2001: 83; Turino 1998: 212, and 1993; Mendoza 2006: 23). While it may be more difficult to ascribe ethnicity to the performers of music that is more closely related to pre-Hispanic or early colonial forms, in the Mantaro Valley the music of the *banda de músicos* is unambiguously the product of the dominant *mestizo* culture that emerged in the twentieth century; its music is performed by *mestizos*, for *mestizos*.

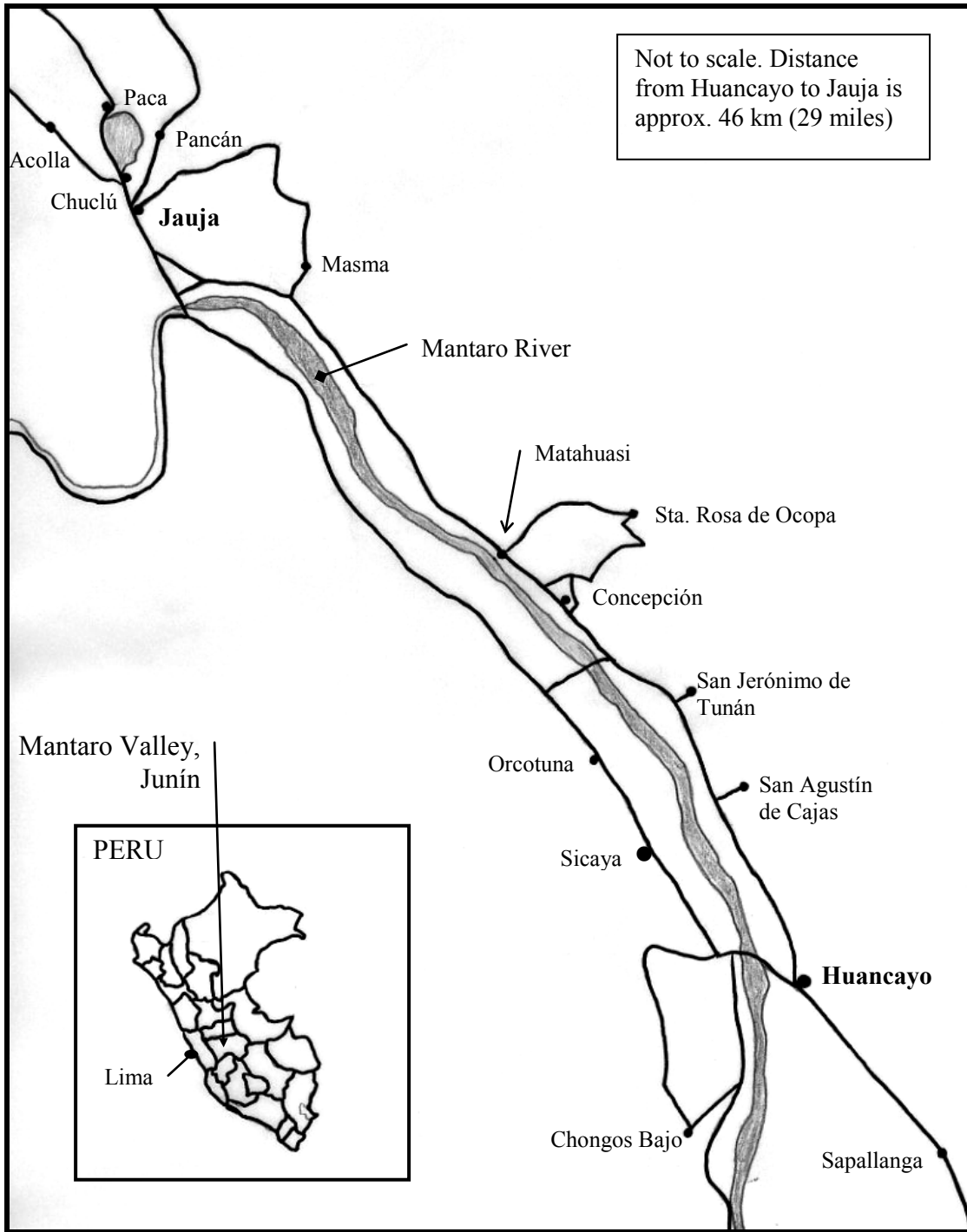


Figure 1.1. Map of the Mantaro Valley, showing towns referred to in the text.

## Chapter Two

### **A Century of the *Banda*: Development in Andean Peru and Current Practice in the Mantaro Valley**

In his work, Robles (2000) has outlined a detailed history of the Andean *banda de músicos*' evolution. He traces references to the ensemble in early twentieth-century documents and ethnographic studies, and he reconstructs the founding of the first *bandas* in *campesino* [rural peasant] communities of southern Ancash, based on interviews with some of their surviving members and other village elders. It is possible that Romero has obtained comparable information about the initial *bandas* in the Mantaro Valley, given the extensive research he has done in the area, but he has not published thorough historical information on this ensemble. Musicians I met in the Valley were not familiar with their predecessors, beyond the long-standing musical institutions that are still in existence, and I did not have the opportunity during fieldwork to investigate the matter in depth. My intention in the first part of this chapter is to synthesize Robles's findings on the early models and diffusion of this instrumental formation, and then to turn to other sources that show evidence of its gradual incorporation into the musical culture of the Mantaro Valley through the twentieth century.

Before examining the evolution of the *banda* as an ensemble, a phenomenon which appears to have begun only after independence, it should be noted that brass instruments such as trumpets and sackbuts (precursor to the trombone), and other wind instruments such as cornetts (made of wood; not the more modern valved cornet), shawms, flutes, and curtals (ancestor of the bassoon), were part of the minstrel tradition in South America as early as the sixteenth century. Small

ensembles featuring various configurations of these instruments, often played by Indigenous and African musicians, served the clergy in the major cities, including Lima and Cusco. Called upon for both civic and church music, these wind instruments also made some inroads into music-making in Indian villages (see Bermúdez 1999 and Sas 1971).

Brass and percussion ensembles resembling European military bands were integrated into Peru's armed forces towards the end of the nineteenth century, and descendants of these organizations are to this day among the country's most highly regarded *bandas*, as well as important focal points for the continuing development of the tradition. The most prestigious group is probably the Banda de la Policía Nacional [National Police Band], a formidable institution that includes seven *bandas* spread across its three bases in metropolitan Lima, alone. A team of music instructors, composers and arrangers is also employed at its main headquarters, ensuring that all of the ensembles maintain a high level of professionalism and are supplied with arrangements of the latest popular pieces. The organization has an impressive history that dates back to 1906, when the Banda de Músicos de Lima was founded under the auspices of the Escuela de la Policía Nacional [National Police School]. From its inception, the ensemble was mandated to accompany official government and police ceremonies. Structural reorganization in 1921 resulted in a change of name to the Banda de la Guardia Republicana [Band of the Republican Guard], and in 1940 this became the official band of the State. Operating under its current denomination (Banda de la Policía Nacional) since another restructuring in 1987, the organization has upheld its status as the *banda* with greatest artistic merit in the country, traveling regularly to all corners of Peru and

abroad.<sup>12</sup> Inasmuch as the prominent ensembles of the Banda de la Policía Nacional are generally larger—featuring a more diverse instrumentation with extra percussion and saxophones of multiple ranges—and as their higher level of musical training allows them to execute a more diverse repertoire, they tend to have a modernizing influence on their civilian counterparts (Robles 2000).

The role of *bandas* in all divisions of the armed forces as entry points to music education appears to have been crucial to the formation of the first rural ensembles, and Robles goes so far as to state that “Las bandas que se han formado en la sociedad civil son el reflejo de [la Banda de la Policía Nacional]” [The *bandas* that were formed in civil society are a mirror of (the Banda de la Policía Nacional)] (2000: 92). Conscription of Andean peasants into the military in the early part of the twentieth century was certainly a key factor in this respect, since many of them learned to play brass instruments during their service and later introduced these instruments into their native communities (Ibid.; Romero 1985; Ráez Retamozo 2004). In 2007, I found that the military was still a training ground for musicians. For example, most members of the Lima-based Banda San Martín de Sicuani also work in the army band, some of them having learned to play their instruments in that institution in the last couple of years. The Banda San Martín’s director mentioned that rehearsals were not critical for his ensemble because its members had learnt and practiced much of the relevant repertoire for fiesta performances in the army.

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<sup>12</sup> This institution also performs at the festivities of various groups as a public service. At the patron saint fiesta I attended in Lima, one of the ensembles from the Banda de la Policía Nacional accompanied part of a short procession through the streets of central Lima. In the Callejón de Huaylas, military ensembles make appearances for “special occasions, like the banda of the Peruvian Air Force that was engaged for Semana Santa in 1981, or that of the Republican Guard of Peru that was present during Our Lady of Mercy of Carhuaz in 1981” (den Otter 1985: 178).



But an interesting twist on the earlier military-to-village trajectory of musical propagation has emerged: In the Mantaro Valley, many musicians learn to play at the (non-military) Instituto Superior de Música Pública [Public Music Institute] in Acolla, and then sharpen their skills in one of the region's many professional *bandas*. One of the highest achievements for a particularly skilled musician is then to join the upper-echelon ensembles of the armed forces in Lima.

In texts from the early decades of the twentieth century it is often difficult to distinguish between *bandas* of military provenance and the civilian rural type that multiplied throughout the country. A study on Indian culture by Hildebrando Castro Pozo, originally published in 1924, describes how in some communities in northern Peru, groups of traveling “cachimbos” played a style of music dubbed “huayno-danza,” which resembled that played by “cachimbos huancas” (1979 [1924]: 222). At the time, the term *cachimbos* denoted young men who had joined the police or army, and by extension was applied to the *banda* musicians from these organizations who traveled from town to town playing for donations (Robles 2000: 79-80).<sup>13</sup> The epic work of Raoul and Marguerite d’Harcourt, *La Musique des Incas et ses Survivances* [The Music of the Incas and its Surviving Traces] (1925), makes similar allusion to the association between emerging rural *bandas* and their military progenitors.

Describing the music heard at carnival in a small coastal town near Lima in 1913, the authors indicate that the musicians were:

...Les soldats bronzés (indiens ou métis pour la plupart), qui composaient la musique militaire des troupes du Callao. Les musiciens tournaient lentement autour de la place, soufflant, sans partie écrite... Nous en eûmes, quelques

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<sup>13</sup> One assumes that, by “cachimbos huancas,” Castro Pozo was referring to musicians from the central Andes, home of the Wanka nation.

mois après une seconde exécution identique, un soir de fête à San Mateo, dans la vallée du Rimac, par la petite fanfare locale (1925: 200).

[...The dark-skinned soldiers (mostly Indians and *mestizos*) who made up the military band of the troops in El Callao. The musicians circle the plaza slowly, playing their instruments with no written parts... One afternoon some months later at the fiesta in San Mateo, in the Rímac Valley, we witnessed an identical performance by the small local brass band.]

In another passage, we learn that

...les musiques militaires, et, dans certains villages de la *sierra*, les musiques composées de flutes, clarinettes, cuivres et grosse caisse ont un repertoire étendu d'airs locaux indiens, métissés et créoles... (Ibid.: 529).

[...military bands, and, the ensembles which in certain highland villages are composed of flutes, clarinets, brass, and *bombos* [bass drums], all have a repertoire that includes local Indigenous, as well as *mestizo* and creole songs.]

Again, we can identify in all three of the accounts above a gradual assimilation of the military band model into rural communities and their musical practices.

It is worth noting a few more early references that help illuminate the ensemble's evolution. The moniker *murga comunal* is used in Castro Pozo's work to designate wind ensembles that might be called upon to play a *wayno* for dancing (1924: 239), and Robles contends that the expression, which was a Spanish name for street bands, is in fact referring here to an early *banda de músicos* (2000: 80-81).<sup>14</sup> In a different ethnographic study of the same decade that documented the festival of the Virgen de Rosario in Arequipa Department, we are informed that the *capitán* [principal fiesta sponsor] was accompanied ceremonially by a *banda de*

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<sup>14</sup> In the town of La Plata, in the southern Andes of Colombia, an "informal folk musical ensemble" that may feature a wide variety of instruments is also called a *murga* (Gradante 1999: 349). Interesting for our own study, Gradante describes how, in 1958, the most notorious *murga* in the town, La Banda de Los Borrachos [Band of the drunkards], was formed with the intent of criticizing the poor quality of the local municipal band (probably some sort of brass or mixed wind ensemble). Gourd trumpets, which are actually likely Indigenous instruments of pre-Columbian origin, were employed to satirize the municipal band's wind instruments (Ibid.: 348).

*músicos* (Mejía Xesspe 1923: 900, cited in Robles 2000: 79), the phrase that is still used today.<sup>15</sup> Almost all of the examples cited thus far insinuate that these ensembles were being integrated into Indigenous and *mestizo* cultural settings by the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Finally, it is interesting that, even at this early stage of assimilation into Andean contexts, the *banda*'s versatility was apparent:

Le Pérou et la Bolivie connaissent à notre époque des fanfares qui n'ont rien à envier aux musiques de village de nos pays; la basse en cuivre, le trombone, le piston et la clarinette en forment les vaillants éléments. Ces fanfares mêmes présentent à l'ethnographe un réel intérêt, car leur repertoire contient encore, en dehors des morceaux européens ou nord-américains, des pièces d'inspiration populaire très typiques. Telle *banda* passera fort bien d'un fox-trott ou d'une polka à un *yaraví* ou à une *kaswa*, et cela même dans les villes importantes, voire dans la capitale (d'Harcourts 1925: 199).

[There are brass bands in Peru and Bolivia that have nothing to envy of village bands in our country. The brass tuba, trombone, cornet, and clarinet are its principal instruments. These bands also present an interesting case for the ethnographer, since their repertoire still consists of—apart from European and North American elements—the very typical local popular pieces. Such a *banda* can easily switch from a fox-trot or a polka to a *yaraví* or a *kashwa*, and this is true even in the important cities, such as the capital.]

### The Case of Southern Ancash

I offer below a highly condensed account (based on Robles's quite exhaustive version) of the formation of *bandas* in the villages of southern Ancash, their spread throughout the region, and the emergence of migrant ensembles in Lima. Even if the narrative does not correspond precisely to the geographical area focused on in this study, it will help us comprehend some of the comparable

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<sup>15</sup> The Englishman Gilbert Mathison may have been literally translating this terminology when he observed that a “band of music” led a procession of government supporters in one case, and “struck up a national air” during a bullfight in another, both in Lima, in 1822 (Mathison 1825: 297, 300).

conditions that fueled the *banda*'s dissemination in rural areas of the Andean highlands.

In the southern provinces of Ancash Department the seed for the creation of *bandas* in *campesino* communities needed only to be planted in one of the region's important centers before spreading to neighboring villages. The first ensemble was founded in Chiquián, capital of Bolognesi province, in 1913, thanks to the leadership of a group of men from well-to-do families who could afford to purchase instruments and had the necessary contacts to hire a *maestro* to provide musical instruction. The majority of the *maestros* that were brought in to assist the start-up ensembles in the area had previously been musicians in the military bands of the coastal cities. Almost immediately after the Banda de Chiquián had been set up and trained in the rudiments of music, this first group began performing at patron saint fiestas in Chiquián and nearby towns, altering the soundscape of these events with its increased volume and new instruments. It was not long before *campesinos* in neighboring villages were inspired to form their own *bandas*, and a high degree of cross-influence is evident in their proliferation through the region. Many of the *maestros* that had been imported to train a new ensemble tended to be contracted in several towns. Similarly, when a skilled musician gained prominence in his own organization, he would often take over its leadership, and he might be sought out by fledgling *bandas* in neighboring towns to oversee their development, thus becoming a *maestro* in his own right.<sup>16</sup> Most of these progenitor ensembles were not continuously active for long. The lack of substantial income from musical

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<sup>16</sup> The *banda* musician Aquiles García Pastrana recounts that this was his own experience in the Lima highlands (see Rivera Andía and Dávila Franke 2005: 40).

engagements and the difficulty in reconciling serious musical training with agricultural subsistence led to a high level of attrition and meant that ensembles needed to be reorganized every few decades. By mid-century, however, the *banda* was indispensable at communal fiestas, supporting the existence of a growing number of groups. With the increased availability of work at festivities throughout the region, and with the rising prestige of professionalized ensembles, some towns saw the creation of a second *banda*. In the 80s and 90s, many of these were founded by youth who saw income from musical employment as a means to survive in the face of decreasing availability of work in the agricultural sector (Robles 2000).

In the first half of the century, small-scale migration to Lima had been for the most part from the Departments of Ancash, Junín, and Ayacucho. Musicians from these regions had begun performing in Lima within a cultural context that idealized the Inkaic roots of highland music and grouped styles from the distinct areas together in a broad pan-Andean category.<sup>17</sup> Beginning in the 1950s, the migration rate accelerated, and by the 1960s and 70s, the mass influx of migrants from all Andean territories resulted in the consolidation of regional identities and the proliferation of regional clubs and associations in Lima that catered to the specific cultural tastes of each community. For migrants from the towns in southern Ancash, it was necessary to create *bandas* in the capital to fulfill performance requirements at the ever-growing number of fiestas hosted by their provincial and district associations. The first ensemble organized by migrants from this region was formed in Lima in 1961, and by 1999 there were twenty-four such groups operating (Robles 2000: 205). While *bandas* from the native highland villages were still contracted for performances in the

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<sup>17</sup> See Turino (1988) for a fuller discussion of Andean music in Lima.

capital—they were initially seen as more experienced and “authentic,” the local ensembles had the advantage of accessibility and lower cost (Ibid.: 171). More recently this dynamic has changed: As ensembles formed by migrants in the capital reach high levels of fame, they are themselves contracted for performances in their regions of origin; in special cases they even perform at fiestas of other regions and travel throughout the country.<sup>18</sup>

### ***Bandas in the Mantaro Valley***

It is possible that in the Mantaro Valley there occurred a pattern of early development similar to the one observed in southern Ancash. It does appear that the Valley was one of the first regions in Peru—after the towns closest to the capital—where *campesino* ensembles were formed. The earliest *banda* in Acolla is cited in the first years of the twentieth century, the intense military recruitment that took place in the area resulting in a high number of musically trained veterans returning to their villages and searching for new forms of income in musical performance (Romero 1985: 250). Furthermore, we know that one of the *maestros* who had been instrumental in the founding of the southern Ancash bands was in fact a native of Jauja (Robles 2000: 97).

References in sources from the middle of the century help us trace the integration of the *banda* into the customs of the Valley.<sup>19</sup> In a literary work published in 1946, the author remarks nostalgically on the carnival season *cortamonte* [tree-cutting] ceremony in the Jauja of his childhood:

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<sup>18</sup> Likewise, “sometimes well-known bandas were brought in from the coast or Lima” to the Callejón de Huaylas (den Otter 1985: 178).

<sup>19</sup> An account written in 1938 by Erasmo Carpio Romero describes a *banda de músicos* at carnival celebrations in the nearby mining town of Tarma, also in Junín Department (Palomino Vega 1984: 67).

...retumbará la música de los cachimbos y será como la explosión de hondas penas reprimidas... igual que todos los años, las parejas pandilleras desfilarán como en procesión pagana, bailando al son del pistón y el clarinete, del bombo y el platillo... desde el domingo de carnavales hasta el miércoles de ceniza y el golpear del bombo y el platillo será interminable y repetirá como un eco desde Huancas hasta Pucará y de Concepción hasta Orcotuna“ (Bonilla del Valle 1946: 82).

[...the music of the *cachimbos* will resonate and will be like the explosion of deeply suppressed sorrows... the same as every year, the *pandillera* [group dance] couples parade like in a pagan procession, dancing to the sound of the cornet and clarinet, the *bombo* and the *platillo* [cymbals]... and from carnival Sunday until Ash Wednesday the beating of the *bombo* and *platillo* will be incessant and will repeat like an echo from Huancas to Pucará and from Concepción to Orcotuna]

Interesting here is the familiar use of the term *cachimbos*, a reminder of the military background of early *banda* musicians, as well as evidence of the ensemble's role in a large portion of carnival festivities. Other mentions in the same book indicate that the repertoire we still hear associated today with certain functions had already been standardized: The *banda* (referred to by that name) plays *marchas* on Independence day, *marineras* for bull-fights, and *waynos* at patron saint fiestas (Ibid.: 125, 128, 135). A passage on Jauja's carnival in a 1953 article by Arguedas confirms that at this event, "Una excelente orquesta o una poderosa banda toca la antigua música indígena, enriquecida por la incorporación de los múltiples y perfectos instrumentos europeos" [an excellent *orquesta* or a powerful *banda* plays ancient Indigenous music, enriched by the incorporation of the many perfected European instruments] (1953: 124).<sup>20</sup> We begin to see the entry of foreign musics into the *banda*'s repertoire

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<sup>20</sup> Other documentation by Arguedas (1976; this volume compiles 38 of his articles published between 1940 and 1969) demonstrates the *banda*'s dissemination in other regions of the country: By 1941, all the towns of the Vilcanota Valley (Cusco Department) celebrated the Festival of the Cross with *bandas de músicos* (p. 95); in other areas of the Cusco region, *bandas* also followed the groom on his way to church during weddings (p. 110); in 1957 *bandas* accompanied the *condor* parade through town at the festival in Andahuaylas (Apurímac Department; p. 176); and at the 1967 fiesta of the Virgen de la

by way of the tastes of returning migrants, in a 1964 study that discusses patron saint fiestas in the town of Sicaya: “La orquesta o banda toca huaynos la mayor parte de las veces, aunque cuando hay sicaínos de Lima se toca valeses, boleros y guarachas” [The *orquesta* or *banda* plays *waynos* most of the time, although when *Sicaínos* from Lima (people from Sicaya who have migrated to Lima) are present, *valeses*, *boleros*, and *guarachas* are played] (Escobar 1964: 202).

As noted above, the Department of Junín (which includes the Mantaro Valley region) was one of three that contributed the largest number of migrants to Lima in the first half of the twentieth century. The relatively close proximity of the Valley to the capital strengthened the relationship between its migrants and their native territories as compared to those from more distant areas. With the Central Railroad and Central Highway providing frequent and quick transportation between the Valley and Lima—the trip can now be done by bus in less than eight hours—migrants have kept up strong links to their native towns and maintain considerable involvement in their fiestas. Nevertheless, the large number of fiestas held by regional associations in Lima, as well as private events hosted by elites, has fueled a market for ensembles that perform the traditional music of the region. Romero has indicated how this plays out for the *orquesta típica*:

This type of interaction has enabled migrant individuals and regional associations to hire *orquesta típicas* from the valley for the festivals that are performed in Lima and has also permitted musicians who play in *orquesta típicas* formed in Lima to travel to the valley to perform during the festival seasons, when there is a high demand for additional musicians (2001: 103).

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Candelaria in Puno, Arguedas heard “el antiquísimo siku y las trompetas y saxofones, los pinkullos y trombones...” [the ancient *siku*, trumpets, and saxophones, *pinkullos* and trombones...] (p. 55-56).



As we shall see below, *bandas* that are based in the Mantaro Valley continue to travel to Lima (and elsewhere) for performances at events hosted by migrants. I cannot say for certain whether a significant number of ensembles representing the region have been formed in Lima. My guess is that, because the most famous *bandas* are still based in Huancayo and Jauja, and moreover because the intense fiesta system in the Valley actually draws brass musicians to those centers for employment, the formation of migrant *bandas* in the capital has not been as extensive as in the case of southern Ancash.

The Andean *banda*, of course, has changed in many ways during its hundred years or so of development, not the least of which is its size. The first village ensembles averaged between ten and twelve musicians, and featured instruments that are no longer part of the ensemble, such as *pistones* (cornets), which were replaced by B-flat trumpets, and the *clavicor*, an early type of tenor-range horn. The number of musicians has effectively doubled in current configurations, thanks to the incorporation of new instruments, such as saxophones, trombones and sousaphones, and to the expansion of previously existing trumpet and baritone sections (Robles 2000: 97-100).<sup>21</sup> Today, *bandas* in the Mantaro Valley have a fairly standard lineup that includes about six trumpets, five to eight baritones with bell facing forward (called *bajos*),<sup>22</sup> two to three trombones, a pair each of alto

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<sup>21</sup> Present-day *bandas* in the Puno region are larger than their counterparts to the north. With higher numbers of each wind and percussion instrument, they may have forty or more musicians. Their expansion is influenced by competition with ensembles from Oruro, Bolivia, which average sixty to eighty players (Robles 2007: 74). One video recording I found of the Festival de Bandas de Oruro shows a massed ensemble made up of several large *bandas* playing simultaneously, the total number of musicians reaching into the several hundreds by my estimate.

<sup>22</sup> The Banda Monumental of Huancayo employed what I observed to be oval-shaped euphoniums, instead of the more common type of baritone mentioned here.

saxophones and clarinets, and with almost no exceptions two sousaphones (called *tubas* or *contrabajos*). New percussion instruments such as drum-set, timbales, conga and bongo drums were also added to the original accompaniment of *platillos* [pair of hand held cymbals], *tarola* [snare drum] and *bombo*, so as to facilitate performance of foreign genres. In Ancash, ensembles with a full percussion section are referred to as *banda-orquesta*; this specification is no longer meaningful in the Mantaro Valley since all groups now employ these additional instruments.<sup>23</sup> In chapter four we will consider how the growth of the ensemble is tied to aesthetic preferences and to the *banda*'s function at fiestas.

In my experience, *banda* music in the Mantaro Valley was restricted almost exclusively to instrumental practice. However, there were very rare occasions when the wind players of an ensemble switched from playing the melody of a well-known song to chanting it in chorus. This is even less common on recordings I acquired—I have only come across one recording of a piece with sung vocals. More commonly, it was the audience who sang along with *bandas* when they performed popular songs. By contrast, vocalists are much more prominently featured on the video recording, *Gran Concurso de Bandas de Puno* [*Grand Contest of Bandas from Puno*]. This may explain why one of the few instances of singing by *banda* musicians during performances at fiestas in the Valley occurred when a group played a genre from the Puno region, called *morenadas* (see CD track 13).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> den Otter observed that timbales and helicons (sousaphones) were still rare in *bandas* from the Callejón de Huaylas in 1981 (1985: 187). Both can be seen in the photo on the front cover of the record released in 1979 by Huancayo's Banda Tupac Amaru.

<sup>24</sup> The use of the *banda* ensemble as accompaniment for singers in southern Peru appears to be an influence of Bolivian highland music (Guillermo Delgado-P., personal communication 08/08).

### ***Banda* Institutional Structures**

A tourist brochure for the region will inform you that there is a fiesta somewhere in the Mantaro Valley on almost every day of the year. Since the *banda* has become a required ensemble for a large proportion of these, *banda* instrumentalists are able to derive a primary source of income from professional music. One musician joked that the Peruvians' inclination to believe in so many religious figures prevents musicians from going hungry. The busy fiesta system means that there is a proliferation of ensembles in the region, most of which are based in the larger urban centers of Huancayo and Jauja, at opposite sides of the Valley.<sup>25</sup> A 1994 study listed no less than twenty *bandas* active in Huancayo, alone. During my stay in the region I noted that at least eight of these were still playing in 2007, and I encountered seven more Huancayo-based *bandas* that were not on the 1994 list (Ninahuanca Huatuco 1994: 310). Established groups have an intense performance schedule, traveling from one fiesta to another during the busy carnival and patronal fiesta seasons, sometimes playing every day for more than a month. The months of September (an important time for planting crops) and November were cited as the least busy, giving musicians a chance to return home to fulfill family obligations. Despite the significant availability of work for a large number of musicians, many still have other sources of income from family businesses and agricultural activities, and from musical instruction.

The importance of live musical performance to the culture and economy of the Valley can be seen on the buildings that surround the Parque Inmaculada, a

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<sup>25</sup> The town of Acolla, the so-called "tierra de las bandas y orquestas huanca" [land of Wanka *bandas* and *orquestas*] (Raffo 2004: 18), is also the source of many groups, but most of these are now based in nearby Jauja.



Figure 2.1. Signs advertising *bandas* and *orquestas* across from the Parque Inmaculada in Huancayo (09/01/07).

small plaza in central Huancayo; they are covered with large colorful signs bearing the names of *bandas de músicos* and *orquestas folklóricas* (see figure 2.1). These buildings housed the offices and bases of operations for a number of ensembles. Instruments, arrangements, trophies, and other memorabilia were kept in these edifices, and the majority of the one-room spaces were equipped with television sets and stereo systems, making them also a location for social activity (see figure 2.2; of the offices I visited, the Banda Tupac Amaru's was the only one equipped with a computer). Anyone interested in hiring a *banda* can visit its office to obtain a price



**Figure 2.2. Members of the Banda Continental at their office in Jauja (08/27/07).**

estimate or negotiate and sign a contract. On days when they were not playing, some musicians were meeting or socializing at the office, and some ensembles have secretaries to conduct business in the musicians' absence. If a *banda* does not have office space of its own, a shopkeeper near the plaza may take inquiries for them. Most groups completed business transactions with official, custom-made contract forms, quote slips, and receipt books, and the director always had business cards on hand. Generally, a part of the fees from a contract will go to pay for office rent and supplies, and for the purchase of new arrangements.

Many *bandas* functioned as democratic institutions, where ensemble members elect a *junta directiva* [board of directors] on a yearly basis. Board positions can include President, Vice-president, Secretary, Treasurer, Disciplinary Secretary, Secretary of Sports, Musical Director, and Assistant Director, and are elected based on the particular competencies of certain musicians. In this sense, these ensembles are small businesses that operate in a co-operative format; there is no owner or manager who takes a cut of the earnings. I was told that not all ensembles are organized in such a manner, and that in *bandas* with dissimilar structures, power struggles can occur between different sub-groups seeking to lead the group. A musician interested in joining the ensemble would make an application in writing to the president or director. His application would be discussed during a general meeting, and, if admitted, his musical and personal qualities would be assessed during a trial period. Musicians from the Banda Continental said that new members must already know some of the standard repertoire, but are required to adapt to the particular playing style of their ensemble.

Members of a *banda* are subject to disciplinary action, a fact that demonstrates the seriousness with which musicians view their jobs and obligations to their customers. Depending on the infraction, musicians can be fined, temporarily suspended, or in extreme cases discharged from the ensemble. A few examples of the functioning of this system came up during the time I spent with the Banda Continental (08/15/07 to 09/05/07). During an engagement at one fiesta, a paper was circulated among members informing them of a general meeting later in the week, and requiring their signatures to confirm that everyone had read it. A fine of

S/30 would be issued for absences from that meeting.<sup>26</sup> The meeting was to address a recent slip in discipline by several members. The disciplinary secretary had enforced several fines: A few members who had drunk too much during a contract the week before (to the detriment of their performance and conduct) were fined S/40; one member was fined S/50 for being physically aggressive with a fellow musician; an unexcused absence from a performance cost one member S/20, and the disciplinary secretary himself was fined S/10 for arriving late. Given that the pay for one day of work can be as low as S/30, these are substantial amounts. Sanctions can also be imposed for arriving to an engagement without proper dress. When a musician from the Banda Continental was made aware that he had brought the wrong tie to a performance, he phoned a family member and asked him to bring the proper one so that he would avoid being penalized (for this ensemble, the specified outfit to be worn for each fiesta is indicated on a bulletin board in the office). However punctilious this type of organization might sound, it should be stressed that there is also a strong element of fraternity in such an ensemble. The musicians themselves pointed this out, and it was evident from the way they interacted with each other: the atmosphere among musicians of an ensemble was almost always convivial, as members joked with each other, called each other almost exclusively by nicknames, and socialized together outside of work.

Ensemble rates and pay scales for a *banda* musician in the Mantaro Valley can vary according to several factors. One *banda* director said that there is a general range that an ensemble expects to charge in each district, but the final price is

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<sup>26</sup> During the months of August and September 2007, one U.S. dollar equaled 3.2 Peruvian Nuevos Soles (S/3.2), on average.

usually negotiated. He said the range in San Agustín was between S/1500 and S/2000 per day, and indeed for the fiesta in that town the ensemble was paid S/6000 for three days of work plus the night of the *víspera*, from August 28<sup>th</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> 2007. I later learnt that another group playing at the same fiesta had charged S/2000 per day. The daily rate in the village of Pancán was also approximately S/2000. Once these sums are divided up among the musicians, with some of the fee being allocated to overhead expenses, the average individual wages range from S/30, for a low-paying contract, to S/85, for a higher-paying one.

Musicians and their employers alike recognize that there is a scale of reputation and perceived quality for *bandas* in the region. A group's fame seems to be mostly linked to how long ago it was founded. Three *bandas* that came up frequently as the most "famous" in the Valley were the Banda Show Tupac Amaru (Huancayo), Banda Monumental Huancayo, and Sinfonía Junín de Jauja. When asked what gave an ensemble a good reputation, most musicians, persons involved with hiring them, and regular community members mentioned that these groups had been around longer, although some people also commented on their musical skills. Some musicians from the Banda Continental said that the Banda Monumental was the best in the region because they rehearse frequently and are particularly competent at playing *obras* [classical music], but touted that their own ensemble was better in the *folclor* category.<sup>27</sup> Considered to be the oldest existing *banda* from the

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<sup>27</sup> When I had the opportunity to speak briefly with a member of the Banda Monumental (founded in 1979), he confirmed that they do rehearse often. I also asked a musician from the Banda Tupac Amaru (founded in 1974) about their status, and he thought they were among the best "in what concerns *folclor*." The higher quality and better-maintained instruments used by both of these groups also demonstrated their relative prominence.



area around Jauja, the Sinfonía Junín carries the nickname “La Banda Papá.”<sup>28</sup>

Making light of the old age of some of its original members (and their lower resistance to the Andean cold), other musicians from Jauja call the long underwear they use for late-night performances “la sinfonía.”

More established ensembles that have built up their reputations are able to work more steadily and charge a higher amount for contracts, factors that allow their members to rely more exclusively on income from work as musicians. This in turn improves the musical quality of the group, since their higher wages allow them to be more selective of the musicians they admit into the ensemble. The organization that hired the Banda Continental for S/6000 in San Agustín acknowledged that a “better” *banda* might have cost them S/8000. As such, a musician in an ensemble that he himself considered to still be establishing itself—having been founded in 1991—said that he aspired to a higher level of “fame” so that they could work more consistently (and, I imagine, charge a higher fee).<sup>29</sup>

In this respect, there is a feeling of friendly competition between the *bandas* in the region. Most musicians I spoke with regarded musical versatility as a quality that would put their ensemble at an advantage over other ensembles. This versatility is mostly aimed at modern and non-Peruvian styles, but can also encompass *folclor* from other regions of the country. One musician expressed the need to diversify his ensemble’s repertoire as such: “Se tiene que variar la música. Tocar uno sólo folclor nomás también no ayuda la competencia. Como otros tocan de repente música

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<sup>28</sup> Although I was not able to obtain a specific date for the founding of the Sinfonía Junín, I have come across a reference to a record they released in 1972.

<sup>29</sup> Ulla Dalum Berg notes that at the 2000 fiesta of San Sebastián in Matahuasi, the Banda Tupac Amaru, which was considered a “banda prestigiosa y cara” [prestigious and expensive *banda*], charged S/2500 per day (2001: 246).

popular nosotros, entonces, tenemos que estar en la competencia... o sea tocar de todo." [The music has to vary. Playing only *folclor* doesn't help (our) competitiveness. Since others play popular music then we also have to be competitive... in other words, play everything] (Wilberth Zárate, Interview 09/01/07). A veteran musician from another ensemble also explained the breadth of his *banda's* repertoire in these terms:

Bueno, dentro de nuestro repertorio, cultivamos el folclor del centro, cultivamos música afro-cubana, música de rock, conciertos de los grandes compositores como Schubert, Beethoven, Tchaikowsky; tocamos operas, obras. En fin, los músicos de mi banda sinfónica están preparados para todo tipo de acontecimiento... Siempre existe eso, hay no tanto rivalidad sino la competencia... la partitura la toca el que mejor está preparado. La misma partitura lo toca la una, la otra banda, pero el público es que califica quién lo toca mejor (Ricardo Sotelo Zenteno, Interview 08/16/07).

[Within our repertoire we cultivate *folclor* from the Centre [of Peru]; we cultivate Afro-Cuban music, rock music, pieces by the great composers such as Schubert, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky; we play operas, Classical works. The musicians in my symphonic band are prepared for any type of event... That always exists, not so much a rivalry, but there is competition... an arrangement will be played by the group that is best prepared for it. Different *bandas* play the same arrangement, but it is the public that decides who plays it best.]

Some members of the Banda Continental did admit that a low-key rivalry had existed for some time between their group and the Banda Tupac Amaru. They expressed interest in obtaining North American Jazz arrangements from me in order to upstage the more famous Tupac Amaru. Along the lines of positive competition, but also demonstrating the fellowship musicians from different ensembles share as central figures in the musical culture of the Mantaro Valley, a *banda* soccer tournament takes place every year in honor of Saint Cecilia, patron saint of musicians.

Despite the fact that groups may have varying breadths of repertoire, different *bandas* perform many of the same pieces at patron saint fiestas in the Valley,



**Figure 2.3. Sinfonía Acollina's sousaphone bells during a performance in Orcotuna (09/08/07).**

showing that there is a degree of homogeneity in the repertoire. Ensembles attempt to assert some amount of individuality within that framework, and one way they do this is through various signs at the non-musical level. For one, although the standard dress for musicians is a suit and tie, each *banda* has a matching configuration with some sort of distinguishing feature (unique suit, tie, or shoe colors, special hat). Secondly, the name of the group is usually inscribed in large print on the bells of the sousaphones (figure 2.3) and on the skin of the *bombo* drum (figure 2.4), making it highly visible to spectators. Lastly, many *bandas* have a catch phrase, or nickname



**Figure 2.4. Banda Tupac Amaru's *bombo* while processing in San Agustín (08/30/07).**

by which they are sometimes known. Some examples of these are: “Los originales zapatitos blancos” [The original white shoes] (Banda Continental Jauja); “Con el mismo sentimiento de siempre” [With that same old feeling] (Super Sonora Acollina); “La primera y única” [The first and only] (Banda Tupac Amaru Huancayo); “Con cariño y amor” [With love and tenderness] (Banda Juventud Acollina - Jauja). As you will note from the preceding list, the full name of the ensemble always includes their town of origin, and in cases where the *banda* has moved from another location this information is also appended to the name (e.g. Filarmónica Vilca Yauyos-Lima – Residentes en Huancayo [Residents of Huancayo]).

One device that *bandas* use to distinguish themselves musically is the unique tag that each ensemble plays at the end of *folclor* pieces. After the normal ending of a piece, another short phrase, called the *callada* [literally, the silencing] or *terminada* [the finish], marks the real conclusion. A *banda* will play the same (but distinctive to each group) *callada* after all of the regional *folclor* genres (*wayno*, *santiago*, etc.), but never after *marineras*, *cumbias*, or other modern/foreign styles. For *waynos* and similar songs in the minor mode, the *callada* cadences to the song's tonal center. In pieces that lean towards a tonal center in major mode, such as *santiagos*, the *callada* is played in the relative minor, so that it is always the same. Somewhat playful in character, the melodies used in these phrases sometimes quote famous musical motifs (see figure 2.5). The *calladas* can be seen to be an element of continuity in *banda* tradition: the same tags that were played on recordings by the Banda Tupac Amaru and Banda Monumental in 1979 and 1980 respectively, were still in use by these ensembles in 2007, nearly three decades later (see figure 2.5-d and e).

### **Contexts for Performance**

Communal fiestas are the *banda*'s principal opportunities for performance in the Mantaro Valley. The yearlong cycle of carnivals, religious festivities (patron saint fiestas, Semana Santa, Christmas), and political occasions (municipal anniversaries, Independence day) in towns throughout the region provides considerable amounts of

2.5-a Banda Sinfónica Flores (CD track 1)

2.5-b Banda Continental de Jauja (end of CD tracks 5, 8-11)

2.5-c Banda Santa Isabel (CD track 2)

**Figure 2.5. *Banda calladas*.** The notehead x in the *platillos* represents a dampening of the sound by holding the cymbals together after striking them. Fermatas denote a loose sense of pulse.

2.5-d Banda Tupac Amaru 2007 (CD track 3)

2.5-e Banda Tupac Amaru 1979

**Figure 2.5. Continued.**

work for *bandas* from the Valley and outlying areas.<sup>30</sup> Within the general category of communal fiestas, which vary in character and can sometimes go on for over a week, there are countless different rituals for which the ensemble is required (see the description of a *banda*'s contract at a patron saint fiesta in chapter four). Various musicians also informed me that *bandas* are sometimes hired for weddings,<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Corpus Christi was not specifically mentioned as a venue for *banda* performance, and Romero does not include this holiday in his list of important festive occasions in the Valley (2001: 53). However, *bandas* are required for the fiesta of Corpus Christi in the Colca Valley, Arequipa (Ráez Retamozo 2002: 59), and many ensembles of this type played religious marches at the 1989 Corpus Christi celebrations in the city of Cusco (Ráez Retamozo 2004: 91).

<sup>31</sup> On one occasion when I was socializing with musicians at their office, an episode of the Peruvian soap opera *Qué Buena Raza* came on television, showing the Banda Unión Juventud Caracora playing at a wedding; the pieces included the *wayno* Valicha, a *vals*, and a style that the musicians I was with

birthdays, baptisms, funerals, *banda* competitions, and anniversaries—*bandas* are even hired to play at the anniversary parties of other *bandas*. The Banda Continental had been engaged in August of 2007 to perform for the Día Mundial del Folclore [International Day of Folklore] celebrations in Huancayo, although this event was cancelled due to a major earthquake.

Many ensembles also travel to different regions of Peru for performances. Most have performed in Lima, and some have also traveled to towns like Huaraz and Huancavelica in near-by Departments, as well as to the central jungle area. By the same token, I saw *bandas* from outside the Mantaro Valley perform at fiestas there, the Banda Orquesta Villa del Sol having traveled to San Agustín from the town of Chosica, near Lima. More established groups such as Tupac Amaru have gone further afield to cities such as Trujillo, Cusco, and Ayacucho, and have even played in neighboring countries, achieving the status of an “international’ ensemble, a designation that becomes concretized in the group’s name (ex. Banda Show Internacional Tupac Amaru). Romero has pointed out that, for Andean musicians, “one of the principal honors to be given to a performer is to mention his or her ‘international’ reputation. This credential comes after the national fame and is the final and higher sign of esteem that can be given to a public performer” (2001: 136). I observed this type of valuation play out when at one fiesta a pair of local women said they thought one *banda* was better than another because it had performed in Bolivia before.

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called *Anaconda*, from the Amazon jungle region of the country. Turino has also documented *bandas* playing at weddings in Indigenous villages in the Conima district of Puno Department (1998: 212), as has Ráez Retamozo in Cusco Department (2004: 48).



Although many of the performances outside the Mantaro Valley are at events hosted by migrants from the region, the element of travel yet again demands that a *banda* be able to execute a wide variety of traditional repertoire. A good illustration of this point occurred when someone came into the office of the Filarmónica Vilca to inquire about contracting them, and wanted to know if they knew the “waynitos” from Huancavelica. In this case the musicians were already familiar with the repertoire, but a member of the ensemble said that, for cases in which they are not, they might transcribe pieces from recordings provided by the prospective employer. Many musicians spoke about their roles as exponents of music of all Peru, while recognizing regional differences therein, as articulated clearly in a statement by the musician César Aquino: “Nos sentimos orgullosos de repente de conservar, de cultivar estas costumbres de los diferentes pueblos del centro, del valle del Mantaro, y del Perú” [We feel proud to preserve, to develop these traditions from the different towns of the Central Andes, from the Mantaro Valley and from Peru] (Interview 08/15/07).

### **Recordings**

Recording is an activity that has occupied *bandas* since Andean musicians initially gained access to the recording industry in the mid-twentieth century (Robles 2000: 222). A village *banda* from southern Ancash released a 45 RPM record as early as 1963 (Ibid.: 224), and long-playing records have been issued by ensembles from the Mantaro Valley as far back as 1972 (and possibly earlier), when the Sinfonía Junín de Jauja released two of them on the Virrey label (Pacoweb 2008). The above-mentioned recordings by the Banda Tupac Amaru and Banda

Monumental, both from Huancayo, are other notable examples of LP record releases by *bandas* from the region. Of course, the famed Banda de la Guardia Republicana and other military ensembles have had busy recording careers since the early 1970s, though these recordings primarily featured *música criolla* and military-related repertoire (Robles 2000). Cassette releases by small independent labels were the main recording vehicle for *banda* recordings in the 1980s and 90s, and, although compact discs became widespread soon after the turn of the twenty-first century, the focus of ensembles and production companies alike has turned to digital video formats in the last couple of years.

Audio and video recordings are a crucial component of most *bandas'* promotional activities. Ensembles undertake to make such recordings with the goal of distributing them widely and getting their name out, in hopes that increased recognition will win them more contracts for performances; recordings are not intended to be significant income generators in and of themselves. All of the groups I encountered in the Mantaro Valley had released at least one CD, and many of them had released DVDs or were currently working on their first. Some musicians had these products on hand during performances to sell or give to prospective employers. The Banda Continental ensemble also paid a radio station a monthly sum of S/100 to play their music during a half-hour slot every month. To release a DVD, ensembles work with a small production company to record the audio, do the filming and editing, and distribute the product. Certain labels are associated with specific regions, and the nature of the deal that is struck between the ensemble and label depends on the fame and reputation of each entity. A closer look at the inner-

workings of an independent label will give a better view into the nature of this aspect of *banda* life.

Jorge Luis Suárez runs Frama Producciones, a Lima-based production company that works almost exclusively with ensembles from the central highlands, and whose roster includes solo artists, *orquestas típicas*, and two *bandas*. The business began when Jorge decided to organize a *huaylas* dance contest in the Valley in 2003. With the success of that event, which has spurred subsequent contests each year since, Jorge had the idea of recording the ensembles who were involved in the contest, one of which was the Banda Tupac Amaru. In its early years, Frama released audiocassettes and CDs, but soon turned its attention to DVDs as the technology became more affordable. Because he is known for his activities as a promoter of cultural events, as a radio announcer, and through previous work at another label, Jorge has many friends and contacts in the music community in the Valley, and it is through these connections that he has found other groups to record, including his second *banda*, the Banda Super Sonora Acollina. He knows that groups look for a label that has a good name, possesses broad distribution, and makes high quality products, and he strives to offer these things to his ensembles. At the same time, as a fairly new label, he seeks to work with prestigious groups that will help boost his label's image. He cited the "calidad interpretativa" [musical quality] and discipline—which can be measured by how frequently an ensemble rehearses—as attractive attributes of the *bandas* he records.

For an ensemble working with Frama, production of a DVD begins with an audio recording at a studio in Lima. Jorge summarizes the process:

Mayormente aquí en Lima están las salas más grandes. En Huancayo también hay salas pero son pequeñas, entonces las instituciones grandes como la Tupac Amaru, Super Sonora, Sinfonía Junín de Jauja vienen a Lima para grabar, porque son estudios más grandes. Entonces, primer día hacen la pista. Al día siguiente, por decir, se quedan para hacer algunos montajes: Si es que algún instrumento falló, volver a rectificarlo. Ahora de ahí regresan a su sitio de origen. Pasará una semana, o quince días cuando ya vuelven para poner el montaje de la presentación del locutor. El locutor ya anuncia y si hay saludos para algunos padrinos que están apoyando para la grabación, entonces se les saluda. De ahí ya viene al día siguiente la mezcla. Más o menos veinte a un mes se usa pues para terminar el audio. Terminado el audio, ya se programa las fechas para las locaciones; donde se va filmar. Se coordina primeramente, el que tiene que disponer de tiempo es la banda, porque estas bandas están bien ocupadas (Interview, 08/21/07).

[Most of the large recording studios are here in Lima. There are studios in Huancayo but they are small, so the better groups like Tupac Amaru, Super Sonora, and Sinfonía Junín de Jauja come record in Lima, because the studios are bigger. The first day they lay down the tracks, and they stay the next day to do some overdubbing: If a player made a mistake it gets fixed. They then return to their hometown, returning after a week or two to overdub the announcer's presentation. If there are greetings to be made to *padrinos* who are sponsoring the recording, the announcer records these. The next day is the mixing; finishing the audio takes about twenty days to a month. Once the audio is finished, we schedule the dates for the filming and figure out where we are going to shoot. First we have to coordinate; the *banda* is usually the one that needs to find a time because these *bandas* are very busy.]

About two days are needed to do the filming for a video release. When the group is available, Jorge hires a cameraperson to film them playing in different settings. In many shots on a *banda* DVD, the musicians are actually only pretending to play while the studio-recorded audio tracks play from a speaker on set. However, the production company also takes advantage of an ensemble's performances at fiestas in different towns to take supporting shots of the group in real performance contexts. Jorge coordinates this entire process, including the design and printing of the DVD cover and manufacture of the discs. Generally, Frama pays all of the technical and production costs, while the *banda* covers its own transportation, food,

and lodging expenditures. As Jorge alluded to above, the group may have *padrinos* [literally godparents, but in this case meaning sponsors] who contribute to the project in some manner, and who are mentioned by the *locutor* [announcer] that introduces each song. Furthermore, if a *padrino* or *madrina* who owns a restaurant provides a meal for the musicians during a filming session, his or her establishment will usually make an appearance in the video.

In the beginning, Jorge made weekly rounds to the Mesa Redonda market in central Lima, where hundreds of stalls offer an incredible variety of music from the entire country, to distribute his products to various stands and collect his earnings from sales. In 2004 Frama got its own stand at the Mesa Redonda, and Jorge now employs a salesperson to staff it, making it easier for people to find and buy his releases. The company depends on the income from sales to recoup production costs and fund future projects, something that is becoming increasingly difficult to do because of rampant piracy in Peru. One to two hundred discs will be given to the ensemble free of charge, and they are offered a very reasonable wholesale price (approx. S/2) for any additional copies they wish to purchase. At the time of research, DVDs retailed for S/4, on average, and CDs for a little less. Despite the economic challenges in his line of work, Jorge has managed slowly to augment his business. Having studied communications, he hopes that he will be able to further cut costs in the future by owning his own camera and doing the filming himself. He says he continues to work in this area because he likes music and feels a commitment to continue releasing new recordings by ensembles from the central Andes.

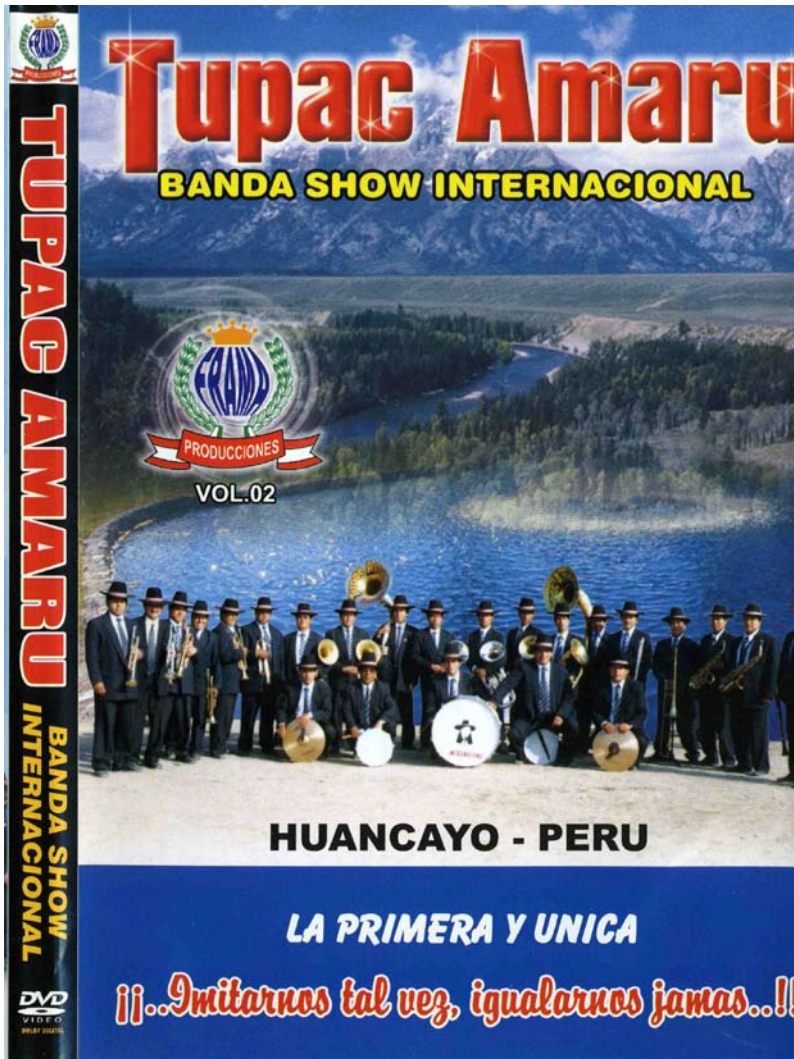


Figure 2.6. Front cover of Tupac Amaru DVD

The front covers for Mantaro Valley *banda* recordings on any label display a uniform aesthetic that can be observed on other related paraphernalia, such as business cards and posters. Most prominent in the images on these items is a photo of the ensemble in full uniform. The background for the group picture is often a landmark of the *banda*'s hometown or a picturesque regional landscape (see figure 2.6). If the ensemble has traveled afar, a photo taken during that trip can be used,



Figure 2.7. Banda Juventud Acollina's business card.

and I have seen some cases where a flashy cityscape has been digitally edited in as a background. According to Jorge, it is important for fans of a particular *banda* who view the video clips to see it performing in its local environment, and another producer also mentioned that she takes many shots of the natural scenery in an ensemble's home region. Thus, many of the shots shown in the Tupac Amaru DVD are taken in and around the city of Huancayo, their home base. On the other hand, when the ensemble traveled to Cusco, Frama took the opportunity to send a cameraman with them to film them in the famed city, and to get images of the group with Machu Picchu as a backdrop. The Banda Juventud Acollina's double-sided business card (see figure 2.7) is another good example of the symbolism ensembles seek to portray in their imagery: one side shows them superimposed on the recognizable landscape of Machu Picchu, a national landmark; the other on a background of tall buildings in the business district of São Paulo, South America's largest city. The associations made in the *banda's* promotional materials, then, correspond to the different general categories evident in their repertoire (as we shall see in the next chapter): local and regional images remain focal points of video

recordings and business card photos, but where possible ensembles attempt to identify themselves as possessing national breadth—Machu Picchu, which figures in many ensembles' photos, is probably the image and place-name most widely associated with Peru as a nation—and international reach (whether through real travel experiences or a symbolic type of musical “travel”). It is my impression that the inclusion of images from outside a *banda*'s home region in these items serves to assert its renown and links it to a sense of cosmopolitanism. These are indicators that help build an ensemble's reputation and suggest the importance of reaching the status of an “international” ensemble.

The selection of repertoire for *banda* audio and video recordings reflects the diversified styles that it performs at fiestas (see next two chapters). Figure 2.8 shows the track listing for a CD by the Banda Continental de Jauja, content which is fairly representative of the distribution of genres found on other Mantaro Valley *banda* recordings. One notes the strong representation of *waynos* and *mulizas*, and then individual occurrences of pieces from other *folclor* genres (*cashua*, *carnaval*, *santiago*), and dance-dramas (*corcobado*), and only one *marinera* and *cumbia*. (Other contemporary recordings feature perhaps one or two more songs from extra-regional genres than in this example.) This distribution fits with Robles' observation that the *wayno*—and in the Mantaro Valley, the very closely-related *muliza*—continues to form the “backbone” of musical tradition in the Andes, while there is a gradually increasing presence of more modern and foreign genres (2000: 248).



CD-444

**BANDA CONTINENTAL JAUJA**

## PODEROSA BANDA ESPECTACULO

# CONTINENTAL JAUJA

<p>01.- PENAS DEL CORAZON</p> <p>02.- RITMO Y SABOR CONTINENTAL</p> <p>03.- BAILANDO CON LOS ZAPATITOS BLANCOS</p> <p>04.- WICHAN BARRIO</p> <p>05.- 18 DE OCTUBRE</p> <p>06.- ACABA DE UNA VEZ</p> <p>07.- MIX CUMBIAS</p> <p>08.- BAILANDO EN LA QUEBRADA DEL MANTARO</p> <p>09.- BAILANDO EN JAUJA</p> <p>10.- EL CHIMPUN DE ORO</p> <p>11.- BAILANDO EN ULLUSCA</p> <p>12.- COCA QUINTUCHA</p> <p>13.- AL PATRON SAN SANTIAGO</p> <p>14.- RECUERDOS EN EL VALLE</p>	<p>Muliza Percy Churampi - Nestor Gregorio</p> <p>Carnaval Ulises Ramos - Javier Ingaroca</p> <p>Marinera Milton Calderón Torres</p> <p>Cashuas D.R.</p> <p>Muliza D.R.</p> <p>Carnaval Banda Continental</p> <p>Muliza Banda Continental</p> <p>Huayno Banda Continental</p> <p>Huayno D.R.</p> <p>Cumbias D.R.</p> <p>Huayno D.R.</p> <p>Toril Costumbre</p> <p>Huayno D.R.</p> <p>Muliza D.R.</p> <p>Huayno Huarancayo D.R.</p> <p>Huayno Ernesto "Che" Guevara: Marcelo Robles Richard Romero</p> <p>Corcobado Banda Continental</p> <p>Huaynos D.R.</p> <p>Huayno D.R.</p> <p>Santiago D.R.</p> <p>Huayno D.R.</p>			 <p><b>Producciones Musicales Los Alamos</b></p> <p>Jr. Mesa Redonda N° 1000 Stand 115 Telf. 543-6104 R.U.C. 10200710962</p>
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PRINCIPAL: JR. MESA REDONDA N° 1000 STAND 115 ESTUDIO DE GRABACIONES EN HYD: JR. PIURA 265 - 4° NIVEL TELF. (064) 385147

Figure 2.8. Track listing for Banda Continental CD.

### Gender

The overwhelming majority of *banda* musicians are men: only three out of the twenty-one ensembles I documented in the Mantaro Valley each had a single female member. Some people I consulted mentioned the existence of all-women groups, but I did not come across these or any documentation of them. I did see a drum and bell lyre ensemble made up entirely of school-aged girls during a parade in Jauja one day (the youth in the school *banda* that preceded them were mostly boys, although two girls played drums). Women do study at the Instituto de Música in Acolla, which

has been the training ground for many of the musicians who play in the region's *bandas*. Women from the Mantaro Valley, such as Flor Pucarina in the 1970s (see Romero 2001), and more recently Haydee Raymundo, have also become star singers of central Andean popular music.<sup>32</sup> The virtual absence of women from the *banda* merits in-depth study within the broader panorama of gender roles in Andean society and gender divisions in other types of musical performance. While such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, in the following paragraphs I hope to highlight some of the issues pertinent to the phenomenon of male-dominated instrumental practice in the central Andes.

Irene Silverblatt has shown that the division of labor along gender lines in the Inka Empire was organized within a framework that saw women's tasks as complementary and interdependent to those of men (1978). Furthermore, women could possess high social and religious status, and they had access to land for their own use. While scholars have pointed out the role of the Spanish in replacing "indigenous notions of gender reciprocity and quasi-equality" with a more masculine-dominated system (Zepeda 2000), Regina Harrison has demonstrated the survival of complementary divisions of labor in contemporary Andean Indigenous communities (1989: 119-126). In the Mantaro Valley, Florencia Mallon notes that, although "women had a strong presence at all levels of economic activity" during the colonial period, because of their exclusion from political life and relegation to domestic work, women were subject to a degree of patriarchal control (1986: 151, 153). Mallon

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<sup>32</sup> See also Ráez Retamozo's discussion of how gender identities are expressed through dramatizations performed during Semana Santa in the Yanamarca Valley (district adjacent to the Mantaro Valley wherein lies the town of Acolla). Women play *redoblantes* (snare drums) in the *bandas* that accompany some of these dramatizations (2001b: 291; see fn. 30 below).

acknowledges the more complementary labor practices in the “Indian” sectors of the Valley in the pre-capitalist economy, but opines that overall power structures amounted simply to a different type of patriarchy from its *mestizo* form, and that both versions have found their way into gender relations under the modern capitalist system (Ibid.; see also Bourque and Warren 1981 for a late-twentieth-century perspective in other highland *mestizo* communities).

Even in Andean Indigenous societies that exhibit generally egalitarian social relations, divisions occur between men and women in the musical realm (Turino 1993: 24). In Peruvian highland Quechua culture, musical instruments—especially wind instruments—have been the domain of men, while women have been participants in singing and have played the small *tinya* drum since pre-Hispanic times (Ibid.: 271; Romero 1999a: 404). Both men and women explained to me that the reason women do not play in *bandas* is that the long days of work and intense travel schedule are quite strenuous, whereas men have grown accustomed to this kind of work. Otilia Ramírez Solano, a woman who produces recordings for *bandas* from Ancash, focuses on the working conditions at patronal fiestas in her assessment of why few women work in this trade:

...mayormente son hombres. Porque el trabajo es duro; los viajes y el tocar doce horas al día es muy pesado para una mujer. En cambio ya un hombre está acostumbrado. Porque cuando van a fiestas patronales ellos tienen los contratos doce horas diarias, que puede terminar a la una y media de la mañana y luego a las seis de nuevo a la puerta de la iglesia haciendo la *diana*. Es muy duro (Interview, 08/21/07).

[...(banda musicians) are mostly men. Because the work is hard: traveling and playing twelve hours per day is very tiring for a woman. On the other hand, men are used to it, because when they play at patron saint fiestas their contracts last twelve hours a day. They can stop playing at one-thirty in the morning and then at six they have to be back at the church playing a *diana*. It's very tough.]

Similarly, the male brass instructor I spoke with at the Instituto in Acolla said that women play the more “delicate” reed instruments (the three women that worked in professional *bandas* played clarinet, saxophone, and percussion).<sup>33</sup> Other studies on performance at public fiestas in the Andes have demonstrated that conservative social codes determining what types of public behavior are considered “decent” for women are often invoked by those who seek to restrict their participation in public performance (Mendoza 1993: 129; 2000: 222-223).

JaFran Jones states that gender divisions in musical practice are determined by “unwritten cultural codes” that “typically take only incidental account of the concrete, physical differences between the sexes” (1991: 317). It appears that in present-day Andean Peru, the commonly cited explanation about *banda* work being too difficult for women, does reference physical difference, at least on the surface. In her analysis of all-women salsa bands in Cali, Colombia, Lise Waxer suggests that “stereotypical dismissals of women musicians have often masked deeper fears that women would become competitors for musical jobs, destabilizing men’s control of the field” (2001: 233). The paucity of women in *banda* performance, then, can be linked to culturally constructed codes regarding physical strength and notions about appropriate public behavior, which in turn may cloak other underlying motivations for excluding women from this line of work. The predominance of men in this wind-based ensemble can be traced to Indigenous gender divisions in music, but should

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<sup>33</sup> However, the saxophonists and clarinetists of the *orquesta típica* are mostly men. Ráez Retamozo (2001b: 302) also notes that, in the Yanamarca Valley, small drums such as the *redoblante* are considered to take less physical strength to play than the *bombo* and wind instruments, and thus they are acceptable for women to play.

also be seen within the broader perspective of patriarchal trends in Mantaro Valley *mestizo* society.

Perhaps one important insight to be drawn from this discussion is that the few women who have joined *bandas* are making inroads that other women may follow. In her book, *Shaping Society Through Dance*, Mendoza describes how, in the town of San Jerónimo, Cusco Department, young women's participation in a folkloric dance called the *tuntuna* has helped transform a dominant ideology that "portrays women as passive and fragile and attempts to control the public use of their bodies" (2000: 231). It is certainly plausible that female *banda* musicians may influence a similar shift in perceptions about women musicians, if other societal conditions are met: As Waxer reminds us, increased participation by women in professional music is usually concomitant with increased access to education, and greater involvement in the labor force and public life (2001).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> See Schechter 1999 for an overview of musical traditions in Latin America in which women play a leading role.

## Chapter Three

### Music on a Historical Scale: *Banda* Repertoire

The *banda* musicians quoted in the previous chapter made it clear that striving for a greater musical versatility is one of the guiding principles in an ensemble's development. Versatility is an asset for competition with other ensembles, and can improve a group's chances of attracting customers from other regions. Indeed, one of the basic premises of this paper is that the diversity of the *banda*'s repertoire is one of its most significant features. In the first part of this chapter, I present an overview of the many genres in the *banda*'s musical inventory, briefly discussing their histories (including other ensembles with which they have been associated) and musical characteristics, and making remarks about the contexts in which they were performed. I isolate several different factors in the musical content of each genre and in how it is performed that help classify the repertoire along a musico-historical continuum. In the second section, I focus specifically on mode (scales) to show how this parameter of musical sound very clearly links the *banda* to three broad ranges of this continuum.<sup>35</sup>

Rather than breaking the repertoire down into rigid categories, I have chosen to conceptualize genres on a spectrum that proceeds from the forms musicians would refer to as regional *folclor*, through styles imported from other Andean regions and those with national diffusion, and on to the modern and/or foreign (see figure

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<sup>35</sup> My analysis of Mantaro Valley *banda* music is based for the most part on my own field recordings, although I have also consulted CDs and DVDs—I have listened to recordings from other regions for the purpose of comparison.

3.1). This is undoubtedly an etic<sup>36</sup> construction, but one that I believe is helpful in illustrating how a set of musical and performance-related qualities acts as markers for the musico-historical identity of each genre. These qualities—the mode upon which the music is based; whether it is played from written parts; whether the *callada* is played at the end; how the music is arranged texturally; what type of percussion is used—outline a continuum with different (and in some cases contradictory) levels of gradation. Even though this framework primarily serves my analytical goals, I do think the categories that emerge from it are reflective of the distinctions musicians themselves make, between categories such as *folclor del centro*, *folclor del Perú*, and a grouping of other forms that embraces rock along with European classical music. Musicians never sorted their music into religious and secular components (as is done by den Otter [1985]), a classification that would be blurred in any case by the fact that all genres are played within the context of the quasi-religious patron saint fiesta. Neither is the classification into two broad categories—fixed versus flexible genres (usually tied to ritual contexts)—employed most often by Romero (e.g., 2002: 37-39), suitable when dealing exclusively with the *banda* repertoire. All of the styles the ensemble plays could be considered fixed genres, which are roughly defined as musics in which the name of the genre denotes a recognizable and mostly invariable musical form and style (Ibid.).

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<sup>36</sup> In ethnomusicology, “etic” generally refers to the ideas about music (and culture), including but not limited to units of musical sound—intervals, scales, rhythms—and all kinds of classificatory, evaluative, and aesthetic concepts, which are put forward by the researcher. In contrast, “emic” denotes the “cultural insider’s” perspective on these concepts (see for example Alvarez-Pereyre and Arom 1993).

Genre	Mode	Score	Callada	Texture	Percussion
Capitanía	Tritonic (built on major triad)	No	N/A	Unison (trumpets only)	tarola + bombo
Wayno	Pentatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard
Cashua	Pentatonic Melody; Diatonic Accomp. (Minor)	No	Yes	Polyphonic arrangement	Standard (+ misc.)
Muliza	Pentatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard
Huaylas	Pentatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard (+ misc.)
Santiago	Pentatonic (Major)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard
Avelinos	Pentatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard
Baile de la Jija	Pentatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard
Corcovados	Hexatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Unison (Call-and-response)	Standard
Pachahuara	Diatonic (Major)	No	Yes	Unison (Call-and-response)	Standard
Carnaval de Huancayo	Diatonic (Major)	No	Yes	Unison	Standard
Carnaval de Ayacucho	Diatonic (Bimodal)	No	N/A	Unison	Standard
Morenadas de Puno	Hexatonic (Minor)	No	Yes	Antiphonic	Standard
Marinera	Tonal (Chromatic)	Some	No	Polyphonic	Standard
Vals	Tonal (Chromatic)	Some	No	Polyphonic	Standard
Pasodoble	Tonal (Chromatic)	Yes	No	Polyphonic	Standard
Marcha	Tonal (Chromatic)	Most	No	Polyphonic	Standard
Cumbia	Tonal (Chromatic)	Most	No	Polyphonic	Latin
Pan-Latin Genres	Tonal (Chromatic)	Yes	No	Polyphonic	Latin
Rock	Tonal (Chromatic)	Yes	No	Polyphonic	Latin + Drum set
Obras	Tonal (Chromatic)	Yes	No	Polyphonic	Standard

Figure 3.1. Genres in the *banda* repertoire and their characteristics.



*Banda* musicians generally did not have much to say about how regional *folclor* genres, many of which share stylistic traits, could be distinguished musically. A typical response to this type of inquiry usually centered on the differences in dance and dress associated with different genres, rather than their music. Otherwise, musicians might state that the melodies were simply different. For example, when discussing the difference between the music for the dance-drama *avelinos* and the song genre *santiago* (see descriptions below), some musicians analogized that it is the same as the difference between *cumbia* and *salsa*: The melodies are different but the sentiment is the same. In the Banda Continental, one of the *tarola* players was singled out as most knowledgeable about these things because he had studied at the Instituto de Música in Acolla. He was more specific in explaining that *avelinos* has a fixed melody, while there are many *santiago* melodies, and that the latter is played “más jalado” [faster]. He was also able to articulate the three-part form and other structural elements evident in most regional *folclor* genres.

**Capitanía:** I begin with *capitanía* because its tritonic mode—the melody is outlined using notes from the major triad—is quite distinct from other regional genres.<sup>37</sup>

*Capitanía* was played in differing circumstances at four of the fiestas I attended: at the fiesta in Matahuasi (see figure 4.1), as the introduction to a medley of pieces in the context of a *banda* competition, followed there by a *marinera*; in Chuclú, during ceremonial procedures and dancing that took place in the town’s main plaza, played between *waynos* and *santigos*; while the sponsors of the fiesta in San Agustín undertook processions in the streets, on their way to and from the main plaza,

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<sup>37</sup> Some *capitanía* melodies consist of four notes—the major triad plus supertonic. Following Holzmann (1968: 19-21), I consider these to retain their basic tritonic character, since the occurrence of the second degree is isolated and is usually in the position of a passing note.

played, as in the last case, with no pause between other pieces; and at the *cortamonte* ceremony that took place in Ocopa, as the crowd caught the freshly cut tree (see chapter four). In all of these instances, only the trumpet section performed the melody, accompanied by *tarola* and *bombo* (see CD track 4).

A dance named *capitanía* is performed occasionally in some towns in the Mantaro Valley during saint's day fiestas. One study on the joint fiesta of the Apostle Santiago and Virgen del Carmen, in the town of Chongos Bajo, makes a connection between the name of the dance and the fact that one of the earliest sponsors of the fiesta was a *capitán* [captain] of the civil guard. At this fiesta, the dance is carried out by fiesta sponsors of previous years, who call themselves the *capitanía* (García Miranda and Tacuri Aragón 2006: 66, 106). References also exist to a type of dance-drama practiced in the Department of Ayacucho, also called *capitanía*, which parodies a historic bullfight where a prominent woman—probably the fiesta sponsor or sponsor's wife, the *capitana*—confronted a calf and gracefully defeated him. (Centro Cultural de San Marcos 2008; García Miranda et al. 1999: 62). What is important to note, for the moment, is the historic role of the *waqrapuku* [cattle horn trumpet], in most forms of tritonic Andean music. I will return to a discussion and provide a transcription of *capitanía* in the second part of this chapter to illustrate how its performance by the *banda* helps connect the ensemble to pre-Hispanic tradition.

**Wayno:** Having been described as the most widespread and popular song and dance form in the Peruvian Andes (see Romero 1999a: 388), the *wayno*'s central place in *banda* repertoires in Ancash (den Otter 1985; Robles 2000), as well is in the repertoire of the Mantaro Valley *orquesta típica* (Romero 2001), has been documented. As a couple dance associated with recreational contexts, and one

suited to the new spatial constraints of early colonial towns, the genre developed and flourished during the colonial period, possibly from pre-Hispanic sources (Roel Pineda 1959). The *wayno* can be referred to by various names in different regions, and it is subject to a great deal of stylistic variation across regions, and across lines of class and ethnicity (Romero 1999a: 389; Ritter 2006: 114). Like in other Andean cultural areas, *bandas* in the Mantaro Valley play local, regional, and extra-regional *waynos*. Some are considered to be local to specific villages, their names often appearing in the song's title, and they are expected to be played at fiestas in those towns. Others are known throughout the area, having been composed by Valley musicians who play in *bandas* or other types of ensembles, or whose authors are unknown (these are labeled "D.R.," *derechos reservados* [rights reserved], on recordings). Musicians often could not identify the titles of *waynos* I had recorded, and described some of these as "antigüazos" [very old]. *Bandas* also played songs that had been disseminated throughout Peru, and which had been recent radio hits. For example, during my fieldwork in 2007, several ensembles played the *wayno*, "Patito Negro," which had recently been made famous by Haydee Raymundo, a nationally renowned singer, composer, and media personality from the town of Quichuay, near Huancayo (Raymundo 2008).

The *mestizo waynos* of the Mantaro Valley, as played by *bandas*, generally follow the formal structures described by Romero (2001): Two musical statements, each of which is repeated, are followed by a third more upbeat section called the *fuga*, which is also repeated. The beginning of the *fuga* is distinguished from the first two sections by a change in accentuation in the *bombo*, which usually plays steady eighth notes, and by an upward shift of an octave in some of the winds, as well as by

an increase in volume. While ensembles often take liberties in the number of times they repeat each section, a common form, especially on recordings, is AABBC, after which the whole form is repeated again. *Waynos* are usually strung together in performance, with a brief introduction preceding the whole medley. *Bandas* play *waynos* from the central Andes in a monophonic fashion: All wind instruments, including the tubas, play the main melody in unison, accompanied by the “standard” percussion section of two *tarolas*, *bombo*, and *platillos*. However, at the end of the first time through each phrase (or section), a smaller number of instruments break off from the melody and play a type of short contrapuntal sixteenth-note figure, after which the section is repeated. These countermelodies (as I will call them here) appear to be formulaic to some degree, since they were not written into the notated *wayno* melodies some musicians had with them, and because they seem to follow similar patterns across performances of different pieces (see figure 3.7 below for a *wayno* transcription; CD track 5-a,b,c).

Other previously observed qualities of the *wayno* (see Romero 1999a: 388) are evident in the regional *banda* style. Although the introductions to *waynos* display hints of diatonicism, the main melodies are basically pentatonic (degrees 1-3-4-5-7 in minor), with the few notes that fall outside the scale usually taking on the function of passing notes. Melody notes are also frequently ornamented (musicians notate these ornamentations using grace notes). The rhythmic quality of the melodies is highly syncopated, with frequent use of the characteristic sixteenth-eighth-sixteenth-note figure. However, the repeated eighth-and-two-sixteenth-notes rhythmic accompaniment that is heard in other regional *wayno* styles is not present here, as there is no harmonic accompaniment, and the *bombo* and *platillos* both hit steady

eighth notes, while the *tarolas* play dense rhythmic patterns with frequent rolls (the fact that two *tarolas* are playing makes these rhythms especially challenging to transcribe). Although I never once saw a *banda* play a *wayno* from written music in performance, musicians sometimes carried *wayno* melodies hand-written on slips of paper to refresh their memories or quickly learn a new tune. The fact that these, along with many of the *wayno* arrangements I came across, were written in 2/8 time, indicates that this is the meter in which musicians conceptualized the music. Interestingly, *waynos* have rarely been transcribed in 2/8 in ethnomusicological studies or in song collections. Rather, we see idiosyncratic solutions to the genre's characteristic hypermetrical shifts between accenting groups of three and groups of two. Some examples of these approaches are: written alternations between 3/4 and 2/4 (Pagaza Galdo 1967: 21); time signatures written as 2+1/4 (Holzmann 1966: 16); and the omission of the time signature altogether, with an uneven number of beats occurring in different measures (Romero 2001: 78). Curiously, in his study of the *wayno* from Cusco, Roel Pineda notates the dance steps in 2/8, but resorts to a similar method as Holzmann for the actual melodies—albeit somewhat closer to the *banda* approach, as he gives the eighth note the main pulse (e.g. 4+2/8).<sup>38</sup> The use of 2/8 by *banda* arrangers and musicians to notate *wayno* melodies appears to be a practical solution that facilitates notation by eliminating some of the awkward and unconventional methods described above, and also better conveys that the main pulse falls on the eighth note.

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<sup>38</sup> It is noteworthy that the transcriptions of *mulizas* included in Dionicio Bernal's study on that genre—which shares some rhythmic traits with the *wayno* (see below)—are in 2/8 (1978: 175).

**Cashua:** Pieces played in the style that *banda* musicians in the Mantaro Valley call *cashua* are labeled as *waynos* on recordings by *bandas* from other regions. Indeed, they display many of the principal formal and stylistic traits associated with the *wayno*: two main musical statements, each repeated, followed by a third, more intense section; and mostly pentatonic, syncopated melodies. The main difference between *waynos* and *cashuas* as played by *bandas* in the Valley is that the latter are arranged in a polyphonic manner, introducing elements of harmonic accompaniment and more consistent contrapuntal activity. A typical *cashua* begins with a drum roll on the *tarola*, after which the *bombo* joins in to set the tempo. There is often an introduction played by a solo *bajo*, which is followed by punctuations by the rest of the ensemble before the main melody begins. Here the arrangement opens up: trumpets, clarinets, and saxophones play the melody; *bajos* play a harmonic accompaniment line of broken chords, making use of the eighth-and-two-sixteenths rhythm mentioned above, and fill spaces in the melody with runs of sixteenth notes; trombones play a steady off-beat pattern on chord tones; tubas play a bass line. The standard percussion section is employed again, though now the *tarola* articulates the eighth-and-two-sixteenths figure, while the *bombo* hits quarter notes, and the *platillos* hit the off-beat eighths. Most frequently, the form follows an AABBAABBAABBCC pattern (preceded by an introduction; section C is often repeated more times), where the third statement of AABB is a contrasting section in which the trumpets drop out, leaving the woodwinds to carry the melody. As with the *wayno*, the last section picks up with a change in the *bombo* rhythm. These types of arrangements are also notated in 2/8, and are generally played slightly faster than the central Andean *waynos*. One notes, in the *cashua*, the stronger presence of “Western” musical

elements, inasmuch as the *bajo* introduction and countermelodies are diatonic, and the low brass establish harmonic progressions (see CD track 6).

It is unclear to me exactly what links exist, if any, between the *cashua* as played by Mantaro Valley *bandas* and other forms with this name, and furthermore, why pieces in this style are not called *waynos*, as in other regions. The generic term *qashwa* refers to a circle dance of pre-Hispanic origin, whose prevalence declined—especially in contrast to the *wayno*'s expansion—during the colonial period because the layout of new towns did not meet the requirement for open spaces necessary for its performance (Roel Pineda 1959). Nevertheless, the Spanish Bishop Baltasar Martínez Compañón collected songs dubbed as *cachuas* in northern Peru during the 1780s (Stevenson 1960), and the d'Harcourts observed that the *kaswa*, a circle dance-music featuring syncopated rhythms, was still widely diffused in the early twentieth century (1925: 175-176). Circle dances of this sort were still performed in the Peruvian Andes in the late twentieth century. In the Lambayeque highlands, a dance performed in a circle by both men and women during, after, or to commemorate a communal or family event, goes by the name of *cashua*. (Vreeland, Jr. 1993: 186-187). The solo and group singing is accompanied by a single *charango* [small guitar]. Young men and women perform similar circle dances, called *punchay kashwa* and *tuta kashwa*, for courting purposes during fiestas in Canas, Cusco, again with *charango* accompaniment (Turino 1983: 86, 92).

Despite the fact that Roel Pineda seeks to make clear that the *qashwa* and *wayno* are different dances, possible links in both the music and dance emerge in his work (1959). For one, he refers to “controversies”—which he intends to refute—that have existed over whether they are both essentially the same. Secondly, he writes,

En la ciudad del Cuzco, el término *qashwa* se refiere vagamente a todo género de danza, pero es más propio y explícito cuando alude a varias parejas formando rueda, aún en el caso en que el paso y la música sean de *wayno* (Ibid.: 153).

[In the city of Cusco, the term *qashwa* refers generally to all types of dances, but most specifically to those in which many couples dance in a coordinated fashion, usually forming a circle, even when the steps and music are from the *wayno*]

Moreover, he cites the fact that independent couple dances identical or similar to the *wayno* are called *qashwa* in certain districts. Finally, he notes that the name for the *wayno* in northern Peru, from Huánuco to Cajamarca, is in fact, *kaswa* (Ibid.; see also Romero 1999a: 389). Writing later, however, Cánepa-Koch and Romero distinguish between the two genres in Cajamarca: “The *kashwa* in Cajamarca is music to accompany social dance (as opposed to ritual or theatrical dance), played at a faster tempo than the *huayno*, and is the most popular dance music in the region. It may be performed in a variety of instrumental formats” (1996: 9).<sup>39</sup>

What we can say about the *cashua* played by Mantaro Valley *bandas* is that it is certainly no longer linked, if it ever was, to a circle dance or other type of ritual<sup>40</sup>; *cashuas* are played for social dancing at public fiestas. There are *cashuas* that come from the central highlands region, some written by *banda* musicians, but many of those that I recorded in performance were arrangements of *waynos* from other regions that were popular at a national level, such as the song “Terco Corazón,” popularized by the recently deceased star La Muñequita Sally. Given the close relationship between the *cashua* and the *wayno*, I am lead to speculate that the

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<sup>39</sup> A guide designed to educate students in Cajamarca about tourism, lists the *cashua*, or *cachua*, as one of the typical dances in the region, also differentiating it from the *wayno* (Proyecto FIT n.d.: 170).

<sup>40</sup> The *cashua* is mentioned as a type of music, “cuya melodía nos transporta con suma facilidad ya a las alturas del éxtasis [whose melodies transport us to the heights of ecstasy]” in a 1957 radio broadcast titled, “Folklore Musical de Junín” [Musical Folklore of Junín] (see Espinoza 1958: 23).



*cashua* represents an extra-regional style of arranging *waynos* for *bandas*. It was the *orquesta típica* and the star singers they sometimes accompanied that defined the representative central Andean, or Wanka, style for playing *waynos*, *huaylas*, and *mulizas*, through wide dissemination on records and radio since the 1960s (Romero 2001). Even when accompanying a singer, all the melodic instruments in this ensemble play the same melody as the vocalist, while the harp plays a bass line. This is the type of arrangement still used for *wayno* hits like “Patito Negro,” and it is this unison approach—with the exception of the harp, which, in any case, becomes barely audible in festival contexts (Ibid.: 75)—that *bandas* must conform to when interpreting *waynos* from the Mantaro Valley. To me, the *cashua* recalls the textural quality of *wayno* accompaniments one hears from string-based ensembles, which are much more common in other regions.

**Muliza:** Romero has described the *muliza* as “a nostalgic and lyrical regional song genre” (2001: 69). Peruvian writers trace its origins to the fusion of central Andean Indigenous songs with Hispanic poetic forms brought to the region by Argentines who were transporting *mulas* [mules] to the mines in Cerro de Pasco in the late eighteenth century (Bernal 1978; Palomino Vega 1984). The slower tempo and plodding eighth-note rhythms were purported to imitate the trot of mules (Gálvez 1964, cited in Palomino Vega 1984: 47). The percussion parts for the *muliza* are the same as in the *wayno*, although the rhythmic quality of *muliza* melodies is somewhat less syncopated than the *wayno*’s. Like the *wayno*, the minor pentatonic melody is played in unison by the entire wind section, and countermelodies are played at the transitions between section repeats; the form is tripartite. In fact, *mulizas* can serve

as introductions to *waynos* and carnival songs, and they are played less frequently at patron saint fiestas than during carnival (see CD track 7).

**Huaylas:** The *huaylas* developed in the early twentieth century from songs associated with the nocturnal communal harvest, the *waylarsh*, and quickly became a popular carnival dance throughout the Valley. Romero has described the genre as “lively,” “cheerful,” and “joyful,” and defined it as “a variety of the huayno” (2001: 60, 120, 140, 47). The single performance of the traditional *huaylas* I recorded at a patron saint fiesta, and the two instances I found on the 1980 Banda Monumental recording (labeled *huaylash*), are basically pentatonic, with unison melodies alternating between minor and relative major tonal centers, and the familiar countermelodies between sectional repeats. Repeated sixteenth-note figures are prominent, and the *bombo* plays a more driving rhythm than in the *wayno* or *muliza* (see CD track 8).<sup>41</sup> During my fieldwork, several *bandas* occasionally played a piece called “Huaylas del Pisao Pisao,” which was another contemporary hit by La Muñequita Sally (CD track 5 f). This arrangement—perhaps an example of a more “popular” *huaylas* form<sup>42</sup>—featured many of the aforementioned characteristics of the *banda huaylas* style, although one contrasting section shared traits with the *cashua* arrangements (woodwind melody, trombone off-beats, tuba bass line). Notably, in one performance of this song at the fiesta in San Agustín, the Banda Continental inserted a modulation into the piece, so as to “alzar el ambiente” [brighten the mood].

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<sup>41</sup> While the songs on the Banda Monumental recording feature the standard percussion accompaniment, the piece performed by the Banda Continental (CD track 8) makes use of Latin percussion, with a cowbell rhythm that resembles the typical eighth-and-two-sixteenths rhythmic figure from the *cumbia* and *wayno*.

<sup>42</sup> Romero mentions the recent development of the “*huaylas-techno*,” which makes use of electronic instrumentation (2001: 140).

Winds

Bombo/  
Platillos

Tarola: (Simplified pattern) simile...

11

21

33

45

A

B

C

Figure 3.2. *Santiago*, as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/29/07; CD track 5-e). Countermelodies are indicated by small noteheads, and are approximations. Notes in brackets are not played on all repeats.

**Santiago:** Like the *huaylas*, the *santiago* is an example of a genre that has moved beyond its original ritual context. The *santiago* that *bandas* and *orquestas* perform today is “a popular musical genre that has developed from the ritual music of the *herranza*” (Romero 1990: 25).<sup>43</sup> *Santiago* melodies are mostly based on a major pentatonic scale (degrees 1-2-3-5-6; the fourth and seventh scale degrees come up infrequently), and the style exhibits traits of previously described genres: unison playing with countermelodies; three-part form; similar percussion patterns (but with faster tempos). Like with the *wayno*, some musicians carried notated *santiago* melodies, and the ones I came across were written in either 2/8 or 2/4 (with only one beat in some measures). The irregular rhythmic groupings and melodic contours of the *wakrapuku* lines from *herranza* music still come through in some of the *banda santiago* tunes, and the major-key orientation undoubtedly reflects the genre’s original modal character, especially when considered against the prevalence of minor tonalities in the other regional genres (see figure 3.2).

**Music for dance-dramas:** Dance-dramas are theatrical, costumed, and choreographed dances that portray a number of historical characters, sometimes in a satirical fashion; they “constitute the foremost performance setting for music in the Mantaro valley” (Romero 2001: 55).<sup>44</sup> Dance-dramas are referred to generally as

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<sup>43</sup> The *herranza* is a cattle-branding ceremony that is still performed in the Valley on the day of the Apostle Santiago, a Catholic saint who became conflated with an Andean deity deemed to protect livestock. Because of this association, the *herranza* ritual itself and the accompanying music are also called *santiago*. Traditionally, an ensemble made up of one or two *wagrapukus*, a violin, and a female singer who also played *tinya*, performed the mostly tritonic songs. See Romero (2001) for a description of the event as practiced in the Valley. At the *herranza* I attended in September 2007 in the town of Masma, the ensemble consisted of four *wagrapukus* and *tinya*.

<sup>44</sup> Many of the essays in the collection *Música, danzas y máscaras en los Andes* (Romero, ed., 1993), and in the more recent *Identidades Representadas* (Cánepa Koch, ed., 2001), discuss how dance-dramas in the Peruvian Andes express local identity, history and cosmology. Mendoza’s book, *Shaping*

*costumbres* in the Valley, and that is the name with which music for dance-dramas is often labeled on *banda* recordings. Of the twenty-one different Mantaro Valley dances listed by Romero, only three are indicated as accompanied by the *banda* (Ibid.: 56). While it is true that the *banda* accompanies fewer of these than the *orquesta típica*, the former has appropriated the music from many of the dances, and performs it outside the context of the fully costumed and choreographed performance. I will not discuss in depth each of the many dance-drama musics played by *bandas* at the fiestas I attended or found on recordings, as these made up a smaller part of the repertoire and their performances were irregular. Among the more prominent genres that I documented were the *avelinos*, *pachahuara*, *baile de la jija*, and *corcovados*.

The *avelinos*, whose characters represent local peasants who formed guerilla groups in the war against Chile in 1879, will be further discussed in my description of a patron saint fiesta in the next chapter.<sup>45</sup> *Banda* musicians considered the specific song that accompanies the dance to be fairly “old,” indicating that they were unaware of a specific composer and stating that it was simply what was to be played in the town we were in (San Agustín). In other words, it is “a tune kept in collective memory as the primordial melody of the dance” and “is expected to be repeated year after year without meaningful transformations” (Romero 2001: 83). A booklet published in honor of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of San Jerónimo de Tunán, where the *avelinos* dance originated, names the two persons who purportedly arranged the music of an *herranza* tune called *La Pichiusita*, deliberately for the *avelinos* dance, and claims

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*Society Through Dance* (2000), looks specifically at how the *comparsas* in San Jerónimo, Cusco, actively shape social and ethnic identities and influence ideological changes in the community.

<sup>45</sup> See Mendoza (1989) for a more detailed history of the *Avelinos* dance and its meaning.

that, like for the *herranza*, the music was originally played by *wakrapuku* and *tinya* (Quincho Panéz 2004: 36). Mendoza also remarks that the *wakrapuku* and *tinya* have accompanied the dance since its origins, but that more recently the *orquesta típica* has taken up this role (1989). This suggests, along with the fact that Romero (2001: 56) does not associate the *banda* with the *avelinos*, that perhaps *banda* accompaniment for the dance is a recent development. The fiesta program for one of the troupes that was enacting this dance at the fiesta in San Agustín refers to the tune as the *huaylas avelino*, and, indeed, the music demonstrates many of the characteristics described above for the *huaylas* and other regional genres (see figure 4.2).

The *pachahuara* is particularly popular in the Yanamarca Valley and adjacent districts, and is one of the many dances in the region that portray the black slaves that were said to inhabit the area in the early colonial period. This is one of the few dance-dramas in the Valley whose accompaniment is the exclusive domain of the *banda de músicos*. There are two principal parts to the music: the slower *pasión*, which depicts the restricted steps of slaves whose feet were chained, followed by the energetic *pasacalle*, representing their liberation (Orellana 1979). Raúl Neira Bravo contends that a third section called *ofrenda* [offering], or *adoración al Niño* [Adoration of the Child (Jesus)], exists, but is seldom performed (2000: 28). Unlike the *avelinos*, there is no fixed tune for the *pachahuara*, and *bandas* have several pieces in their repertoire, all sharing the general characteristics of the genre. In the past, the tune for a particular year's fiesta was worked out in conjunction with the fiesta sponsors, as described in this passage about saint's day fiestas in the town of Paca:

...el Mayordomo se pone de acuerdo con el director de la banda a efecto de proceder a escoger la tonada de la pachahuara, costumbre a la cual los lugareños lo denominamos “buscar el tono”, el mismo que consiste en componer a partir de ese momento la partitura musical de la pachahuara y de su respectivo pasacalle, tonada que luego de modo invariable tocará la banda a lo largo de toda la fiesta.

Para lograr este propósito, juega importante la capacidad artística del director así como de sus integrantes, quienes con su inspiración y luego de varios ensayos y de escribir en el pentagrama, logran “sacar el tono”, tonada ésta que al causar impacto no sólo al Mayordomo sino también a los ‘pachahuareros’ que lo acompañan, todos, en señal de reconocimiento dan su aprobación (Ibid.: 51).<sup>46</sup>

[...the *mayordomo* (fiesta sponsor) works with the *banda* director to choose the tune of the *pachahuara*, a custom that we natives refer to as “finding the tune,” and which consists of composing from that moment the score of the *pachahuara* and its respective *pasacalle*. This is the tune the *banda* will play continuously throughout the entire fiesta.

The artistic capacity of the director and his musicians are important for the achievement of this goal; with their inspiration and after several trials and writing on the staff, they are able to “extract the tune.” When the tune makes an impression not only on the *mayordomo* but also on the *pachahuareros* that accompany him, they all give their approval with a recognized signal.]

The *pasión* is played in free rhythm, with winds and percussion moving together slowly from one note to another, accenting each heavily. The *pasacalle* is in duple time, and features a very clear, and symmetrical, antecedent-and-consequent phrase structure. This structure is reflected in the texture, as the winds, while still playing in unison, divide the melody in a call-and-response-like fashion. There are three parts to the *pasacalle*, but the “response” phrases tend to be repeated across sections.

*Pachahuara* melodies are in the diatonic major mode (see figure 3.3).

Like the *pachahuara*, the *baile de la jija* is in two main parts, the *pasión* and *pasacalle*, which are followed by a section of *waynos* called the *mudanzas*. The actual choreographed dance depicts peasants working in the fields, and was

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<sup>46</sup> Romero cites a similar process, as well as its disappearance in recent times, for the composition of new festival dance tunes for the *orquesta típica* (2001: 81-84).

traditionally performed during the harvest, but the single *banda* performance I heard did not accompany the dance, and did not include the *mudanzas* section. Notably, the ensemble that is traditionally associated with this dance is a reduced, and presumably older, version of the *orquesta típica* that excludes its saxophones, and to

Pasión

Pasacalle

**Figure 3.3.** *Pachahuara*, as performed by the Banda Continental in Chucilú (08/25/07; CD track 11).



which a *tinya* is added. In more remote districts, the ensemble was even more basic, featuring harp, violin, and *tinya*, or only violin and *tinya* (Arguedas 1953: 239).

The characters of the *corcovados* dance represent the elderly Spanish authorities of colonial times. Its music is quite fast and features the same kind of call-and-response phrasing structure as the *pasacalle* in the *pachahuara* (see CD track 10). Although the dance was traditionally accompanied by a violin and harp duo, the *banda* has become an acceptable substitute. It is worth listing the other dance-dramas performed or recorded by Mantaro Valley *bandas*, simply to reinforce the idea that the ensemble is integrating more and more of them into their repertoire. The ensemble performs some of them outside of the dances' choreographed contexts, but has also taken on accompaniment roles for dances that have traditionally been associated with other ensembles. The regional dance-dramas include *chacranegros*<sup>47</sup>, *negrería*, *baile de negras*, *chinchilpo y gamonal*, *auquish capitán*, and *huaylijía*. *Banda* musicians also know the music for dance-dramas from neighboring (and some more distant) regions, such as *negritos de Huánuco*, *negrería de Huancavelica*, and *morenadas de Puno*. Two ensembles at different fiestas I attended performed the same *morenadas* piece, which featured a unique two-part texture—the low brass on one part, and trumpets and woodwinds on the other.<sup>48</sup> Xavier Albó and Matías Prieswerk have observed that short solo interjections from the trombones—which make good use of the instrument's glissando potential—at transitional points in the phrase structure, are also characteristic of the *morenadas*

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<sup>47</sup> Romero associates the *chacranegros* with an ensemble made up of three violins and two drums (Romero: 2001: 56).

<sup>48</sup> Mendoza has described this type of texture in south-Andean-influenced brass band music as “antiphony,” with call-and-response structure between the high and low brass (2000: 211).

in Bolivia (1986: 72). This compositional device is audible in Mantaro Valley *banda* performances of this genre (CD track 13), and is evident in some *folclor* genres, such as *santiago*, and *pachahuara*.

**Music for Carnival:** Although many of the genres described to this point are performed at carnival, which is usually held sometime in February or March, there are some tunes that are specifically connected to this festival, and are simply titled *carnaval*; they can also be designated by their place of origin (e.g. *Carnaval de Huancayo*, *Carnaval Marqueño*). A central event of *carnaval* in the Mantaro Valley is the *cortamonte* tree-cutting ritual, for which the *banda* has become the principal music provider (see next chapter). Romero has described *carnaval* music from the Peruvian Andes in general as displaying “strong colonial influences” (1999a: 387). In the sampling of pieces I have heard *bandas* perform, I have noted a prevalence of scalar passages, most often in the diatonic major mode, but the music for different songs is quite varied (see CD track 12). *Bandas* also play well-known *carnaval* songs from other regions, such as *carnaval de Cajamarca*, and *carnaval Ayacucheño*.<sup>49</sup>

**Marinera:** The *marinera* usually falls under the banner of *música criolla* [creole music], but the genre is diffused throughout the country and has been thoroughly adopted into the musical culture and rituals of the Andes. Originating on the coast, this music and dance form had gained widespread popularity by the mid-eighteenth century (Romero 1985: 262), and soon bred a number of regional variants, including many from Andean areas (e.g. *marinera cuzqueña*, *puneña*). According to one aficionado and frequent *marinera* dance contest judge, several dance contests take

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<sup>49</sup> The *carnaval de cajamarca* performed by the Banda Continental at a patron saint fiesta in August 2007, was, with minor variations, the same song as that collected by Holzmann (1966: 54).

place throughout the country on any given weekend, and most of these are animated by *bandas* (José Francisco Vallejos, personal communication 09/12/07). In the Mantaro Valley, the *banda* is the only ensemble that performs this genre, and it is integral to certain stages of saint's day fiestas, such as the *toril* nights on the fiesta's *víspera* and afternoon bullfights. Musically, *marinera* arrangements for *bandas* evince the influence of European tonal harmony and compositional methods. Like many regional genres, the *marinera* is in three parts, each repeated, and the entire form is played twice (including the introduction). In some areas the last section is a *fuga de wayno* (last section of a *wayno*; Romero 1985: 263). A distinctive quality of the genre is its *sesquiáltera* rhythm—the interplay of 3/4 rhythmic patterns in 6/8 meter—a characteristic of Hispanic-influenced music throughout Latin America.<sup>50</sup> *Banda* arrangements begin with a roll on the *tarola*, followed by a few measures of rhythm on *tarola* and *bombo*, and usually an introduction played by a solo *bajo* (see CD track 14). The striking similarities to the formal arrangement described above for the *cashua*, other musical differences notwithstanding, lead one to believe that *marinera* arrangements for the early military *bandas* provided a format that arrangers of Andean music could follow for traditional genres.

The *pasodoble* is played, along with the *marinera*, during bullfights in some towns. Some musicians indicated that these genres are played because, like the bullfighting itself, they are perceived to be closer to Spanish cultural sources.

Another account distinguished that *pasodobles* are mostly played for the more aggressive bulls. Much less frequently performed than the *marinera*, and not having

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<sup>50</sup> For in-depth studies of the *marinera* and other genres of *música criolla*, see the Master's theses of Mann (2003) and Staiano (2006).

any specific function in the Valley's fiestas, is the *vals criollo*, a waltz form that developed out of related European genres, emerging amongst the working-class in Lima in the late nineteenth century, but later losing most of its currency (Romero 1985).

**Marches:** Given the influence of the military band model on the very formation of Andean *bandas*, not to mention the fact that the latter's first members and mentors were trained in Peru's army bands, it is probable that marches were prominent in the early village *banda*'s repertoire. They have also taken on a ritualized function in different stages of the patron saint fiesta. Thus, even though, musically speaking, they stand in distinction to regional genres for their use of Western tonal idioms, they are likely to not be seen as foreign or modern. There are three types of marches: *marcha militar* [military march], *marcha regular* [regular march], and *marcha fúnebre* [funeral march]. The fastest of these, the *marcha militar*, is played for civic acts, and at fiestas sometimes accompanies the sponsor and his or her entourage during processions to the town square.<sup>51</sup> *Marchas regulares*, somewhat slower and less martial than the previous, are always played during the religious procession of the town's patron saint or virgin around the main plaza, following mass on the fiesta's central day (CD track 15). Predictably, *marchas fúnebres* are the most somber of the three, and are mostly played at funerals. These last two genres are the only two in

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<sup>51</sup> In Ancash, it has been traditional for the hired *banda* to enter the town on the *vispera* of the saint's day fiesta playing a *marcha militar* (Robles 2000: 281). This custom appears to be followed loosely in the Mantaro Valley: At the fiesta in San Agustín, although *waynos* were the very first pieces played at the entrance to town on the *vispera*, a *marcha militar* accompanied the first procession to the main plaza (see fiesta description, next chapter); in Ocopa, the very first piece was a *marcha militar*; on the *vispera* of the fiesta in Orcotuna, festivities were started off with a *marcha folclórica*, a medley of traditional styles arranged in march style. The practice has also been documented for Paca (Neira Bravo 2000: 48).

the entire repertoire that could truly be considered liturgical. My recorded sample of marches is too small to draw conclusions about consistent approaches to form or arrangement, but Yep has identified a characteristic structure and instrumental function in the *marcha meditación*, which accompanies religious processions during Semana Santa in Catacaos (2002: 216). Musicians in Mantaro Valley *bandas* know at least a few marches by memory, but can often be seen reading them off sheet music that is clothes-pinned to the back of a colleague in front of them, a task that is facilitated by the slow pace of the religious procession. *Bandas* must also know pieces like the national anthem and the Marcha de Banderas, a march played during the raising of the flag at civic events.

**Cumbia:** The Colombian *cumbia* was accepted on a major scale in Peru when the genre was diffused internationally in the latter half of the twentieth century (see Romero 1985: 271; App 1998: 409). Especially popular among the younger generation of migrants in Lima, the *cumbia* became the basis for a new hybrid style known as *cumbia andina*, or *chicha* music, which involved adapting popular *waynos* to *cumbia* rhythms, using the electric instrumentation of rock and roll, combined with Caribbean percussion. But *cumbia*, as such, was also hugely successful in the Andes, where the *banda de músicos* has been credited for its dissemination, and in towns in the northeastern jungle area (Romero 1985: 271-273). In 2007, the *cumbia peruana* (or *cumbia nacional*) scene was vibrant and commercially viable, with a number of groups from the northern coast and jungle region represented on radio stations throughout the country. In August, two Peruvian groups, Grupo Kaliente and Grupo 5, were in the radio top 10 in the *tropical* category, competing against international Latin music stars (Spotlight 2007). *Bandas* in the Mantaro Valley are

expected to play the latest *cumbia* hits, and as such, many of the popular songs that could be heard several times a day on radio broadcasted from Huancayo were also frequently performed as *banda* arrangements at patronal fiestas, mostly for periods of social dancing. *Cumbia* arrangements vary depending on the nature of the original song, reflecting the stylistic differences between the original songwriters and performers (see CD track 16). *Banda* musicians have memorized some of the most regularly played pieces, but usually read new arrangements from notated parts.

Other pan-Latin popular styles such as salsa, Latin jazz, bolero, and the Mexican *corrido*, though of much interest to the musicians themselves, are not as prominent in the repertoire. Arrangements of rock songs and classical pieces (*obras*) also get occasional performances. For *obras*, I observed a few instances in which one of the musicians went in front of the ensemble to conduct the piece. The most likely performance context for all of these genres is an informal phase of the fiesta sometimes referred to as a *retreta* [open-air concert], which is a period of rest and general entertainment; the music is always read from charts.<sup>52</sup>

### Summary

Having now examined a major portion of the vast *banda* repertoire, we can refer back to figure 3.1 and make some observations about the continuum I proposed at the outset of the chapter. In the column second from the left one can observe a progression in the types of scales used. We move from the tritonic *capitanía*, through the high number of regional *folclor* genres in the pentatonic mode, and begin to note diatonicism in the dance-dramas, *carnaval* music, and songs from

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<sup>52</sup> In southern Ancash, the *retreta*, which is aimed at public recreation in the main plaza, follows Mass on the fiesta's *vispera*, and allows the community to judge the different ensembles participating (Robles 2000: 284).

other Andean regions. A clear break occurs when we consider the genres that one could say have been “imported” from beyond the Andes: they all use European harmonic principles and display elements of chromaticism. I will further elaborate on the significance of modes below.

In the next column over, the progression is less gradual: All of the truly Andean forms are played from memory; the *marinera* and *vals*, which we might call national genres (recall the use of the phrase *folclor de nuestro país* by musicians), are sometimes read from scores, but a large number have been committed to memory; only the most frequently played *marchas* and *cumbias*, both technically foreign to the central highlands but deeply ingrained in its musical culture, are performed without parts; and the most clearly “foreign” styles are always read from scores. As far as I could tell, all *banda* musicians were able to read Western notation, and had to do so several times throughout the course of their performances. All ensembles carry music stands with them to engagements, as well as a small suitcase full of arrangements, and many musicians are themselves composers and arrangers. The orientation towards literate musical culture is evident in the fact that, when a new popular song is released on radio, a number of different arrangements for *banda* are soon disseminated throughout the country.<sup>53</sup> And yet, musicians spend much of their working days processing through the town, playing *folclor* pieces they have learned by ear and arranged according to certain formulaic constraints (countermelodies, form), and then memorized through years of performance on a daily basis. Moreover, when playing a medley of regional genres,

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<sup>53</sup> This contrasts sharply with the situation described for processional brass bands in India, where bandmasters, most of whom do not read music, rely on recordings to learn popular tunes by ear and then teach them to the band by rote (Booth 2005).

the transition from one piece to another was cued by aural and visual signals, both trademarks of oral musical traditions (Booth 2005: 280).<sup>54</sup> Thus, in spite of the fact that *banda* musicians are all musically literate, one might view the *banda* as “bridging nonliterate and literate musical domains,” a characteristic of other brass band traditions in Latin America (Davis 1998: 849).

Not surprisingly, the classification into pieces that end with the *callada* and those that do not creates a binary division, with the dividing line falling between genres of Andean origin on one side, and the European-influenced musics of coastal Peru and abroad on the other. The split between pieces with multipart arrangements and the unison execution style occurs in roughly the same place, with the anomaly that the *cashua* exhibits a polyphonic style, albeit one that is unique to that genre. I hesitate to speculate on the significance of not playing the *callada* at the end of “foreign” pieces. As I pointed out, the *marcha* probably formed part of the first *bandas*’ repertoires. Concerning the *marinera*, Roel Pineda wrote in 1959 that it should be considered “...tan propia de la costa como de la sierra” [as much from the coast as from the highlands] (132). Both genres have long ago taken on ritual functions at Mantaro Valley fiestas, and, as such, are undoubtedly imbued with much “traditional” value. Nevertheless, the fact that the *callada* is not played at their conclusion distinguishes them aurally from regional *folclor*. On the other hand, the fact that the standard *banda* percussion is employed for these genres keeps them

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<sup>54</sup> In the Banda Continental, this was the task of the musical director and assistant director, both *bajo* players. As a result, one often hears the *bajo* section play the first few measures of a new song before the rest of the group joins in. The *bajo* section has this function in other ensembles, as well.





**Figure 3.4. The Banda Continental's full percussion section in Matahuasi (08/15/07).**

out of the realm of “modern” music to some degree, since all of the forms that best fit that descriptor make use of an expanded percussion section.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, some younger musicians I spoke with saw the drum set—supposedly one of the more recent additions to the ensemble’s lineup—as having been integrated “hace tiempos ya” [some time ago], and thus they themselves did not view it as a modern development.

### **Scales and the Musico-Historical Continuum**

In the introduction to this work I suggested that scholars have tended to view the *banda* as a modernizing force in Andean culture. On the music culture of the

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<sup>55</sup> Robles classifies the *marinera* under the “modern” category, but is slightly inconsistent regarding the *pasodoble*. In one case he breaks down the repertoire into four categories: *waynos*; marches and *pasodobles*; *marchas regulares*; and “modern” pieces (2000: 272), but elsewhere the *pasodoble* is grouped in with the “modern pieces” (Ibid.: 275).

Callejón de Huaylas, den Otter writes, “The bandas may be viewed as a tendency to modernize” (1985: 200), and the sentiment has been echoed by Romero for our region of study: “the brass band represents for the inhabitant of the Mantaro Valley a clear option in favor of modern and foreign musical influences” (1990: 21). However, Yep offers a contrasting perspective on the *banda*’s symbolism in northern Peru. For villagers in Catacaos, she says, the *banda* is a crucial component of Semana Santa celebrations because the ensemble evokes a sense of their “historia, cultura, y tradición” [history, culture, and tradition] (2002: 221). These types of statements give the impression that their disparate points of view cannot be reconciled in the ensemble. As Robles has articulated, in explaining how the forces of modernity (including the *banda* and its new music) cannot impose musical change in the Andes without confronting society’s traditionalists (usually its elders): “Modernidad y tradición son dos polos opuestos de la cultura andina que luchan por imponer su sello o mantener su esencia” [Modernity and tradition are at opposite poles in Andean culture, each fighting to impose their mark or maintain their essence] (2007: 72). As I have shown above, though, in the *banda* repertoire, the traditional and the modern/foreign can be recast as two ends of a continuum, the whole range of which the ensemble embraces. Each genre can be placed along this continuum—not always unambiguously—by a number of audible markers, along with factors such as their level of assimilation into specific rituals. In the following section I will focus on how performance of music based on different scales—in other words, the actual organization of pitches in *banda* music—enables the ensemble to embody a musical ancient past, traditional present, and forward-looking modern-day.

To begin with, I present a brief overview of some of the theories that have been put forward regarding Andean modes. In their early comprehensive study of Andean music, the d'Harcourts made the claim that the pentatonic scale they had observed as most prevalent in Indian music at the time was a holdover from Inkaic musical practices (1925). The later discovery of fairly widespread instances of tritonic, tetratonic, and, to a lesser extent, bitonic systems, called the earlier assumption into question, and prompted new inquiry into the evolution of the pentatonic scale, which continues to be pervasive in Andean music (Bradby 1987; Romero 2002). Dale Olsen (1980) suggests two possibilities regarding the prevalence of pentatonic music in the Andes: 1) That it had non-sacred associations in pre-Columbian times and thus survived the repression of Indian religious practices by missionaries; 2) That it evolved, under the influence of European diatonic scales, by adding passing notes to the more basic tritonic modes (Holzmann had already proposed that the pentatonic scale had developed out of tritonic forms [1968: 29-30]). Barbara Bradby casts some doubt on the evolutionary theory posited by Olsen. She cites the "way in which the different scales are used in contrast and even in opposition to one another" during fiestas in Andean communities as evidence against that theory (1987: 199-200). Indeed, as I hope to demonstrate, the fact that *bandas* play repertoire that draws on different types of modes in a single day of performance, contradicts the notion of evolution, if the meaning of the word is taken literally.

My analysis of specific pieces from the *banda* repertoire begins with the tritonic *capitanía*, which I briefly described above. Figure 3.5 is a transcription of *capitanía* as played by the Banda Continental in San Agustín de Cajas, during a procession from the bullfighting plaza to the *mayordomo*'s home for dinner. The

melody outlines the major triad with A-flat as tonic. Before I proceed to investigate how the discourse around tritonic modes is significant in placing the *capitanía*'s musico-historical identity, it is necessary to justify associating the *capitanía* with other tritonic genres, such as the *santiago* (*herranza* music), and the *toril*. The central point of association for all is the original use of the *waqrapuku* in these musics. The instrument has been directly associated with the *capitanía* dance described in Ayacucho (Centro Cultural de San Marcos 2008), and its use in *herranza* rituals (often called *santiago*) throughout the central and southern Andes has been well documented (Romero 2001: 156; Ritter 2006: 108). The *wakrapuku* has also been widely used in activities related to bullfighting (Bradby 1987: 204; Cohen 1991b: 2; Ráez 2001a: 4; Holzmann 1966: 74) in a genre called *toril* (from the Spanish for bull, *toro*), which, to add to the confusion, is sometimes referred to as *santiago* (Ritter




**Figure 3.5. First two phrases of a *capitanía*, as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/31/07; CD track 4).**

Música para corrida de toros, phrase A:



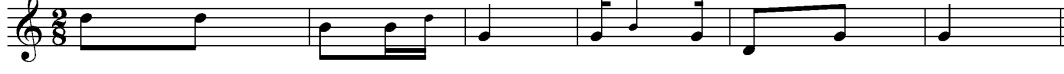
Capitanía, phrase A:



Música para corrida de toros, phrase B (2nd time):



Capitanía, phrase B:



**Figure 3.6. Comparison of “música para la corrida de toros” [music for bullfighting], from Holzmann (1968: 12-13), with *capitanía*. The latter has been transposed from figure 3.5.**

2006: 81, 108-110).<sup>56</sup> Rodrigo Montoya makes these links by grouping *santiago*, *toril*, and *herranza* together under the rubric of music for cattle fertility rituals (1996: 484).

The triangle is completed by the fact that the term *toril* is interchangeable with *capitanía*, as can be appreciated by the fact that a piece recorded on a Banda Continental CD, which has nearly identical melodies to those that had been described to me as *capitanía*, is labeled *toril* on the CD (see figure 2.8), but the overdubbed voice of the announcer during the track states “llegó la capitanía” [the *capitanía* has arrived]. Finally, it is difficult to ignore the remarkable similarity in melodic contour between the *capitanía* played by a Mantaro Valley *banda* in 2007, and a song for bullfighting collected by Rodolfo Holzmann in Apurímac in 1966-67 (see figure 3.6).

<sup>56</sup> The *wagrapuku* appears to have previously been used for bullfighting music in some districts of the Mantaro Valley (see Holzmann 1966: 74).

Discourse around music based on tritonic modes most frequently calls up the idea of pre-Hispanic and Indigenous sources. Romero, for one, points to the tritonic scales, among other characteristics of *santiago* music, as examples of “traits usually associated by the people of the Mantaro Valley with ‘Indian’ music”, adding that the music is considered “old and very traditional, a pre-Hispanic music from which all others have stemmed” (Romero 2001: 43). Likewise, Rodolfo Holzmann says about *santiago* music: “Es probablemente el que más puro se ha conservado de todas las pervivencias de la música prehispánica” [It is probably that which has been the most purely conserved of all the elements of prehispanic music] (1966: 36), and Bradby asserts that “the tritonic emerges as a scale that is definitely associated with ancient Andean ritual” (1987: 214). *Banda* musicians in the Mantaro Valley were aware that, in other regions, music such as the *capitanía* is still played on the *wakrapuku*.<sup>57</sup> Thus, when the *banda*’s trumpet section performs the tritonic melodies of *capitanía*, they are drawing on songs played originally by a small ensemble featuring the *wakrapuku*, and are in no small measure imitating its sound and recalling the sentiment that its distinct modes evoke.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, both Bradby (1987) and Romero emphasize the contrast between tritonic music and the predominantly pentatonic sound of most other traditional music played during fiestas, especially the *wayno*. As Romero puts it, “santiago music stands as the foremost musically distinct genre in relation to the ubiquitous and dominant mestizo huayno, from which the most popular musical genres of the valley arise” (2001: 43).

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<sup>57</sup> Of course, the *wakrapuku* is still central to the Valley’s *herrerías*.

<sup>58</sup> I have heard some recorded *banda* versions where only a *tarola* with snares off plays the steady pulse, thus referencing the original accompaniment of the *tinya*.

I will in fact use the ubiquitous *wayno* as an example here to examine how the discourse around its pentatonic mode places it in a transitional zone on our conceptual spectrum, but we could apply similar arguments in discussing many of the other closely related pentatonic genres.<sup>59</sup> While I have not yet closely analyzed even a small fraction of the extensive *wayno* repertoire for *bandas*, a cursory inspection confirms the predominance of pentatonic melodies with hints of diatonicism, melodic traits cited for the genre throughout the literature. As I have mentioned, however, a special quality of *waynos* from the Mantaro Valley is the monophonic performance style. Thus, we can isolate characteristics of mode more easily than in other regional variants where the harmonic accompaniment could (and often does) alter the overall mode of an essentially pentatonic melody. The *wayno* ‘Hombre Casado,’ as performed in San Agustín by the Banda Continental, is transcribed in figure 3.7. Typical for regional *wayno* arrangements, the introduction (mm. 0-3, arguably not part of the main melody, since different ensembles use the same introduction for different *waynos*) displays diatonic tendencies. Elsewhere there are only three occurrences (in measures 5, 14, and 60) of notes that fall outside the minor pentatonic scale (degrees 1-3-4-5-7), all of which have a passing or neighbor function. Also noteworthy is how the trombones sneak in a form of triadic harmony to the melody in measures 29 to 33—this occurs only once in the performance’s four repetitions of section B, and the contrast in sound when this happens is quite striking.

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<sup>59</sup> I will not treat hexatonic scales separately here as they tend to be seen either as expanded versions of the pentatonic, or incomplete versions of the diatonic (Holzmann 1968).

Winds

Bombo/  
Platillos

**A**

13

2

25

**B**

2nd repeat of 2nd time  
through form:

38

**C**

2

51

Figure 3.7. The wayno “Hombre Casado,” as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/29/07; CD track 5-a: first two notes of the introduction are cut off on the recording).



The *wayno*'s pentatonic character has been fairly consistently perceived to be a survival of pre-Hispanic music.<sup>60</sup> For Roel Pineda, the *wayno*'s pentatonicism validates the popular belief that the genre has pre-Hispanic roots (1959). Similarly, Romero states that the *wayno* has, "arguably enough, perpetuated substantial elements from the pre-Hispanic past (pentatonicism, for example)" (2001: 22). And yet, Roel Pineda also observed that the *wayno*'s consolidation as a popular form was unquestionably a product of the colonial period (1959). Along these lines, den Otter writes: "the huaynos are, to a lesser or greater extent, a mixture of pre-Columbian and Spanish traits. Musicologically speaking they may be pentatonic or diatonic..." (1985: 133), and we note this mixture in the modal realm of the Mantaro Valley *banda*'s *wayno*. In the discursive context outlined here, I view the quasi-pentatonic *wayno* played by *bandas* in the Valley as the embodiment of a living and resilient Andean tradition that maintains its basically pentatonic character in newly composed pieces, in spite of the immense popularity of more modern forms. It is a genre that has firm roots in the mixing of Indian and Spanish culture in the early colonial period, but is also an important popular music phenomenon of the late twentieth century, having experienced (as it still does) great commercial success during that time.

As we have seen, there are several genres in the *banda* repertoire that are composed using the idioms of Western tonal music, and these generally fall under the category of styles that could be viewed in one way or another as "modern," or "foreign" to the central highlands. The most relevant factor in terms of how the tonal systems represented in these genres lend the *banda* its modernizing impetus (as so

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<sup>60</sup> Other elements of the Mantaro Valley performance style for regional *folcor* pieces, such as the absence of harmony and the prevalence of ornamentation, are thought to extend from Indigenous practice (Romero 1985).

many researchers have observed) is the following: Given that the *banda* is entirely made up of chromatic melodic instruments, for much of the twentieth century it was the only prominent ensemble in the region that could truly execute music which deviated from the diatonic scale. Unlike in many other regions of Peru, string-based ensembles, which would presumably be capable of performing chromatic music, lost popular favor in the Valley early in the century (Romero 2001: 69). An ensemble with three violins does still exist, but its use is confined to a single dance-drama (Ibid.: 56). Finally, the saxophones, clarinets, and violins of the *orquesta típica* could conceivably perform this repertoire; however, the inclusion of a diatonic harp acts as a limiting constituent. Moreover, that ensemble appears to have been closely associated with a traditional repertoire since its inception. Of course, timbral aspects play a role here, since the *banda*'s instrumentation can better imitate the horn and percussion sections in popular Latin music.

Considering the associations I have made above between mode and musico-historical identity in the *banda* repertoire, it might be tempting to draw up a reductive scheme that equates the tritonal with the "ancient", the pentatonic with the "traditional", and the diatonic/chromatic with the "modern"/"foreign". Following Albó and Preiswerk (1986), Youdale seems to adhere to this line of thinking when he lists the departure from pentatonics in *banda* music as a harbinger of profound change in the Andean soundscape (1996: 341). One thing this type of model does account for is the fact that, when talking about their repertoire, *banda* musicians categorize afro-cuban and rock music together with works by Classical and Romantic composers, as elements of modernity, or perhaps cosmopolitanism, which fall uniquely under the

domain of their ensemble, at least in this region.<sup>61</sup> It also helps explain why musicians would consider themselves cutting-edge to be able to perform North American jazz arrangements. On the other hand, the simplistic model lacks the nuance to locate genres such as the *marinera* and *marchas* in their appropriate slot in Mantaro Valley tradition.<sup>62</sup>

### Conclusion

In as little as a single hour of performance, the professional *banda* of the Mantaro Valley can switch from the tritonal *capitanía*, played by its trumpet section with accompaniment from the *tarola* and *bombo*; to the pentatonic *wayno* melody played by all twenty-five winds and standard percussion grouping of *bombo*, *platillos*, and *tarolas* (and ending with each ensemble's distinct *callada*); to a chromatic-infused *cumbia* that takes advantage of multi-part writing, as well as the presence of timbales and Latin percussion. In this manner, the pitch systems in different genres, along with the factors I explained in the first part of the chapter, connect the ensemble to different strata on the musico-historical continuum. In my view, it is the fact that the *banda* embraces both the traditional and the modern, and not just the latter, that makes it so unique. There are other ensembles on the scene now that have even greater technical resources than the *banda*: The keyboards and guitars of

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<sup>61</sup> Mendoza notes that highlanders associate foreign genres such as *cumbia*, *chicha*, and *salsa*, with “an urban, cosmopolitan, transnational culture.” (2000: 213).

<sup>62</sup> One final consideration in the discussion of modes in the *banda* repertoire is that F minor seems to be the preferred tonal center by all the ensembles I recorded for performance of genres in the minor pentatonic mode (*waynos*, *mulizas*, *avelinos*, *huaylas*, *baile de la jija*). Most *santiagos* had tonal centers of E-flat and A-flat major, but the other genres did not show such consistency with regard to keys. Analysis of a larger sample of pieces (including those on recordings) would be necessary to observe broader patterns. It should be noted that the keys listed here are as heard (“concert”); many of the instruments in the *banda* read and play in various transpositions (e.g. F minor concert is G minor for trumpets, *bajos*, clarinets and some tubas).

modern ensembles that occasionally make appearances on fiesta nights are capable of executing all of the same songs that brass instruments play. And yet, these ensembles are generally restricted to popular styles; you will probably never hear them play tritonic music.

## Chapter Four

### “Si no hay banda, es muerta la fiesta”: *Banda* Performance at Communal Fiestas and *Banda* Performance Style

In my observations of *bandas* at seven patron saint fiestas in the Mantaro Valley during August and September 2007, I found that the experiences of a particular ensemble tended to follow certain patterns that are fairly consistent from one fiesta to another (see figure 4.1 for a list of fiestas attended). However, variations in terms of which genres were played, specific occasions for performance, and relations between the ensemble and their employers, do occur; these differences are linked in large part to the type of organization that has hired them (see p. 99), as well as to the local traditions of each district. Patronal fiestas in the Valley also vary in terms of how many *asociaciones* [associations] participate in their undertaking, the number of town residents and visitors in attendance, and in turn how much musical activity is required for the proceedings. The fiesta in the smallest village I visited, Pancán, correspondingly featured only one *banda* and a single *orquesta*. At the other end of the scale, at least seven *bandas* played on the central day of festivities for the Virgen de Cocharcas in Orcotuna. This is explained by the fact that the event is celebrated simultaneously in several towns in the Valley, and is now billed as a major tourist attraction by the Department of Junín tourist board, drawing thousands of visitors every year to the weeklong fiesta.

*Bandas* are not always hired for the entire duration of a fiesta. In the same eight-day event, for example, one ensemble may be present the entire time, while another may be engaged for only one day. The length of the contract depends on the extent of the hiring organization's commitment at the fiesta, but can also be related to

scheduling conflicts on the ensemble's part. It was my impression that it is preferable, if not always possible, for an organization to be accompanied by the same *banda* throughout the event: when one man had come to the Banda Continental's office to inquire about hiring them for a fiesta in his town, he did not end up doing so because they were unavailable for the *víspera*, which is an

DATE	LOCATION	FIESTA	BANDAS
Aug. 11-12	Lima	Virgen de Asunta	*Banda San Martin de Sicuani
Aug. 15	Matahuasi	Virgen la Asunción de María	*Banda Continental de Jauja Sinfónica San Ramón de Tarma Sinfonía Junín de Jauja Banda Los Cremas de Jauja
Aug. 16-17	San Jerónimo de Tunán	San Roque	*Banda Sinfónica Flores Banda Internacional Mi Peru
Aug. 24-26	Chuclú	Virgen del Carmen	*Banda Continental de Jauja Sinfonía Acollina Banda Super Star Acolla
Aug. 28-31	San Agustín de Cajas	San Agustín	*Banda Continental de Jauja Banda San Sebastián Banda Santa Isabel Huancayo Filarmónica Vilca Yauyos-Lima Banda Show Tupac Amaru Banda Orquesta Villa Del Sol
Sept. 2	Santa Rosa de Ocopa	Santa Rosa / Cortamonte	*Banda Continental de Jauja Banda Presidencial Huancayo Banda Juventud Acollina Banda Armónica Star
Sept. 6-7	Pancán	Santa Rosa de Lima	*Banda Super Star Acolla
Sept. 8	Orcotuna	Virgen de Cocharcas	Banda Juventud Acollina Banda Real Huancayo Super Sonora Acollina Banda Diplomáticos Jauja Banda Juventud Melódicos Tunanmarca Banda Monumental Huancayo Sinfonía Acollina

**Figure 4.1. Patron saint fiestas attended by the author in 2007. Ensemble indicated with \* is the one whose activities were documented.**

important part of the event.

At patronal fiestas, *bandas* are contracted by an organization that enacts its devotion to the town's patron saint or Virgin by participating actively in the event and sponsoring its multiple ceremonial components. These groups go by different names (*asociación* [association], *sociedad* [club], *institución* [institution], *hermandad* [brotherhood]), and have varying structures. The principal post of *mayordomo*, *presidente*, or *alférez* (depending on the type of organization) rotates every year and sometimes for each day of the fiesta. While these functionaries have the highest degree of financial responsibility in a given year, other group members and *devotos* [devotees of the saint] contribute funds towards the numerous costs associated with the event (the Mass, hiring of musicians, bullfights, food and beverages, fireworks, etc.), and donations are also solicited from the community in general.<sup>63</sup> The religious aspect of the fiesta should not be overstated, however. More than once I heard the sentiment expressed that fiestas were becoming less religious, and are now seen to be oriented more towards bringing "joy" to the town, and more specifically to the family, friends and neighbors of sponsoring groups. In this sense, and considering the enormous expenses incurred by the organization's members, sponsorship of a fiesta brings an elevated social status to the *mayordomo*.<sup>64</sup> Music figures vitally into this dynamic. We have already seen that organizations seek to hire the best *banda*

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<sup>63</sup> The history of present-day *instituciones*, *sociedades*, and *asociaciones* can be traced to the colonial *cofradía*, a type of religious brotherhood which was allocated church lands that could be exploited to help pay for the costs of religious fiestas (Romero 2001: 54; see also Mallon 1983: 33-35).

<sup>64</sup> Romero cites a number of studies that have interpreted the significance of the communal fiesta as a system for the redistribution of wealth and reaffirmation of community relations; he also notes the division between religious and secular aspects (2001: 51-53). Den Otter separates the fiesta of Saint Elizabeth in Huaylas into "sacred" and "profane" components, and asserts that the festival is an expression of both "order"—in the promotion of social cohesion through collective joy—and "chaos"—in the ritual competition between participating groups (1996).

within their means, for an ensemble's strong presence and their ability to maintain a high level of ambience and dancing is crucial in the context of the "ritual competition" that takes place between groups (Romero 2001: 55).

### **The Fiesta in San Agustín**

The Banda Continental de Jauja's four-day contract—starting on the *víspera* on August 28<sup>th</sup> and lasting until August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2007—at the fiesta in San Agustín de Cajas, offered a relatively diverse selection of performances, as well as a glimpse into the dynamic relationship between the musicians and their employers. In the section below, I use this event as the framework within which to describe the *banda's* role in the fiesta's various phases, including types of repertoire played, and other aspects relevant to the musicians' experiences. Where necessary, contrasting examples from other fiestas will be included to emphasize the ensemble's versatility and to bring to light some of the issues musicians face in the course of their work.

Most members of the Banda Continental reside in the province of Jauja, whose main urban center, the city of Jauja, lies approximately twenty-five miles to the north of San Agustín. A few members live in La Oroya, which is another forty-seven miles further north from Jauja. For contracts in the towns of the Mantaro Valley, many of the musicians meet in Jauja and travel together by public bus. On August 28<sup>th</sup>, the musicians began to arrive around 6 p.m., and were met by their employers at the entrance to town off the main road. There is an expectation that musicians exhibit a certain degree of professionalism, given the large sum of money spent to obtain their services; timeliness and proper dress are of importance. On one occasion when an ensemble arrived late for their engagement, the person who had contracted them verbally expressed his annoyance and declared that they would



**Figure 4.2. *Avelinos*, as performed by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/29/07; CD track 9).**

have to play later into the night to make up for it. Likewise, at another fiesta I heard some women state their opinion that the *banda* should offer a discount because they did not start playing early enough on the night of the *víspera*.

The organization that contracted the Banda Continental in San Agustín was the Sociedad de Avelinos “Nueva Generación” [New Generation *Avelinos* Society]. By enacting the dance-drama *avelinos*, members of the *sociedad* pay homage to the town’s patron saint, San Agustín [Saint Augustine], and this disposition prescribed the type of repertoire that would be called for during many of the fiesta’s ritual

stages. I am referring here of course to the specific tune that goes by the same name as the dance (described in chapter three). This music accompanied much of the group's activity and was heard repeatedly, and played by several other *bandas* also accompanying this type of *sociedad*, throughout the fiesta (see figure 4.2).

On the night of the *vispera*, male members of the *sociedad* were in *avelinos* costume—body suits decorated in a ragtag manner with colorful strips, meant to depict the tattered clothing of peasant guerilla fighters returning from the war of 1879 against Chile (Mendoza 1989: 505). The men danced in a circle in front of the ensemble as they struck up a brief set of *waynos* at the entrance to town, after which the whole squad began a long procession up the street to the main plaza, accompanied by a *marcha militar*.<sup>65</sup> Fireworks were lit at intervals all along the way, marking the official beginning of the fiesta.<sup>66</sup> These processions recur continually, as *sociedades* travel to and from the plaza, on the way to meals, invitations, and other events. The president or *mayordomo* will usually lead members of the *sociedad* and their entourage in a half-danced, half-jogged forward motion with the *banda* always following immediately behind, playing in march formation (see figure 4.3). In San Agustín, the musicians remarked that the long processions carried out several times a day between the plaza and the homes of important *sociedad* members were tiring

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<sup>65</sup> I use the term procession here for lack of a better term. It should not be confused with the processions of religious icons (Saints and Virgin figures) to and from the church.

<sup>66</sup> Evon Vogt has commented on the use of fireworks in Mayan saint's day festivals in Zinacantan, Mexico, ascribing three principal functions to these forms of "percussive sounds": 1) They mark "transitions in ritual episodes or ceremonial time," as illustrated by the burning of the largest *castillo* around midnight between the *vispera* and central day; 2) Fireworks lit at the arrival and departure of processions help delineate the ritual phases of the festival, effectively "marking out... the passage of time;" 3) Skyrockets symbolize important natural phenomena (thunder and lightning) connected with rain (1977: 234-237). At least the first two of these functions resonate strongly with fireworks usage during patronal fiestas in the Mantaro Valley.



**Figure 4.3. Members of the Sociedad de Avelinos “Nueva Generación” process down the street with the Banda Continental in march formation behind them (08/29/07).**

them out more than usual. In these circumstances, the *banda* and *Avelinos* alternated music and dancing with unaccompanied walking. It was essential, however, that the *banda* play as the crew arrived at or departed from any destination, be it someone’s home or the plaza.

Once arrived at the main plaza (which is always flanked by the church at one side), the usual practice is to continue the procession around it one or two times, an act whereby the president presents himself before the image of the saint housed at

the church and before the community in general.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, the *Avelinos* in this case halted in front of the church to greet the icon of San Agustín, a ceremony that like most others during the fiesta involved the consumption of beer. At these junctures, when the *sociedad* was involved with some sort of ritual proceedings, the *banda* interspersed playing (*waynos*, in this instance) with rest at one of the small kiosks that were set up all around the plaza. For the most part, the musicians did not integrate with *sociedad* members, tending to talk and joke amongst themselves during periods of rest and at meals. Romero ascribes the “formal connection between the musicians and their patrons” to the fact that the former are usually hired from other towns, and the latter bear a role of greater importance in the context of the fiesta (2001: 81-82).

Following the ceremony in the plaza, a procession was undertaken to a dinner hosted by all three presidents for that year’s fiesta. After dinner the entire crew headed back up to the plaza, where the nightly *toril* event was undertaken. This stage involves the lighting of fireworks from bull effigies and large wooden structures called *castillos* [castles], the materials for which were provided each night by a different *sociedad*.<sup>68</sup> The musicians told me that the predominant genre played for

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<sup>67</sup> Neira Bravo writes the following about the significance of this ritual for the *mayordomo* at the patronal fiesta in Paca: “Esto constituye como una especie de acto protocolar de presentación no solamente ante la imagen del Señor Crucificado sino también ante el pueblo...” [This constitutes the protocol by which (the *mayordomo*) presents himself not only before the image of Christ on the Cross but also before the community] (2000: 48).

<sup>68</sup> According to Romero, the *toril* event on the night of the *víspera* serves to “warm up” the townspeople for the days of festivities to come (2001: 53). Vogt’s description of *toritos* and *castillos* in Zinacanteco, Mexico, “involving explosions of pinwheels attached, respectively, to bull-like frameworks carried by a man, and to large castle-like frameworks, set up in stationary positions in the churchyards,” is almost identical to what can be observed in the Mantaro Valley (1977: 232). Cow-shaped fireworks called *vaca locas* were also lit throughout 1980 Corpus Christi celebrations in a small village in central Ecuador (Schechter 1994: 61). Schechter has traced the possible origin of *castillos* in

the *toril* was *marinera*, and I found this to be true on the occasions I was present, although *waynos* were also played.<sup>69</sup> The Banda Continental played until about 1 a.m., which seemed to be a fairly common time for *bandas* to cease playing, although the ensemble playing at the fiesta in San Jerónimo on August 16<sup>th</sup> mentioned that they had played until three in the morning. Any contract of more than one day includes accommodation for the musicians, which generally consists of spare mattresses laid out on the floor at one of the *sociedad* member's homes.

The morning of the fiesta's *día central* [the actual saint or Virgin's day] began with ceremonial procedures at the home of the president for that day, including the presentation of sashes and other paraphernalia. During these phases, which often lasted for many hours, the *banda*'s repertoire was fairly diverse. In the actual moment of presentation of an item or the making of a donation, the trumpet section, accompanied by percussion, plays a short repeated motive called a *diana* (or *viva*; see figure 4.4). There were some occasions when the steady arrival of donated beer called for continuous *dianas*, in which case the trumpet players traded off playing and resting. Ceremonial transactions were interspersed with social drinking and dancing, and for these activities the ensemble may choose pieces from many genres, although members of the *sociedad* often requested specific types of songs. For example, after playing a ballad and a medley of *cumbias*, an *Avelino* called out for a "waynito," and the *banda* obliged. The recurring *avelinos* theme was also played during this time, and it appeared that the level of festivity among *sociedad*

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Corpus Christi to the wooden "castles" used as viewing stands for processions in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England (Ibid.).

<sup>69</sup> Cárdenas Canturín comments that, on *vispera* nights in Sapallanga, the hired *bandas* "amenizan con marineras, huaynos..." [play marineras, huaynos...] (2000: 97); in Concepción the fireworks are lit "al compás de una marinera" [to the rhythm of a *marinera*] (León Gonzales 2003: 106).

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Dianas'. It is arranged in two systems. The first system includes three staves: Trumpets (top), Tarola (middle), and Bombo (bottom). The second system includes two staves: a single melodic line (top) and a combined Tarola and Bombo line (bottom). The music is written in a key with two flats and a 3/8 time signature. The Trumpets part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Tarola and Bombo parts provide a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes and rests.

**Figure 4.4.** *Dianas*, as played by the Banda Continental in San Agustín (08/30/07; CD track 18).

members was slowly rising, marked by increased enthusiasm and participation in the dancing.

For the rest of the morning a series of *invitaciones* [invitations] took place; these occur at the homes (or outside them) of *sociedad* friends and family, who show their support for the organization's role in the fiesta (and devotion to the patron saint) by donating beer or preparing a meal. As with most stages of the fiesta, *invitaciones*, also called *cerveceadas* [beer offering], involve sessions of social dancing, for which the *banda* most commonly provided a series of *waynos*, as well as *cashuas* and the *avelinos* theme.

Towards 11:00 a.m. the group began a procession up to the plaza for a general congregation of *sociedades*, *bandas*, *orquestas*, dance troupes, and the community at large. Quite a flurry of activity (and sound) ensued as three *bandas* and their sponsoring groups occupied the center of the plaza and carried out

ceremonial proceedings; *dianas* could be heard intermittently from all corners of the plaza, and in these situations performances by different *bandas* often overlapped. The *mayordomo* of another *sociedad* verbalized that there is an element of tacit competition between the *sociedades* in terms of dancing and the performance of their respective *bandas*. For the Sociedad de Avelinos “Nueva Generación”, it was necessary that their hired ensemble play the *avelinos* theme to announce their arrival at the plaza. Other pieces the Banda Continental played during this stage alternated between *waynos* and popular *cumbia* arrangements, many of which I also heard played by other *bandas* in the plaza.

A procession to lunch followed, which is an open invitation affair to all family, friends, neighbors and community members. The status of musicians can be partly measured by the fact that they are generally served before all others except actual *sociedad* members. Servers will do their utmost to fulfill musicians’ requests for seconds (and thirds), acknowledging the intensity of their daylong labor and their need for sustenance.<sup>70</sup> Additional ceremonial procedures can occur at meal times, including announcement of the next year’s president, and donations of money or cases of beer. Thus, the ensemble must be on hand to play *dianas*, as well as other pieces for dancing, which can include everything from *waynos* to arrangements of Latin genres. Tensions sometimes arose between members of the *sociedad* and the musicians as the latter attempted to balance eating with their musical obligations. If, for instance, the ensemble had not responded to a donation with a *diana*, the president might exclaim “Banda! Banda!” to get their attention. In some cases the

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<sup>70</sup> Musicians also evaluate their employers based on criteria such as the quality of meals. The following day, the musicians were quite vocal about their dissatisfaction with the food that been served.

musicians were asked to play before they had finished eating, eliciting some protests. In one characteristic exchange, someone from the *sociedad* called “otra!” [play another!], and a musician replied, “otro día” [some other day]. During periods of rest when the musicians were dispersed outside a house or in the plaza, a couple of light hits on the *bombo* or some noodling on a horn would indicate that it was time to play again, summoning the musicians back into formation.

While all meals are included in the *banda*'s contract, beer is not. Beer was often distributed throughout the day to the musicians at the discretion of the *sociedad*, the amount often becoming a contentious issue. There are mixed attitudes amongst musicians and their employers about alcohol consumption. Many of the musicians with whom I interacted enjoyed drinking beer and saw it as an important perquisite of their jobs; they voiced their discontent when at one fiesta soda was provided as refreshment instead.<sup>71</sup> I often heard *sociedad* members holler at the *banda*, “tomen para que soplen bien” [drink up so you play well]. On the other hand, an elder in one village expressed that the most sought-after quality of an ensemble is that they obey their employers and not drink too much, stating that the groups whose members don't drink play better. He then qualified that some beer was necessary for “emotion.”<sup>72</sup> As it happened, members of the ensemble performing in that village were far more restrained about drinking (possibly due to their younger average age) than other musicians I had met. I did sometimes note that the precision of a *banda*'s musical execution was sometimes reduced after a majority of the members had been

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<sup>71</sup> At one point, when a man from the sponsoring family confronted the *banda* about their lack of enthusiasm during performance, the director replied that there was no ambience and no drink.

<sup>72</sup> Gradante has remarked that, in the southern Andes of Colombia, musicians rehearsing for a midnight serenade would consume copious amounts of hard liquor in order to “*coger el tono* [acquire the appropriately romantic mood and musical intonation, of course]” (1999: 322).



drinking a lot, but, as we shall see, that is not necessarily an important criterion by which a *banda* is judged by its employers or the community. Finally, as mentioned earlier, even the Banda Continental, the majority of whose members drank alcohol, imposes fines for excessive drinking.<sup>73</sup>

In San Agustín there was a bullfight every afternoon of the fiesta. Each participating *sociedad* was responsible for paying for the bulls on a given day, and on that day their hired *banda* must play for the entire duration of the event. On the day the Sociedad de Avelinos “Nueva Generación” was sponsoring the event, the group processed up to the bull plaza (a makeshift structure holding up wooden bleachers, constructed specifically for the occasion) to a *marcha militar*. After entering the plaza, the *Avelinos*, now dressed in suits and accompanied by female family members in traditional dress, walked around the field several times throwing candy and fruits into the stands, with the *banda* in tow behind them playing *marchas* and the *avelinos* theme. When the bulls were actually in the ring, the ensemble played almost exclusively *marineras*.<sup>74</sup> Between bulls, other *sociedades* and *bandas* processed into and around the plaza, and the other ensembles assisted with musical accompaniment during the bullfight. The Sociedad de Avelinos also paraded around the plaza between bulls, to the accompaniment of *marchas*, *waynos*, and the *avelinos* theme. At one point, all four *bandas* were playing simultaneously for their respective squads, creating quite a striking din of sound.

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<sup>73</sup> According to an autobiographical sketch of the harpist César Muquinche (in Schechter 2009: 459-465), from the central highlands of Ecuador, harpists in that region were generally under intense pressure to consume alcohol during their paid engagements. While many musicians succumbed to these temptations, often to the detriment of their well-being, Muquinche (like his father before him) carved out an illustrious career as a professional musician by seeking to avoid this vice.

<sup>74</sup> During bullfights at the fiesta in San Jerónimo on August 16-17, the Banda Sinfónica Flores performed *pasodobles* in addition to *marineras*.

When all the bulls had been run, the event transitioned seamlessly into a period of general dance in the bull plaza. This was usually the point at which the participation in social dancing reached its highest level and enthusiasm was greatest (and also the point at which the effects of alcohol consumption became more noticeable). The musicians also seemed more “warmed up” by this time, displaying their entertainment skills through coordinated movements and dance steps. In order to keep the level of enjoyment up, during this stage the *banda* mostly played well-known *waynos* and other popular songs. On this occasion, the ensemble also performed pieces from different regions, such as *Carnaval de Ayacucho* and *Morenadas de Puno*. One after the other, *bandas* left the plaza behind the *sociedad* members, leaving the Filarmónica Vilca and Banda Continental to alternate sets of about ten minutes each. Around 9:30 p.m. the Sociedad de Avelinos “Nueva Generación” and the Banda Continental finally left the bull plaza and processed to dinner, playing a medley of regional *folclor* pieces, including *santiagos* and the *capitanía*. The musicians changed into their warmer jackets at this point, and after the meal there was another *toril* night with fireworks.

The second and third full days of the fiesta followed similar patterns to those described above. However, the two important events that took place on the second day were the Mass and religious procession of the saint’s image that are integral to all patron saint fiestas, and are carried out jointly by all of the participating organizations. At a fiesta with four *bandas* in attendance such as in San Agustín, each ensemble accompanied the procession with a *marcha regular* for one block around the plaza.

### Other Performance Occasions

At the fiesta in Matahuasi on August 15<sup>th</sup>, a *banda* competition was held as part of a larger dance contest (the dances themselves were accompanied by recorded music). Music and dance contests have spread throughout the Valley in recent decades, and represent the further de-contextualization of musical forms from the rituals with which they were associated, a fact that was fairly evident in Matahuasi (Romero 1990: 27). During the competition the musicians showed a set of entertainment skills not displayed in any other performance context: Here, humorous and crowd-pleasing stunts were at a premium, as the musicians hammed-it-up with exaggerated dance moves, mock strip-tease, human pyramids, and even dancing by a mascot bear. For this event the ensembles played a medley of pieces from diverse genres. The winner of the contest, the Banda San Ramón de Tarma, was selected by an applause meter, although some of the audience reacted with displeasure when the results were announced. Members of the Banda Continental admitted to being somewhat disappointed with the result, indicating that the expected sequence of the medley—an introduction, an *obra*, something typical of the region, and an open piece—was not adhered to by the other groups.<sup>75</sup>

The *cortamonte*, a tree-cutting ceremony that is more commonly associated with carnival season, was the featured event at the fiesta in Santa Rosa de Ocopa on September 2<sup>nd</sup>. In this case, the Banda Continental had been hired by a family that was independently carrying out the *cortamonte*, amidst the town's regular celebrations for their patron saint, Santa Rosa [Saint Rose]. The activity was drawn

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<sup>75</sup> At contests held within the purview of the fiesta of Saint Elizabeth in Huaylas, Ancash, *bandas* play a selection of pieces that is “as varied as possible” (1996: 330).

out through the day, beginning with the *traída de monte* [bringing of trees], when the trees are dragged to the spot beside the main plaza where they will be erected. In the afternoon the trees were decorated with balloons, blankets and plastic baskets, and then raised and secured with ropes.<sup>76</sup> During these phases the *banda*'s repertoire was quite diverse, and included *waynos*, arrangements of boleros and Latin jazz, *santiagos*, and the recurrent *cumbia* hits. There was also a point where each type of instrument group—clarinets and saxophones together, trumpets, trombones and *bajo* sections independently, all accompanied to a constant beat on the tom drum—traded off playing what they said was the traditional music for tree raising. It seems plausible that by breaking into smaller numbers of wind instruments with one drum, the *banda* was again attempting to imitate the *wakrapuku* and *tinya* ensemble that has traditionally played during this stage of the ritual (Asociación Cultural PROM Jauja 2000: 23). Once these phases were completed, the family processed once around the plaza and began the tree-cutting ceremony. At this juncture, elegantly dressed couples danced around the trees, taking turns at striking the tree with an axe; whoever delivers the final blow and topples the tree becomes a *madrina* or *padrino* for the following year's ceremony (meaning they must procure a tree). Because it sometimes took quite a while for the tree to fall over, this stage required greater than usual endurance from the *banda*, which played long sets of

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<sup>76</sup> Some scholars have noted that this ritual, which can go by the name *tumbamonte* or *yunsa* and is celebrated in different regions of the Peruvian Andes, may have origins in the European maypole dances (den Otter 1985: 260; Maxwell, Jr. 1956: 59). There also appears to be some relation between this custom and one noted by Schechter at Corpus Christi (and its Octave) in highland Ecuador. The *castillos* erected during Corpus festivities bore “foodstuffs, handkerchiefs and cigarettes,” and these were distributed to the community by men who had climbed the greased structures (1994: 64; and 1998: 421). Similarly, at the patronal fiesta in Chongos Bajo in 2004, youngsters climbed a pole affixed with bottles of alcohol and fruits, distributing what they could to family members (García Miranda and Tacuri Aragón 2006: 66).

*mulizas* and *waynos* (as is the custom; *Ibid.*) for the cutting of eight trees. When the trees finally came down, the ensemble switched to a *capitanía* as the crowd of onlookers caught the tree and raced to collect its ornaments.

The fiesta I attended in Chuclú from August 24<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> 2007 offered two additional occasions for performance. It is first worth mentioning that the principal repertoire in Chuclú, much like the *avelinos* was in San Agustín, was the *santiago*. This genre accompanied most of the processions, and was often played for dancing at people's homes. In contrast to the music for the *avelinos* dance, there are many different *santiago* songs, but the musicians isolated one that they played repeatedly during the fiesta as representing the de facto *himno* [anthem] of the town. In the mornings, the sponsoring *institución* made visits to the town cemetery, in a ceremony that involved cleaning the graves of family members and adorning them with flowers (and of course, drinking beer). As the assembly passed through the cemetery gates, the *banda* played a march, and then other pieces at spaced intervals to some dancing. These included *waynos*, the *baile de la jija*, and on the second day the *pachahuara*. One afternoon, soccer and volleyball matches took place between *instituciones*. *Marineras* were predominant during these events, the rationale given to me by the musicians being that these games are associated with bullfighting under a broad category of sporting events.

Finally, while the few examples I offer below can in no way represent the full gamut of musical organization and expression at the numerous fiestas in the Mantaro Valley, some observations on how the musical accompaniment at fiestas may be shared between *bandas* and other types of ensembles will help contextualize the *banda's* role. At many of the fiestas I attended, *bandas* and *orquestas típicas*

played on the same days and in the same communal spaces of the central plaza. In other instances, such as in Chuclú, the *orquestas* took over as principal music providers for the *tunantada* dances taking place on the days after the *bandas* had completed their contracts. In Chuclú, as well, an ensemble made up principally of electronic instruments and a vocalist shared the entertainment responsibilities one night with the two *bandas*. Similarly, Romero has documented the performance of *chicha* groups for a nighttime social ball at a communal festival in the town of Paccha (2001: 141). During the Masses, small ensembles featuring vocalists, and in one case a mariachi group, played religious songs in a light pop style inside the church.

### **Performance Style and Musical Aesthetics**

In chapter two I demonstrated how a group's level of establishment, musical versatility, status as an "international" ensemble, and to a lesser degree, musical skill, are all factors that contribute to its reputation. Here I investigate the different ways in which *bandas* are evaluated musically, vis-à-vis their function at communal fiestas. As a brass musician with a fair amount of experience in North American wind bands, I can state with some confidence that Peruvian brass bands sound different than the former, and not only because the musical styles they play are different. More importantly, Peruvian brass bands are "heard" differently by their audiences than similar ensembles in North America (Romero 1999b). William Gradante has articulated this cross-cultural perspective nicely for the municipal band's role during Semana Santa in Silvia, Colombia:

While the discriminating listener may question the musical skills exhibited by the members of the municipal band, the success with which they performed the *function* for which they were contracted—'giving the procession and the participants the proper tone of somber respectfulness and solemnity'—remains indisputable (1999: 310; my emphasis).

The intonation and other elements of Mantaro Valley *banda* performance style may be striking to the unfamiliar listener, and I believe these factors are directly linked to their function at fiestas (which is usually quite different from the one described by Gradante) and the aesthetic implications that are derived from this function. It should be made clear that most *banda* musicians are aware of intonation issues. On several occasions I saw musicians from different ensembles tuning to an electric tuner, and some players explained that good intonation was difficult to achieve due to the poor quality of domestic instruments. Rather extreme measures such as shaving metal from the leadpipe (tube into which the mouthpiece is inserted) or mouthpiece sometimes had to be undertaken to bring an instrument's intonation into an adequate range. That being said, there can be little doubt that very long days of playing and the effects of alcohol have an effect on overall group intonation. Moreover, musicians admitted that *afinación* [tuning] was less important for playing *folclor* because they play at such a loud volume (which itself affects intonation). Slightly different levels of intonation among an ensemble's instruments contribute to a performance style that hints at heterophony<sup>77</sup>, approaching what Turino has termed "wide" or "dense unison" (1993: 56; 1989: 13). The slight overlaps in attack (especially in the countermelodies) and frequent use of grace notes add to this effect, which is particularly marked in regional genres where all winds carry the melody, and of course varies from ensemble to ensemble.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the fact that

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<sup>77</sup> John Cohen has written that heterophony is an important feature of rural Indigenous music, but becomes less pronounced in *mestizo* musical expressions (1991a). Romero notes that this texture occurs in *orquesta típica* performance (2001: 159).

<sup>78</sup> Turino appears to use the terms "wide" and "dense" unison to describe the variance in tuning and parallel harmony in Aymara wind ensembles (1993: 56; 1989: 13). Stobart also interprets "wide

instrumentalists in a given section constantly alternate playing with resting, not necessarily in a coordinated fashion, produces a constantly shifting texture.<sup>79</sup> Further reducing the sharpness of the *banda*'s sound are the un-dampened *platillos* and *bombo*, and the constant rolls that make up the *tarola* patterns, which, when performed on two of these instruments simultaneously, have the effect of a nearly continuous roll, with hard-to-discern rhythmic articulations. Finally, the reverberation that is typical of many outdoor performance spaces, and which is then recreated on studio recordings, puts an added gloss on the overall sound. *Banda* performance style, then, is characterized by the loud volume of a large, brass-based ensemble, a "wide unison" melodic texture and intonation, and a general density of sound. These characteristics would seem to correspond to the preferred sound qualities expected of the *orquesta típica* (Romero 1999b), and must be understood within the context of the soundscape of the public fiesta.

The element of competition between different ensembles at fiestas influences the volume considerations of individual ensembles, and contributes to the mix of sounds created by simultaneously performing groups. For many participants, the level of "sonic density" achieved is the measure by which a fiesta is considered successful (Ritter 2006: 113). In this respect, Romero credits the "higher volume and

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unison" to mean "discrepancies" in tuning (2006: 193). However, I find that both terms also capture the expanded unison texture created by differences in articulation.

<sup>79</sup> This could be viewed as a "collective" approach to producing the melody. Youdale suggests that the antiphonic composition style for south Andean *banda* music, which allows one section to rest while the other plays, is an outgrowth of panpipe hocketing style, in which at least two instruments are required to produce a melody (1996: 341-342). According to Albó and Preiswerk, this was a compositional technique that was specifically developed to increase brass musicians' endurance when accompanying long processions (1986: 72). While the trading off of the melody is not "written" into the music for most regional genres in the Mantaro Valley, this division of labor does appear to be oriented towards extending the ensemble's overall endurance.



brilliant color” sought for competition among musical groups in the Mantaro Valley as a principal factor in the replacement of Indigenous wind instruments by saxophones and clarinets (1990: 23). Needless to say, brass instruments—not to mention the *banda*’s relatively large percussion section—meet these types of volume and sound requisites. In other words, “the pragmatic importance of volume has contributed to the popularity of brass bands” (Turino 1993: 275). I observed this type of heightened musical intensity for informal competition at fiestas where more than one *banda* had been hired. When ensembles came into close proximity to one another as the fiesta reached peak moments of celebration, the volume of each group increased and many instrumentalists played in their higher ranges. The pounding *bombo* beats of different *banda*’s might begin to cross each other, and a group’s melody might meld together with another’s, but sponsors and fiesta participants usually responded to these events with enthusiastic dancing—after all, there is tacit competition among the various *asociaciones* for how well they dance, too. When discussing one such encounter between two *bandas* after the fact, musicians from one of the ensembles called the sonic effect created by the two trying to outdo each other *bullá* [literally, racket]. They insisted the other group provoked the confrontation by trying to be flashy, while they themselves had been minding their own business. The term *bullá* was used in another sense when a *mayordomo* asked the musicians I was with (who were eating at the time) to play, so that it would create *bullá*. In this instance the sponsor was not calling for loud music for competition, but for music to fill the gap in sound when the group was not playing. As mentioned, gapless sound is expected from the overlap of different ensembles performing at a fiesta, and is an aesthetic preference that dictates the dense performance style of individual ensembles.

We have seen how one of the *banda*'s functions at the patron saint fiesta is to provide the appropriate music for its different phases. But how do the ensemble's customers, the fiesta sponsors, evaluate the successful performance of this function? I found that the most consistent criterion verbalized by non-musicians centered on the ability of the ensemble to keep spirits up by "making" the sponsor and his or her entourage dance. Along these lines, comments such as "sin banda no hay baile" [without the *banda* there is no dancing], "si no tocan nos vamos a dormir" [If you don't play we'll fall asleep], and "si no hay banda, es muerta la fiesta" [if there is no *banda*, the fiesta is lifeless], indicated the importance of the ensemble from the standpoint of its hypothetical absence. Likewise, it was after sessions of particularly joyful dancing by many family members and friends that a *mayordomo* offered the praise: "¡Buena banda! ¡Buenos músicos!" [Great *banda*! Great musicians!]. I do not think it is a coincidence that the word used in promotional materials to publicize which ensemble is performing at a given event is "amenizar," which translates literally to "liven up," or "make more enjoyable" (e.g. "Ameniza la Banda Continental").

The coordinated dance steps one sometimes see *bandas* perform—usually a simple side-to-side movement—while playing may be related to the function outlined here. One director acknowledged that this was the *espectáculo* [show] component of their performances, and I have heard that it is a recent development in *banda* performance.<sup>80</sup> This is a performance tool that the ensemble can use at its

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<sup>80</sup> Albó and Preiswerk similarly note that showy movements and stunts involving instruments were recent innovations in Bolivian *banda* performances (1986: 73). Montoya suggests that the choreography of salsa ensembles seen on television has influenced the group dance moves adopted by *chicha* groups (Montoya 1996: 487).

discretion, as I observed during an incident at one fiesta, when the sponsor motioned for the ensemble to perform its dance moves, as he seemed desperate to liven the atmosphere. In this case some of the musicians responded with mock, over-exaggerated dancing, as the ensemble's members apparently did not feel that it was the right moment to intensify the performance in this manner.

Musicianship as such appeared to be less of a concern for fiesta sponsors, but was the subject of discussion among musicians and interested community members. *Banda* members were keen to hear my live recordings and point out mistakes they had made, and often assessed their own performances, and those of other groups, while socializing on days off (a trombonist I met in Lima brought his own digital recorder to fiestas to record performances and track his progress). Discovering that I was conducting research specifically on *bandas*, townspeople in one locale proceeded to rate the *banda* performing at the fiesta there on the basis of musical finesse. As such, while I agree that musical quality may not be the "defining criterion" in performances at ritual events (Booth 2005: 6), it is part of the complex of sound aesthetics for *banda* performances at fiestas in the Mantaro Valley.

The value placed on reputation, volume, sonically dense performance practice, the ability of a *banda* to make their customers dance, and in some measure musicianship, is all related to the fact that the ensemble is supposed to elevate the prestige of the fiesta sponsor that has hired them. This function was communicated during my fieldwork in the Mantaro Valley and has been widely observed in research throughout the Peruvian Andes. The growing preference for a large and powerful *banda*, to the detriment of smaller and more "traditional" ensembles, is conflated with symbolism that references social class and modernity. Cánepa Koch captures many

of the issues at play in her explanation about why the *banda* has replaced the traditional *banda de guerra* as accompanist for the *qhapaq ch'unchu* dance in Paucartambo:

Por un lado, contratar una banda de metales, que cuenta con una mayor cantidad de integrantes, que además provienen de los pueblos y no de las comunidades campesinas como es el caso de los músicos de la *banda de guerra*, y que “hace más bulla”, implica una inversión mayor en dinero, y eleva el prestigio de la comparsa. Las bandas de metal... son conjuntos foráneos en esta región, y por lo tanto, modernos y de gran prestigio (1996: 463).<sup>81</sup>

[On one hand, hiring brass bands, which feature a higher number of musicians, come from the larger towns—not from peasant villages as is the case with the *banda de guerra* musicians—and play more loudly, involves a bigger monetary investment, and raises the prestige of the dance troupe. Brass bands... are foreign ensembles to this region, and, as such, modern and of high prestige.]

The higher expenditure for a large *banda* was a visible sign of social class at the fiesta of Saint Elizabeth in Huaylas, where the *caja* and *roncadora* [duct flutes] players participating with rural districts had to compete with *bandas* hired by sponsors from the better-off neighborhoods (den Otter 1996: 329). While contracting *bandas* was formerly the province of only the highest fiesta sponsors (Mendoza 1993: 108), it has become indispensable for almost all fiesta sponsors in southern Ancash (Robles 2000: 280-281), and is one of two equally acceptable options in the Mantaro Valley.<sup>82</sup> In this region, the *banda* does not stand out as a marker of high

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<sup>81</sup> See also Ráez Retamozo (1993: 290) for an example of how the higher prestige bestowed on the sponsor by the *banda* circumscribes the use of traditional ensembles in Colca, Arequipa.

<sup>82</sup> While the *banda de músicos* and the *orquesta típica* are certainly differentiated by their association with distinct performance contexts, genres, dance-dramas, etc., it seems to me that there is a degree of flexibility in the choice to hire one or the other for patron saint fiestas, and that this choice may be influenced by tradition at the local (town or village) level. One person who was close to the *mayordomo* in San Jerónimo said it was a matter of preference: “Algunos prefieren banda y otros orquestas” [Some prefer *bandas* and others *orquestas*]. Cárdenas describes several situations at the

social status in comparison to smaller ensembles (as I suspect must have been the case in the past). Rather, along with the factors discussed above, the sponsor's prestige is dependent on the size, power, and versatility (markers of modernity) of the *banda* as compared to other ensembles of the same type (see a similar assessment in Ráez Retamozo 2002: 49). Thus, when the *mayordomo* in Ocopa asked the Banda Continental to shift their orientation so as to project onto the plaza, and requested that they play "música bien movida" [very lively music] to show the community "quien es la Continental" [what the Continental is made of], he also intended for the community to know who had hired this large, loud ensemble. For these reasons, the decision of which *banda* to hire is a crucial one for fiesta sponsors, as attested to by the fact that the *mayordomos* (and their family) from Chuclú made a special trip to the busy fiesta in Orcotuna to observe the many ensembles playing there, as they were seeking the very "best" for next year's fiesta.

### Conclusion

In describing how *bandas* in the Mantaro Valley operate as democratically structured small businesses, providing their services for the region's busy fiesta system, I hope to have depicted a dynamic and modern professional ensemble. Working out of small offices in the Valley's major urban centers, these groups conduct business through official contracts, and aim to market themselves through radio play and recordings distributed on the latest digital technology. The ensemble's currency in the twenty-first century is reflected in its repertoire, an important component of which draws on the newest musical fashions and foreign styles. *Banda*

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fiesta of the Virgen de Cocharcas in Sapallanga in which the music can be played by either ensemble (2000: 101).

musicians strive to demonstrate their cosmopolitanism by embracing the widest possible range of musical influences, and through more subtle associations in the imagery that appears in their promotional materials. But as we saw, the ensemble's extensive repertoire covers the entire range of a musico-historical continuum that spans from musics with pre-Hispanic connotations, through the musical products of colonial syncretism, to the modern/foreign. Thus, my discussion of a *banda*'s performance at a patron saint fiesta casts it perhaps in a more traditional light: the group performed music for ritualized stages of a centuries-old festival, and even if some of that music is now expected to be from "modern" and "foreign" sources, the central Andean *wayno* continues to occupy a central position.

We come back, then, to the idea, that, in the Mantaro Valley, the popularity of the *banda* is a response to modern and outside influences that is rooted in regional traditions. The *banda* has adopted music that was previously the territory of ensembles with a heritage that dates back to colonial times—ensembles featuring the *wakrapuku* for the *capitanía*, *avelinos*, and *traída de monte*; the violin and harp ensemble for the *corcovados*; and three violins and drums for the *chacranegros*. This is surely a sign of musical change and may spell the extinction of some of these ensembles. In fact, the *banda* is now seen as the "traditional" ensemble for many customs in the Valley, such as the *cortamonte* and *pachahuara*, and is the sole instrumental group responsible for performing at important stages of the patronal fiesta—*marineras* for bullfights; *marchas regulares* for the religious procession; *cumbias* for social dancing. Nevertheless, *bandas* are contributing to the renewal of regional *folclor* by continuing to compose and perform these musics, and regularly including them on their recordings.

The *banda* is not a bastion of tradition, but neither is it the portent of alienating change. Rather, it exemplifies the complementarity of tradition and modernity that characterizes central Andean society. This seemingly incongruous relationship can be appreciated by the many contradictions one notes in the ensemble: On one hand there is the recognition of an ensemble's time-depth; the oldest (most traditional?) *bandas* in the region were consistently rated as most famous. On the other is the status achieved by traveling abroad and becoming an "international" ensemble. On one hand are the performance of *capitanía* and the centrality of *folclor* to the repertoire and compositional activities; on the other is the musicians' own drives for adopting rock and jazz. On one hand is a unison rendering of the melody that is thoroughly tied to the "traditional" Wanka style; on the other is the increased size of the ensemble, and "new" percussion instruments.

Given that the communal fiesta seems to have influenced almost every aspect of the *banda's* development—its size, organizational structure, performance style, repertoire—it is probable that changes in the goals and expectations of this event will dictate changes at the musical level and influence the ensemble's future role in the Valley's musical culture. In my field notes, I made several remarks about how performances of rock and Latin arrangements—with the exception of the popular (and very danceable) *cumbias* by Peruvian artists—did not elicit dancing by even one couple. If we consider that one of the *banda's* principal functions at a fiesta is to move its audience to dance, we might predict that, unless these genres take on a specific ritual function in one of the fiesta's ceremonial stages, as the march and *marinera* did many decades ago, they will come and go with the changing global

trends of popular music. Meanwhile, the part of the repertoire that most successfully inspires people to dance shows a slower pace of change:

Pero a nivel de lo que nosotros cultivamos mayormente es el folclor del centro; el wayno, la muliza, el huaylas, el santiago. Esos son los primordiales que mantenemos (César Aquino, Interview 08/15/07).

[But as far as what we cultivate it is mainly the *folclor* of the central highlands; the *wayno*, the *muliza*, the *huaylas*, the *santiago*. Those are the fundamental styles we preserve.]

And if some new musical form from beyond the Valley suits the sensibilities of its people and stirs them to move, it will not be long before it is arranged for the *banda de músicos*, whose brass, woodwinds, and percussion will sound it vigorously in the main plazas of the region's towns.



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