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*La Música Da Vida a Vida:*

Transverse Flute Music of Otavalo, Ecuador

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Ethnomusicology

by

Jessie Marie Vallejo

2014

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2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

*La Música Da Vida a Vida:*

Transverse Flute Music of Otavalo, Ecuador

by

Jessie Marie Vallejo

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Tara Browner, Co-Chair

Professor Anthony Seeger, Co-Chair

This dissertation introduces an Andean transverse flute tradition of northern Ecuador that has been routinely overlooked throughout a long history of scholarship published on the Otavalan region and its Kichwa-speaking inhabitants. Ethnographic data was collected through a variety of methods over the course of eight cumulative months of fieldwork in Ecuador, as well as an additional three and a half years during which I co-produced an album with flute masters from the Hatun Kotama Cultural Center and Smithsonian Folkways, consulted in the development of a living museum exhibit for the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, and maintained regular contact with my host family and Otavalan friends via email, social media, and telecommunications.

Although some people have dismissed the tradition as trivial or melancholic, flutists emphasize that *flauta* music performs a central role in giving life to life and maintaining a cosmic balance. In order to examine how this is achieved, I base the theoretical approach of the dissertation on three central concepts. The first is the idea that relationships of all kinds are sung into being through musical performance, which Ellen Basso develops in her work with the Kalopalo of lowland South America (1981:288). In particular, I examine how these relationships between humans, their environment, and spiritual world are gendered. In doing so, I apply Kotama local scholar and *yachak* (one who knows) Katsa Cachiguango's concept of the *pariverso* (the "pair-verse" instead of "universe," describing the more common term *yanantin* in Andean studies) as well as Otavalan scholar Luz María De la Torre's theory of a distinct Kichwa sense of gender, which is dynamic and exists on a flexible spectrum (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010; De la Torre 2010). These three ideas inform my analysis of who plays the transverse flute and why (Chapter 3), the construction of the flutes and gendering of material culture (Chapter 4), and the gendering of sound and Kichwa musical aesthetics (Chapter 5). Finally, I consider how the contemporary revitalization efforts of *flauta* music, led by the Hatun Kotama Cultural Center and flute ensemble, give life to the Kichwa language and Kichwa cultural institutions (Chapter 6).

The dissertation of Jessie Marie Vallejo is approved.

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I take full responsibility for any errors in this dissertation.



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- 2009 "I Listened and It Made Me Cultured: Parodies of Andean Music in *South Park*/Escuché y Me Hizo Sentir Culturado: Parodías de Música Andina en *South Park*." Society for Ethnomusicology 54th Annual Conference, November 21, Mexico City, Mexico.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The first time I heard or saw the Otavalan transverse flute, or *flauta*, was during my initial trip to Ecuador in 2010.<sup>1</sup> My plane arrived in Quito during the evening of June 28th. Washington Villamarín, the director of the language institute where I was going to be taking Kichwa (Quichua, a language related to Quechua) classes, picked me up from the airport and drove me to Otavalo, completing the last leg of my twenty-hour journey. As we drove along the winding Pan-American Highway, I strained my eyes to catch a glimpse of the majestic Andes Mountains and deep valleys that were hidden in darkness and only outlined by the full moon's soft light.

Once I had been introduced to my host family and left my belongings in the room where I would stay, Washington, his son, and my Kichwa teacher Patricio invited me out to celebrate the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice festival by dancing at a few of the neighbors' homes, where we were served potatoes, corn (*muti*, Kichwa), and drink. Although I was expecting to hear *sanjuanitos*, the music I originally intended to study for the dissertation, I only heard unfamiliar tunes played by transverse flutes (*flautas*, Spanish) and harmonicas.<sup>2</sup> After we returned home, Patricio lent me a flute and tried to teach me a song (*tunu*, K.), though I struggled to keep track of the finger patterns. Shrugging off my repeated mistakes, he casually mentioned

---

<sup>1</sup> Besides *flauta* and *gaita* or *gayta*, some of the other terms used to identify this instrument are based on the technique of how it is held (transverse flute, cross flute, side-blown flute, *flauta traversa*, *flauta travesera*, *flauta traversera*, *flauta transversa*, *flauta horizontal*), the material it is made out of (*flauta de carrizo*, *flauta de zuro*, *sukus pinkullu*, *sukus takina muku*, *muku*), or how the flutes are performed (*flautas gemelas*, twin flutes, *flauta de San Juan*, *flauta de San Pedro*). Occasionally ethnomusicologists, such as Thomas Turino and Ketty Wong, have used the term *pitu* for a transverse cane flute with six finger holes (Turino 1993:292; Wong 2007:218). Most of the musicians I met in Otavalo preferred the term *flauta*, so unless quoting another source, I will refer to the tradition and the instrument as simply *flauta*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanjuanitos* are a type of indigenous music typically played by string instruments, pan-Andean wind instruments, and percussion instruments. See Chapter 5 for a more detailed description and comparison of *flauta* music and *sanjuanitos*.

that there was a flute school his father and brothers helped direct on Sunday afternoons. "Since you're a musician, perhaps it would interest you," he suggested. "It's just a little thing that we do here."

I began attending Hatun Kotama's flute classes out of curiosity about the instrument and its music; however, my initial objective for joining was to find a fun way to practice my Kichwa language skills and make some friends in the process. As the weeks passed, the flutes increasingly fascinated me. By the end of my two months there, I was inspired to shift my topic and focus on this tradition.

Otavalo is the name both of a canton (*cantón*, Sp.) and of a town in Imbabura province that rests at an altitude of approximately 8,385 feet (2,556 meters) above sea level (see Figure 1.1 for a map of Ecuador indicating the location of Otavalo).<sup>3</sup> Historically, Otavalo has been one of the principal indigenous settlements in the northern Ecuadorian sierra due to nearby San Pablo Lake (*Imbakucha*, K.) and the favorable agricultural conditions supported by fertile volcanic lands and moderate growing temperatures.<sup>4</sup> The town is located along the historic routes connecting southern Colombia, Ibarra (believed to be a possible birthplace of Atahualpa, one of the last members of the Incan royal family), Quito, and points south in the Incan Empire. Previously, the Incan royal route, or *kapak ñan*, passed along the eastern side of present-day Otavalo; today, Pan-American Highway 35 flanks the southern and western edges of downtown.

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<sup>3</sup> There are 226 *cantones* in Ecuador. A *cantón* is a second-level subdivision of a province, similar to counties in the United States of America. Otavalo is one of six *cantones* in Imbabura province; the other five are Atuntaqui (Antonio Ante), Cotacachi, Ibarra (the provincial capital), Pimampiro, and San Miguel de Urcoquí. The population of Otavalo *cantón* is 104,874 people, and the town's population is 44,536 (INEC 2010; Gobierno 2013).

<sup>4</sup> The old Kichwa name for San Pablo Lake is *Imbakucha*, which means "Lake of the Imba fish." The once prevalent *imba* fish (also called *preñadilla*, or *Pimelodus cyclopus*) no longer exists in the lake and is an endangered species.



Figure 1.1: A map of South America and mainland Ecuador indicating the locations of Otavalo, Cotacachi, Ibarra, and Quito.<sup>5</sup>

Otavalo's relative proximity to the country's capital has made it a popular tourist stop for those who venture north from Quito in search of breath-taking natural landscapes and encounters with some of Ecuador's indigenous peoples. The *Otavaleños*, or indigenous people of Otavalo (also called *Pueblo Kichwa-Otavalo*, the Kichwa-Otavalo Nation), are renowned for their musical abilities and artisan crafts sold at local indigenous markets.<sup>6</sup> They are also the main

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<sup>5</sup> The Galapagos Islands, which constitute an Ecuadorian province and are located in the Pacific Ocean to the west of mainland South America, are not depicted.

<sup>6</sup> Historically, there have been large-scale migrations of people from the region to other parts of South America, especially during the times of forced migrations imposed by the Incan Empire. Today, there are also many immigrant communities in countries across Latin America, the U.S., Canada, Europe, and Asia. For more about Otavalan and Andean immigrant communities and migration trends, see Atienza de Frutos (2009), Colleredo-Mansfeld (2008), D'Amico (2011), FLACSO and UNFPA (2008), Jokisch and

ethnic group in the nearby Cotacachi canton, and there are some traditional Otavaleño communities near the provincial borders of Imbabura and Pichincha, which pertain to the municipal government of San José de Minas in Pichincha. Many Otavaleños refer to themselves in Kichwa as Runakuna (*runa* - human being; *kuna* - pluralizing suffix), though it is often used interchangeably with the other terms above.

According to UNESCO's Endangered Languages Atlas, there are approximately 50,000 Kichwa (Quichua) speakers in the northern region of Ecuador and Imbabura province. UNESCO estimates that there are around 563,000 Kichwa speakers across the country, and the organization lists the language as definitely endangered (UNESCO 2014).<sup>7</sup> Bilingual education is offered in many schools throughout the nation; however, even in the elementary school that serves children of Kotama village – who often begin kindergarten as primarily Kichwa speakers – Kichwa education is limited to approximately one hour a day, at most. My understanding of Kichwa language instruction in schools is that the curriculum is based on short vocabulary exercises, basic grammar, and short stories, which are compiled in a government issued workbook.<sup>8</sup> Essentially, the approach used for Kichwa instruction in Ecuadorian public schools mimics that of foreign language instruction and does not offer any type of immersion experience for native speakers. Critical thinking, rationalization, and course subjects like math and science, were

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Kyle (2008), Kyle (1999; 2000), Meisch (1997; 2002), Torres and Carrasco (2008), Turino (1993), Wong (2007). For a satirical and humorous commentary on the mass migrations of Otavaleños and other South American musicians, see Parker and Stone (2008).

<sup>7</sup> Based on my observations, people of the younger generations, approximately mid-thirties and younger, had little trouble reading and writing in Spanish or Kichwa. People I met who were about 40 years old or older tended to have trouble reading Kichwa, especially if the newer unified spellings were used, even if they spoke it fluently. Members of the older generation, starting around the age of 60 and older, were not as literate and several of my informants signed their names by stamping their thumbprint or copying an already written example of their name. They were also more comfortable speaking in Kichwa than in Spanish.

<sup>8</sup> My observations are based on having looked over the textbooks with Patricio Maldonado's nieces and nephews, who I occasionally helped with schoolwork at home. I also noticed that typos in these textbooks were common.

taught exclusively in Spanish. Over the last three years, I have observed a noticeable shift in children preferring to speak in Spanish, or appearing to completely forget or shy away from speaking Kichwa, once they have entered grade school.

Kotama is a rural village where most of the residents practice subsistence farming and earn a living as wage laborers or artisans who weave products, such as small bracelets. Due to the pronounced agricultural activity practiced by Kotama residents, the community could be considered what Andrés Guerrero and David Kyle refer to as farmer-artisan (*agricultores-artesanos*, Sp.), as opposed to an artisan-farmer (*artesanos-agricultores*, Sp.) community like nearby Peguche (1991a; 2000). In part, this is an extension of historical labor trends in Otavalo. People from villages like Kotama were often employed as *hacienda* laborers, working for wealthy white or *mestizo* landowners. Consequently, there has been a stronger residual Catholic influence, or interaction between Kichwa and Catholic practices, in farmer-artisan communities because of the Catholic Church's control over land resources throughout the colonial period and most of the twentieth century (see also Chapter 6).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> As a result of the missionizing techniques employed by the Catholic Church, many Kichwa religious practices and cultural elements have been able to survive under the guise of Catholicism or coexist following adaptations of some kind. I observed that some of my contacts and host family members in Kotama were nominally Catholic and would dedicate a small section of wallspace for hanging images of the Virgin of Mary and place candles near her image, as well as faithfully participate in some Catholic traditions, such as baptisms and confirmations. Many of them, however, were strong proponents of the Kichwa language and Kichwa practices, like *flauta* music. Furthermore, they tended to hold general spiritual beliefs that appeared to be of stronger relationship to traditional Kichwa cosmovision than Catholic teachings, such as those related to dreams, water sprites (*serenos*, Sp.), and other extraordinary beings that dwell in the local landscape. I had limited experience with shamans (*yachakkuna*, K.), who seem to be predominantly – though not exclusively – male, but it is my understanding they work independently from the church and mix traditional Kichwa and Catholic elements as they see fit in their practice. When I was cured for *mal aire* (bad air or wind, Sp.) following a mysterious varicella-like rash, I witnessed how eggs, stones, amulets that, to me, looked like Catholic saint figurines and plastic action figure toys, were rubbed over my body in a similar fashion to how guinea pigs are used in Kichwa diagnostic and curing rituals (for example, see Sandweiss and Wing 1997).

## Literature Review

During the twentieth century, several volumes were written specifically about musical instruments and sound objects in lowland and highland South American indigenous societies. Most of these monographs about instruments utilize the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system and divide their chapters by aerophones (sound activated by breath or air, e.g. flutes), idiophones (sound activated by movement of instrument material itself, e.g. rattles), membranophones (sound activated by vibration of a membrane, e.g. drums), and chordophones (sound activated by movement of strings, e.g. violin). As demonstrated by the literature, aerophones and idiophones are the most commonly used musical instrument types in South America.

One of the seminal works about South American indigenous musical instruments is Izikowitz' monograph *Musical and Other Sound Instruments of the South American Indians*. Though his work has been criticized for making vague assertions and statements that need correcting, Izikowitz's book has continued to be an important reference for many scholars due to its technical descriptions of a large number of instruments (Herzog 1940). In regard to transverse flutes, Izikowitz makes the assumption that all six-holed, side-blown flutes are definitely post-Columbian. Citing Nordenskiöld and Sachs, he claims that transverse flutes are all influenced by European flutes and most likely popularized during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, since they are rarely found in ancient graves in Peru (1935:298-9). In *La Música de los Incas / The Music of the Incas*, another frequently cited monograph about primarily highland South American musical instruments, Raoul and Marguerite D'Harcourt also make the assumption that transverse flutes were most likely introduced by Europeans or highly influenced by foreign traditions ([1925] 1990:65). Stevenson, however, contradicts these assumptions. He writes of transverse flutes coming into vogue in Peru during the Chimú period just prior to the arrival of the Incas (ca.



1300-1470 AD), and he draws the conclusion that pre-conquest flutes could have developed from having three finger holes to five and six holes (1968:256, 272).

Two other important South American musical instrument monographs that relate to my study are those by Guillermo Abadía Morales and Carlos Alberto Coba Andrade. Abadía Morales was a Colombian linguist and anthropologist who wrote several works about Colombian music and folkloric traditions. The focus of Abadía Morales' books *Instrumentos de la Música Folklórica de Colombia* and *Instrumentos Musicales: Folklore Colombiano* is music of contemporary indigenous and *mestizo* (mixed indigenous and European heritage) populations. He notes that transverse flutes are very common in indigenous tribes in Colombia (1981:12-13; 1991:46). Some of the examples in this book are of musical traditions pertaining to Chibchan-speaking people. This is relevant to my research because it is believed by some scholars that the Caras, one of the ethnic predecessors of the Otavalan Runakuna, were Chibcha-speaking and originally migrated to northern Ecuador from Colombia.<sup>10</sup>

Ecuadorian ethnomusicologist Coba Andrade's two-volume monograph on musical instruments specifically covers those that are popular within Ecuador's borders (1981 and 1992). In the aerophones chapter, he includes fifteen pages about transverse flutes, most of which is dedicated to the physical descriptions of the flute that this dissertation is concerned with (1992:582-597). Along with Abadía Morales and Coba Andrade, Dale Olsen has also found evidence of the popularity of transverse flutes in the northern Andes and Colombia, though these were likely unknown or unavailable during the 1930s and the time of Izikowitz's and the D'Harcourts' research (2002:134-5).

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<sup>10</sup> For example, see Buitrón (n.d.:11), Murra (1963:792), Salomon (1987:69), and San Félix (1988a:110, 113). See also Kyle (2000:115-117), who explains some of the conflicting views of Otavalan origins that have yet to be resolved.

One of the goals of this dissertation is to connect regional focuses of Amerindian studies. Though the tradition I am concerned with is based in the Ecuadorian Andes, I will be drawing connections with the literature of lowland South American and other neighboring Andean musical traditions, especially those in which ritual flute music is common. A comparative approach is important for this study because it is well known that the Runakuna, and people of South America in general, traded, migrated, and interacted with other groups of people before and after encounters with the Inca and Spanish. These comparisons will not be used to search for or argue about origins or universals; rather, I will attempt to provide a broader context of musical meaning in Amerindian life that will inform my discussion of the Otavalan flute tradition. Below are some of the thematic connections I have found between my research and literature about other American indigenous musical traditions.

Concepts of complementary duality are embodied by many of the Amerindian musical systems and practices covered in the literature.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally, this is expressed by the separation of musical lines into two complementary countermelodies that may be played on similar or identical instruments. When performed by duos of like-instruments, each musician plays one complementary musical line. In the case of trios, it is typical for one instrumentalist to perform the lead melody and two others to provide counter melodies by playing a supporting line together, such as with the Yagua *wawitihó*, *yurihó*, and *sipató* duct flutes (Chaumeil 2011), Wauja *yaku'i* flutes (Menezes Bastos 2011), Wakuénai *máwi* flutes (Hill 2011), Piaroa *Daa* flutes (Mansutti 2011), and Peruvian transverse *pitu* flutes (Bellenger 2007).

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<sup>11</sup> Though many anthropologists speak of dualities and complementary pairs in indigenous cosmologies, it is important to note that these are not as simple as just a binary division. For discussions and examples of how gender is conceived of in degrees of these binary relationships, see De la Torre Amaguaña (2010) and Stobart (1996a). See also Baumann's article for an example of how this is manifest in musical instrument constructions (1996:16-17).

The flutes themselves often have a sex or gender associated with them, since they are typically considered to be reproductions of beings (Wright 2011:347; Brightman 2011:203; Fiorini 2011:191). An instrument's or flute's sex or gender may be determined by physical differences, such as differences in number of stops (finger holes), like the Colombian *gaita* and Kogi *kuisi* duct flutes (Olsen 2002; Abadía Morales 1991), number of tubes of the *ira* (masculine) and *arka* (feminine) *julajula* panpipes from Bolivia (Baumann 1996; Sánchez Canedo 1996), or slight differences in sizes with instruments, such as the three sizes of Yagua duct flutes (Chaumeil 2011).

Women are commonly prohibited from performing traditional or ritual instruments like flutes, but in cultures where women actively make music, they will generally participate by dancing and singing. In Amazonian lowland South America, Upper Xingu Wauja women hold a ceremony known as *Iamurikuma*, when women compose songs that may become men's flute songs, or they may appropriate men's flute melodies into the ceremony (Cruz Mello 2011; Prinz 2011). In lowland Kichwa-speaking societies, women are especially associated with singing laments (Seitz 1981). With highland Peruvian Q'eros music, men and women perform some of their fertility ritual music as a duet of *pinkuyllu* flute (played by men) and voice (sung by women), which articulates a central concept of duality called *yanantin* (Cohen and Wissler 2000; Wissler 2009).<sup>12</sup> Stobart observes this division of making music between male instrumentalists and female vocalists in Bolivian highland music of the Kalankira as well (2008).

A defining function of indigenous South American music is the creation and maintenance of relationships between groups of people and spiritual beings, or as Beaudet calls them,

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<sup>12</sup> *Yana-* is the root of the verb "to help," and *-ntin* is a morpheme that expresses "togetherness" or a state of being united, that two or more people or things perform an action together or exist together.

extraordinary beings (2011:379).<sup>13</sup> Musical performance is a means of socializing beings and achieving personhood by self-awareness and the exploration of others.<sup>14</sup> The "other" may be an outsider to one's local community, kinship group, ethnic group, gender grouping, or generation. According to recent scholarship on South American indigenous musical traditions, flute music appears to have a strong connection with musical expressions of gender in both highland and lowland regions. In general, flutes are related to masculinity, manhood, or male aggression. This can be observed in societies that place restrictions on women's interactions with the instruments or relate flute playing to menstruation.<sup>15</sup>

In his article "Bodies of Sound and Landscapes of Music: A View from the Bolivian Andes," British ethnomusicologist Henry Stobart describes how landscapes are animated and personified across Andean Amerindian societies (2000:28). Extraordinary beings are typically connected with parts of the landscape, weather, the cosmos, and other temporal or spatial realms. Researchers have tended to interpret musical activities that engage with extraordinary beings as types of fertility rituals since these entities are commonly associated with life-giving forces (e.g. water, wind/breath, staple crops, menstruation, etc.). One such being is the sea-nymph, called *sirena*, *sirinu*, or *sereno* in many Quechua and Aymara-speaking communities. Around the year 1615, Quechuan chronicler Guaman Poma depicted two of these mermaid-type beings with two male flute players in his drawing *Canciones y Música* (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1987:315). Some of my interviewees spoke of *sereno* beings that dwell in or preside over springs and other

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<sup>13</sup> Beudet employs the broader term extraordinary being instead of spirit to encompass beings that exist in parallel dimensions but have not experienced a transcendence from our world to theirs.

<sup>14</sup> See Alemán (2011:228), Hill (2011:115), Prinz (2011:295), Ruedas (2011:316), and Seeger (2004:128-132).

<sup>15</sup> For example, see: Abadía Morales (1991:40), Alemán (2011:220), Piedade (2011:240-1), Fiorini (2011:189), Menezes Bastos (2011:78), Olsen (2002:191-3), and Stobart (2000:40; 2008:87).

landmarks in rural parts of Otavalo. Thomas Turino and Henry Stobart have also written about this phenomenon in Peru and Bolivia, respectively (Turino 1983a; Stobart 2002a).

Research about Otavalo and Otavaleños is not lacking. As I mentioned above, it has been a popular stop for those visiting the region or conducting research in South America. Most of the sources can be divided into the categories of non-musical and musical, and within those divisions, early sources (those published prior to the 1970s) and more recent sources (published during the 1970s and up until the present). A majority of the authors of works that I consider to be non-musical sources do comment on festivals, rituals, and music; however, these descriptions tend to be shallow and brief, lacking serious discussion or descriptions of the sounds made. My reasoning for separating these sources into pre- and post-1970s is based on two main factors. First, the oil boom in Ecuador occurred during the early 1970s. As opposed to the previous booms in banana and cocoa exports, which were more capitalistic and benefited the coastal region more than the whole of Ecuador, the oil boom resulted in a significant rise of income for the central government. This had an influence on the type of research that was conducted, since increased state revenues allowed for more public funding. Second, major land reform movements occurred during the mid-1960s and 1970s. These in turn made the indigenous uprisings and human rights movements of the 1990s possible. This was also the time period that Otavalan musical groups and artisans, such as Ñanda Mañachi, entered the global stage by beginning to tour internationally.

Some of the earliest non-musical writings that describe life in Otavalo and northern Ecuador were penned during the sixteenth century by chroniclers Cieza de León and Juan Lopez de Velasco (Cieza de León 1984 [1553]; López de Velasco 1971 [1574]). Around 1615, Guaman Poma de Ayala mentions the region (known during the Incan Empire as Chinchaysuyu) in parts

of his work *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* ([ca.1615] 1987). Caldas y Tenorio, a lawyer and natural scientist from Popayán, Colombia, traveled through the area in the nineteenth century and recorded some observations of indigenous customs in addition to the scientific data he collected (1933). Later, in the mid-1800s, Austrian-born American diplomat Friedrich Hassaurek wrote his *Four Years Among the Ecuadorians*, which despite his biased comments made about some of the people and their customs, is valued for his documentation of the land, people, and their lives during this period of Ecuador's history (1967).

There are a handful of notable ethnographic works from the decades just prior to the 1970s. Elsie Clews Parsons' 1945 ethnography *Peguche, Canton of Otavalo, Province of Imbabura, Ecuador: A Study of Andean Indians*, Aníbal Buitrón's book *Taita Imbabura: Vida Indígena en los Andes* (n.d.) from the 1960s, and Gonzalo Rubio Orbe's 1956 work *Punyaró: Estudio de Antropología Social de una Comunidad Indígena y Mestiza* offer detailed case studies of indigenous culture in villages surrounding the town of Otavalo. All three write about religion and ritual, primarily focusing on the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice events, but give little attention to describing the music. Parsons, however, does comment on how the Imbabura Valley is considered a musical center of Ecuador (1945:116). She also briefly describes the ways people and musicians dance during festivities (1945:110).

Three foreigners who visited Ecuador during the early to mid-twentieth century opted to document their research and experiences with video recordings and photographs. One of the pioneers in visual ethnography was John Collier, who collaborated with Aníbal Buitrón on *The Awakening Valley / El Valle del Amanecer* (1949). Their book is filled with stunning photographs of various aspects of indigenous life in the 1940s. Several of these images are of musicians. Around the same year, American citizen and amateur photographer Watson Kintner

packed his 16mm camera and left for Ecuador. Though the videos do not have sound, he does capture clips of Otavalan life, including men dressed as the *Aya Uma* (spiritual leader of the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival) holding *flautas* (1949a; 1949b). The Swedish world traveler Rolf Blomberg filmed two documentary films in Otavalo: *Imbabura* and *Pedro, en Indianpojke* (1950; 1965). The films are narrated and include a score, but unfortunately field recordings of flute players and ritual events he witnessed were never made. Blomberg later published a short book, also entitled *Imbabura*, which is based on his films and photographs (1967). Some of his unpublished photographs are of flutists, and are included in this dissertation (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4).

Recent ethnographies and books about Otavaleños have tended to study the socio-political and socio-economic phenomena in which the Runakuna have played a crucial role during the last three decades. Since the 1970s, Otavaleños have been pursuing professions in music and artisan craft-making as a way to enter into and take advantage of the global economy. Changes that have occurred in Otavalan culture due to their migrations and participation in global markets and tourism are analyzed in Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld's *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes* (1999), David Kyle's *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador* (2000), Lynn Meisch's ethnography *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants & Musicians in the Global Arena* (2002), and David Atienza de Frutos' *Viaje e Identidad: La génesis de la Élite Kichwa-Otavaleña en Madrid, España* (2009). Other recent works have focused on the indigenous rights movements of the 1990s and 2010s, and the unique ways that the Runakuna have adapted to and benefited from global markets. Marc Becker (1998, 2008, 2010) and Rickard Lalander (2010)

examine the 1990s uprisings within an historical context that follows several decades of political confrontations and demonstrations staged by indigenous peoples in Ecuador.

The books *Holy Intoxication to Drunken Dissipation: Alcohol Among Quichua Speakers in Otavalo, Ecuador* by Barbara Butler and *Ritual Encounters: Otavalan Modern and Mythic Communities* by Michelle Wibbelsman cover ritual practices that *flauta* music is related to in Otavalo (2006; 2009). Butler's ethnography investigates the ritual uses of corn beer (*aswa*, K.) and alcoholic drinks, which are present wherever and whenever *flauta* music is played. *Otavalan Modern and Mythic Communities* is an invaluable resource about cultural transformations and enduring ritual practices in Runa culture. Although Wibbelsman examines many of the same cultural aspects that this dissertation is concerned with, her focus is on the ritual aspects and dance; minimal attention is given to flute playing and the sounds of these rituals. This dissertation aims to complement her exceptional work with an in-depth musical analysis of music associated with Otavalan rituals.

Musicological writings about music from northern Ecuador prior to the 1970s are rare compared to the abundance of earlier non-musical sources described above. Segundo Luis Moreno Andrade is credited with being Ecuador's first ethnomusicologist, and he is remembered for his writings about music of indigenous and non-indigenous Ecuadorian societies. He was also an important composer, bandleader, and music educator. Moreno was born in Cotacachi in 1882, and although he was not indigenous himself, his writings demonstrate that he possessed a strong interest in the indigenous culture that surrounded him throughout his life.

Segundo Moreno's writings that pertain to indigenous music and specifically mention the *flauta* include *La Música en la Provincia de Imbabura* (1923), *La Música en el Ecuador* ([1930] 1996), *Música y Danzas Autóctonas del Ecuador* (1949), *La Música de los Incas* (1957),



*Cotacachi y Su Comarca* ([1966] 2010), and *Historia de la Música en el Ecuador* (1972), which is based on previous work he had done in 1929-1930, but was published the year he passed away. Unfortunately, Moreno's musical analyses are based on the antiquated assumption that indigenous music is primitive, represents universal origins that other cultures (i.e. Western music) have progressed beyond, and is composed of pitch material that is derived from stereotypical pentatonic scales and tempered tunings from the ancient Greek and Asian musical systems. Despite the fact that he dedicates many pages to demonstrating these theoretical relationships, there is a wealth of useful information in his work that addresses performance contexts of *flauta* music.

At the cusp of the 1970s divide, the Venezuelan Instituto Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore (Interamerican Institute of Ethnomusicology and Folklore, also known as INIDEF) funded a series of field studies in indigenous communities across Ecuador. Isabel Aretz, a leading ethnomusicologist of Latin America, the founder of INIDEF, and the organization's chair between 1990-1995, compiled a catalog of these studies and published them under the title *Cuatro Mil Años de Música en el Ecuador: Catálogo* (1976).<sup>16</sup> Fortunately field recordings, including samples of *flauta* music, were made by INIDEF in 1975. These recordings were released separately by IOA, the Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología (Otavalan Anthropological Institute) as part of the LP *Música Etnográfica y folklórica del Ecuador: Culturas Shuar, Chachi, Quichua, Afro, Mestizo* (1990). Carlos Alberto Coba Andrade wrote the accompanying liner notes (1990).

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<sup>16</sup> Isabel Aretz (1909-2005), also known as Isabel Aretz-Thiele, was an Argentinian-Venezuelan composer, researcher, writer, and ethnomusicologist throughout the twentieth century. She began her ethnomusicological work around 1947 and wrote prolifically about topics in ethnomusicology and folklore. She also taught in universities across South, Central, and North America.

Carlos Alberto Coba Andrade has been one of Ecuador's main ethnomusicologists since the 1980s. Though he has not written extensively about the *flauta* other than the descriptions he presents in his organological monograph (1992), Coba has written about a variety of topics related to Otavalo and *flauta* performance contexts, such as dance and the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* spirit leader character called *Aya Uma* (1985; 1994; 1996). John Schechter, an American ethnomusicologist, has published his research about ritual uses of the harp and string music for children's funerals in Otavalo and Cotacachi (1983; 1992). He makes periodic mention of the flutes in his publications. To my knowledge, his work is the most in-depth study of the melodic system of indigenous Otavalan harp and violin music, which is called *sanjuán* and is related to the *flauta* tradition. Ketty Wong writes about national Ecuadorian music (2012). She briefly covers the more commercialized version of *sanjuanitos* (often referred to as the *mestizo* or white *sanjuanito*; see Chapter 5 for my musical analysis of the *sanjuanito*) in her book; however, Wong admits that to her knowledge, a study of this style that focuses on how it is performed, distributed, and consumed, does not yet exist (2012:141).

Ethnomusicologist Juniper Hill conducted fieldwork in Ecuador during 1996 and 1997, when indigenous movements and political struggles were growing. Thus far, Hill has written the most about *flauta* music in English, though her thematic focus is less on the *flauta* and more on commercial Otavalan music, intercultural relations, and empowerment (2006). She has also deposited field recordings in the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archives.

Juan Mullo Sandoval, another Ecuadorian ethnomusicologist and mentor for Juniper Hill and myself, has authored a handful of volumes about traditional Ecuadorian music (2006; 2007; 2009). Mullo Sandoval has researched related flute traditions in Cayambe and Cotacachi, and though brief, he does dedicate some paragraphs to the *flauta* in the above works. I also reference

the field recordings of *flauta* music during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (San Juan and San Pedro festivals), Easter and Holy Week that he recorded in the 1990s and has graciously made available to me.

Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango is a well-respected scholar and *yachak* (one who possesses knowledge) by anthropologists and Runakuna alike. Cachiguango is from the community of Kotama and is a founder of Hatun Kotama. He has penned several short essays about *runa* culture and cosmovision, some of which apply to *flauta* performance contexts, even though he does not discuss the flute music in detail in these works (2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2006).

Cachiguango writes more extensively about *flauta* music in his book *Yaku-Mama: La Crianza del Agua; La Música Ritual del Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi en Kotama, Otavalo*, which was funded by Ecuador's Ministry of Culture (2010). For the Western musical notations that accompany his text, Cachiguango collaborated with Julián Pontón, classical flutist and director of the Department of Investigation, Creation and Diffusion at the National Music Conservatory in Quito. Hatun Kotama, a grassroots organization that began as a flute ensemble but has since grown into a provincially recognized cultural organization, recorded and released their first CD, which accompanies Cachiguango and Pontón's work (2010). This book offers incredible detail about life, traditions, and rituals in Kotama today, with some historical explanations given based on oral tradition. As rich as this book is, it focuses only on the *flauta* repertoire of Hatun Kotama flute masters and performance contexts specific to the Kotama community. Furthermore, transcriptions by Pontón contain occasional errors and assign meters (e.g. 3/4, 2/8, and 1/8) to the tunes without taking into account how the musicians conceive of the music or how dance is an essential element of the music. I address these issues by adapting transcriptions to better

represent the music and presenting a broader context of the performance of this *flauta* tradition in other communities.

### **Theoretical Perspectives**

In her article "A 'Musical View of the Universe:' *Kalapalo* Myth and Ritual as Religious Performance," Ellen Basso proposes several models of how ritual acts, including music and song, structure time and space in an indigenous lowland South American society (1981). Basso's ideas will inform my interpretations as I discuss Otavalan *flautas*, the musicians who play them, and how the performance of *flauta* music structures relationships, time, and space.

One of the main concepts Basso discusses in her article is the idea that "relationships are sung into being" (1981:288). Although one may have the inclination to substitute the verb "sung" with "played" or "musicked" when speaking of musical instruments, I find the act of singing an appropriate word choice. These flutes are considered to be persons, male and female, who converse with each other, and entrance the Runakuna who hear them (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63). When these flutes sing, they (re)create relationships on various levels: between other musicians and flutes, a group of flutists and their own sector of a village or community, two or more different villages or indigenous communities, men and women, indigenous and non-indigenous people, and humans and spirits or mythical beings.

A second concept from Basso's article that will help frame the significance of this practice is that "space is expressed by how it is used or how one travels through it" (1981:278). Many of the relationships that are maintained or made anew through the performance of *flauta* music are strategies for place-making. When the Runakuna explain the significance of a *flauta* tune, they speak of the movements or actions that the music incites. Many will also describe a

place, path, or landmark that is associated with the tune. In Chapter 5, I comment on how space and time are sounded and expressed by dancing and the singing of these flutes.

The late twentieth century was a particularly difficult time for this flute tradition. Previously, during the early twentieth century, *flautas* were ubiquitous across Imbabura province. In 1930, Segundo Luis Moreno reported that,

Los indios de esta provincia [Imbabura] son de especiales aptitudes musicales: es raro, rarísimo que alguno no toque siquiera la flauta. . . . Por lo general, los [instrumentos] de origen europeo acostumbran en las diversiones de carácter privado; en sus festejos públicos, los instrumentos autóctonos. Pero la flauta de carrizo la usan siempre, no sólo en las diversiones; pues es su compañera permanente, y el indígena la aprende en su niñez y no la abandona jamás . . . la lleva al cinto en sus viajes más penosos, a pie y cargado de pasados fardos, y en los puntos más escabrosos y pendientes del camino va tocando la flauta. (1996 [1930]:170-171)

The indigenous people of this province [Imbabura] are of exceptional musical talent: it is rare, very rare, that one would not at least play the flute. . . . In general the instruments of European origin are typically played in private events, and in public festivals, the local indigenous instruments. But the cane flute is always used, not just for fun; it is in fact one's permanent companion, and one learns this during childhood and does not ever abandon it . . . [the flute] is tucked into one's belt during the most arduous trips, when one is carrying heavy bundles, and even along the thorniest and steepest parts of a path, they play the flute as they walk. (1996 [1930]:170-171; my translation)

Patricio's father, Mariano, would also talk about how the flutes were played for any and every occasion. The modern-day analogy that Patricio gave me was that everyone would carry their flute with them to wherever they were going, playing music to accompany whatever they were doing, much as people do today with iPods and mp3 players (Personal communication, 2012). During the 1980s and early 1990s, Otavalan ethnomusicologist Carlos Coba Andrade still noted the popularity of the transverse flute in the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival. He writes in his survey of Ecuadorian musical instruments that, "dancers for *sanjuán* go [to the church plaza]

carrying a musical instrument, of which transverse flutes are preferred. . . . The majority of the *sanjuán* dancers take two flutes: one to play and one as a spare" (1992:595; my translation).<sup>17</sup>

By the 1990s, the once omnipresent flutes appeared to be facing extinction. The combination of changes in lifestyles (e.g. urbanization, capitalism, globalism, etc.), migration, religious conversion, disease, and the adaptation of new instruments and musical styles caused a drastic decline in the playing of this music and severely interrupted its transmission. By 2007, Mullo Sandoval wrote about the gradual disappearance of this tradition in his book *Música Popular Tradicional del Ecuador*. He observes that,

música ligada a los calendarios festivos indígenas y su vinculación a la práctica de los rituales andinos cada día va perdiendo continuidad. . . . Esto se constata por ejemplo en el poco uso de los instrumentos musicales propios: pingullos, pífanos, pallas, flautas traversas, etc., los cuales ya no son practicados por los jóvenes. (71)

music tied to the indigenous calendar festivals and the practice of Andean rituals is being lost more and more each day. . . . This is confirmed, for example, by the infrequent use of this area's indigenous instruments: *pingullos*, *pífanos*, *pallas*, transverse flutes, etc., which are no longer practiced by today's youth. (71; my translation)

Across indigenous communities surrounding Otavalo and Cotacachi, the *flauta* tradition is still at risk of dying out; however, in the village of Kotama (Cotama), this music has become the center of a cultural revival effort led by Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango and some of Kotama's flute masters. Today the flute school project is operating under the name Cultural Center of Ancestral Investigation and Community Development "Hatun Kotama" (*Centro Cultural de Investigación Ancestral y Desarrollo Integral Comunitario "Hatun Kotama,"* Sp.), which I will refer to as Hatun Kotama from now on.

Some of the changes that the flute tradition has undergone since the flute school began in 2008 may be interpreted as inauthentic by those who still believe that indigenous people are or

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<sup>17</sup> "Los sanjuanés van disfrazados portando un instrumento musical, de preferencia las flautas traveseras. . . . Gran parte de los sanjuanés llevan dos flautas: una para tocar y otra de repuesto" (Coba Andrade 1992:595).

should be static and resistant to change. For example, Hatun Kotama has adapted flute playing for staged and choreographed performances, parades, new ceremonies, and studio recordings. This in turn has affected some of the musical aesthetics of the genre, such as preferred breathing techniques that are not audible over microphones, and general rules for how many times one should repeat a phrase. The possible size of a flute ensemble has grown, and consequently, the Kotama flutists have experimented with the flutes' tuning and pairings. To cap the proximal end of the flutes, pieces of plywood are sometimes used instead of the traditional *mati* gourd fragments. Norms for transmission and participation have also been modified from strict and hierarchical structures to more open and inviting ones. Historically, performances of this music were adapted to new or changed contexts as well, such as shepherding, harvest events associated with the colonial *hacienda* system, and Roman Catholic Easter and Christmas celebrations.

Literary critic Scott Richard Lyons writes about change and adaptation in his book *X-Marks: Native Signs of Assent* (2010). In his book, Lyons redefines the x-mark made by Native Americans on treaties. Typically, it has been interpreted as a sign made by childlike innocents forced to sign documents (127). An x-mark, according to Lyons, is a sign of consent in a context of coercion, a commitment to living a new way of life and to modernizing (1, 8, 127). Although the author focuses more specifically on x-marks related to nation and nation-building in Native North American societies, I find his argument helpful in addressing previous adaptations and contemporary innovations of the *flauta* musical tradition, especially in less ideal contexts when there is often little choice in the matter. Lyons writes that the x-mark "simply works with what we have in order to produce something good. X-marks are made with a view of the new as merely another stopping point in a migration that is always heading for home, always keeping

time on the move" (10). Throughout the book, Lyons emphasizes the point that "indigenous people have the right to move in modern time" (32).

In the prologue to De la Torre's and Sandoval Peralta's book *La Reciprocidad en el Mundo Andino: El Caso del Pueblo de Otavalo*, the influential political leader of indigenous rights Nina Pacari critiques how indigenous people are recognized for their cultural expressions, but are rarely acknowledged for their own epistemic views. She points out that,

Concebimos a los pueblos indígenas como sujetos distintos en cuanto a las costumbres, idiomas, vestuario o música, que vienen a ser los elementos más expresivos que la definen en su diferencia. Sin embargo, no se asume que los pueblos indígenas sean también portadores de un pensamiento. (Pacari 2004:11-12)

We conceive of indigenous people as distinct entities in terms of their customs, languages, dress or music, which come to be the most expressive elements that define them as unique. However, it is not assumed that indigenous people are bearers of their own system of thought. (Pacari 2004:11-12; my translation)

Lyons makes a similar point with the following statement:

The idea of an x-mark assumes that indigenous communities are and have always been composed of human beings who possess reason, rationality, individuality, an ability to think and to question, a suspicion toward religious dogma or political authoritarianism, a desire to improve their lot and the futures of their progeny and a wish to play some part in the larger world. (12)

For this dissertation, I have chosen to base my interpretation and analyses on Kichwa epistemologies. In particular, I apply Luz María De la Torre's explanation of a flexible gender spectrum in Kichwa culture (2010). I structure my interpretation of this musical tradition – who plays the music, why they play the music, how the music is played, and what the music sounds like – in a similar fashion to how De la Torre illustrates gender performativity by deconstructing the Kichwa language.

Cachiguango identifies the *flauta* musical tradition as a system of thought and a system for creating truths; he writes, "we have before us a musical system of thought unique to the



Ecuadorian Andean community of Kotama" (2010:64).<sup>18</sup> The following chapters will examine this system of thought, focusing on how the performance of these flutes sings relationships into being and moves these relationships through modernity. As flutist Fabián Vásquez shared in an interview with the Smithsonian about music, health and medicine, "*la música da vida a vida*," or "music gives life to life" (Personal interview, August 14, 2011).

## Research Methods

My original plan for the dissertation was to study *sanjuanitos*, a musical genre that features stringed instruments, such as the violin, guitar, and *bandolina* (similar to a mandolin), as well as wind (e.g. panpipes and *kenas*) and percussion instruments (e.g. *bombos* and *chakchas*). This music is often compared to other Andean genres, primarily the Peruvian *wayno* (*huayno*), due to similarities in the instrumentation, form, and Western-style tuning. While in my early teens, I befriended Ernesto, an Otavalan merchant who worked at the Great New York State Fair. For several summers, I would visit his family's stand to practice speaking Spanish and chat about music. During these conversations, I became acquainted with recordings of Sisa Pacari and Runakuna, two of many Otavalan groups that are well known for performing *sanjuanitos* and other Andean musical genres. For years, I was under the impression that indigenous flutes from the northern sierra of Ecuador were primarily vertical and end-blown, such as panpipes and *kenas*.

As I would listen to the recordings, I was curious to know what language they were singing in besides Spanish. In the spring of my first year at UCLA I sought private Kichwa lessons over Skype from a freelance translator. Julie and I held online biweekly classes for nine

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<sup>18</sup> "Estamos frente a un sistema de pensamiento musical propio de la comunidad de Kotama de los Andes ecuatorianos."

months, after which I was able to enroll in Kichwa classes at UCLA with the support of a Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) from the U.S. Department of Education. During the 2009-2010 academic year, I took three levels of Kichwa with Luz María De la Torre. Luz's classes covered grammar, writing, and conversation, as well as lessons about Kichwa culture and cosmology. As a culmination of our studies, the class organized UCLA's first *Festival Andino*, which allowed us to apply what we learned about reciprocity and the *minka* (a collaborative form of reciprocity). I traveled to Ecuador for the first time under the auspices of a summer FLAS in 2010. It was there that I enrolled in an intensive six-week Kichwa language course with Patricio Maldonado, lived with his family in Kotama, and became acquainted with the *flauta*.

While attending Hatun Kotama's flute classes and business meetings, I learned of their hope for recording another album of music.<sup>19</sup> That summer, I contacted Daniel Sheehy at Smithsonian Folkways and the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage to propose the project. Fortunately, the Smithsonian was able to procure enough funding for the recording, and in August of 2011, I returned to Ecuador for a week with a team from Smithsonian Folkways and the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. When I traveled to Ecuador for the third time in 2012 for six months of fieldwork, I resided in Kotama with the Maldonado family. During my last two months I spent the majority of my time traveling to Quito, Ibarra, and other nearby indigenous communities. My fieldwork was made possible by the financial support of UCLA's Graduate Research Mentorship Program and the American Musicological Society's Howard Mayer Brown Fellowship.

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<sup>19</sup> For most of my time as a student in Hatun Kotama's classes, I was the only woman. See Chapter 3 for a more in-depth discussion about my place as one of the few females in the group, as well as how women have participated in this tradition.

Activities that were carried out as part of my fieldwork were participant-observation, musical study, and interviews. Both in the field and at home, I conducted research in archives, museums, and libraries, as well as analyzing written sources, photographs, and audio-visual materials. Ecuadorian scholars Juan Mullo Sandoval and Luis Enrique Cachiguango kindly set aside time in their busy schedules to consult with me in Ecuador and have generously continued to do so via email.

While living in Kotama, my host mother and sisters taught me some of the basics of crocheting, cooking and traditional food preparation, such as picking the kernels off the ears of corn, making corn beer (*aswa*, K.), and roasting guinea pig. When the family went to the fields to plant the next season's crops, I accompanied them and alternated between helping dig rows for planting with the men, and planting the seeds with the women. For *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, I joined a women's *minka* (communal work project) to peel potatoes for the festivities, danced and played violin on the main night of the festival, and on one morning, served drink to some of the Maldonado family's cousins from La Bolsa who came to dance. As did many of the anthropologists who have worked in Otavalo before me, I too became a godparent. My host sister Marina and her husband, Lauro, who taught me many of the *sanjuanitos* I know, asked me in August 2011 to be the godmother for the baptism of their fourth child, Jessie Marina.<sup>20</sup> We held the ceremony and became *compadres* in August 2012.

When I rejoined Hatun Kotama during fieldwork, I was asked to provide free violin lessons as a service to the school and the community. This was proposed to me as a *ranti-ranti*, which translates literally to "exchange-exchange." *Ranti-ranti* is not just the responsibility to return one favor with another favor. When properly done, it is a series of reciprocal and ongoing

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<sup>20</sup> Jessie Marina is named after her mother Marina and myself. When the Smithsonian recorded with Hatun Kotama in 2011, I instructed Patricio to not let the family know I would be coming so I could surprise everyone. Jessie Marina was born only a few hours after I surprised my *compadres* at their home.

favors that strengthens ties between two parties. On Sundays, I would teach violin from 2pm to 3pm, and then attend flute classes from 3pm to 5pm. The flute school was frequently invited to perform at presentations in other cities, such as Cotacachi, Carapungo (a city just north of Quito), and Conocoto (a city just south of Quito). Female relatives of the flute players always accompany the men on their out of town events. The women will usually sit together and chat while they watch over the men's belongings and store leftover food that is given to the group. Though I was not responsible for taking care of any one person's belongings, I occasionally was left in charge of bringing promotional materials, such as posters, CDs, books, and flutes, that could be sold or gifted as gestures of appreciation to the event organizers. Typically, I was allowed to take pictures, participate in the dancing, and on three occasions, I was contracted to perform with flutists by playing *sanjuanes* and *sanjuanitos* on my violin with a guitarist.

For the Smithsonian Folkways recording in 2011, I assisted with six interviews in both Kichwa and Spanish. During my six months of fieldwork in 2012, I interviewed twenty-three people in total from eight villages surrounding Otavalo: Kotama (Cotama), Cumbas Conde, Yambiro, Larcacunga, Quinchuquí Alto, Karabuela (Carabuela), La Bolsa, and Gualapuro. The interviewees ranged in age from fourteen to eighty-four. Two of the twenty-three interviews were with women who are interested in playing flute and are related to flute players. Nineteen were conducted in Kichwa, four in Spanish, and all lasted an average of one to two hours. The interviews were loosely structured so as to leave room for interviewees to expand on topics that they felt were important or could speak about confidently and comfortably.<sup>21</sup>

A problem that I stumbled upon while in the field is that the Kichwa I learned incorporates more traditional Kichwa words, which until recently had been replaced by Kichwa-

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<sup>21</sup> Some of the interviewees initially expressed reservations about participating in interviews. Once Patricio and I explained that it would be more like a chat, or *plática*, they tended to relax and agree to participate.

ized Spanish terms.<sup>22</sup> This led to frequent encounters with language barriers when I tried to communicate the more complicated interview questions to older flute masters. Other difficulties I came across were directly related to being a single woman researching a masculine flute tradition. It did not matter that I was in a committed relationship, could cook for myself, have lived on my own and traveled the world by myself, or that I was in a Ph.D. program; to many, I was considered childish because I was unmarried and was not a mother. I had to be taught how to do basic tasks and chores, such as removing corn kernels from the cob, peeling potatoes, and roasting guinea pig. When I struggled to perform these tasks well, my host family would affectionately tease me with the term *karishina*, which meant I was "mannish," or lacked some feminine qualities. I was teased mercilessly after I charred the snout of one poor guinea pig! As a result of my being considered childish, my host family and several flutists from Hatun Kotama were highly protective over me and at times tightly restricted my associations.

Due to the complications described above, I had no choice but to be escorted by a man during my ethnographic interviewing and data collecting. Traveling to the different communities to interview flute players would have been problematic even for an indigenous male who did not already have professional, kinship, or friendship ties to those areas. Fortunately, my Kichwa teacher and host brother Patricio has been involved with public works projects in the other communities where we conducted research. I am greatly indebted to Patricio, who shared a strong interest in this research. He dedicated much of his time to accompanying me as a research partner and interpreter, gave me some advanced Kichwa language lessons along the way, and

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<sup>22</sup> For example, the Spanish verb *parlar* was Kichwa-ized by altering the infinitive to fit Kichwa grammar, resulting in the verb infinitive *parlana*. The use of *parlana* is more common than the original Kichwa word for "to speak" (*rimana*). My host family explained to me that in Kotama, *parlana* carries the connotation of speaking, whereas *rimana* was either not used or carried negative connotations and was considered to be the verb for "to argue."

helped me navigate through these obstacles. This dissertation would not have been possible without his insight, expertise, or encouragement.

I conducted archival research in Ecuador and Stateside, where I have examined written sources, photographs, and audio-video materials. While in Ecuador, I visited the Blomberg Archive (Archivo Blomberg, in Quito), El Norte newspaper archives (in Ibarra), five Civil Registries (in Otavalo and Cotacachi cantons), the National Institute for Census and Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, or INEC, in Ibarra), the Otavalo Anthropological Institute (Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, or IOA, in Otavalo), and the Water Museum (Museo Yaku, in Quito). I analyzed audio recordings from the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archives and UC Berkeley's music library as well. Videos from the Penn Museum's Watson Kintner collection, which is available online, were also examined.

I had the honor of serving as Hatun Kotama's interpreter and presenter at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival's One World Many Voices exhibit in July 2013. For the event, the flutists decided that I needed to perform violin with them during their presentations. My invitation to participate in brainstorming, executing, and reflecting performances with Hatun Kotama therefore provided me with a unique opportunity to learn more about the intricacies of *flauta* music. Many of my suspicions about the gendering of sound were clarified as a result of our week-long residency at the festival (see Chapter 5).

At the time of completing this dissertation, I have spent approximately a cumulative of eight months in the field in Ecuador. My field research has also extended to the week residency as part of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Additionally, I have maintained regular contact with the Maldonados, my *compadres* (co-parents, or the biological parents of my goddaughter) Hatun

Kotama, and other friends in Otavalo via social media, email, and monthly phone calls (including internet video calls).

## **Dissertation Overview**

Chapter 2 delves into the flute tradition as a whole, discussing other musical elements that are present in performances. My reasons for focusing my research on the *flauta* instead of other instruments are presented. Additionally, I lay the groundwork for my argument about how the *flauta* tradition has not been accurately represented in most previous scholarship as a result of people not understanding how to listen to it. The end of this chapter includes a section about performance contexts in which *flautas* have played a primary role. I narrow in on the summer solstice celebration called *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* because it is considered the main context for *flauta* music as well as the largest celebration of the year for most Otavaleños.

The third chapter is dedicated to why men play flute music and how playing *flauta* expresses masculinity and manhood. To begin, I discuss Luz María De la Torre's article about the spectrum of flexible gender expression as expressed in the Kichwa language (De la Torre 2010). I also draw connections with discussions of gender in other Amerindian societies of South America. I juxtapose expressions of masculinity and femininity based on how they are articulated by participation in music, food preparation, and agricultural activities during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice celebration. Issues that arose due to my being a woman, a musician, and a flute student are examined as well.

In Chapter 4, I turn my attention to flute making. The chapter covers information related to the materials used to make the flutes, how these materials are acquired or harvested, and how the flutes are constructed. The chapter is based on my own experience of being taught to make

flutes, my analysis of flutes I collected, and ethnographic data from interviews with six flute makers. In it, I discuss a variety of construction techniques that are used by flute makers, and explain how Kichwa concepts of gender are expressed by the flutes themselves.

Chapter 5 is an analysis of the sounds and musical characteristics of *flauta* music. I apply De la Torre's and Cachiguango's theories of gender in Kichwa society to examine how musical genres are gendered as masculine, feminine, or something in between based on musical elements (e.g. pitch, tempo, texture). My analysis of musical form is connected to Kichwa concepts of the *pariverso*, or universe existing in complementary pairs, and time existing as a spiral. Following this, I transition to an examination of musical examples for which I provide transcriptions. This final section looks closely at the relationships between *flauta* music and related genres commonly conflated with the string-based *sanjuanito* (also referred to as *sanjuán*). Referring back to how these musical genres are gendered, I offer an alternative way to categorize them that more carefully takes Kichwa epistemologies into account.

Based on my interviews with elder flute players in Kotama and neighboring villages, I begin Chapter 6 with a discussion about how the flute tradition has been transmitted in previous generations. In general, participation in this tradition has been hierarchical and the flute masters have kept strict performance standards. This sharply contrasts with what most would expect from the Andes, since Andean societies are generally considered to be egalitarian, open, and non-confrontational.<sup>23</sup> In the following section, I introduce some of the problems that occurred in the late twentieth century that have interrupted traditional forms of transmission; this includes emigration, the adaptation of other instruments, religious conversion, land and labor reformations, the cholera epidemic of the 1990s, and ethnic discrimination. The final section of

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<sup>23</sup> For example, see Turino's *Moving Away from Silence*, especially the second chapter (1993:58-71). For egalitarianism represented by clothing and dress with costume and dress, see also Rowe (1998:40).



this chapter follows the formation and development of the Centro Cultural de Investigación Ancestral y Desarrollo Integral Comunitario “Hatun Kotama” (Cultural Center of Ancestral Investigation and Community Development "Hatun Kotama"). This cultural organization was established in 2008 as a community flute school project. Today, safeguarding and reviving the *flauta* tradition remains one of Hatun Kotama's top priorities. I give an overview of how Hatun Kotama has been working to preserve *flauta* music by engaging with the modern world as they experiment with adaptations and innovations of *flauta* transmission and performance.

In the coda, I summarize major findings of my research about how *flauta* music sings relationships into being. In many ways, I connect Otavalan transverse flute music to flute traditions across the Andes and in lowland South America, where flutes are often closely associated with men and fertility. My dissertation concludes with an overview of issues and themes that warrant further attention in future research on indigenous flute music of northern Ecuador.

## Chapter 2

### Overview of the Otavalan *Flauta* Tradition

In the sources that mention the Otavalan transverse flute, the authors call the flute either *flauta* (flute, Sp.) or *gaita*.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally an author will use an adjective in conjunction with either of the two terms that distinguishes this flute from the multitude of other types of flutes played in the Andes. For example, an adjective may be used to indicate how the flute is held (e.g. transverse, side-blown), the material it is made out of (e.g. *carrizo*, *sukus*, cane), or information related to how or when it is performed (e.g. twin flutes, San Juan flutes).<sup>2</sup> Typically, two or three men play these flutes in duos or trios, which is why the term twin flutes has been used. When performed together, the flute used to play the leading melody is considered to be masculine. The feminized second and third flutes play the complementary counter melody. In Figure 2.1, flutists Julio Tabango, Juan Maldonado, and Alfonso Cabascango play the flutes while dancing within a circle of dancers.

Local scholar and Kichwa intellectual Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango states that before it was replaced by the Spanish terms, the name for this instrument in Kichwa was *sukus pinkullu* (cane flute), or *muku*, a nickname derived from the cane's node or joint that is characteristic of the flute's body (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64). Recently, Cachiguango has given the *flauta* the contemporary Kichwa name "musical cane joint" (*sukus-takina muku*) (Cachiguango 2012). Patricio Maldonado, one of my Kichwa professors, introduced the

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<sup>1</sup> In general, *gaita* is a generic Spanish term for pipe and is used for a variety of wind instruments, such as bagpipes (e.g. the Galician *gaita*), duct flutes (e.g. *kuisi* flutes from Colombia and Panama are also called *gaitas* or *gaitas colombianas*), and the side-blown flute (e.g. Otavalan *gaita* or *flauta*).

<sup>2</sup> The terms I have encountered in Spanish and English are: *flauta*, *flauta traversa*, *flauta travesera*, *flauta traversera*, *flauta transversa*, *flauta horizontal*, transverse flute, traverse flute, cross flute, side-blown flute, *flauta de carrizo*, *flauta de zuro*, *flautas gemelas*, *flautas el gemido*, twin flutes, *flauta de San Juan*, *flauta de San Pedro*, *gaita*, *gayta*, and *gaitas gemelas*. Occasionally, ethnomusicologists, such as Thomas Turino and Ketty Wong, have used the term *pitu* for a transverse cane flute with six finger holes (Turino 1993:292; Wong 2007:218).

instrument to me as *gaita* during my first evening in Kotama in 2010; however, after conducting extended field research in 2012, I have observed that practitioners prefer the name *flauta*.



Figure 2.1: Flutists Julio Tabango, Juan Maldonado, and Alfonso Cabascango play the transverse flute while dancing (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

## Origins

The origins of the *flauta* and its music are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but a brief explanation about theories is warranted. It is unclear exactly how old this tradition is, or to what extent it may have been influenced by other musical styles and people prior to the twentieth century. Below, I outline some of the arguments and evidence put forth by scholars who assume six-fingerhole transverse flutes and *flauta* performance contexts are post-Hispanic, pre-Hispanic, or pre-Incan.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, organologists and ethnomusicologists previously assumed that Amerindian people were too primitive to have developed their own six-fingerhole transverse flutes prior to contact with Western colonists (D'Harcourt & D'Harcourt [1925] 1990:65; Izikowitz 1935:298-299; Moreno 1949:66-67). They supported their speculations with the lack of six-fingerhole transverse flute specimens discovered prior to the mid-twentieth century in ancient southern and central Andean graves. In his book *La Música de los Incas*, Segundo Luis Moreno critiques the D'Harcourts' assumptions about north Andean Ecuadorian music, since "based on credible data it is known that Mr. and Mrs. D'Harcourt were not in Ecuador, not even in Cuenca as it was once believed" (1957:178).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in addition to the lack of field research conducted by the D'Harcourts and their contemporaries, their hypotheses about musical culture in the northern Andes could be considered inherently misinformed due to the fact that serious archaeological research in the northern Andes was negligible at best until the 1960s (Steward and Faron 1959:204).

According to Cachiguango, it was not uncommon in the Otavalo region for people to bury a pair of *flautas* with a corpse if the deceased man was a flute player. In explaining funeral practices, he writes, "after the meal, the family members put necessary objects in the coffin for the deceased's next life in *chaishuk-pacha* [the other world, the world of the dead]. . . . They would send off the deceased with various objects he cherished during his life; for example, if he is a flutist, they would send a pair of flutes" (2001:182).<sup>4</sup> Rubio Orbe documented this practice in Punyaro, and Moreno observed this custom in children's wakes as well (Rubio Orbe [1956]

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<sup>3</sup> "Por datos verídicos se sabe que los señores D'Harcourt no estuvieron en el Ecuador, ni siquiera en Cuenca como antes se había creído" (Moreno 1957:178).

<sup>4</sup> "Luego de la comida, los familiares ponen en el ataúd los elementos necesarios para la vida del difunto en el *chaishuk-pacha*. . . . Se envía al difunto diversos objetos muy queridos por él durante su vida, así por ejemplo si es músico de flauta, se le envía su par de flautas" (Cachiguango 2001:182). See also Wibbelsman (2009:127).

2009:381; Moreno 1972:197). Even if Izikowitz and the D'Harcourts had access to reports of northern Andean archaeological burial samples, it is likely they would not have encountered much evidence of the six-fingerhole transverse *flauta*.

Instruments made of plant materials decay more quickly when inserted into the biosphere than bone and clay musical instruments, which are more commonly unearthed in archaeological digs. Thus, instruments made of cane or reed would not be well represented in the archaeological record despite the possibility of having been popular pre-conquest instruments. Ecuadorian archaeologist Jaime Idrovo Urigüen suggests that despite having only a strong record of whistles and ocarinas made of bones and clay, we should not "overlook others, that were possibly more numerous, made from vegetable materials; [such as] different types of bamboo, which on the Ecuadorian coast number more than one hundred species" (1987:18).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, I was told during my field research that it was customary for flutists to dispose of their instruments each year and purchase a new pair of *flautas* for the upcoming summer solstice events (Personal communication, 2012). Therefore, Otavalan transverse flutes likely would have been left in conditions that foster decomposition.<sup>6</sup>

As noted in Chapter 1, Robert Stevenson inferred from his research and observations that it was very likely pre-conquest six-fingerhole flutes existed in the Andes prior to contact with the Spanish (1968:256, 272). Ethnomusicologist Isabel Aretz notes that "scholars include flutes made of *carrizo* reeds or cane in lists [of pre-Hispanic instruments] that, surely, existed but

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<sup>5</sup> "Sin dejar de lado aquellos otros, posiblemente más numerosos, contruídos con materiales vegetales; diferentes clases de bambú, que en la costa ecuatoriana sobrepasan el centenar de especies" (Idrovo Urigüen 1987:18).

<sup>6</sup> The common reed used to make *flautas* today (*Arundo donax*, L.) is a plant species that was introduced to the Americas by Spanish colonists. This may indicate that the instrument, at least, is post-Hispanic; however, there are many types of bamboo-like reeds growing at different altitudes in Ecuador. If these instruments were indeed pre-Incan, they would have been made from a different plant material before the arrival of the Spanish. See Chapter 4 for more information about *Arundo donax*.

haven't survived" (2003:29).<sup>7</sup> She specifically refers to Segundo Luis Moreno Andrade, who is considered Ecuador's first ethnomusicologist and one of the most important Ecuadorian musicians and scholars.

In his writings, Moreno consistently refers to the *flauta de carrizo* as an *instrumento autóctono*, a musical instrument that is autochthonous or native to the region of Ecuador and not a European import ([1930] 1996:33, 43). In *Música y Danzas Autóctonas del Ecuador*, Moreno responds to the idea that the transverse flute in the Americas is post-Hispanic in origin:

Mi deseo es solamente hacer notar una vez más que los hombres de ciencia no han puesto sus ojos en la música, en los instrumentos ni en la coreografía indígenas. . . . Con sólo fijar en esto la atención se habría dado cuenta de que la flauta horizontal no es, no puede ser "rara en América", mucho menos en el Ecuador, en donde casi no hay indio que no sepa tañerla, sino que se hubiera evitado el trabajo de enunciar – que no examinar – un único ejemplar de flauta horizontal. (1949:68)

My only desire is to make known, once more, that the men of science have not set their eyes on the indigenous music, instruments, or choreography. . . . By just fixing the attention on this it would have been realized that the horizontal flute is not and cannot be "rare in the Americas," much less in Ecuador, wherein there is almost no Indian who doesn't know how to play it, but it would have been [*sic*] avoided the trouble of enunciating – if not of examining – one sole specimen of horizontal flute. (Translated by Jorge Luis Pérez, 1949:68)

Moreno contends that indigenous music from his native province, including the *flauta*, is largely pre-Incan. In order to bolster his claim, he refers to the limited influence the Incas had over the people of northern Ecuador. In one passage he writes that, "based on what I have described, it is evident that our indigenous music is pre-Incan" ([1930] 1996:43).<sup>8</sup>

Some reading between the lines is necessary since it is no secret that Moreno was a strong nationalist who was dedicated to promoting a distinct Ecuadorian identity. As Ross Jamieson points out, there has been a "heavy investment in idealizing the pre-Columbian past as

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<sup>7</sup> "Otros autores agregan en sus listas flautas de carrizo o de caña que, seguramente, existieron pero que 'no han podido sobrevivir'" (Aretz 2003:29)

<sup>8</sup> "Con lo expuesto, queda probado que nuestra música indígena es preincaica" (Moreno [1930] 1996:43).

a model for national identity" throughout the Andean region (2005:353). Even though Moreno touted himself as a supporter and defender of the indigenous peoples, and he often complimented the Otavalan musicians, he still wrote from the point of view that *indigenas* were naïve, simple-minded, and part of the natural heritage of all Ecuadorians. Furthermore, a large majority of his research on indigenous music was meant to harvest raw musical materials that could then be used by Western classical and military band composers.

Studies of indigenous Andean Ecuador run the risk of being framed by central and southern Andean research due to conflating what early colonial Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous authors documented about the empire and the cultures that dwelled at the regional extremities of the Incan territory. In doing so, it has not been uncommon for people to frame the indigenous peoples of modern-day Ecuador in a submissive role at the fringes of the Incan Empire, thereby relegating them to a passive position of having been recipients of culture.

As I mentioned before, there is also the likelihood that northern Ecuadorian customs are more closely related to those of nearby lowland South America and southern Colombia due to trade and migration patterns. Kichwa Napo (Canelos), Awa-Kwaiker, and Shuar-Achuar musical practices are three examples of neighboring lowland societies that practice transverse flute traditions (Whitten 1976:165; Mullo Sandoval 2009:215-216, 219). Ethnomusicologist Dale Olsen has concluded that transverse, six-fingerhole flutes were present in southern pre-Hispanic Colombia, and other scholars have documented the popularity of this type of flute in Amerindian populations throughout Colombia today (Abadía Morales 1981, 1991; Miñana Blasco 1994; Olsen 2002:134-5).

Anthropologists and sociologists, like David Kyle, have often assumed that, even though the Otavalans' origins continue to be a mystery to us today, similarities in dress and the history of

forced migrations that the Incas and Spanish relied on to repress rebellious communities indicate a stronger likelihood that the Otavalans are descendents of Incan peoples (2000:117). Scholars also frequently connect the use of the Kichwa language in the region as another indication that the Incas did successfully conquer the people of northern Ecuador.

Other scholars dispute these assumptions. Linguist Ruth Moya and Kichwa scholar Cachiguango argue that Kichwa existed in the region prior to the arrival of the Spanish as a mercantile language and was later enforced as a *lingua franca* by the Spanish during their evangelizing (2008). Archaeologists and art historians who have dedicated their research to the northern Andean region, however, often advocate for the idea that the people of this geographical area were more likely to have contributed to Andean aesthetics and expression rather than to have merely absorbed cultural features from the dominant Incan society. These scholars also maintain that the Incas, who ruled the area for fifty years or less (ca.1480-1531) and were vehemently resisted by the locals, would have had much less of an impact on the people of this region than is often assumed. Buitrón claims that "the Incan influence did not have the same effect over spiritual life as it did over the material lives of Ecuadorians" (n.d.:12; my translation).<sup>9</sup>

In her article "Ecuador's Pre-Columbian Past," archaeologist Tamara Bray convincingly argues that this region of South America has played a much more active role in shaping Andean life (2008). She writes, "many theories about the evolution of social complexity give interregional interaction and exotic commodity procurement a central role" (19). Bray cites the trade of *Spondylus* shell as one outstanding example of the importance of long-distance trade in the local economy. Though the *Spondylus* habitat is restricted to only the coastal waters of

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<sup>9</sup> "La influencia incásica no tuvo la misma efectividad en la vida espiritual como en la vida material de los ecuatorianos" (Buitrón n.d.:12).



Ecuador, Bray notes that shells and many other items would have been part of the Andean exchange network, controlled by specialized long-distance traders known as *mindaláes*, who were sponsored by Caranqui and Cayambe lords and chiefs of northern Ecuador and the Imbabura provincial area. The author credits the *mindaláes* as having had a key role in shaping Andean cultural expression (22). Bray's conclusion is that pre-Columbian cultures of this region were "donors rather than recipients of important cultural developments" (25).

The Kotama flutists and Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango are confident that the *flauta* tradition is pre-Incan. In one lecture given by Cachiguango at the close of a flute class on May 6, 2012, he explained that the people of Kotama have been better able to preserve ancestral customs of the Otavalan people than their neighbors, for example, in nearby Peguche. Like the Incas, the Spanish colonists used forced migration and labor settlements as imperial domination strategies over the indigenous people of the Andes. In the Otavalo region, this resulted in the importation of people from other regions and provinces (e.g. Cotopaxi) to work in Spanish textile factories. The people of Kotama, however, were minimally affected by these migrations because factories were not built in their community, which has continued to be more of a farming-artisan (*agricultores-artesanos*, S.) community (Kyle 2000; Guerrero 1991). Today, the village is considered to be an ancestral community that is a stronghold for traditional Otavalan practices.

Ethnomusicologist Carlos Alberto Coba Andrade writes about the pre-Incan ethnocultural traits still observable during today's *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice festivities in his article "Persistencias Etnoculturales en la Fiesta de San Juan en Otavalo" (1994). He credits the persistence of these customs to the short thirty to forty years that most scholars estimate the Incas would have reigned over the area. Though Coba does not go into detail about the materials of the instruments, he lists horizontal flutes as part of the pre-Incan archaeological record in northern

Ecuador (23). He also makes mention of ritual elements that feature *flauta* music or that are related in some way to *flauta* performance. Out of the several pre-Incan examples Coba identifies in his article, I would like to concentrate on three in particular that are strongly associated with *flautas*: water, maize, and the *Aya Uma* figure.<sup>10</sup>

The people who lived in the sierra of northern Ecuador prior to the arrival of the Incas developed sophisticated water-management techniques for agriculture, fishing, and transportation.<sup>11</sup> It is no surprise then that the high cultural value of water is reflected in other aspects of indigenous Otavalan life. Water is a central component of Andean Runa ritual expression and events. Cachiguango explains,

El Agua es divina, es un ser vivo, es fuente de vida, es criadora, es madre, y merece el máximo respeto. . . . *Yaku-Mama*, la Madre Agua, no solamente merece respeto de sus hijos: existe un permanente ritual de diálogo y de interacción recíproca entre la Madre y sus hijos. . . . La alimentan con ofrendas. . . . La crianza del Agua es una crianza mútua: El Agua cría la Vida universal, y el Runa a su vez cría la vida. . . . y cría la *Yaku-Mama*. (2010:10)

Water is divine, it is a living being, it is a source of life, it is a creator, it is a mother, and it deserves the utmost respect. . . . *Yaku-Mama*, Mother Water, does not only deserve respect from her children: there exists a permanent ritual dialogue and reciprocal interaction between Mother and her sons. . . . They nourish her with offerings. . . . The creation of Water is a mutual process: Water creates universal life, and in return the Runa produces life. . . . and fosters Mother Water. (2010:10; my translation)

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<sup>10</sup> In the article, Coba focuses on the Otavalans' reverence for the sun, water, and maize, how they thank, take care of, and nourish Mother Earth with blood, water, and fire, and the *Aya Uma* character as examples of pre-Incan ritual characteristics still observable today (1994).

<sup>11</sup> Scholars once attributed the northern Andean infrastructures to the Incas, but researchers today are challenging these assumptions. Infrastructures that were established before the arrival of the Spanish include irrigation ditches (*canales acequias*, Sp.), terraced farming, water reservoirs (*albarradas*, Sp.), and fields of *camellones*, or a combination of troughs and mounds that could be used during different seasons. A team of researchers claims that although these were once attributed to the Incas, current evidence suggests that people were utilizing these systems prior to the expansion of the Incan Empire into northern Ecuador (Medina, Balanzátegui, and Moya 2007:25).

According to Cachiguango, the Kotama Hill is a spiritual center and sacred site of rain. He writes that the flutes have been "played during sacred times in order to summon rain and to beckon abundance" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63-64).<sup>12</sup>

Mother Water is synonymous with Mother Earth (*Pacha-Mama*, K.), and both entities can be considered as representative of our cosmos, that is, our universe or pair-verse. During celebrations and rites of passage, Runakuna carry out ritual cleansings and revitalizing baths (*armaykuna*, K.) in rivers, springs, waterfalls, or a confluence of two or more water bodies. Musicians and spiritual leaders also leave their instruments or masks overnight at these powerful bodies of water in preparation for the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice festival. Many of these activities are – or once were – accompanied by flute music and musicians. One well-known water ritual is the midnight bath people take during the first official night of the summer solstice festival (*armay chishi*, K.; *baño de las vísperas*, Sp.), which is held on the evening of June 22 in much of the Otavalo region. People and objects that are purified at these water sources are considered to concurrently absorb vital powers (Coba Andrade 1994:20-21).

The ritual importance of maize is the second pre-Incan ethnocultural trait identified by Coba that relates to *flauta* performance.<sup>13</sup> Although potatoes are commonly cultivated and consumed in the Otavalo area, maize is the primary staple food. This is due to Otavalo's lower elevation in relation to other important zones of the Incan Empire. In comparison to Cuzco's elevation of approximately 3,400 meters above sea level (11,152 ft), Otavalo rests at roughly 2,556 meters above sea level (8,385 feet), just on the border of temperate and sub-tropical

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<sup>12</sup> "Eran entonadas en los tiempos sagrados para 'llamar a la lluvia y para 'llamar' a la abundancia" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64).

<sup>13</sup> Carlos Coba Andrade lists the ritual importance of corn as something that is pre-Incan, but it is important to note that the relationship between flute playing and the cultivation of corn crops and products (e.g. corn beer) were a part of Incan society, such as with the *wariqsa arawi* ceremony discussed by Stobart and Zuidema (Stobart 1996b:480-481; Zuidema 1986:58). See also the essays in Jennings and Bowser (2009), as well as Weismantel's article about Andean drinking (1991).

climates. Otavalan ritual events, many of which feature or once featured *flauta* music, tend to coincide with stages of the local agricultural cycle and in particular, with the cultivation of corn crops. One of the most important Otavalan ritual products made from corn crops is fermented corn beer (*aswa*, K.; *chicha*, Sp.). Traditionally, corn beer is served throughout all social events. Flute masters are typically chosen to redistribute the drink to everyone in attendance. Flutists rely on the drink to quench their thirst and prevent their lips and mouths from dehydrating. Furthermore, flutists feed their instruments corn beer to "quench the flutes' thirst" once the instrument begins to dry, losing its rich sound and becoming more difficult to play. Below, Figure 2.2 shows flutist Alfonso Cabascango serving corn beer to Julio Tabango (see also Figure 4.15 in Chapter 4 for flutists serving corn beer to their instruments).



Figure 2.2: Alfonso Cabascango serves corn beer (*aswa*, K.) to Julio Tabango (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

The *Aya Uma* is a spiritual leader of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. In Figure 2.3, two members of Hatun Kotama are dressed as the *Aya Uma*. In the past, the Spanish and non-indigenous people (e.g. travelers and foreign visitors) erroneously dubbed the persona the devil or devil head after the double-faced mask that they perceived to be demonic. The Kichwa term *aya* means masculine spiritual energy, and *uma* is the anatomical word for head that is also understood as leader.



Figure 2.3: Two members of Hatun Kotama dressed as the *Aya Uma* (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

The man who acts as the *Aya Uma* for a community takes on the responsibility of embodying spiritual beings and protecting the dancers and musicians from his community during the duration of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:58). In order to prepare

for becoming the *Aya Uma*, the man must bathe in masculine water sources and leave his mask submerged overnight to absorb the water's spiritual energy (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:59; Coba Andrade 1994:20). He is the first and last one to partake in the festivities. In times of confrontation between communities during the *tinkuy* fights or takeovers of central public spaces (*tomas*, Sp.), such as at church plazas, he will be the one to initiate confrontation and the last one to abandon the battlegrounds.

Much like the *Aya Uma*, flute masters are called upon as spiritual leaders of and experts in the proceedings of public ceremonies and celebrations (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:16). In Otavalo, the *Aya Uma* is also associated with the transverse flute. The flutes are mentioned in a version of the legend about how the *Aya Uma* came to be, and he is frequently depicted playing the instrument (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:56). As Patricio Maldonado claims, "the *Aya Uma* without a flute is not an *Aya Uma*" (Interview, August 16, 2011).<sup>14</sup>

In Cachiguango and Pontón (2010), Cachiguango retells an origin story of the *Aya Uma* as told by his father José Antonio Cachiguango, also known as "Katsa." In this version a sad and depressed widower goes to sleep after serving food and drink to a group of *Inti Raymi* dancers. Suddenly, he is awoken by the sounds of dancing and transverse flutes.

Las flautas transversas sonaban con melodías guerreras, el zapateo enérgico y las voces airadas de animación complementaban el ritmo del baile. Creyó que había llegado otro grupo de bailadores. Se levantó dispuesto a ofrecer comida y chicha celebrativa pero se extrañó porque los danzantes no habían entrado directamente al interior de la casa, como es la costumbre, sino que estaban bailando solamente en el patio. Tuvo temor y se detuvo antes de salir afuera. Algo anormal estaba sucediendo: el zapateo de los bailadores hacía temblar el suelo, la música de las flautas parecía salir de todas partes y las voces de animación del baile se escuchaban como truenos. . . . Eran unos seres de forma humana que tenían dos caras en la misma cabeza (uno adelante y otro detrás), tenían grandes orejas y narices, sus cabellos eran muy desorganizados y largos, como si estuvieran "parados." Algunos tenían en sus manos bastones, otros llevaban consigo churu-s o caracoles marinos gigantes, otros tenían en sus manos añas, chukuris y misi-s, y algunos tocaban la flauta con gran maestría. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:55-57)

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<sup>14</sup> "*Aya Uma* sin flauta no es *Aya Uma*" (Patricio Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011).

The transverse flutes were sounding combative melodies; the vigorous footsteps and spirited voices complemented the dance rhythms. He believed that another group of dancers had arrived. He got out of bed ready to offer celebrative food and corn beer [*chicha*], but he was surprised because the dancers had not directly entered the house, as is customary; rather, they were dancing only on the patio. He felt fearful, and he stopped himself just before going outside. Something abnormal was happening: the dancers' footsteps were making the ground shake, the flutes' music sounded as if it was coming from all directions, and the animating voices of the dance sounded like thunder. . . . The dancers were beings in the form of humans that had two faces on the same head (one in front and one behind), they had large eyes and noses, their hair was unkempt and very long, as if they were "indolent." Some had large batons in their hands, others carried with them *churu*-s or gigantic marine conches, others had skunks, weasels, and cats, and others played the [transverse] flute with great mastery. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:55-57; my translation)

The man was so impressed by this apparition that in the following year, he decided to create himself an outfit, which he modeled after the beings he had witnessed at this home, and he bathed in masculine and powerful water sources. From that point on, he danced as the *Aya Uma* for every *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. It is said that he never grew tired during the festivities, he never suffered any injuries, and when he danced, his feet did not touch the ground.

During my field research, my fieldwork partner and Kichwa teacher Patricio and I only encountered one story or explanation specifically about the origins of the Otavalan transverse cane flute. This was a particularly exciting find for Patricio, who had not heard any such story despite having spent much of his adult life performing *flauta* and researching Kichwa life, language, and folklore. In his interview, experienced flutist Tayta Mochila told Patricio and me the following story. To begin, he uses his great grandfather as an example of how Runakuna centuries ago would have made the first Otavalan transverse cane flutes:

Kaytaka parlani tíu bisabuelo José Piu kaytaka parlanmi, llamata michikushpami sukusta tarishpa purikushpaka utukushpa pukllashka kashka utukushpa. Utukushpa pukllashpa, uh shina sukustaka simple utukuta rurashka kashkayariy, simple utukuta rurashpaka purikushka chay sector Ura Huchupika shuk wayramary llashan waktamukun Cotacachita chashna uh Atuntaquimanta shamun shina Cotacachi Atuntaquishina, Cotacachi . . . Ambita wichayman shamukunshnaka. . . . Chayka chaypi llamata michishpa

purikushpaka kashnata utukushpa charikushpaka, chayka pukllashpalla utukushka, na imapash intencionwan, Chayka wayrapi kashna churakpika sonidota kushka, asha [at this point, he lightly blew across the mouth hole for a breathy tone] chaymi kaypi sonido uyarikpimi, José Piuka ashtawan pay wakanllachu imata? nirka [at this point, he blew a solid tone on the flute] wakachishka. Chaymi kay utukukunata pukllashpa rurashkataka llapikpika sonidota kushka [at this point, he blew into the flute, using his fingers to make a trill], chayka ashtawan dedokunapa kashna churakpi, payka kashna churakunkurianka yuyani tawka utukuta churashpa mana paktakpi kimsa utukutalla utukushka nin, kashna kaypak kimsa, kaypak kimsa. Chayta kashna pukushpa rikukpika tikrana kashka nin. Tunuta kushka nini. . . . Chaytami entendinchik kay música de la flautaka nacirishka através del viento y el carrizo. A eso, o sea, wacharishka wayrapi sukuspi. . . . Chay músicataka ñukanchik runa kawsay, Kotama kawsay hapin. Yeah. Chayka chay tiempota paralakuni Kotamapi kashna kimsa wasilla tiyashka. . . . Pero eso hablo casi más de doscientos años, más que trescientos años. (Interview, Tayta Mochila, September 12, 2012)

I tell you what my great grandfather José Piu says. While taking the sheep out to pasture, he would go out carrying the cane and experiment with making holes in it. He would play around while making the holes, so with this cane he would have made just a simple hole, and while walking around Ura Huchu [a neighborhood of Kotama], he would make the hole and a breeze would blow through coming from [the direction] of Cotacachi, um, it would come like this from over near Atuntaqui, Cotacachi. . . . From the area passing Río Ambi. . . . And there, when he would take the sheep to pasture, having the cane with him and making holes in it, he would just play around making holes, not with any intention of making anything in particular. And if he put it up to the wind like this, it would sound [at this point, he lightly blew across the mouth hole for a breathy tone]. When he would hear the sound come from the flute, José Piu wondered, "could [the flute] cry out more?" [at this point, he blew a solid tone on the flute]. José Piu made it cry out. And with these holes he made as just an experiment, he would press his fingers down on them, giving it sound [at this point, he blew into the flute, using his fingers to make a trill]. If he puts more [holes] for his fingers like this, I think he would have been placing his fingers in such a way [placing his fingers spread out on the flute]. And he put a few holes, but it is said that three holes weren't enough, like this he made three for one hand and three for the other hand. And it is said he would begin blowing and realize that the notes had to sound back to him a certain way. I'm saying that this is when tunes began to be given [to us]. We understand this: flute music was born from wind and cane. In other words, it grew from wind and cane. . . . And one comprehends our Runa [indigenous] life, our Kotama life, from the flute music born of that wind and cane. I'm talking about that time long ago when in Kotama, there were only three homes. . . . More than almost two hundred – more than three hundred – years ago. (Interview, September 12, 2012; my translation)

Later, Tayta Mochila recounted how following the transverse flute's inception, people began playing it for other occasions:



Entonces, ya después, ha comenzado ocupar como una música para alegrar, como para la fiesta, bueno para todo. En esto, primero, ha sabido ocupar para pastar ganado, borrego, chanchos, en la quebrada, en la hacienda. Esa época, creo, aquí en el centro de Otavalo, unos cinco casas dijeron, esa época, cinco casas aquí en el centro. Todo vacío, que ha habido unas haciendas. . . . Primero, ha comenzado como servicio, y el acompañamiento en la soledad, ha comenzado con la flauta, pastando ganado, borrego, chanco. . . . Luego, se ocupa para caminar de noche. . . . Entonces, esa época, no, no había ni, ni, ni caminos ancha, nada. Solo chakiñanes, que es, se anda una persona, solo caminos chakiñanes que se llaman, Solo esos caminos. Andar de noche por esos caminos, a veces, hay árboles dentro de árboles toca caminar, andar por los chakiñanes es un poco miedoso. Entonces para no estar yendo calladito se ha sabido ir tocando flauta, tocando flauta haciendo bulla ha sabido a irse ha sabido ocupar. Ya luego después ya con . . . con el aumento poblacional, ya se ocupa para matrimonio, para todo eso. Toca en matrimonio, en fiesta de Inti Raymi para bailar al círculo, uh-huh, entonces, allí, y dentro de ese en ese baile vuelta sale las músicas, se crea más músicas, y hasta con el aumento poblacional de los indígenas ya comienza dividirse entre los grupos, ya comienza hasta a pelearse. (Interview, September 12, 2012)

And after this, people began to use the music to make happiness, like for festivals, well, for everything. At first, they would use the music to take livestock, goats, pigs out to pasture in the ravines, on the haciendas. I think it is said that at that time, there were only five houses in Otavalo's center. Just five houses here in the center of town. Everything was empty, there were just some haciendas. . . . [Flute playing] began as a means to accompany one during moments of solitude, it began with the flute, shepherding livestock, goats, pigs. . . . Later it was used to walk around at night. . . . Well, in that time, there weren't any, not one, not any wide streets, nothing. Only footpaths, on which only one person can walk, just footpaths, as they are called. Just those types of paths. To walk at night along those paths, sometimes, there are trees within trees and one must walk [through there], walking along footpaths is a bit spooky. And so that they didn't have to go along in silence, they are known to have played flute, playing flute to make some sound is how they've gone about, how they've been known to use [the flute]. And following that, when later . . . when there were more people, they began to use [the flute] for marriage, for everything like that. They play in weddings, in the Inti Raymi festival in order to dance in circles, uh-huh, so, then, when they are dancing, in turn the music comes out, and they make more music, and then with the population of the indigenous people increasing, they begin to divide themselves into different groups, and they even begin fighting [in *tinkuy* fights] among themselves. (Interview, September 12, 2012)

Following the interview, I was puzzled by Tayta Mochila's estimation of when this music began, placing this time-period approximately four generations ago, well after the Spanish encounter. When I told Patricio that this confused me, that I felt it contradicted how other flutists claim the tradition has pre-Incan roots, he explained to me that Tayta Mochila was not speaking

literally about his great-grandfather making the first transverse flute. Instead, Patricio reminded me about language lessons I had had with him and Luz María De la Torre, in which I learned about how the Kichwa concept of time is a spiral. At some point, we all return to exactly where we are. Time repeats, and time overlaps. The lines between the past, present, and future are often blurred. Although Tayta Mochila uses his great-grandfather as the main character in his retelling of the origins of this flute, he was actually referring to a much earlier time. Some indications of the blending or overlapping of time can be detected in how Tayta Mochila tells this story. For example, during the introduction Tayta Mochila states,

*Kaytaka parlani tíu bisabuelo José Piu kaytaka parlanmi*

This I tell man [my] great-grandfather José Piu this he says.

*Parlanmi* is the present tense, third-person conjugation of the verb "to tell" or "to say." Although his great-grandfather, as well as his grandfather and father, have all since passed away, he uses the present tense to talk about what his great-grandfather has said. Further along in the story, one senses a much longer span of time when Tayta Mochila describes how the flute began when all of the people in the Otavalan Valley were one community or one ethnic group, and how the use of this flute changed over time when Otavaleños began to distinguish themselves from one another, would marry, celebrate the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival, and clash during *tinkuy* fights.

The evidence is ambiguous, and like David Kyle states, the origins of the Otavalans and some of their customs are, and likely will remain, a mystery to us (2000:117). Sources documenting the sixteenth-century encounters between the Otavalan people, Incas, and Spaniards are unfortunately lacking. Further archival research is needed to uncover text-based documentation that may shed more light on the nature of *flauta* music in Ecuador's northern

sierra during and prior to contact with Spaniards. What can be said with more certainty is that this music is associated with practices that scholars and musicians from the last century consider to be, at the very least, rooted in pre-Incan beliefs. As I discuss in the following chapters, Otavalan Runakuna have continued to value *flauta* music, and they have been active in keeping the practice dynamic by adapting it to changing social, cultural, and economic contexts over the last century.

### **Instrumentation**

The Otavalan transverse *flauta* tradition encompasses a collection of musical instruments that are performed in addition to the *flautas*. For the most part, these auxiliary instruments are other aerophones, but some string instruments have been adapted to the ritual practices and are occasionally played as well. Percussive beats made by dancers' footsteps and vocals are also important features of the music. Below, I offer a brief overview about how these instruments and sounds are a part of this musical tradition. Finally, I outline why I have decided to focus on the *flautas*.

This tradition largely consists of aerophones, or musical instruments that are sounded by the movement of air. The *kucha* is the most similar to the *flauta*. Though both are transverse flutes, there are important distinctions that must be made between the two instruments. First of all, *kucha* flutes are not made of *carrizo*; rather, they are constructed out of *tunda*, which several flutists explained to me is another type of plant material imported from warmer and more tropical climates, such as those of the Amazon forest east of Otavalo and the coastal areas lying to the west of the Andes Mountains (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:66; Coba Andrade

1992:570; Mullo Sandoval 2006:24; Parsons 1945:116). Figures 2.4 and 2.5 show *carrizo* (cane) flutes and two *kucha* flutes.

Secondly, the *kucha* flute is made of one long, continuous section of the culm (stem), which may measure approximately 50cm to 60cm in length, with a diameter of 1.7cm to 1.8cm.<sup>15</sup> The *kucha* should not be confused with *tunda* flutes, which are very large transverse flutes also made of a material called *tunda*.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the *tunda* material for *kuchas* is a much smaller and thinner variety. Both *carrizo* and *tunda* stems are hollow in the middle, but the wall of the *tunda* material for the *kucha* is thinner than that of *carrizo* reeds.



Figure 2.4: Pairs of transverse cane (*carrizo*) flutes in five different sizes handcarved by José Manuel Perugachi (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> See Cachiguango and Pontón (2010:66) and Coba Andrade (1992:588-591). See also Chapter 4 where I discuss how flutes are made and general sizes of different models of *flautas*.

<sup>16</sup> The *tunda* flute is sometimes referred to by the Kichwa name *yakuchimpa* (also spelled as *yacuchimba*) (Mullo Sandoval 2006:24). *Tundas* are traditional instruments of the Kichwa Kayampi (Cayambe, Sp.) people who live in the region immediately south of the Imbabura Province. These flutes are listed as having up to six finger holes, and they are performed in gendered pairs like the *flautas*. According to Carlos Coba, they are also associated with fertility. Most scholars consider *tundas* and *flautas* to be in the same instrument family (Mullo Sandoval 2006:23). *Aruchicos*, the musicians who play *tundas*, hang bells from their shoulders while dancing and performing the plaza takeovers (*tomas*, Sp). For more information about these flutes, see: Coba Andrade (1992:567-581), Moreno (1923:32), Mullo Sandoval (2006; 2009:211), Collier and Buitrón (1949:105). Parsons briefly mentions *tunda*'s jungle origins and the scarcity of these flutes (1945:116). Blomberg (1965) and Kintner (1949a) also filmed *aruchico* flutists playing *tunda* flutes or Otavalan transverse *flautas*. Blomberg's photographs of *aruchicos* can be found in his personal archive in Quito. See Appendix 1 for one of Blomberg's photographs of *aruchicos*.



Figure 2.5: Two *kucha* flutes. The top flute is made from a type of cane substituted for *tunda*. The bottom flute is made from the rarer *tunda* material (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2013).

According to traditional Runa beliefs, all beings possess emotional, mental, spiritual, and physical manifestations. Furthermore, everything in our cosmos is a living being. Cachiguango writes that "everything in our pair-verse [cosmos] is living, they do not exist as natural elements but as just beings. Even immobile beings like rocks are alive" (2006:60).<sup>17</sup> Both the *flauta* and *kucha* are reproductions of beings that are actors in their society. Whereas the *flauta*'s sound represents the human voice, the *kucha*'s tone is more strident, higher-pitched, and is considered to be the voice of mountain beings and water spirits (Cachiguango 2006:25, 34).<sup>18</sup> Cachiguango explains: "It is the voice of the spirit (*chuzalunku*) that with its 'voice' or sound continues to challenge and incite the *tinkuy* (duel of forces)" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63, 91).<sup>19</sup>

Conch shells (*churukuna*, K., also called *kupa*, K.) and bull horns (*kachukuna*, K.) accompany the flutists and dancers during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. Their sound announces a musical group's presence, such as when they arrive at St. John's Chapel near downtown Otavalo.

<sup>17</sup> ". . . todo en el pariverso es vivo, no existen los elementos naturales sino solamente seres. Hasta los seres inmóviles como las piedras tienen vida" (Cachiguango 2006:60).

<sup>18</sup> See track 2, "Arias Uku," of Hatun Kotama's album *¡Así Kotama!* for an audio example of the *kucha* (Hatun Kotama 2013). In context, only a solo performer would play the *kucha*; however, in the interest of producing a stronger and more desired sound for the Smithsonian Folkways album, members of Hatun Kotama decided to double the track of the *kucha* player. Although the *kucha* melodies were each recorded twice, the same performer played both times in order to preserve the sense that only one soloist was playing.

<sup>19</sup> "Es la voz del aya (*chuzalunku*) que con su 'voz' o sonido continúa desafiando e incitando al *tinkuy* (duelo de fuerzas)" (Cachiguango & Pontón 2010:63). The *chuzalunku* is a type of mountain spirit that is known for having an enormous penis. He is notorious for seducing and impregnating young women who wander alone in the mountains. Each mountain possesses its own *chuzalunku*.

Moreno notes that conch shells were also used to call the masses together for communal work projects (*minkakuna*, K.) or during armed conflicts, such as the *tinkuy* fights (Moreno 1972:84). The trumpeting sound also has spiritual significance, as Cachiguango writes: "the sound of the giant marine conch shell is the divine voice that was heard when our cosmos was being born" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64).

Both the conch shell and the bull horn are associated with the sacred powers of water.<sup>20</sup>

Bull horns were adopted and Andeanized into Runa culture following the Spanish introduction of livestock to the area. Though the association of cattle and bodies of water would hardly seem a likely relationship, Cachiguango explains why the bull became connected with water energies:

El Amaru (la serpiente) es la fuerza del mundo interior, la representación del agua que recorre las entrañas de la allpa-mama (madre tierra). Con la llegada europea el amaru se transformó en el "toro," la personificación del *sinchi aya*, el espíritu masculino del agua que vive en los lugares ceremoniales considerados como "bravos." (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:54-55)

The serpent is the force of the interior world, the representation of water that flows through the entrails of our Mother Earth. After the dawn of European contact, the serpent was transformed into the "bull," the personification of the *sinchi aya*, the masculine water spiritual energy that dwells in ceremonial sites considered "fierce." (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:54-55; my translation)<sup>21</sup>

Masculine spiritual beings may take on different human or spiritual forms, but the author states that the bull, which is strong and has the potential to destroy or kill, is the most common manifestation.

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<sup>20</sup> Water sources (e.g. mineral springs, rivers, lakes) are also deemed masculine or feminine depending on certain characteristics. Cold, fresh-water sources are said to possess masculine energies (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:108).

<sup>21</sup> Cachiguango writes later in the same book that the *aya* masculine spiritual energy is related to death, that it is destructive and active. It dwells in bodies of water as well as other natural forces or entities, such as land, wind, fire, plants, animals, rocks, etc. The complement to the masculine *aya* is the feminine *sami*, which is a harmonizing, more passive entity also associated with water, land, wind, air, fire, plants, animals, rocks, etc. (110). As an example of how these dual pairs exist, Cachiguango describes masculine natural springs as typically possessing cold water, cold mineral water, or fresh water, whereas feminine springs are warm water, warm mineral water, or salt water, though there is the possibility for exceptions (108-109).

Dance is an integral part of this music and provides a strong, driving percussive element. Participation is not limited to just the instrumentalists who perform at the center of the dance circle; festival attendees, regardless of their gender, age, or place of origin, are often welcomed to join the dance groups.<sup>22</sup> Movements performed are dictated by the rhythms and tempos. For example, quick-tempo flute tunes (e.g. approximately 170 bpm) are accompanied by dancing in circles for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, whereas those that are slightly slower (e.g. approximately 120-140 bpms) are typically played when briskly marching in straight lines from one place to another. In general, the musicians and dancers step forcefully to the steady beat of the music, making the footsteps audible and broadcasting the degree of spiritual energy and force embodied by the musicians. Dance is considered to be a direct means of communicating with *Pacha-Mama*, which helps the dancer achieve a heightened state of communion with Mother Earth and the cosmos (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63).

There are a few styles of vocalizations that are performed with this music: whistling, chanting, stylized speech, and poetic incantations. Whistling, made by pursing one's lips together, is commonly done when one music ensemble confronts another ensemble, such as during the *tomas* (takeovers, Sp.) or *tinkuy* ritual fights of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*.<sup>23</sup> People whistle in rhythm to the beats marked by heavy dance steps. Similar to the relentless stamping of dancers, men's whistling also advertises the strength and spiritual energy of the groups.

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<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 5 for further explanation of dancing during the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival.

<sup>23</sup> People mostly dance within their own community during the early days of the festival (June 22 through June 27, followed by San Pedro on June 28), and the competing ensembles may be from other families or sectors of the same village. Later, these groups combine and form one large group that represents their community. The conglomerated group then competes with ensembles from other villages in the town centers and church plazas where musicians congregate for the later half of the festivities (June 25, 26, and 27). For more information on *tomas* and *tinkuys*, see Wibbelsman (2005).

The antiphonal chanting heard on the majority of tracks on Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways album, *¡Así Kotama!: The Flutes of Otavalo Ecuador*, is called *alegrana*.<sup>24</sup> The term is derived from the combination of the Spanish verb "*alegrar*," which translates as "to enliven," or "to cheer," and the Kichwa suffix "*-na*," which is a morpheme that makes the root word a verb or a noun, depending on the context.<sup>25</sup> To perform the *alegrana*, two men chant words or short phrases that fit within two beats of the music. One man improvises by calling out the words and the other responds by repeating what is called out. Though it is not a strict rule, the vocalists typically repeat the terms two or three times each. As Cachiguango relates, this type of chanting stems from the Runakuna poetic traditions (*arawi* or *sumak rimay* in Kichwa): "This knowledge is based on transforming the atmosphere of the moment into highly understandable expressions."<sup>26</sup> Many of the elder flute masters in Kotama are considered to be master poets (*arawik* or *sumak rimak*, K.) as well.

When chanting the *alegrana*, musicians call out names of people, places, and expressions. For example, the lead chanter may name the other vocalist, one of the musicians performing, or someone else nearby. He may also use the first person plural of "us" or "we" (*ñukanchikka*, K.). On *¡Así Kotama!*, one will also hear many references to places, such as the Kotama village (*Kotama llakta*, K.), Kotama hill (*Kotama loma*, K.), and the river that runs along the south-side of the village (*Hatun Yaku*, K.).

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<sup>24</sup> *Alegrana* can be heard in the majority of Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways album, such as in tracks 3-17 (2013).

<sup>25</sup> There has been much debate about this issue between Kichwa language experts. Since the 1990s, linguists and language advocates have attempted to standardize written Kichwa and its grammar. Some dictionaries utilize the "*-na*" suffix for infinitives and the "*-y*" suffix for nouns, while others have the infinitive forms end with "*-y*" and the nouns end with "*-na*." For example, "*takina*" and "*takiy*" may both be the infinitive form of "to sing/to make music," or the noun "song."

<sup>26</sup> "Este saber consistía en transformar el sentimiento del momento en expresiones altamente comprensibles" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:95).



The *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* celebration is one of the main performance contexts for this music; therefore, a large number of the phrases and expressions are connected to aspects of the festival. For example, "*Capillamanka*," or "[go] to the Chapel," refers to when people go to a nearby church where the indigenous musicians and dancers take over the plaza during the festivities.<sup>27</sup> Commonly heard phrases are "hurry up!" (*hakuchiylla*, K.), "I'm here!" (*kaypimi kani*, K.), "perhaps we'll cross paths" (*toparishunmi*, K.), "take out the corn beer!" (*saca warapu*, K.), and "are you listening?" (*uyankichu?*, K.). Phrases like *kari kari* and *halaku*, on the other hand, are more esoteric in nature. *Kari kari* literally translates to "manly, manly," and is an expression of masculine virility and energy associated with this music and the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival. *Halaku* does not have a literal translation; it is a vocal expression of elation, ecstasy, and infinite strength (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:96).

The second type of chanting is *juanikuna*. It is performed in unison as a coda or tag of contrasting musical material at the end of a song.<sup>28</sup> In contrast to the *alegrana*, the *juanikuna* are chanted *a cappella* in groups of four beats.<sup>29</sup> The chanted syllables are either the vocables "ula hu hu hu," "ula ula hu hu" or Spanish phrases like *carajo* (prick, jerk, or damn it, E.) or "we'll return to there" (*chayman tikrashun*, K.). The sayings may be adjusted to fit the rhythm by

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<sup>27</sup> Each community in the region has a designated central place where they convene with other village groups on specific days of the festival. Communities like Kotama, La Bolsa, Guanansí, and Azama meet at the St. John's Church (*San Juan Capilla*, Sp.) near downtown Otavalo. In Cotacachi, people from surrounding villages meet at the central plaza in front of the main church in downtown Cotacachi. For more information about *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* in Cotacachi, see Wibbelsman (2005, 2009).

<sup>28</sup> See track 35 "Limandero" on Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways recording, *¡Así Kotama!: The Flutes of Otavalo, Ecuador* (2013). The word *limandero* means umbrella swift; it is a variant of the pronunciation of the Spanish term *hilandero*.

<sup>29</sup> Though *juanikuna* are typically performed *a cappella*, track 4 "Jala Jajaja" on disc 2 side A of *Música Etnográfica y folklórica del Ecuador* is a recording of the *aruchicos* from the nearby Cayambe region chanting *juanikuna* (IOA 1990). The *aruchicos* dancers wear bells over their shoulders, which can be heard jingling in background of this selection.

extending the last syllable or adding "hu." For example, *carajo* is sung as "caraju ju ju," and *chayman tikrashun* as "chayman tikrashun hu hu."

According to Cachiguango, *Ula* is the spirit of the home, and *juanikuna* chanting summons the *Ula* spirit to safeguard one's abode and ensure prosperity in people's lives. For this reason, it is performed during marriage ceremonies and new home rituals called *Wasi Pichay* (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:73; Moreno 1972:199-200). Some may wonder why, then, would we hear *juanikuna* chanting at the end of a funeral game song, such as with track 35 "Limandero" performed by Hatun Kotama (2013)? Mariano Maldonado explains: "It's because we see death as only one step to another life. There's sadness, but we want the spirit to leave happily because it's going to somewhere new, a new life" (Interview, August 16, 2011).<sup>30</sup> Essentially, when the *juanikuna* are performed during a time of grieving over someone's death, it is meant to wish for prosperity in the deceased's next life.

Men speak in stylized speech (*hansi shimi*, K.; literally "light language") once they have become the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* spirit that accompanies them during the festival. A person may reach a heightened state with *Pacha-Mama* and the spirits by dancing, playing music, becoming inebriated, or performing other rituals that allow for the absorption of masculine spiritual energies, such as the midnight baths (*armay*, K.). This kind of speech is melodic and spoken in one's head voice.<sup>31</sup> Men who are accompanied by the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* spirit frequently take on a jokester persona; however, their employment of humor does not indicate a lack of meaning or connection to Runa spirituality. While in the field, I occasionally heard men

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<sup>30</sup> "Wañushka kipa, shuk kawsayman rinchik, ninchik. Llakimi kanchik, shinapash payka kushiwan mushuk kawsayman llukshichun munanchik" (Mariano Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> See the opening of track 1, "Chinkashka," on Hatun Kotama's second album (2013) for an example of this vocal style.

complain about the tendency for some people to cheaply imitate the voices without achieving an emotional and mental state that would properly induce such behavior.

Verbal art has long been a valued skill in traditional Kichwa culture, and poetic forms of speech were once an important mode of transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:95). Though these poetic forms have notably fallen out of use over the last few centuries, Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango can be heard on track 32, "Yaku Taki" of Hatun Kotama's second album (2013), reciting a poetic incantation (*arawi* or *sumak rimay*, K.) in Kichwa and Spanish, with Kevin Gover (Pawnee, director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian) narrating an English translation. The words are set to flute music that was once typically played to summon rains during the *Wakcha Karay* (The Poor One's Offering) ceremony held during mid-July at the end of the dry season following the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival in Kotama. Citing some of Kotama's elders, Cachiguango notes that "Yaku Taki" was traditionally performed during ritual baths carried out during various festivals, such as *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (specifically on June 22, the first night of the festival), the *Tumay* ritual that is part of spring equinox festivities (*Pawkar Raymi*, K.), during Holy Week (*Semana Santa*, Sp.), and during the Rooster's Mass (*Misa del Gallo*, Sp.) in December (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:71-73).

Though the *flauta* tradition is considered to represent ancient Otavalan culture, it has adapted over time to reflect modern Runa society. The 1900s were a time when the instrumentation expanded to include newly available instruments. One such instrument is the harmonica, which was popular as early as the first quarter of the twentieth century (Moreno 1923:31).<sup>32</sup> A standard one-key harmonica may be used, but most prefer the chromatic

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<sup>32</sup> For an example of the harmonica as played in lowland Amerindian societies of Ecuador, such as the Cayapa nation, see tracks 7, "Song of Ourselves," and 8, "Caramba," on the Folkways Records album

harmonica (*rondín pareado*, Sp.). Mariano Maldonado dates the beginning of the harmonica's integration to musical performance in Kotama to the 1950s (Personal communication, May 2, 2012). Furthermore, Mariano mentioned that some women were known for playing the harmonica.<sup>33</sup>

In Otavalo, the harmonica is treasured as a central instrument on par with the *flauta* and *kucha*. Many of the flute masters are also regarded as expert harmonica players. "The harmonica's music," explains Cachiguango, "supports the energy and power of the flute's music" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:84). One may perform solo with the harmonica, or with a guitarist.<sup>34</sup>

Harmonicas could be considered as foreign as any string instrument that has been adopted into Otavalan music; however, when Hatun Kotama was debating whether or not to officially include the study of other musical instruments (e.g. guitar and violin) in their organization as they transitioned from the status of a flute school to a cultural center, the harmonica was always categorized as a traditional wind instrument alongside the *flauta* and *kucha*. Its inclusion in Hatun Kotama's classes was not questioned.

The harmonica is similar to the *rondador* (*palla*, K.), a type of panpipe that is native to the northern Andes and is considered to be dying out.<sup>35</sup> Both instruments sound multiple notes, which could partially explain why the Otavalan Runakuna adopted the harmonica into their

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*Lowland Tribes of Ecuador*, available online at <http://www.folkways.si.edu/lowland-tribes-of-ecuador/american-indian-world/music/album/smithsonian> (1986).

<sup>33</sup> In general, only men play the instruments I describe in this dissertation. For further discussion about the gender of musicians in Otavalo, see Chapter 3.

<sup>34</sup> See track 17, "ImbaKotama," on *¡Así Kotama!* for an example of the harmonica accompanied by guitar. See also track 5, "Maldonado Rondín," for solo harmonica with *alegrana* vocals and footsteps (Hatun Kotama 2013).

<sup>35</sup> Berta Ares Queija calls this instrument *pallawa-s* (*pallahuas* with the old Spanish spelling and pluralization) (1988:43). Patricio explained to me that in the region of Otavalo where Ares Queija was working, the suffix morpheme *-wa* is synonymous with the diminutive *-ku* used in other Kichwa-speaking communities. Therefore, *pallawa* means the "small *palla*," which is commonly called the *rondador*.

musical palette and cherish it so much today. What is not clear is if the *flauta* and *rondador* were performed during the same events in the same way that the *flauta* and harmonica are today. Members of Hatun Kotama believe there to be a connection between the *rondador* and the harmonica. Mariano Maldonado recalls that some women in other communities were renowned for their harmonica playing, and he and his son Patricio suspect that perhaps women once played the *rondador* (Interview, August 16, 2011; Personal communication, 2012).

Scholars who wrote about this music before the 1950s mention the *flauta* and the *rondador* in their lists of instruments played by indigenous music ensembles, but they rarely describe the performances in enough detail to know how harmonica playing related to the role of the *rondador*. Moreno states that the small *rondador* is a ritual instrument and it was performed "only for the feasts in homage to the Sun, during the September equinox," whereas the transverse flute was used more often to celebrate the March equinox, June solstice, and private rejoicings (1949:34; translated by Jorge Luis Pérez).<sup>36</sup> Photographs taken by Moreno indicate that the small *rondador* was typically performed with a small drum, as described in *La Música de la Provincia de Imbabura* (Moreno [1966] 2010; 1923:32).

In the early 2000s, Runakuna adopted the *melódica*, a keyboard instrument that is sounded by blowing air through a tube and pressing the piano-style keys (Personal communication, May 2012). Today, the plastic instruments are found in all of the local music shops, and I observed them being played by Otavalan youth during the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festivities. Based on my observations in the field, *melódicas* and harmonicas are used interchangeably to play the same types of melodies with guitar accompaniment.

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<sup>36</sup> "El pequeñito [rondador] . . . es instrumento ritual que no lo usan sino en los festejos en homenaje al Sol, durante el equinoccio de setiembre" (Moreno 1949:34).

Stringed instruments are most strongly associated with European-influenced music, even though many indigenous cultures across the Americas have adopted different types of violins, lutes, guitars, and harps into ritual and secular performance practices. These instruments are featured in popular contemporary music and traditional music. For example, many indigenous Otavalan musicians play violins, guitars, and *bandolinas* (a mandolin-type instrument, Sp.) in popular pan-Andean style renditions of *sanjuanitos*. Local musicians also consider the harp and violin as essential instruments for performing traditional genres of music, such as children's wakes and marriage ceremonies.

The strict assumption that all indigenous string music is based on European styles of music is problematic. In many cases, indigenous peoples have not only adopted these instruments into traditional frameworks, they have also adapted these instruments and their construction, sometimes developing unique systems of tuning and playing techniques that sound distinct from Western musical styles.<sup>37</sup> Although Hatun Kotama has chosen to focus their efforts on preserving and maintaining the performance of Andean instruments deemed more authentic (i.e. wind instruments), stringed instruments are part of this tradition, although they occupy a more peripheral role in comparison to the aerophones described above.

The guitar is the most common stringed instrument in this musical style. Standard six-string guitars have been a popular instrument among Otavaleños since the mid-twentieth century. In 1949, Segundo Luis Moreno wrote that guitars were among the instruments played during the Runakuna's "profane merriments," along with other European instruments (34). Ecuadorian anthropologist Rubio Orbe noted in his 1956 publication about the Punyaro community that "in

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<sup>37</sup> For just a few examples of indigenous string music, see recordings of lowland Kichwas musicians Takik Churi (Franco 2005), Wixárika (Huichol) musician Hilario López de la Cruz from Mexico (2006), and the Smithsonian Folkways' compilation of North and South American indigenous string music on the album *Wood That Sings: Indian Fiddle Music of the Americas* (Various Artists 1997).

their homes, after meals, at night, they play the guitar," which is an instrument that "everyone knows how to strum" ([1956] 2009:252, 250).<sup>38</sup> According to the Maldonado family, guitars were adopted as a part of the *flauta* tradition in Kotama during the late 1980s, and later became a popular choice during the 1990s among musicians who accompany harmonica players (Personal communication, May 2, 2012). Guitarists will also play in duos with violinists.

It is less common to hear a violinist performing at an event that features *flauta* music. One could assume that there are fewer Runa violinists in part due to a lack of accessibility of affordable and quality violins in Otavalo. Furthermore, there is not a strong local tradition of violin luthierie as there is for guitars, *bandolinas*, and *charangos* (a small five-course Andean guitar that has a convex back traditionally made from an armadillo shell).<sup>39</sup> Most of the indigenous violinists I met claimed that family members or friends provided them with quality violins that they acquired while overseas in Europe or North America. In the event that a capable violinist is available, s/he may be invited to form a duo that would rotate performing with the flutists or harmonica players.

During my 2012 field research, I was contracted three times to play violin with flutists. These events included a graduation ceremony at Amawtay Wasi (an intercultural, higher education institution that bases its curriculum on traditional indigenous systems of knowledge),

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<sup>38</sup> "Todos saben rasgar" (Rubio Orbe [1956] 2009:250). "En sus casas, después de las comidas, las tardes, rasgan la guitarra" (Rubio Orbe [1956] 2009:252).

<sup>39</sup> A course on a string instrument is the adjacent pairing of strings in unison or octave; therefore, a five-course charango has five pairs of strings. Most of the violins I came across in stores were manufactured in Brazil or China, or frequently, a violinist owned an instrument that was imported by relatives from Europe and the United States. I did not encounter any contemporary violins made by local Otavaleños or Ecuadorians during my time in Ecuador; however, in the past, the Runakuna did produce their own violins. In his overview of musical instruments played in Punyaro and Otavalo, Rubio Orbe mentions that the type of violin made by indigenous people of Otavalo was "identical to those that are imported" (2009[1956]:250). An example of these Otavalan violins is housed by the Museo Otavalango. Compared to a contemporary European-style violin, the body is much more round and robust, and the bow resembles a Baroque bow more than a contemporary French-style bow.

and two weddings: one ceremony that mixed evangelical and Runa elements, and another that was based primarily on traditional Runa protocol.<sup>40</sup> In all three cases, I was part of a violin and guitar duo that alternated performing with one or two flute trios. During the performances, we would all take turns stringing short tunes together, interrupting and being interrupted by one another.<sup>41</sup>

### **The Transverse Flute**

The broader topic of this musical tradition invites further studies. Not surprisingly, this made narrowing the focus of this dissertation somewhat challenging. In the end, I decided to center this project on one instrument of the tradition – the transverse *carrizo* flute of Otavalo – and present several themes as they relate to this flute. One of my reasons for doing so is the fact that the transverse flute is the primary instrument played in this tradition; it was identified as such by members of Hatun Kotama, who have focused their cultural preservation efforts largely on the *flauta*. Historically, as noted above, this instrument has been described as ubiquitous and played by most of the male Runakuna of the region. As Moreno observes, "there is rarely an indigenous person who doesn't know how to perform an autochthonous instrument." He lists some of the common musical instruments of the time, including the *tunda* flutes and *rondadores*, but singles out the *carrizo* flute as "the preferred instrument among the indigenous people of the north" ([1930] 1996:33).<sup>42</sup> Rubio Orbe notes the same popularity of the *flauta* in Punyaro as well, stating that "there are instruments such as the flute that they play whenever possible; for this they carry them tucked in by their belt around their waist. In the morning, mid-day, at night;

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<sup>40</sup> See <http://amawtaywasi.edu.ec/web/> (Amawtay Wasi 2013).

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 5 for further musical analysis.

<sup>42</sup> "Casi no hay indio que no sepa ejecutar algún instrumento autóctono . . . sobre todo la flauta de carrizo, es el instrumento preferido de los indios del norte" (Moreno Andrade [1930]1996:33)



at home or on the road; walking, seated, or standing they are playing the flute" ([1956] 2009:252).<sup>43</sup>

Second, I believe that the transverse flute provides a salient example of how traditional Kichwa concepts of personhood, time, and space are sung into being through musical performance. Third, current research in South America, primarily in lowland and Amazonian South America, has focused on flute traditions and their roles in creating and maintaining relationships between gendered human beings, extraordinary beings, and their physical and spiritual worlds.<sup>44</sup> By centering my research on the Otavalan transverse flute, I am able to better connect my research with what is currently being published about indigenous music from the South American continent.

### ***Flauta Performance Contexts***

Otavalans are well known for their ambitious work ethic and ability to adapt to changing social and economic environments.<sup>45</sup> I believe this tendency has allowed for a large variety of performance settings that are associated with Runa customs and agriculture as well as those that are a product of intersections of Runa life with Western religions and economic structures, such as Christianity, the Spanish colonial *hacienda* system, and contemporary forms of globalization and technology.

Authors of sources listed above, like Segundo Luis Moreno, comment on the popularity of these transverse flutes in ritual and quotidian Runa life of the twentieth century. Flutists

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<sup>43</sup> "Hay instrumentos como la flauta que tocan en todos los momentos que hay tiempo; para esto las llevan sostenidas en el cordón de la cintura. De mañana, al medio día, en la tarde; en las casas, en los caminos; andando, sentados, o parados están gaitando (tocando la flauta)" (Rubio Orbe [1956] 2009:252).

<sup>44</sup> For a recent collection of essays about ritual flute traditions in lowland South America, see *Burst of Breath: Indigenous Ritual Wind Instruments in Lowland South America* (Hill and Chaumeil 2011).

<sup>45</sup> For some articles about Otavalan economic enterprises, see Atienza de Frutos (2009), Kyle (2000), Meisch (2002), Nadal (2012), Collier and Buitrón (1949), and Blomberg (1967).

frequently told me in the field that Runakuna once played these instruments to accompany almost every activity they undertook, day and night (Personal communication, 2010, 2011, and 2012). As previously mentioned, Patricio Maldonado draws a modern comparison between men carrying flutes with them wherever they went – while shepherding, walking along footpaths, or carrying out other tasks – and the current trend of people's attachment to iPods and other personal audio devices (Personal communication, 2012).

Unfortunately, writers and scholars who documented Otavalan life prior to the twenty-first century rarely described *flauta* playing with much detail. Usually, it was dismissed as being monotonous, melancholic, and frivolous. In the case of performance contexts that have now become obsolete, such as the Passing of Responsibility ceremony (*Cargo Pasay*, K.), which I was told during interviews was a notable *flauta* performance context, very little is known about how flutists participated. Nowadays it is difficult to find people who vividly recall details about some of these performances, since many of the elders and flute masters in Kotama were children and not yet performers of the tradition when some of these contexts began to subside.

Due to the lack of research that has been conducted on this music, I believe it is necessary to provide a short compilation below of what is known about the range of *flauta* performance contexts. Most of these contexts are associated with agricultural events and activities, especially the cultivation of corn crops.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, other performance contexts are linked to rites of

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<sup>46</sup> Maize has been a symbol of fertility for the people of Imbabura since at least the neolithic age (Coba Andrade 1994:18). The grain is a primary component in most of the culinary dishes – both quotidian and sacred – served in the indigenous household. Corn beer (*aswa*, K.; *chicha*, Sp.) is one of the most valued maize products prepared in Runa society and it is present during virtually all of the important events and rituals. In Runa culture, corn beer is a medicinal beverage that transfers the natural energies from rain, sun, and wind absorbed by the corn to the being that imbibes it. *Flautas* are fed *aswa* regularly to quench their thirst and to make sure they "cry out" (*wakan*, K.) a rich sound. Leftover swigs are tossed to the ground, feeding Mother Universe (also Mother Time-Space and Mother Earth; *Pacha-Mama*, K.) as well. For more information on the significance of corn beer in South American Amerindian societies, see Butler (2006), Chaumeil (2011:55), Fuks (1988), and Jennings and Bowser (2009).

passage during one's life or more spontaneous moments of music-making. Knowledge about how flute music was a part of some of these contexts remains vague; however, I attempt to combine what I have read with what flutists still recall to paint a broader picture of how *flautas* were once ever-present in Kichwa life.

### *Agricultural Events and Festivals*

In Kichwa cosmovision, the solar year is divided into two halves. The feminine half begins when maize crops are planted around the time of the September equinox, peaks during the December solstice, and continues until the spring equinox when people begin to harvest the earliest maize crops. The masculine half of the year falls between the September and March equinoxes, peaking during the June solstice. Festivals throughout the year, past and current, have featured music, and for many events, *flauta* music has played an important part of the proceedings.



Figure 2.6: Segundo Maldonado watches as I help till his family's fields (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).



Figure 2.7: Me stepping on a potato that I have placed in the ground to help cover it with earth (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

According to Segundo Luis Moreno, the *rondador* was played solely during the September equinox (1949:34). Flutists told me that men would also play *flauta* during planting seasons (Personal communication, 2012).<sup>47</sup> When Otavalan families prepare their fields for planting, men will take turns digging a line in the earth, taking short breaks in between each line they dig. In the past, men would play flute while they waited for other men to finish digging their lines and as women and children followed behind planting the seeds. See Figures 2.6 and 2.7 for photographs of me tilling the Maldonados' field and planting potatoes.

The December solstice, which was considered a feminine version of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* called *Warmi Pacha* (also *Warmi Pascuas* and *Koya Raymi*; Feminine Time or Festival),

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<sup>47</sup> Corn and bean crops are generally planted during September and are harvested between March and June. Potatoes and peas, which make up a second, shorter agricultural cycle, are sown in late May and harvested in late August and early September.

used to be an important context for *flauta* music. The weeks spanning Christian and Western holidays of Christmas, the New Year, and the Three Kings' Day are a time when families weed and maintain their crop fields; according to flutists, this was a time when people would carry their flutes with them to the fields, similar to when they tilled and planted their fields (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:21-22; Vinicio Rueda et al. 1982:170-171). Even though it has long since been replaced by the Christian celebration of Christmas, flutists Juan Saavedra and José Antonio Cumba Perugachi in the Cotacachi area spoke about how flutists would dance in recent generations at the local church plaza for the *Misa de Gallo* on the eve of December 24 (see also Chapter 5).

The March equinox is the next major festival time of the year. Coinciding with Christian Holy Week (*Semana Santa*, Sp.) and Easter (*Pascuas*, Sp.) celebrations, as well as the transition into the masculine half of the year, Otavalan festivals during this time period have typically celebrated the onset of harvests that last until early June. According to Segundo Luis Moreno, the March equinox was also a time when *flauta* playing was prevalent. In 2004, Juan Mullo Sandoval worked with Fundación CIMAS when recording several tracks of flutists in Morlán (Cotacachi) playing tunes associated with the Catholic Easter Holy Week. The majority of these tunes were given titles related to the Catholic mass (e.g. *Sagrada María* or Holy Mary, and *Pasión* or Passion).<sup>48</sup> In addition, Mullo Sandoval showed Patricio and me a diagram of a *flauta* played during Easter Holy Week (*Semana Santa*, Sp.) that was also made of two sections of cane (*carrizo*, Sp.) like the *flauta* I focus on in this dissertation, but has the embouchure hole carved on the lower section of cane that does not have the button of the node on it (see Chapter 4).<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Compared to flute music played during the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice festival, especially that heard on Hatun Kotama's CDs (2010, 2013), these tunes are much slower and notes of the counter melodies are sustained much longer.

<sup>49</sup> Kotama flutists I spoke with had not heard or seen this type of flute before.

Another springtime ritual is the *Llullu Muru* (Young Seed or Fruit) festival. I have not encountered any mention of this festival in the literature; however, it is a festival that is being reinvented and revived in the community of La Bolsa, located on the other side of the Kotama Hill. Based on photographs that have been posted on websites, Facebook pages, and YouTube videos, flutists are contracted to perform during processions of people carrying and offering baskets of fruits from the first spring-time harvests.

The Passing of the Responsibility (*Cargo Pasay*, K.; *Paso de Cargo*, Sp.) is a ritual event that was often held during harvest festivals that require someone to take on a leadership role (*karguyuk*, K.; *prioste*, Sp.) for an event in which they, and often their family, are financially and socially responsible. During a *Cargo Pasay* ceremony, the typically yearlong responsibility of preparing and hosting a festival is transferred from the previous leader to the next. Frequently, a family would go deep into debt as they struggled to ensure enough food and drink would be redistributed and that appropriate music would be performed throughout a celebration. The ceremony serves as a means for wealth to be redistributed within a community, and even though a leader and his family may go into extreme financial debt, they enjoy an elevated social status once they have completed all of their duties (Kowii Maldonado 2005:3).

According to the Spanish anthropologist Berta Ares Queija, there are two types of *Pasos de Cargo*, civil and religious. These ceremonies were typically held four times a year, primarily for the New Year, Carnival, Corpus Christi, and at the end of the year (1988:24). The *Corazas* festival, held in two parts, once during *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) and again around August 19 (San Luis Obispo's Saint Day), also incorporates a *Cargo Pasay* ritual (Ares Queija 1988:23). Vinicio Rueda's students emphasize that this type of ceremony is closely associated with harvest times (Vinicio Rueda et al. 1982:255, 261, 280-281, 283). Based on my discussions with Patricio

Maldonado and his father, Mariano, a wealthy landowner sometimes held a *Cargo Pasay* as a means to appease indigenous laborers by redistributing some of the fruits of his estate's harvest among them. Since Ecuador's land reforms and the dismantling of the feudalistic *huasipungo* system, this ceremony has become generally obsolete; however, some flutists still remember some basic ways that *flauta* music was performed in these ceremonies.

In general, musical groups contracted for a *Cargo Pasay* were *bandas del pueblo*, or military-style community brass and woodwind bands. I have not read any mentions of flutists performing at these events; however, Mariano Maldonado was able to recall the following information about how *flauta* music was a part of these ritual proceedings. Prior to the *Cargo Pasay* ritual, a *minka* (public collaboration) would be called by the festival host (*prioste*, Sp.) to grind dried grains into flours needed for the foods and drinks that would be prepared and served during the festival. It is not clear if flutists were paid or not, but regardless, they were asked to perform music as a way to officially and politely request to borrow recipients needed to transport the grains and flour (Patricio Maldonado and Mariano Maldonado, Personal communication, August 27, 2012).

The *Wakcha Karay* (The Poor One's Offering) ceremony may be held multiple times in the year. In general, a *Wakcha Karay* is a moment of prayer for prosperity and facilitates interaction between people on earth and other realms. Sharing food and performing music facilitate these reciprocal relationships, and they may be held on top of the Kotama Hill, beside the graves of loved ones, or in other areas of communities. An example of a *flauta* tune associated with this festival can be heard on track 32, "Yaku Taki," of Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways album (Hatun Kotama 2013). This festival has been in decline over the last several years and is not held as consistently as it used to be, but according to Cachiguango, a

*Wakcha Karay* would typically be held in October (praying to the land or crop fields), November (as Day of the Dead, praying to ancestors), and in July following *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* to pray to the skies for rains that will hopefully arrive by September (Cachiguango 2006:11). A fourth type of *Wakcha Karay* may be held when necessary in response to droughts or other natural disasters (Cachiguango 1997:297).<sup>50</sup>

### *The June Solstice and Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*

The June summer solstice has been described to me as the most festive time of the year for Otavalans and the primary performance context for *flautas*, even if other instruments, such as melodicas, have become more common than the traditional transverse flute. Cachiguango defines it as the largest celebration held in the Andes (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:22). This time of year, known as *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (*hatun* for great or grand, and *puncha* for day or span of days) in northern Ecuador, is when the maize and bean harvests conclude and there is an abundance of staple crops, which are consumed during festivals or dried and stored to last throughout the year until the next harvest.<sup>51</sup> Across Otavalan communities, specific dates and local idiosyncrasies of celebrating the festivals may differ, but the festival is generally held as a long string of days dedicated to different activities around or following the summer solstice, extending from the third week of June until the beginning of July. Even though many articles and

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<sup>50</sup> Just as a *Wakcha Karay* may held on an *ad hoc* basis to petition rains, it may be canceled in the event that there is too much rain. In July 2010, Kotama canceled the *Wakcha Karay* following an unusually rainy summer. People were concerned that flooding might occur if they were to go through with the ceremony. Coincidentally, that summer and fall, most of Ecuador experienced devastating floods, but the Otavalo region remained minimally impacted by these.

<sup>51</sup> *Inti Raymi*, literally the Sun Festival, is a central Andean term that has also been used to describe this festival, since it is held during the summer solstice. The term has been adopted as an alternative to the Catholic name for the festival, *San Juan*, but some locals and Ecuadorian scholars argue that festivals in Otavalo are distinct from central and southern Andean celebrations, which they assert are rooted more in Incan traditions than those of Otavalo (Coba Andrade 1994; Personal communication, 2012).



publications have focused on the festival, virtually none of them pay any attention to the flute playing that is a core element of this time period.

My summary of the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* below is based on how the festival is observed in Kotama, and represents a compilation of my own experiences, field notes, and Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango's more detailed description (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010). The week when people of the Kotama village celebrate *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* lasts between June 22 and June 29. Before June 22, small groups of musicians may play a combination of the instruments discussed above during the evenings as they visit homes of family and friends, taking advantage of the time to polish their own repertoire or teach fellow musicians new songs they would like to play together during the festival. Throughout the festival, people dance and perform music in this manner. When musicians and dancers arrive at someone's house, they take over a large room or the home's patio. Women, children, and men who do not play music accompany these small groups, and everyone dances in a spiral formation that alternates direction (for more information and diagrams about the dancing, see Chapter 5). In return, matriarchs of the home hand out food (e.g. boiled hominy, boiled potatoes, toasted maize) and drink (e.g. corn beer, hard liquor, soda) to the ensembles, usually delegating a lead musician to redistribute them among dancers.

The evening of June 22 is known as *Armay Chishi*, or the night of ritual bathing when musicians dance around their own community or neighborhood. Around midnight, musicians and dancers bathe in bodies of water believed to impart strength and masculine energies needed to endure the physically demanding aspects of the festival. People from Kotama usually bathe in Yumpa Pukyu, a spring located near the south side of the village, or they go to the waterfall in Peguche, a community located across the Pan-American Highway. June 22 is also called

*Wampra Chishi* (the Young Man's Eve), and this is the time that the boundaries between parallel spiritual realms break down and extraordinary beings along with transcended loved ones walk the earth with people.

June 23 is known as *Ruku Chishi* (the Elderly Man's Eve) and *Hatun Chishi* (the Great Evening), leading into *Hatun Puncha* (the Great or Grand Day) on June 24. During these two days and nights, people absorb more strength and energy needed to celebrate the festival. Musicians in Kotama also expand where they dance and play music and begin traveling to neighboring communities (La Bolsa and Guanansi), which is why this time is also called *Bolsa Muyuy*.<sup>52</sup> The next three days are the commonly called *Capilla Puncha* (Church Day[s]) or *San Juan Capilla* (St. John's Church). At this point of the festival, small groups that were previously divided by neighborhood and kin relationships earlier in the festival now combine, and one large dance group representing Kotama travels to Otavalo, where they confront dance groups from rival communities, such as Azama. All of the communities take over the church plaza and eventually enter the church, receive a blessing from a groundskeeper, and proceed to dance and drink behind the church before returning home (see Chapter 6 for diagrams of how people travel and dance during these days). These three days are known as the time when the world becomes reversed and is thrown into chaos (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:62).

June 28 and 29 is when people must bring our world and cosmos under control again. Before the sun begins to set on the afternoon of June 28, families gather pieces of garbage and old items that they wish to discard, such as an old item of clothing, and burn them at the entrance of their home. Plumes of smoke rise up from the homes and catch the sun's dimming light, casting a hazy blanket over Kotama as the sun recedes behind Mt. Cotacachi. The smoke sends

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<sup>52</sup> Bolsa comes from the name of the adjacent community to the north, La Bolsa, and *muyuy* in Kichwa translates to *recorrido* in Spanish. *Muyuy* describes crossing through the village of La Bolsa, and it is also a synonym for dancing in a circle.

any remaining spirits or extraordinary beings back to their worlds. Throughout the day, women peel an enormous quantity of potatoes and begin cooking food that will be served to the community during the next day's festivities.

The evening of June 28 is known as *Warmi Chishi*. It is said that previously women would dance and play music during this time, but today men dress as women and dance throughout their village just as they danced during the previous nights of the festival. On this night, men perform more feminine *sanjuanitos*, which are generally slower and have a different beat pattern than most *flauta* tunes and string-based *sanjuananes* (see Chapter 5 for an explanation of all three genres). June 29 is the last day of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* in Kotama; it is called *Warmi Puncha* (Woman's Day), *Gallo Piti* (Sacrifice of the Rooster), *Entrega de Gallos* (Offering of Roosters), or *San Pedro* (St. Peter's Day).<sup>53</sup> During the late morning and throughout the rest of the day and evening, people congregate in the community plaza called the *estadio* (stadium, where the grass and dirt soccer field is located) to listen to music (flutists as well as community woodwind and brass bands), dance, eat, and drink. People enter the plaza with long stems of *carrizo* cane, to which they tie roosters and chickens, and lattices of *carrizo* called *castillos*, which have fruit, bread, and luxury items (e.g. cane alcohol) attached to them. Eventually someone breaks the necks of the poultry, sometimes playfully taunting bystanders with its bloody neck, and later the birds are cooked in the community house and served in a soup.

### *Private Events and Rites of Passage*

Along with the March equinox and June solstice, Moreno writes that *flautas* are performed during private celebrations (1949:34). Private celebrations include weddings, new home ceremonies, funerals, baptisms. Out of these contexts, flutists in Kotama still have

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<sup>53</sup> In Cotacachi, *Warmi Puncha* is held on July 1.

wedding- and funeral-specific songs as part of their repertoire; in my experience of attending a few wedding celebrations, musicians perform songs from *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (both *flauta* songs and *sanjuanitos*) to accompany different types of dancing during receptions. For the actual marriage ceremony, however, musicians from Kotama perform different songs depending on the event, such as "Ñawi Mayllay" during the ritual face, hand, and feet washing of the betrothed and the wedding party (heard on track 34 on *Hatun Kotama* 2013). In the event a newlywed couple has a new house built, a festival may be held in honor of their home and their new stage of life. During this celebration, harps, guitars, violins, and transverse flutes are played to accompany dancing (Moreno 1972:199-200). In Kotama, however, I did not hear of any songs that were described as being specific to this context.

Music is also routinely performed during funerals, which are spread out over a number of days and nights. String music is performed during wakes and funerals for single or unmarried men, women (married or unmarried), and children.<sup>54</sup> In contrast, flute music is performed for games played during married men's funerals, such as track 35, "Limandero," on *¡Así Kotama!* (Cachiguango 2001b; Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:73-77; Personal communication, July 2013; *Hatun Kotama* 2013).<sup>55</sup>

In her book about the *Corazas* tradition and the community of San Rafael, Ares Queija lists baptisms as events that share festival characteristics with other events, such as weddings and funerals (1988:17). She does not connect baptisms to flute music, nor has anyone else whose work I've read, but I know that it is not uncommon in Kotama for people to hire flutists to play at different stages of a baptism. Even though my *compadres* (co-parents) and I did not hire flutists for the exchange of the *mediano* (food offering, usually a basket of peeled, boiled potatoes with

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<sup>54</sup> For more information on children's wakes, see Schechter (1983, 1992). See also Parsons (1945:77-80).

<sup>55</sup> Funeral games are played because they help cheer up grieving family members and also celebrate the person's transcendence to a new life.

guinea pig or chicken) or the baptism party when I became the godmother for their fourth child, I have heard of other families that have (see Chapter 6 for more about the *mediano*). In one case, the mother of a young boy hired flutists to perform at the party held after the church baptism. Another family hired flutists to go to the new godparents' home the morning after the baptism party in order to bring them back to the family's home and continue with the celebration for another day. If baptisms did not previously feature flute music, this rite of passage is becoming a new context for playing *flauta*.

### *Other Contexts*

As I discuss further in Chapter 6 about the transmission of *flauta* music, there are many less formal instances when people play, or would play, *flauta*, such as when musicians are practicing or developing their skills independently from other musicians. For example, in previous generations, it was very common for men, young and old, to play the flute while walking to and from work or as they took animals out to pasture. After dinner, men would also gather in groups to practice among friends and respected peers, such as in previous generations when they met in small clearings (*patakuna*, K.) in the village to play together. Anthropologist Aníbal Buitrón also notes that men would play *flauta* or *rondador* in the evening to pass time between dinner and sleep. He writes that in the indigenous villages, one would hear "from all directions, in complete darkness, the sad and evocative music of a [transverse cane] flute or *rondador*" (Buitrón n.d.:24; my translation).<sup>56</sup> Today, many of Kotama's flutists gather on Sunday afternoons for Hatun Kotama's classes. Also, as I briefly mentioned above, flute music

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<sup>56</sup> "En las parcialidades indígenas, terminada la cena, la gente no sale de sus casas. Se oye por uno y otro lado, en medio de la obscuridad, la música triste y evocadura de una flauta o de un rondador" (Buitrón n.d.:24). Buitrón writes that they did not leave their homes, but I was told by flutists in Kotama that men typically practiced at the *patakuna* clearings between the end of dinner (8pm or 9pm) and midnight (Personal communication, 2012).

was often performed during collaborative communal projects (*minkakuna*, K.), which could be held to help prepare a festival or to perform a task, such as rebuild a bridge or fix a person's home (Personal communication, July 2013).

A newer performance context that *flauta* music has adapted to since Hatun Kotama's founding is the staged performance or lecture demonstration. Since the group is recognized nationally and internationally as the leader of the *flauta* revival movement, they have frequently been asked to perform in parades and on stages in cities across Ecuador and as far away as Washington D.C. During these events, Hatun Kotama members play traditional songs, but experiment with how the music is performed. During a single presentation, the group may play standard *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* repertoire in a line on stage with microphones, and alternate between a couple of small groups of two or three flutists. The group sometimes performs songs as a flute choir consisting of eight or ten matching flutes. Throughout, someone in the group usually narrates what the musicians are performing and what context the songs are traditionally performed for. Some acting is performed when flutists demonstrate ceremonies like the *Ñawi Mayllay* wedding ceremony. Additionally, Hatun Kotama almost always makes sure to include audience participation by having one or two members, if not the entire group, move to an open space in front of the stage where they can invite onlookers to join them in spiral dancing.<sup>57</sup>

## Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced an Otavalan musical tradition that has been largely overlooked in the wealth of historical and contemporary literature published about the region and the Kichwa-speaking people from there. Many different types of instruments and vocal styles are

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<sup>57</sup> To see an example of this, watch the video of Hatun Kotama performing in Washington D.C. at the Kennedy Center (John F. Kennedy 2013).

performed with this type of ritual music; however, my research is focused on the transverse cane flute (*flauta*, Sp.) for the following reasons. Musicians have identified the instrument as one of the most authentic musical traditions of the Otavalan people. As I present above, the origins of this music are hazy at best, but flutists maintain that the music is distinct from general Incan traditions, and some even claim this music is pre-Incan. Recently, musicians from the Kotama village have launched a revitalization movement in response to a sudden and alarming decline of flute players at the turn of the twenty-first century. My research aims to understand the history of this tradition while at the same time observing a dynamic point of transition as flutists adapt this music to changing socio-economic issues (see Chapter 6).

In addition to narrowing my focus to one instrument, I have limited the scope to the primary performance context for *flauta* music. Above, other performance contexts are outlined, but some of these have become obsolete, and others have waned over the last century as well. The June solstice festival known as *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* remains the principal festival in which *flautas* are played, and the majority of flute tunes in Kotama are related to the dancing, marching, and ritual confrontations that are features of this festival, even if they might be performed during other seasons. Consequently, I have chosen to base my analyses of this music on how *flauta* music is played during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. In the subsequent chapters, I build on the basics of *flauta* music presented in this chapter and discuss why men perform *flauta* music (Chapter 3), how the flutes are constructed (Chapter 4), how Kichwa concepts of gender and time-space are represented in the music (Chapter 5), and issues related to the transmission and revitalization of this tradition. Throughout these chapters, I highlight how music is procreative and gives life to life through the balancing of gendered elements. My analysis will also connect this musical practice with Kichwa concepts of time-space and the cosmos, as well

as other South American flute traditions. Overall, I structure my arguments around the concepts of how [*flauta*] music sings relationships into being and allows the Otavalans to move through modernity.



## Chapter 3

### Andean Duality and the Performance of Manhood

Musical performance in South American indigenous societies often creates and maintains relationships between humans, their environment, and extraordinary beings.<sup>1</sup> These relationships may be based on gender, generational, or kinship criteria. Scholars have observed that flute traditions in particular are important for Amerindian societies to maintain gendered relationships. The tubular shapes of flutes are commonly likened to a male's penis, so it is not surprising that flutists are predominantly male, and flute music is primarily an expression of manhood in many societies. Occasionally, flute playing is also considered a form of male menstruation, and in many cases, Amerindian societies place taboos on women's interaction with flutes.

Throughout this chapter and subsequent chapters, I examine how performing the Otavalan *flauta* tradition creates and maintains Kichwa concepts of duality and gender. In this chapter, my focus is on who performs this music and what the purpose of performing this music is. The Runakuna of Otavalo do not have the same types of strict or violent prohibitions on women performing, touching, or seeing flutes as have been documented in areas of lowland South America (e.g. gang rape); however, women often safeguard men's instruments during celebrations when men are not performing.<sup>2</sup> In order to better understand the gender divisions and relationships inherent in this musical culture, I reflect on my experience as a female

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<sup>1</sup> I am using Beaudet's term *extraordinary beings* in order to encompass a wider range of entities that are believed to exist in Kichwa spirituality that are not "spirits" in the sense of a being who has experienced some sort of transcendence, such as a human soul that has passed following death (2011:379-380, 391). For example, in Kichwa cosmivision, natural elements and landscapes also possess spirits, which may be anthropomorphized, but are not always considered to exist in a transcended realm.

<sup>2</sup> This is similar to what Stobart has found in the Bolivian Andes. He writes, "Indeed, in the northern Potosí region of highland Bolivia it is not uncommon to see women safeguarding or carrying instruments during feasts while, for example, the male player becomes intoxicated or participates in ritual fighting. But, significantly, certain ideas and reported taboos against women's instrumental performance are couched in terms of local understandings of gendered bodily processes, fertility, productive activities, and values concerning womanhood" (Stobart 2008:75).

ethnomusicologist learning the flute, as well as taking into account experiences from Kotama women who have shown interest in playing the *flauta*, and argue that men play the transverse cane flute in order to construct and express manhood by fulfilling masculine gender roles associated with Kichwa cosmovision and spirituality. Additionally, I contend that Otavalan women are not excluded from playing the flute as a result of subordination, relegation to the private sphere, or hierarchical exclusion, but examine how flute playing relates to broader Kichwa Otavalan concepts of gender and duality.

### **Andean Duality and Concepts of Gender**

The Andean universe is divided into binary pairs. Indigenous Andean peoples and many scholars who have worked with them stress that these pairings are complementary – not oppositional – and rely on each other to exist. Kichwa terms used to describe these relationships include *kariwarmi*, or man-woman, and *yanantin*, reciprocally helping one another (Baumann 1996:26). Similar to their Andean neighbors, Otavalans divide their world into binary complements. For example, space is distinguished as upper (*hawa* or *hanan*, K.) and lower (*ura* or *uray*, K.) divisions, and actions as leading (*ñawpay*, K.) and following (*katiy*, K.). From what I observed during field research in Kotama and Otavalo, people associate these binaries with masculine (*kari*, K.) and feminine (*warmi*, K.) gender characteristics.

In place of the term "universe," Cachiguango uses "pair-verse" (*pariverso*, Sp.) to better capture the Andean concept of our cosmos existing in complementary pairs, which require one another to exist. In the following passage, Cachiguango emphasizes the extent that gendered binaries apply to the physical and spiritual world of Otavaleños:

Las Divinidades del universo son masculinas y femeninas, de la misma forma todos los seres son masculinos y femeninos. No hay nada que esté fuera de este contexto. . . .

Todos los seres del pariverso somos incompletos y siempre necesitamos de un complemento. El hombre y la mujer no somos iguales, pero somos complementarios. Esta dualidad no es una oposición, no somos polos opuestos que antagonizamos entre sí. Somos polos que se complementan y los dos por igual somos la razón de existir del otro. (Cachiguango 2006:64)

The Divinities of the universe are masculine and feminine, just as all beings are masculine and feminine. Nothing exists outside of this context. . . . All of us beings in the pair-verse are incomplete and always in need of a complement. Man and woman are not the same, but we are complementary. This duality is not oppositional; we are not polar opposites that are cut off from one another. We are poles that complement one another, and both are equally relevant to the existence of the other. (Cachiguango 2006:64; my translation)

These binary pairings structure all parts of traditional Otavalan Runa life. Time, landscapes, bodies of water, plants, and other natural entities are gendered, as are spiritual energies. For example, the seasons are divided by the spring and autumn equinoxes: the June solstice is considered the peak of the masculine half of the year, and the December solstice the peak of the feminine half. The towering volcanoes that surround the Otavalan valley and Kotama are Tayta Imbabura (the masculine, father volcano), Mama Cotacachi (the feminine, mother volcano who is Imbabura's partner), and Mojanda (the male volcano who competes for Cotacachi's affection). Male water sources consist of fresh, cold water, whereas female bodies of water comprise warm saltwater (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:108). Plants, such as the *carrizo* reed, are masculine or feminine based on the thickness of the stem walls and how strong or hard the material is: male *carrizo* reeds are thicker and therefore more durable and stiff than female *carrizo* reeds. Feminine spiritual energies (*samikuna*, K.) are those that encourage stability and harmony, and masculine spiritual energies (*ayakuna*, K.) are those that cause change, disruption, chaos, and destruction.

The dual structure of Andean and Otavalan epistemology is not a simple binary, as some may interpret it to be. As Luz María De la Torre explains, dualities are also binary, and

furthermore, there exists a large spectrum of subtle distinctions spanning the gamut between the binary poles. De la Torre writes that "the Andean world is dual, and duality in itself is two-fold as well, appearing as TAWA, the number four, which is a sacred value" (1999:20; my translation).<sup>3</sup> Two broad examples of subdivisions and *tawa* in the Andean region are *Tawantinsuyu* (the four regions of the Incan empire, Q.) and the Andean cross, called *chakana*, seen in Figure 3.1. Otavalan communities are divided into upper and lower halves that are then subdivided into smaller regions. See Chapter 5 for a discussion about time and space in Kotama and Otavalo, and how this quadripartite structure is also observable in *flauta* music.

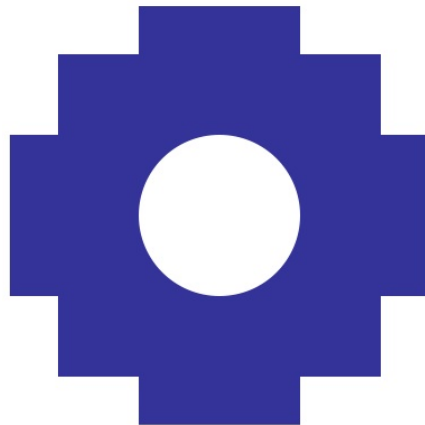


Figure 3.1: The Andean cross (*chakana*, K.), which represents Andean duality and subdivisions of duality.

In her article "¿Qué Significa Ser Mujer Indígena en la Contemporaneidad?," Luz María De la Torre describes a more complex system of subdividing the gender duality of female and male. She bases this system on linguistic evidence found in the Kichwa language and also on her own lived experiences (2010). According to her, gender exists as a spectrum of female and male expressions exhibited by all beings, including natural elements (e.g. rocks), of our cosmos. As De la Torre explains, one's physical sex may be more concretely defined, but gender

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<sup>3</sup> "El mundo andino es dual, y la dualidad es dual también, apareciendo el TAWA el número cuatro que es el valor sagrado" (De la Torre 1999:20).

performance oscillates between feminine (*warmi*, K.) and masculine (*kari*, K.). She emphasizes that gender is something everything or everyone may experiment with; therefore, the degree of which one or more gender characteristics are expressed fluctuates.<sup>4</sup> De la Torre writes,

De ahí que frecuentemente decimos que una mujer es *karilla*, *kari-kari*, *karipacha*, *karimana*, como también podemos decir que hay hombres que son *warmilla*, *warmilla-warmilla*, *warmillapacha*, *warmillamana*. Estas cualidades, antes que expresiones sexuadas o radicales pueden variar o permanecer en una persona en cualquier momento. (2010:6)

This is why we frequently say that a woman is manly (*karilla*, K.), very manly (*kari-kari*, K.), extra manly (*karipacha*, K.), extremely manly (*karimana*, K.), just as we may say that effeminate men are womanly (*warmilla*, K.), very womanly (*warmilla-warmilla*, K.), extra womanly (*warmillapacha*, K.), and extremely womanly (*warmillamana*, K.). These qualities, rather than sexual or radical expressions, may vary or remain in a person at any time (2010:6; my translation).

Based on this explanation, we may understand that even though binaries, such as male and female genders, provide an overarching structure for Andean life, these are more complex than just a two-fold division (see Figure 3.2).<sup>5</sup> According to De la Torre, these qualities do not indicate sex; rather, they are characteristics of human behavior that we all possess, and they are not specifically tied to a man or a woman. De la Torre retells the explanation given to her by a *yachak* (shaman or bearer of knowledge) of how a person is both feminine and masculine: "A man appears as male because the feminine universe in him is hidden and he is operating externally as a man. . . . And the woman is feminine because her masculine nature is concealed .

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<sup>4</sup> Strathern also writes about how sex and gender should not always be assumed to be fixed and unitary. In her book *The Gender of the Gift: Problems With Women and Problems With Society in Melanesia*, she writes about a practice in Melanesia of when men and women purge themselves of feminine and masculine residue from their parents (e.g. blood, mother's milk, food, semen) and make room to take these in from their spouses (1988:247-248).

<sup>5</sup> The terms man-like (*karishina*, K.) and woman-like (*warmishina*, K.) carry a pejorative tone and are used more often in teasing or insulting someone for lacking qualities that are deemed important or exemplary of their sex. For example, a woman who cannot cook well may be called *karishina*. During my fieldwork, my host mother and sisters often teased me with this term when I struggled to peel potatoes and when I burned a guinea pig's nose while roasting it for a baptism party.

. . . but her masculine presence resides in her body" (1999:13; my translation).<sup>6</sup> Finally, in her analysis, Luz María offers the conclusion that "sex is not the sum of the person, but a part of her" (1999:20; my translation).<sup>7</sup>

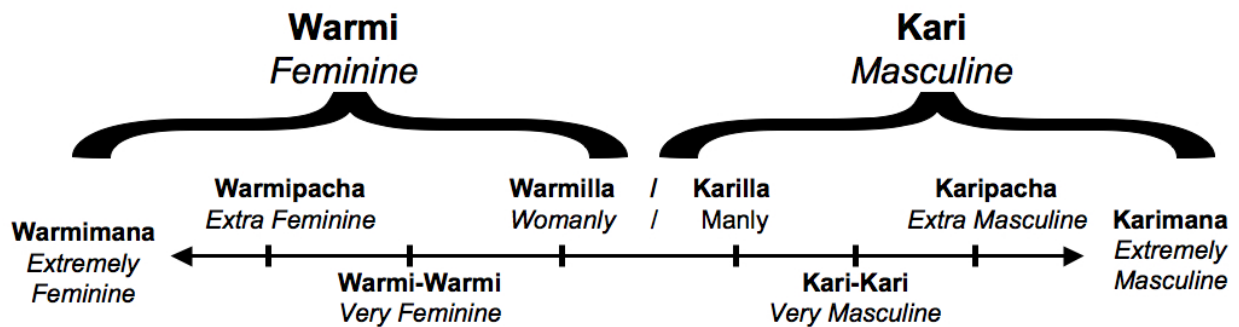


Figure 3.2: A diagram based on the Kichwa gender spectrum according to Luz María De la Torre.

I would like to emphasize here that according to De la Torre, gender in Kichwa cosmovision is relational and expressed in terms of degrees of qualities and attitudes, or ways of being. The specific manifestation of these characteristics varies depending on who or what is the subject or actor (e.g. water, rock, person, or sound), but De la Torre explains that stability, balance, and state of order are characteristic of the more feminine side of the spectrum, whereas more masculine qualities are related to sudden spikes or extraordinary levels of energy, states of chaos or destruction, which are seen as generative qualities as well. With people, for example, a feminine characteristic would be someone planning well for an extended period of time and exhibiting high levels of concentration (e.g. women rationing food supplies all year and planning for the next growing season). When someone acts more impulsively or quickly in response to

<sup>6</sup> "El Hombre aparece como hombre porque el universo femenino en él se halla oculto y trabaja solamente en la cara masculina. . . . Y la mujer es femenina porque se oculta su naturaleza masculina . . . pero en su cuerpo oculto está el registro de la presencia masculina" (De la Torre 1999:13).

<sup>7</sup> "El sexo no es la persona, es una parte de ella" (De la Torre 1999:20).

confronting a goal or a short-term situation, on the other hand, it can be said they are acting more masculine. In Chapter 5, I analyze how musical elements relate to feminine and masculine qualities, such as the steady beat of a song and the tempo at which it is performed.

### **Complementary Roles or Chauvinism?**

De la Torre and Cachiguango lament how Christianity and Western patriarchy have disrupted the Andean sense of complementary gender and a broader range of gender expression. Whereas a woman's role has traditionally been of equal importance to the man's in Otavalan life, several centuries of colonial encroachment have caused many people to either believe or interpret the woman's role as being secondary, less significant, and relegated to the home and private sphere.<sup>8</sup> Cachiguango describes this issue in the following passage:

A simple vista pareciera que la mujer no participa en nada durante la celebración del Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi, pero en la realidad de Kotama. . . . todas las actividades son realizadas por el hombre y la mujer de manera conjunta unidos en todo momento. Pero es necesario puntualizar que en algunas actividades, poco participa la mujer debido a prejuicios machistas de occidente que está presente también en las comunidades por el proceso de la colonia sobre nuestros pueblos. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:61)

At a first glance, it would seem that the woman doesn't participate in anything during the Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi celebration, but in Kotama today. . . . all the activities are carried out by men and women in a united manner at all times. It is necessary to acknowledge, however, that women participate very little in some activities due to Western male chauvinism, which is also found in our communities as a result of our

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<sup>8</sup> Although some scholars argue that gender roles are more egalitarian, such as Hamilton (1998), O'Connor writes about some of the inequalities between marriage partners, and the historical patriarchal and egalitarian tendencies in indigenous communities of the central Ecuadorian highlands (2007). She acknowledges that it is difficult to determine how these tendencies played out in previous generations when studying historical documents and taking into account the degree of variation of gender relationships from one indigenous community to the next. O'Connor concludes from her historical and text-based research that indigenous gender relations in general have been and currently remain "complementary but largely unequal" (227). I argue below that Otavalan Kichwa Runa gender relations as expressed through music-making and food production are complementary, and although different, are not largely unequal. See also O'Connor's Chapter 5 for her juxtaposition of patriarchal tendencies in the national Ecuadorian culture and indigenous communities in the late 1800s. In the chapter, the author also explains how the state legislature reinforced Western patriarchal concepts.

people and nations being subjected to colonization. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:61; my translation)

Luz María De la Torre echoes Cachiguango's perspective: "Unfortunately, this pre-Columbian Andean way of life has been heavily tainted by concepts incorporated from what is called the modern world, also known as the Western world" (2010:7; my translation).<sup>9</sup> De la Torre continues explaining how the concept of Andean duality has been negatively impacted by Western and colonial influence:

La dualidad en la contemporaneidad más bien se ha constituido en una lucha de poderes en donde batallan elementos opuestos que difícilmente encuentran una correlación ya que están constreñidos a campos determinados socialmente y que difícilmente pueden hacer ese vaivén de las expresiones de *warmilla* y *karilla* como en el mundo andino precolombino. (2010:7-8)

Duality in our contemporary world, however, has been based on a struggle between powers, in which oppositional elements battle against each other. It is difficult to see how they relate now that they have been constrained by socially determined fields and they can no longer oscillate between expressions of femininity and masculinity as in the pre-Columbian Andean world. (2010:7-8; my translation)

As a female ethnographer learning a masculine musical practice, I often questioned whether my experiences in the community and performing music were teaching me about Andean complementary duality, as the practitioners claimed, or perhaps was witnessing stronger evidence of this colonial influence due to women being relegated to a more subservient or secondary role.

When dancing with a group of male musicians during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* on my first night in Ecuador, I saw women and young girls peek out from their home windows and watch me carefully as I danced, played violin, and sang. They quickly recognized that I was not just a novelty for being a tourist dancing at their homes, but rather a woman *and* a musician.

Although the occasional woman would come out to give food or drink to a man in the group to

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<sup>9</sup> "Lamentablemente mucho se ha contaminado ese mundo andino precolombino con conceptos que han sido incorporados por el mundo llamado moderno, o conocido como occidental" (De la Torre 2010:7).



redistribute among the dancers, my observations were of what I believed to be a lesser degree of women's participation in the festival.

While conducting fieldwork, I accompanied Hatun Kotama several times for their demonstrations in nearby cities. During these trips, it frequently seemed as if I was placed in an obedient role. Occasionally I was invited to perform violin in a duo with a guitarist, but when not acting as a musician, my non-musical responsibilities were to sit to the side or at the back of the audience with the other women. The men would leave their backpacks, extra flutes, leftover food, and change of clothes in our care, and the women who had relatives performing would have to straighten out the man's poncho, comb his hair, and do whatever else necessary to make him look presentable. Due to me lacking a husband, brother, or son in the performances, I was typically in charge of holding on to extra food to take home, flutes that would be given to event organizers as tokens of appreciation, and merchandise.

In personal conversations and during Hatun Kotama's flute classes, Luis Enrique Cachiguango and the flutists emphasized to me that they do not want to be misinterpreted as chauvinistic. Time and again I heard that women are always needed to accompany the men and that women's participation is just as important. Cachiguango also dedicates sections of *Yaku-Mama: La Crianza del Agua* to the importance of women's complementary role and participation during festivals like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:36-41, 61-62). Despite being aware of the men's point of view and being encouraged to learn flute in the classes, I found myself feeling frustrated or bored during events when instructed to watch over a pile of the men's personal items and lug around a heavy pile of books. I was not free to perform music as I was when first arriving to Kotama, but instead was expected to stay vigilant in looking after the men's belongings, and was therefore not supposed to join the dance circle, or take

pictures and video as needed. I felt subservient, bossed around, and restricted. Was I confronting a hypocritical explanation of why only men were supposed to publicly perform the flute and engage in more prominent, active, and entertaining activities? Had a tradition that is held in high esteem for how it transmits traditional Otavalan beliefs about living harmoniously together (*convivir*, Sp.) been affected by Western and Christian patriarchal ideals more than people recognized or were willing to admit? In order to sift out my initial reactions and potential biases, I began focusing on a different set of questions to help me search for the deeper meaning and importance of what women were contributing to these events.

First, I questioned what are the primary roles that men and women are responsible for in Runa life? How do these complement each other? In his article "In Touch with the Earth? Musical Instruments, Gender and Fertility in the Bolivian Andes," Stobart recommends that "women's exclusion from instrumental performance should not necessarily be understood in terms of subordination, but approached within broader models and contexts of gender relations" (2008:67). My initial and culturally biased reactions to taking on a more feminine – and less musical – role in my host community made me question whether or not women's exclusion from music-making in Kotama was a form of subordination. Through continued participant-observation and interviews with flutists, however, I began to understand that a gender hierarchy was most likely not the reason for the lack of female musicians. In addition to approaching this issue based on De la Torre's model of flexible degrees of gender, my analysis is also based on the following Kichwa Otavalo creation story retold by Luz María De la Torre in her book *Un Universo Femenino en el Mundo Andino* (1999:13-19). As I argue later in this chapter, I believe that both models help explain why *flauta* playing and music-making in Kichwa Otavalo society is masculine.

The creation story begins with the world's creator, *Pachakamak*, who has just created the first woman and man:

*Pachakamak directs the couple to rest well for the following day, when they will be presented their purpose and responsibilities for living in the newly created world. The woman quickly went to sleep. She was eager to speak first with Pachakamak the next morning, when she would have the opportunity to request authority over what she felt would be the best aspects of the new world. Her partner, however, was not able to go to sleep due to his anxious and curious nature; instead, he stayed awake later, engrossed in observing the shadowy, nocturnal world before him.*

*The woman awoke just before sunrise and left her slumbering partner at home while she set out to speak with Pachakamak. Upon arrival, she told the Creator that she was ready to be shown her purpose for this life. First, Pachakamak toured her around the world, showing her all of the new creation, from rocks to mountains, rivers, valleys, animals, and plants. The woman was in awe of the magnificent beauty she saw before her eyes, and she desired to preside over everything Pachakamak had shown her. At the end of the tour, she announced to the Creator, "I am astonished by everything that you have shown me, the indescribable beauty of this creation. I am certain that I will take care of all that I see and will secure everything necessary in order to give life to life and to my partner." And so she petitioned the Creator to grant her dominion over the newly created world. "I would like to request that the feminine dominion include everything that I have seen, because there is not anything that I have laid my eyes upon that I would not be able to have, to look after, or to care for on a daily basis."*

*In response to the woman's desire, Pachakamak told her that she would represent beauty, harmony, and balance. The Creator explained that, as per her request, she and all women to follow her would be in charge of generating, maintaining, and protecting life, nature, and men. "You will engender and give existence to all future human beings, and because of you, man will be able to live," the Creator revealed. "He will seek you out because you will transmit the strength of being purposeful, and you will direct his powers. You will preside over the present time and everything visible that exists." The woman left her meeting with the Creator satisfied and ready to begin her mission of nurturing life.*

*Not long after, the man arrived before Pachakamak and inquired, "What will my responsibilities be in this universe?" Pachakamak responded by explaining to the man what occurred during his meeting with the woman. "The woman came to visit me and she desired everything that you are able to see. The universe is feminine and she has won the honor of giving life to life. I have given her everything visible in this world." The man was shocked and upset upon learning this, but once he regained his composure, he asked Pachakamak, "So then what should I choose if the woman has been given everything that exists?" The Creator calmly disclosed to the confused man what was planned for him. "Yes, everything that exists, has a present form, and leaves a footprint on this earth is part of the feminine dominion. Everything that does not exist – everything that is invisible – is your territory. Everything that one does not see, that is hidden from plain-view, and that hopes to appear some day will be your responsibility. You will be in charge of the future, which does not yet exist, and the past, that which no longer exists today. Everything that you obtain, you will have to redistribute. The more you redistribute, the*

*stronger you will be. And you will go to this invisible world in order to bring what exists there in to being, transform these elements so that they are visible, to give them life, and you will put them in the hands of the woman. Your duty is to transform the natural world that I have given you both, and you will be under the woman's regulation." After meeting with the man, Pachakamak brought the couple together to give them final words of advice. "Nothing that exists in this universe is for you; rather, everything is for life itself. I have given you life so that you will be vehicles of life, and life will continue through you."*

The Kichwa creation story defines gender roles that are widespread in the Andes. Henry Stobart notes that, in general, indigenous Andean women and their reproductive powers are associated with safeguarding and storing resources that accumulate and grow. He writes that:

Womanhood is linked with a disposition for safeguarding, caring for and sharing out resources, as well as transforming them into offspring or life-giving substances. Under women's care, stored-up resources, such as corn beer, money or food crops, are often seen to accumulate or grow (puqay), reflecting women's associations with fertility. Thus, men hand money to women for safekeeping (a practice also common in urban contexts), and place harvested crops and provisions in family storage huts controlled by women. (Stobart 2008:73)

While the containment and safeguarding of energies carries feminine connotations, Andean masculinity is often associated with unrestrained release and reciprocity. In the Bolivian Andes, Stobart has found that adjectives for these qualities are applied to the quality of musical sounds as well. In Bolivian Quechua, *q'iwa* refers to the containment of energies and one's reluctance for engaging in exchange. It also describes thin and clear feminine sounds. *Tawa*, on the other hand, denotes unrestrained release, reciprocity, and saturation. The term is applied to vibrant, large, and unrestrained masculine sounds (Stobart 2002b:112). The Runakuna of Otavalo apply similar gendered concepts of sound, which I further discuss in Chapter 5. These concepts represent

another way that, through music, masculinity is expressed by the redistribution of energies, and femininity by the holding back and safeguarding of energies.

At first, it was not clear to me how this distribution of complementary roles played out in the daily life of the Runakuna in Otavalo. During my initial observations, it was difficult to discern which chores or daily responsibilities were either the men's or women's, and how this related to the creation story retold by Luz María De la Torre. In general, my host family and our neighbors shared their tasks. For example, both men and women tend their fields and crops together, spin wool, weave crafts to sell at the market, and go to town to sell their wares or work in urban jobs. Men, women, and children also sweep and take care of general housekeeping chores, and everyone contributes in preparing food, such as by shelling beans, peeling potatoes, or baking bread.

Over time it became more apparent to me that members of both sexes know how to carry out each other's duties, and they help each other in the case that their assistance is needed, but there are some general divisions of labor and activities into complementary gender roles. Below, I focus on two important complementary responsibilities in Runa life: food and music. Women are primarily in charge of the family's food supply.<sup>10</sup> This entails preparing and cooking meals on a daily basis as well as for special occasions, such as communal projects (*minkas*, K.), ceremonies, and festivals. Women also manage family crops and fields (*chakrakuna*, K.); they usually decide when to plant or harvest, and they choose which foods are to be consumed immediately, preserved and stored for consumption throughout the year, or saved in the form of seeds for the next planting season. When families plant crops, men will usually till the soil and

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<sup>10</sup> Elsie Clews Parsons also perceived women to be managers of the household. Writing about donations made during a church service, she notes, "I notice a woman taking a coin from under her bracelet and passing it to the man behind to put into the glass plate. *Indias* (indigenous women, Sp.) hold the purse!" (1945:98).

make new planting rows, while women and children follow, tossing seeds to the ground and using their feet to cover the seeds with earth.

Otavalan women take their responsibility for feeding their family and managing their food supplies very seriously. Members of my host family typically frown upon snacking between meals, since it could potentially reduce food supplies that are needed to last through the next week, month, or year.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, unless special arrangements were made prior to an absence of mine or someone else's at a meal, family members and I were only allowed to eat breakfast, lunch, or dinner when the mother was awake and could monitor the servings so as to ensure that there was enough to go around for everyone. When I came home with leftovers from a party, my host family would direct me to give my extra food to my host mother, Rosa, who would store it and serve it to the family at the next meal. Just as women carefully dole out portions of food daily in their homes, they work diligently behind the scenes to make sure that food is always available in appropriate quantities throughout special events and celebrations. From her own kitchen or from a communal house where food is prepared for a festival, the Runa woman controls the flow of an event through the distribution of food and drink as she directs the men, younger women, and children to redistribute portions to guests.

### **Flute Playing and Chicha Brewing: Masculine and Feminine Complementary Activities**

Speaking broadly about why men play flute, Alejandro Tuquerres stated in our interview that "previously, our grandfathers would say that to be a man, you had to go around with your flute, play music while you took animals out to pasture, [and then] women would hear [you

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<sup>11</sup> Family members would complain about or scold someone if s/he was hungry and snacked in between meals on food that was meant to last throughout the week or year, such as corn products, potatoes, bread, or meat. It was acceptable, however, for us to buy surplus food while in town, such as a bag of mandarin oranges or a bunch of bananas, and share them at the house as snacks.

playing flute], that's what we say" (Interview, September 23, 2012; my translation).<sup>12</sup> Patricio also mentioned to me how learning to play flute is like a rite of passage for young men. During one of our conversations, he explained that "the young flutist had to discover his inner soul, his path for arriving to be a [flute] master" (Personal communication, October 7, 2012; my translation).<sup>13</sup>

Scholars of Andean music such as Henry Stobart have found that music-making in the Andes is generally divided between male instrumentalists and female vocalists, and that the musical division of labor is related to the construction and expression of personhood (2008:68, 87). In Kichwa Runa society, instrumentalists are primarily male.<sup>14</sup> Based on my field research and the collective memory of my interviewees, women do not play the transverse *carrizo* flute. While women control an event, such as *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, by directing food service, men are busy leading musical events central to the festival. These groups of male musicians guide the public in musical processions through their communities, and they spearhead ritual confrontations between rival communities during *tinkuy* fights and takeovers of public squares (*tomas*, Sp.).

Flutes may be stereotyped as feminine instruments in some societies, especially European and European-American, but they are widely considered to be masculine instruments across South American indigenous societies.<sup>15</sup> The average flute's phallic physical characteristics are commonly likened to a man's penis. Otavalan transverse flutes are no exception to this. In one

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<sup>12</sup> "Washapi, abuelokuna nina karian, kari kankapak, flautawan llukshiy, takishpa michipay, warmikuna uyakrin, chayshina parlanchik" (Alejandro Tuquerres, Interview, September 23, 2012, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> "El flautero joven tuvo que buscar su 'ser interior,' su camino para llegar a ser maestro" (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, October 7, 2012)

<sup>14</sup> I am specifically referring to more traditional and established musical styles. Evangelical Kichwa Runa women often play instruments like the keyboard and electric bass.

<sup>15</sup> For an example of this attitude in the United States and England, see Graham (2005:87) and Simpson (2008).



installment of the Kichwa saga about a clever rabbit and dimwitted wolf, two frequent characters in Kichwa folklore, this comparison between the *flauta* and penis is made explicit.

The tale, entitled "Shuk Wallinku Atukta Wañuchin Gaitata Yachachishpa," or "A Rabbit Kills a Wolf by Teaching Him How to Play Flute," begins with the wolf mourning the loss of his mother, Chipicha (Chávez 1989:79-81).<sup>16</sup>

*On the eve of Chipicha's wake, the sobbing wolf crosses the rabbit's path. "What happened to you?" the rabbit asks, to which the wolf responds, "My mother has died and I am going to her wake." "Well, both of my parents are deceased," the rabbit replies, trying to console the wolf. "But what can we do? That's how life goes. Perhaps you shouldn't go to your mother's wake. Why don't you come with me to a party instead so you're not so sad?" The wolf is not interested in partying, since he longs to see his mother, but eventually the rabbit convinces him by offering to teach the wolf how to play flute. "All of us have our own flute, you know. I'm going to extract yours so that I can teach you," the rabbit explains. Nervously, the wolf asks, "But does it hurt?" "No way!" the rabbit mocks. "After cutting it off, it grows back quickly. We just have to cut your penis off, then we can continue down the path, playing flute. This is what I do when I'm sad." The wolf is desperate to try anything that could alleviate the overwhelming grief he felt from losing his mother, and so he agrees to have the rabbit detach his penis. The rabbit, content about successfully tricking the wolf, instructs him to open his legs and proceeds with cutting the wolf's penis off. As a result, the wolf quickly dies. He never makes it to the wake or party, and the rabbit is satisfied that he had succeeded in killing the wolf.*

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<sup>16</sup> Chipicha (also spelled Chificha) is a legendary witch in Kichwa lore who, like the Llorona and other similar characters from Latin America, is notorious for eating children. For more information, see Chávez (1989:143-148, 150-151) and Parsons (1945:131, 133-134).

Although the above story provides some evidence of the relationship between flutes and men, it does not offer a direct explanation or justification about why men are flutists. To approach this issue from another perspective, I needed to reflect on my experience of being a woman and learning *flauta* to tease out why, perhaps, women do not play this instrument. In general, Otavalan women rarely play any musical instrument. Instead, they engage in musical activities by serving food and drink, dancing, and at the very least, listening and watching the male musicians perform.<sup>17</sup> If a woman is not obligated to stay home to cook or serve visitors, she will accompany men by dancing and fighting.<sup>18</sup> Myriam Vásquez, a citizen of Kotama and sister of flutist Fabián Vásquez, points out that, "it may seem that the woman's participation doesn't exist, but here in Kotama, her role is very important" (Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).<sup>19</sup> She notes that during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, men and women work together to prepare the home. Generally, men will clean the home, whereas women will decorate, for example, by hanging *castillos* [castles], a set of spiritual offerings of food, drink, and other objects pictured in Figures 3.3 and 3.4.<sup>20</sup> Women also participate in the ritual baths during the festival, especially on the evening of June 22, the first official night of the festivities called *armay tuta* or *armay chishi* (the ritual bath evening). Myriam explains, however, that women are

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<sup>17</sup> Otavalan women who have converted to evangelical sects of Christianity frequently play contemporary instruments, like electric keyboard, guitar, or bass, with rock, gospel, or worship groups; however, according to my field research and personal conversations with Patricio Maldonado, relatively few Kotama families or citizens have converted to evangelical religions (Personal communication, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> With my host family, typically at least one family member would stay home at the family compound to guard the premises.

<sup>19</sup> "Aparentemente, es como no existiera la participación de la mujer, pero el rol de la mujer dentro esta comunidad es muy importante" (Interview, Myriam Vásquez, August 16, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> Although *castillos* translates directly to English as "castles," the Kichwa translation is *pukara*, which also means "hill," "mound," "sacred place," or "ceremonial site" (Ministerio 2009:115, 173; Crespo 2010:181, 278). The *castillo* is a type of altar hung in the home that serves as a spiritual banquet, comprising offerings such as fruits, breads, bottles of corn beer, and purchased luxury items, like liquor, which are tied to a structure made of *carrizo* reeds.

less likely to bathe due to "the machismo that was imposed [on us] during colonial times."<sup>21</sup> She later outlines how women accompany male musicians in the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival:

Las mujeres somos quienes acompañamos a nuestros padres, a nuestros maridos, a nuestros hermanos en el baile de toda la noche, cuando ellos van a bailar . . . dentro de la comunidad de Kotama y también cuando salen ya de la comunidad y van a bailar a otras comunidades. Cuando los hombres de la comunidad se reúnen y se van a bailar a la Capilla de San Juan, nosotros allá vamos para cuidar a nuestros padres. Allí estamos nosotros para proteger porque hay . . . comunidades rivales que vienen a pelear. Y nosotros estamos allí como mediadoras para que nosotros bailemos a nuestros maridos bailen. (Interview, August 16, 2011)

Us women accompany our fathers, our husbands, our brothers by dancing all night . . . within the Kotama village and also when they leave to dance in other communities. . . . When the men from the community group together and dance to St. John's Chapel, us women and children go there to take care of our fathers. We're there to protect them because there are . . . rival communities that come to fight [in the *tinkuy*]. And the women and children are there as mediators so that we dance and our husbands can dance. (Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation)

During part of her interview, Myriam also compares Kotama women's participation in music-making to that of women from neighboring ethnic groups. "Women [from Cayambe] on the other hand sing, dance," she points out, "but here it's more the men. It's the men who live the San Juan festival, but us ladies, we do accompany them" (Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> "Cuando ya empieza la celebración [de Inti Raymi], el hombre . . . empieza a limpiar la casa y nosotras las mujeres empezamos a decorar. . . . Los hombres son quienes se bañan en el *armay tuta* . . . pero . . . pocas mujeres lo hacen. Esto se debe . . . al machismo por lo que imponieron en el tiempo de la colonia" (Interview, Myriam Vásquez, August 16, 2011).

<sup>22</sup> "Pero en la comunidad más o menos por Cayambe . . . ellas en cambio cantan, bailan, ellas. Pero aquí es más de los hombres. Son los hombres quienes viven en esta fiesta de San Juan, pero nosotras sí, les acompañamos" (Interview, Myriam Vásquez, August 16, 2011).



Figure 3.3: A *castillo* hung up in a home (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

Myriam's summary of how women join male kin during the festival echoes Luis Enrique Katsa Cachiguango's statement cited above, in which he asserts that every activity consists of equally important gender roles. During my time in Ecuador, I was able to observe how my host mother and her daughters managed their households and food resources on a daily basis. I also helped my host family plant, harvest, cook, and receive guests for a baptism and *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. For the Rooster Offering (*Gallo Pasay* or *Gallo Piti*, K.; *Entrega de Gallos*, Sp.), also called *San Pedro*, community women recruited my help for peeling potatoes.<sup>23</sup> Following my experiences working behind the scenes with the other women, I found that my fieldwork observations confirm Myriam's assertion that indigenous Otavalan women occupy an essential

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<sup>23</sup> This festival is held on the last day of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. In Kichwa, *pasay* is a Kichwa conjugation of the Spanish verb *pasar* (to pass, E.). *Piti* means "a little bit," "small pieces," or "portions of" something. The word is also the root of the verbs "to die" and "to break into many pieces" (Ministerio de Educación Ecuador 2009:114). During the event, people bring live fowl, which are hung upside down from *carrizo* reeds and offered to the hosts. Later, people sacrifice them by breaking their necks.

and authoritative role in their society during occasions like the solstice festival, even if they are not playing *flauta* or other musical instruments.



Figure 3.4: A *castillo* brought to the *Entrega de Gallos* event in Kotama (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2010).

As Myriam Vásquez implies, Otavalan women – especially those from Kotama – are less likely to participate in music making than women from other nearby Kichwa communities, such

as ethnic Cayambe (Kayampi, K.) territories to the south.<sup>24</sup> As in other indigenous societies in highland and lowland South America, singing is the most common way that women make music in the Otavalo region. During my residence in Kotama, however, I never heard an adult woman hum, sing, or play the *flauta* or any other musical instrument.<sup>25</sup> When I asked my host sisters why Kotama women do not sing, they paused to think about the question. "Well, now that you mention it, Jessie, it's true. I can't think of any women who sing," they confirmed. They did inform me they have heard that women sang in previous generations, but my host sisters were stumped as to why it was so rare in Kotama today (Personal communication, 2012).

Most of my interviewees could not recall any female musicians in particular.<sup>26</sup> Cecilia Moreta, a woman from Kotama in her late twenties, explained to me that she has never seen or heard women playing flute in a festival in Kotama. "Sure, in other places, women sing *coplas* as well as play instruments," she affirmed, "but really play instruments or sing *coplas*, no, it is not something we do [here in Kotama]."<sup>27</sup> Recalling what her grandmother has told her, she continued:

De lo que sabe decir mi abuelita que las abuelas o bisabuelas, algo así, han sabido pero sea de una manera secreta, ¿no? Solo para ellas. El canto más yo les he escuchado a las

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<sup>24</sup> I was told by some of my acquaintances about women musicians from nearby communities in Cayambe (Kayampi, K.), as well as Caranqui (*Karanki*, K.) to the north near Ibarra, and the more local communities of Peguche and Cotacachi. I also came across one of Blomberg's photographs of a woman from the Cayambe community of Zuleta dancing and playing harmonica on her way to work milking cows. Archivo Blomberg generously granted me to print an image of this photograph, which I have included later in this chapter. For brief mentions of female Amerindian musicians (mainly singers) nearby in Ecuador's northern highlands, see: Civalero's short entry about Caranqui/Karanki musicians (2011) and Mullo Sandoval's mention of *coplas sanpedrinas* of the Cayambe/Kayampi (2007:81). For more information about indigenous Kichwa-speaking women who sing, see Harrison (1989) and Seitz (1981).

<sup>25</sup> This includes public and private spaces, as well as festive and mundane affairs. Women in Kotama often casually or jokingly asked me if I would teach them a musical instrument, though none of the adult women pursued lessons any further. I was, however, contracted by three Runa girls' parents to teach them violin during my stay.

<sup>26</sup> I specifically asked for women who have played traditional instruments and music. I did not ask about women who play keyboard or electric instruments in church gospel groups.

<sup>27</sup> "Claro que en otros lados cantan, las coplas igual tocan instrumentos. . . . Pero realmente tocar instrumentos o cantar coplas, no, no es nuestro propio" (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012).

mayorcitas que sean en el canto es cuando expresaban sentimientos de tristeza. . . . Por ejemplo, mi abuelita yo le escucho que llora cantando, ese tipo de coplas he escuchado pero en una festividad realmente así para que todo el mundo escuche, no. No." (Interview, September 10, 2012).

My grandmother tends to say that her grandmothers or great grandmothers, something like that, they would sing, but in more of a secret way, no? Just for themselves. What I have heard most about our female elders doing that could be [considered] singing is when they would express feelings of sadness. . . . For example, I hear my grandmother cry in song . . . but in a festival, realistically where it is for all the world to hear, no. Not at all. (Interview, September 10, 2012; my translation)

Cachiguango does not provide much detail about women's musical activities in Kotama; however, he does mention that during the syncretic *Wakcha Karay* (Offering to the Poor) ceremony, women recite Catholic-influenced *alabanzas*.<sup>28</sup> He explains that "we no longer perform flute music to 'call upon the rains' as we once had long ago, [instead] we only hear the voices of some catechist women who sing [Kichwa-language] *alabanzas* to God" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:129; my translation).<sup>29</sup>

When I asked flutists about female musicians, few could recall any women who have played a traditional instrument. "No, women have not played the flute. Women don't play [the flute]," responded Alejandro Tuquerres, a flutist from a community in the adjacent Cotacachi canton. "But [women] dance, and they play the harmonica" (Interview, September 23, 2012; my translation).<sup>30</sup> In casual conversation and interviews, Patricio Maldonado and his father, Mariano Maldonado, also acknowledged that women have sometimes played the harmonica, but could not

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<sup>28</sup> *Alabanzas* make up a musical genre that was popularized by Europeans and evangelists in Ecuador during the American Baroque (*barroco americano*, Sp.) period, which spanned the 16<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mullo Sandoval 2007:75). These songs may be performed as part of a syncretic tradition, such as the *Wakcha Karay* of the Imbabura region and the *Jaway* (also spelled *Jahuay*) harvest rituals of the Chimborazo area (Mullo Sandoval 2007:84-85).

<sup>29</sup> "En las ceremonias actuales ya no practicamos el uso de la música de flauta para 'llamar a la lluvia' tal como se hacía en la antigüedad y solamente se escucha las voces de algunas mujeres catequistas que cantan algunas alabanzas a Dios en idioma Kichwa" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:129).

<sup>30</sup> "Warmika na tocashkachu. Warmika na. . . . Pero bailakunlla, rondintaka tocakunlla." (Interview, Alejandro Tuquerres, September 23, 2012).

recall any women in particular who have done so (Personal communication 2011 and 2012; Interviews, August 16, 2011). José Joaquín Tulcanazo, a flutist from Kotama who now lives near Carabuela, and his wife could only remember the name of one female harmonica player, Dolores Wiñachiy (Interview, September 12, 2012). Alejandro Tuquerres, from the Cotacachi region, also knew of a well-known female harmonica player; her name was Dolores Matanga and she was from Gualsaquí. "[Dolores] would dress up. She would dress as a man," Alejandro told us. "She wore a man's poncho and white pants [when she played harmonica]" (Interview, September 23, 2012; my translation).<sup>31</sup>

Swedish world traveler Rolf Blomberg took two photos of a Cayambe woman from Zuleta playing the harmonica in 1966 (1967:57). The second, unpublished photograph is included below as Figure 3.5. He describes this woman as playing the instrument and dancing with two other women on their way to work as milkmaids. Based on Blomberg's narrative, and judging by the playing position of the harmonica player in the photograph, it is safe to assume that she was not merely posing with the instrument; rather, she was comfortable playing harmonica. Although I did not personally encounter any women playing the harmonica during my field research, or anyone who could name a female musician, women still play the harmonica. Associated Press photographer Dolores Ochoa recently snapped a portrait of a Cotacachi woman playing the harmonica (2010).

Suspicious that my status as a visitor perhaps plays a part in why, despite being a woman, the flutists have supported me studying *flauta*, I sought out Kotama women who have expressed interest in playing the instrument. In particular, I was interested in hearing about their experiences of learning a male tradition. Did men support a woman in the event she desired to

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<sup>31</sup> "Payka vistirishpa. Karika vistirishpa. . . . Karika vistirishpa, karipak chumpawan, kari pantalónwan" (Interview, Alejandro Tuquerres, September 23, 2012).



play *flauta*, or did the men challenge her? If the men supported a woman's interest in playing the transverse flute, were there any limitations for how much a woman was allowed or expected to learn? And if men disapproved, on what grounds did they object to a woman being a flutist? Were the women ever excluded from playing *flauta* based solely on their sex? The two main women I interviewed about this topic were Cecilia Moreta, a twenty-nine year old single mother at the time of the interview in 2012, and Marina Iza, who was 48 when I interviewed her during the same year. Marina is also a single mother; Michael, one of Marina's children, is a budding young flutist with Hatun Kotama. Both women are housewives who spend much of their time managing their home and families by cooking, cleaning, farming, and parenting. I draw from their insight and experience in order to better understand what could be considered musical practices influenced by traditional, pre-Hispanic Kichwa concepts of gender as opposed to the adopted patriarchal and chauvinist attitudes, which De la Torre and Cachiguango lament have interfered with gender roles in Andean life.

Unlike parts of lowland South America, where men threaten to punish women if they play, handle, or even see sacred flutes, Runakuna from northern Ecuador are less strict about how women may interact with the instruments. I never heard about or witnessed men violently threatening or punishing a woman for seeing or playing flute. When I questioned interviewees about why women do not play flute, I received a few different answers. Most often, male interviewees and acquaintances would reply that women could not pick up flute playing due to a lack of talent, cognitive ability, or physical capacity. Cecilia Moreta, who briefly practiced *flauta*, explained to me in her interview that it is more likely women do not play because they have other responsibilities, and if they lack anything, it's leisure time. "[My sister and I] tried to

learn, but as one ages, she begins to lose this, well, I don't know if it's curiosity or she just doesn't have time. . . . I believe it's just a custom" (Interview, September 10, 2012; my translation).<sup>32</sup>



Figure 3.5: A woman from Zuleta dances and plays harmonica on her way to work as a milkmaid (Photograph by Rolf Blomberg, 1966, used with permission; courtesy of the Blomberg Archive/Archivo Blomberg).

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<sup>32</sup> "Nosotras tratábamos de aprender, pero después uno también se crece y se va perdiendo esa, no sé si es la curiosidad o no se tiene tiempo. . . . Creo que es costumbre" (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012). Cecilia and her sister briefly studied *flauta* when Hatun Kotama was first forming. See Chapter 6 for an overview of the founding and development of the Hatun Kotama Cultural Center.

When I asked Cecilia about her responsibilities, especially during a time like *Hatun*

*Puncha-Inti Raymi*, she responded:

Yo creo que uno de las actividades sí que bastante se dedican una mujer en esa época de festividades es hacer comida . . . es bastante importante en la comunidad mismo y en todo lo que son pueblos originarios. . . . Siempre son ellas las que se preocupan de que hay que tener algo de comer en casa para recibir a que ellos que vienen a bailar, entonces, por ejemplo en mi casa no podemos salir a bailar si no preparamos la chicha, si no hacemos el mote. Entonces para poder salir a bailar en Inti Raymi pues tenemos que hacer la chicha . . . para recibir a la gente. (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012)

I think that one of the activities that women dedicate themselves the most to during festivals [like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*] is make food . . . it is very important in [Kotama] and in all indigenous nations. . . . It's always the women who are concerned that they need to have food ready at home to receive any guests who come to dance, so, for example, in my home we aren't able to go out to dance if we do not prepare the *chicha*, if we don't make the *mote* (boiled maize). Therefore, in order to be able to go out and dance during *Inti Raymi*, well, we need to make *chicha* . . . in order to receive guests.<sup>33</sup> (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012; my translation)

As Cecilia suggests, cooking and brewing beer are an important activity that women are primarily in charge of in many highland and lowland South American indigenous societies.<sup>34</sup> In general, brewing corn beer (*aswa*, K.; *chicha*, Sp.) has been associated with women and feminine labor in both the past and present, in both the Incan imperial government and the common peasant home. In many cases, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have considered food preparation and distribution for indigenous rituals to be women's activities that complement male-dominated instrumental music performance and social bonding over drinking (Fuks 1988:159-161; O'Connor 2007:122; Prinz 2011:293).

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<sup>33</sup> I use "corn," the more generic term for grains and cereals, instead of "maize" because a variety of grains may be used to make *aswa* in the Ecuadorian highlands. Germinating or sprouted maize (*hora*, K.) is one of the most popular and traditional grains used in preparing this beverage, although less conventional ingredients may be substituted in place of it (e.g. Quaker oats). In lowland South America, other crops, like manioc, are the basic ingredients in fermented beverages. For a sample step-by-step process for making *aswa* in Kotama see my blog post: <http://ethnomusitia.wordpress.com/2012/06/14/saca-warapu-take-out-the-chicha/>.

<sup>34</sup> In some cases, male elders know how to make *aswa* as well. For example, when I presented at the 2013 Smithsonian Folklife Festival with Hatun Kotama, master flutist and sandal-maker Julio Tabango made the *aswa* that flutists drank and fed to their flutes while in DC.

Corn beer – a ritual substance symbolic of communal health, *convivencia* (living together in harmony), and ethnic identity – has long been consumed in the Andes as early as circa 900 BCE (O'Connor 2007:140; Weismantel 1991:873).<sup>35</sup> Fabián Vásquez, who studies *flauta*, *kucha*, and traditional Andean medicine, explains that *aswa* is:

La bebida medicinal, energética, y tradicional, o una bebida de tiempo. . . . Tenemos que ver que el maíz es un, es una plantita que marca el ciclo agrario. . . . Entonces ese maíz, el maicito, o sea, está digamos formándonos en este caso porque es la que reúne toda la ciclo de la vida. . . . Es un líquido que está digamos o sea poniéndote a tí digamos a todas las energías de las cuatro estaciones en uno. O sea te está armonizando la bebida digamos la chicha. (Interview, Fabián Vásquez, August 16, 2011)

The traditional medicinal and energy-giving drink, or a drink of time. . . . We have to recognize that maize is a precious plant that marks the agricultural cycle. . . . Therefore, that maize, the tiny kernel, well, we say that it is what we are made of in this case because it brings together the entire life-cycle. . . . It is a liquid that we say places all of the energies from the four seasons into one place: you. In other words, *chicha* harmonizes you. (Interview, Fabián Vásquez, August 16, 2011; my translation)

Today in Kotama, corn beer is often served during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, weddings, baptisms and other important occasions. When a host does serve *aswa*, s/he offers it to everyone at an event, especially flutists who rely on the drink to prevent their lips from drying out and ceasing to produce a desired sound with their flute. Men also feed *aswa* to their flutes to quench their instruments' thirst and lubricate the inside of the cane, which is necessary for achieving a strong, rich sound.

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<sup>35</sup> My host sister Yolanda and host mother Rosa explained to me that today, the tradition of *aswa* making in Otavalo is diminishing due to people acquiring preferences for beer (usually Ecuador's national brand, Pilsener), Coca-Cola, and liquor. Yolanda admitted to me that she doesn't know how to make *aswa* as well as her mother, and that many women no longer make it. Rosa pointed out that even though she still knows how to brew corn beer, she no longer performs all of the steps for making it, such as grinding her own flour. Both women were concerned that the tradition may be at risk of dying out (Personal communication, June 13, 2012). See Allen (2009) and Butler (2006) for more information about corn beer and some of the reasons people have abandoned preparing or drinking it during the last sixty years. In her article "Have a Drink," Weismantel traces some of the social institutions shaped by serving and imbibing this drink, including ethnic, gender, and political relations (2009). In other areas, as O'Connor has documented, women have relied on *chicha* brewing as a means to expand their economic income and social status (O'Connor 2007:138-140).

Although women generally do not perform music in Kotama, their participation by cooking and brewing corn beer, I argue, could be considered a music-related activity crucial for any successful Runa ritual event. As Allen points out in her article about the persistent Andean social practice of drinking in large groups despite changes in beverage choices and religious influences, the sharing of a beverage like corn beer is crucial in achieving heightened and spiritual communal interactions (2009). Stobart reminds us that the sensorial experience of a fiesta should not be overlooked when studying music, which he states:

Emerges from social interaction and, in turn, serves to stimulate, sustain, and develop further interaction. To reduce these songs to their sonic aspect, as if somehow independent of, for example, the carefully prepared clothing, decoration, body movements, unfolding poetry, and flirtatious glances of courtship performance, would be to miss much of their significance and the piquancy and dynamics of their sensorial effect. (Stobart 2002b:104)

Fuks has also demonstrated through his ethnographic work with the Waiãpi that synesthetic settings lead to ecstatic moments and elevated levels of communal interaction (1988). He writes: "music, dance, and beer can then be seen as interrelated items forming a complex Waiãpi ideological system for organizing society and presenting artistic expressions" (Fuks 1988:177). Relating musical performance to the quality of beer, Fuks concludes that "if collective music and dance are good with *caxiri* [manioc beer], then good *caxiri* is a prerequisite for good music and good dance" (Fuks 1988:152). Hill and Chaumeil assert that women's culinary activities are essential because "without [women's cooking and brewing of manioc beer], it is clear that the flutes would remain 'silent'" (2011:32). I found that for the Runakuna of Otavalo, a saturated, synesthetic experience filled with sounds, sights, smells, tastes, and dances, was needed for a successful event as well. Indeed, people sharing *aswa* in Kotama works hand-in-hand with men performing *flauta* music as they sing relationships into being. "There isn't a

single home [during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*] where you wouldn't offer at least one glass of *chicha*," Cecilia Moreta points out.<sup>36</sup> "The men don't do anything without *chicha*!" (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012; my translation).<sup>37</sup>

Some of my interviewees referenced a belief that women should not play *flauta* because it causes painful and life-threatening menses. Scholars have documented similar beliefs about the connection between flutes and menstruation in other American societies. For example, among the Kamayurá people of the Amazon, playing *yaku'i* flutes is considered a form of male menstruation (Menezes Bastos 2004). Elsewhere in the Andes, such as with the Jalq'a and Tarabuco of Bolivia, flutes are also believed to cause menstrual problems for women who dare to play them (Stobart 2000:40; Stobart 2008:75-76).<sup>38</sup>

In a personal conversation during a Hatun Kotama meeting in July, Marina Iza told me about how she once longed to play the Otavalan transverse flute. She commented more about her childhood in her September interview. "Back when I was younger, other girls and I would sometimes pick up the flute, and we were so anxious to know how to play it. . . . When [the elder flute masters] would get together [for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*], we would also try to play *flauta*," Marina recalled.<sup>39</sup> "But they [the flutists] would scold us. . . . We insisted on learning, but when they reprimanded us, they completely lowered our morale, and we no longer dared [to

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<sup>36</sup> "No hay casa donde no ofrezcas un vasito de chicha" (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012).

<sup>37</sup> "Ellos no hacen nada sin la chicha!" (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012).

<sup>38</sup> There are several studies from South America and Papua New Guinea that have documented a relationship between flute music and both male and female menstruation. In addition to the sources cited above, see: Beaudet (2011:377), Fiorini (2011:189-190), Menezes Bastos (2011:81), Prinz (2011:293). See also the collection of essays in Gregor and Tuzin (2001). In particular, the chapters by Bonnemère (Chapter 2), Biersack (Chapter 4), Conklin (Chapter 7), Hugh-Jones (Chapter 11) and Gregor and Tuzin (Chapter 13) discuss types of male ritual activities, such as music, that allow men to acquire the procreative and reproductive powers of women.

<sup>39</sup> "Chay tiempo, cuando joven kashpa hapishkanchik ashallallakuta hapishkanchik ninanta charishkanchik ansiata yachankapa[k]. . . . Chaykuna tantanakushka karpika ñukanchikpash atrevin karianchik flautata tocankapakyari" (Interview, Marina Iza, September 16, 2012).

play the flute]."<sup>40</sup> Contrasting with how Cecilia's father encouraged his daughters to learn *flauta*, Marina's father was adamantly opposed to her learning the flute. In Marina's account, she explains that, "my father would yell at us, saying that women cannot play because it will damage their reproductive organs." Chuckling as she recalled the threats, she admitted, "I guess we believed that [nonsense], and we were scared [of playing the flute]" (Interview, September 16, 2012; my translation).<sup>41</sup>

Only one of the flutists I interviewed spoke directly about the relationship flutes have with menstruation and a woman's risk of harming her reproductive organs. Alejandro Tuquerres told us that, "it's really hard for women to pick up the flute. Yes, I have heard that a woman played, from way up there, um, from San Antonio [del] Punge. A woman who was called Carmen Yaya (Father Carmen) lived way up at the edge of that community. She passed away [though], she's deceased."<sup>42</sup> According to Alejandro, Carmen, who was known for playing the harmonica, was given the nickname "Father Carmen" due to her extra masculine nature. "If I can play harmonica, then why can't I play the flute?" she would often argue. Alejandro informed us that Carmen eventually tried to learn the flute, but she died soon after due to excessive menstrual bleeding (Alejandro Tuquerres, Interview, September 23, 2012).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> "Chayka takurin karka. . . . Yachankapak atishkanchik pero ña chay takurirpika totalmente moral bajarishka ña na, ña na takarishkanchik" (Interview, Marina Iza, September 16, 2012).

<sup>41</sup> "Ñuka taytaka 'na tocanachu warmikunaka na allichu que imashtimi chay wawa, mamakuna dañarinmi' nishpa takurin karka. Chayta crishpachari mancharirkanchikya" (Interview, Marina Iza, September 16, 2012).

<sup>42</sup> San Antonio del Punge is a community located within the Quiroga parish of Cotacachi canton, which is adjacent to the canton of Otavalo.

<sup>43</sup> "Warmipak flautata hapishpa difencil. Ari tocaya, tocanlla kashka nin, tocashpa, hawamanta, kay, imashtimi, San Antonio Pungeman kawsak kashka, chay hawa último, chay mama Carmen Yaya nishka, wañushka. . . . Chaymi flautata hapishpa tocashpa, rondintaka tocashpa burrukunapi tiyarishpa pirikllami karka. Flautatapash na yapachu kani!, ñukaka rondintapash ushani nishpa, flautatapash ñukanchik San Juanta runakuna tocanakuna karikuna tocanakupi paypash flautata hapishpa tocashkalla. Flautataka tocashpa paypash wakachitaka wakachishka. Chaylla kashka. Ñukanchik warmikunapak killa nanay shamushpa? Mapa yanka yanka, pawta yanka, pukunatashna yawar, mapa shamuyta shamukushkalla nin, chashnamari katishka" (Interview, Alejandro Tuquerres, September 23, 2012).

It is not clear if the threat of severe menstrual cycles indicates a chauvinist attitude among Otavalan men who aim to prevent women from participating in making music, or if it stems from a pre-Hispanic sense of complementary gender divisions. According to my conversations with Cecilia Moreta, Marina Iza, and Patricio Maldonado, the three of them believe that threats of menstrual problems are more likely evidence of a persisting *machista* or chauvinist attitude among Kichwa Otavalo men. Cecilia reminded Patricio and me in her interview that, like anywhere else, there are men who are chauvinists and women who enable or perpetuate chauvinist beliefs. She explains:

Yo creo que depende de . . . el interior del hogar. Por ejemplo, en mi casa—en mi familia—no es así. . . . Mi papi siempre decía . . . 'si un hombre hace algo bien, uds [niñas] tienen que hacerlo mucho mejor. No porque son mujeres son menos o no tienen la capacidad. Entonces digamos que en ese sentido, yo no me he enfrentado a un machismo dentro de la familia ni fuera de el, porque, no sé, nos ha enseñado a estar igual igual. . . . He escuchado sí, en otras familias de que, 'sí el marido me pega,' o 'mi marido me trata mal,' o es preferente con los hijos que a las hijas. (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012)

I believe that it depends on . . . the interior of a home. For example, in my home—in my family—it's not like that. . . . My father always said . . . "if a man does something well, you [girls] have to do it even better. You are not anything less or are any less capable just because you are women." So, let's say in that sense, I haven't had to confront any chauvinism in my own family or outside of it, because, I don't know, [my father] has taught us to be equal. . . . I have heard that yes, other families in which [a woman says] "yes, my husband beats me," or "my husband treats me poorly," or that a father favors his sons over his daughters. (Interview, Cecilia Moreta, September 10, 2012; my translation)

In our July afternoon chat, Marina asked me if I had noticed that women in the communities surrounding Kotama Hill (Kotama, La Bolsa, Guanansi) do not make music, but elsewhere, it is more common. She attributes this to machismo, and she bemoaned how she had to face and overcome men's chauvinist attitudes, especially from her father and ex-husband (Personal communication, Marina Iza, July 2012). Today, Marina still does not dare to play the flute; despite me inviting her to practice with me and be my female counterpart, she respectfully



declined.

Patricio explained that any women who may have attained some level of adequately interpreting or performing the *flauta* would be rare exceptions. "Indigenous Otavalan men have been too chauvinist and, well, they have not allowed women to develop [musically]," he remarked. Furthermore, he summarized how it would be difficult for a woman to excel enough at flute where she would be able to perform during a time like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* in the first place. "Consequently, [men not allowing women to play] influenced how women would not have had any female musical partners [with which to perform], and even less likely, anyone to perform with during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festivities" (Personal correspondence, October 28, 2013).<sup>44</sup> Though it was rare, I did encounter some instances of chauvinist and aggressive behavior from men while living in Otavalo and performing music (flute and violin). In general, there was a small minority of indigenous men who verbally attacked me, spoke down to me, invaded my personal space, or tried to exclude me from playing flute.

Returning to Cachiguango and De la Torre's criticisms about how Runa culture has adopted some Western chauvinist attitudes, it is possible that a woman's freedom to express her masculine self by playing or singing music became less traditional in recent generations as a result of Kichwa men and women internalizing Western values of gender. For example, in Scott Richard Lyons book *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*, he recounts the events that led up to the University of St. Thomas in Minnesota canceling its annual pow-wow, one of the most lucrative and popular pow-wows on the northern circuit (2010:90-95). The decision to cancel indefinitely was made in response to the all-female Sweetgrass Road drum group filing a

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<sup>44</sup> "Sobre las mujeres al parecer fueron como excepciones que llegaron a un cierto nivel para interpretar ciertos instrumentos, pero los indígenas Otavaleños han sido demasiado machistas, y bueno, y no dejaron desarrollar esa cualidad de las mujeres. También eso influyó totalmente sobre que no hayan tenido compañeras y peor que toquen en los inti raymis" (Personal correspondence, Patricio Maldonado, October 28, 2013).

discrimination lawsuit after they had been denied participation in the pow-wow based on their gender. American Indian men who were on the pow-wow committee claimed that women singing at a drum was a "cultural no-no" and not part of the long-standing tradition of male drum groups. The University defaulted to siding with the cultural "experts," and chose not to acknowledge the legal no-no of the discrimination charge. Lyons argues in this passage that the women deciding to play the drum, even if it broke with what some deem tradition, was an x-mark, a decision to choose a life to live and to give more life to life by respecting god-given gifts from the past, like music, and keeping them alive.

I refer to this example because it exemplifies how "tradition" may be interpreted and policed externally as well as internally. Additionally, it raises an issue that I believe relates to why so few women play or sing music in Kotama and Otavalo today. De la Torre recalls how even thirty years ago, it was more common for men to cook in the home while women would take charge of economic activities and exchanges typical of public spaces (2010:7). She criticizes how women have been subjected to colonialist subordination and how Runa men and women have internalized these beliefs:

La mujer indígena ha sido vista a través de un molde histórico colonial que le ha dado muy pocas posibilidades de relacionarse con un mundo afuera del doméstico. . . . Por medio de procesos sistemáticos de racismo, dominación, exclusión y anulación de su identidad como sujeto social-público, ha sido limitada a esos terrenos estrictamente privados y domésticos en donde la misma mujer también ha ido interiorizando una serie de valores hasta ubicarse en un espacio invalidado. (De la Torre 2010:5)

The indigenous woman has been viewed through a historically colonialist mold that has given her few possibilities of relating with a world outside of the domestic. . . . As a result of systematic processes of racism, domination, exclusion and annulment of her identity as a public social subject, she has been limited to these strictly private and domestic spheres in which the woman herself has also gone internalizing a series of values until she has placed herself in an invalidated space. (De la Torre 2010:5; my translation)

In regard to music, Cecilia Moreta is cited above explaining that she has heard of women in Kotama singing more often in past generations. Additionally, women from recent past generations, such as Carmen Yaya, Dolores Wiñachiy, and Dolores Matanga are still remembered for their participation in music, especially during the masculine peak of the year around the summer solstice. Although it is difficult to pinpoint exactly what caused the shift in women's participation in music and expressing masculinity, even in the last 30-50 years De la Torre mentions, it may be argued that a combination of Ecuadorian institutions, such as religious entities (especially Catholic), labor trends, politics, and military service, have all contributed to the stiffening of Kichwa gender norms, their expression, and the increased restriction of women in private spaces.<sup>45</sup>

### **Awkwardness during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* 2012**

During my residency in the community, I was the only regular female student in Hatun Kotama's flute classes.<sup>46</sup> And while studying with Hatun Kotama, I found all of the master flutists to be encouraging and supportive of my flute studies. The flutists routinely asked me to

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<sup>45</sup> I emphasize the Catholic Church because of its long history and influence in Ecuador, and also because evangelical churches sometimes use music as a way to encourage women, who often play keyboard or sing in gospel groups, to convert. See O'Connor (2007) for an analysis of how Ecuadorian political and legal systems have reinforced Western patriarchy. See also Selmeski (2007), who writes about indigeneity, masculinity, and conscription in Ecuador, especially among highland Kichwa speakers. In Chapter 6, I write about how men were contracted to work on large haciendas and that this labor space was an important transmission context. Since women were relegated to private spheres and men were invited to work in a public sphere, it is possible that this transmission context would have reinforced *flauta* playing as being something that men – not women expressing masculinity – perform. Since the land reform movements of Ecuador during the second half of the twentieth century and the dismantling of the feudalistic *huasipungo* system, there has been an increase in Otavalan migration. David Kyle notes that men have been much more likely to travel abroad than women (2000).

<sup>46</sup> At least three non-indigenous women attended a limited number of classes prior to 2013. One was a U.S. citizen and M.A. student from Western Michigan who, I was told, attended one class and a demonstration with Hatun Kotama (Halpin 2012). During my 2012 fieldwork, an Ecuadorian student attended two classes, and an Argentine woman traveling with her husband attended classes for roughly a month. The Argentinian couple returned for classes in the summer of 2013.

demonstrate what I learned in front of the membership at the end of class, and the other flutists typically complimented me on how fast my *flauta* technique developed. They were also impressed that I was able to step to the music while playing, something not all beginning students felt comfortable with. Often, I was guilty of not producing a strong sound due to dry lips or running out of breath, but despite petering out after just a few repetitions of the melody, my mentors rarely scolded or seriously critiqued me. In the class setting, members usually resorted to humor and teasing if a student made mistakes, but in general, the flute masters and other students exhibited a great deal of patience with and dedication to teaching beginning students, including women. Outside Kotama, in other Otavalan villages or downtown Otavalo, people often chuckled out of surprise as they listened to me play flute, much in the same way they were amused when overhearing me converse in Kichwa.

In the days prior to *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, I accompanied several of Hatun Kotama's presentations in Carapungo, a city near Quito.<sup>47</sup> For the most part, flutists instructed me to stay with the women and carry the group's merchandise, but on two occasions I was handed a flute by my main mentor, my host father Mariano Maldonado, and encouraged to play a melody. The first time this happened was at a private home of a well-respected Kitu Kara *yachak*. To everyone's astonishment, I was able to maintain a strong sound until the next flute trio interjected a different tune. The flute teachers were proud of my accomplishment and congratulated me.

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<sup>47</sup> Carapungo is the Kichwa name for Calderón, a parish located northeast of Quito, close to the Equator. This area has a strong indigenous presence, but many of the communities in Carapungo are working to revive indigenous customs that have fallen out of practice. Prior to the summer solstice, two young gentlemen from the area traveled to Hatun Kotama's classes each week to learn the techniques of *flauta* playing with the goal of reviving some of the ancestral flute music of their community. Hatun Kotama was sought after by members of a cultural organization from Carapungo in order to add an authentic and traditional element to the community festival. Some of the activities we performed for were similar to how *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* is celebrated in Otavalo, such as taking over streets and public spaces by dancing and playing music. Other performances were less ritual in nature and conducted as lecture performances on stages with sound systems.

The next day, we returned to Carapungo and gave a few performances throughout town. In the late afternoon, we arrived to a small stage in a public plaza, where the group gave a lecture presentation to the audience. Following this, everyone danced and audience members with musical instruments were invited to join in with songs of their own. I had spent most of this time seated with the other women, listening to them joke about the men and watching over everyone's personal items, but eventually the women told me to go enjoy the dance. When I was in the dance circle, Mariano handed me a flute and told me to play. The other flute masters nodded in encouragement for me to jump in with a song. To my dismay, I had trouble adapting my embouchure to the hand-carved mouth hole of an unfamiliar flute, and floundered helplessly in trying to produce a sound. I was mortified. Everyone knew it was a major taboo to be guilty of causing silence in the middle of dancing. Interviewees had told Patricio and me that traditionally, flute masters would ridicule any man they believed did not perform well, and as a result, they would eject – sometimes violently – the offender from the players' circle.

Thankfully, Mariano Maldonado quickly resorted to leading a different song, covering my mistake and preventing the dance from coming to a full stop. Nobody publicly reprimanded or expelled me from the festivities following my flub; however, I confronted two contrasting reactions to my musical blunder. The first was the expected teasing from Mariano and the other elders of the group. Even while we were still dancing, the flute masters relentlessly grilled me, chuckling as they asked: "What happened? ¿Qué pasó, Jessie?" This teasing persisted for weeks. In contrast, a small group of young men closer to my age scolded me harshly once the dance was over. "Jessie, don't you know that you committed the most serious offense in *flauta* playing? How could you let the music fall silent? Don't ever do that again!"

Finally, as we reached the week of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, I sensed tension and awkwardness between some of my host family and myself. Members of the family were hesitant to speak about their plans for the festival in my presence, and Patricio explained to me that they were worried I would ask to accompany their group and to play flute with them. Nobody wanted to be the person to tell me that I could not play flute with his group, but it became clear to me that I was not necessarily invited to join them, either. Instead, I chose to play violin with my *compadre* Lauro's group.<sup>48</sup> Even since my first evening in Kotama during 2010, I have found that many people in Kotama welcome my violin playing. It is my understanding that it is not only because they see me as a competent violinist, but also because the violin itself is considered to be a feminine instrument used to play slower, more feminine songs (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, July 2013).<sup>49</sup>

The female gender association with the violin was made even more apparent in summer 2013, when I presented with six members of Hatun Kotama at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Even though we were invited to present *flauta* music and promote Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways album release, the flutists specifically requested that I perform violin on stage with them throughout our one-week residency. As Patricio explained to me, the group felt it was important I accompany them as a violinist and presenter not only because of our established friendships and working relationships, but because they were not able to invite any women from Kotama to attend the event. As I was told, they felt it was essential to have a female presence

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<sup>48</sup> Lauro is the father of my goddaughter, Jessie Marina. *Compadre* translates as "godfather" or "co-father," and *comadre*, "godmother" or "co-mother." In Spanish, the terms are used between both the parents of the godchild and the godparents. *Compadres* may be selected for baptisms, weddings, or other rites of passage. Kichwa Otavalos commonly use *compadrazgo*, or the status of being *compadres*, as a way to extend family and economic networks, especially with people from other communities.

<sup>49</sup> Luis Enrique Cachiguango and Fabian Vásquez both describe masculine music as energizing, and as capable of inciting a chaotic state. Feminine music, on the other hand, has stabilizing qualities and produces a more orderly environment (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63; Interview, Fabian Vásquez, August 16, 2011).

accompanying them during the week, and that feminine music played in addition to *flauta* music was necessary in order to provide a proper balance (Personal communication, 2013).<sup>50</sup>

### **Interpretations from a Woman's Perspective**

The above ordeals made me wonder whether or not the flute masters were being easy on me because I am a woman. I couldn't help but question why it was okay for me to be invited to perform during presentations, which were part of another community's summer solstice celebrations, but not during the festival in Kotama and Otavalo. Why was I indirectly discouraged from playing *flauta* by the very people who often bragged about my abilities and showed my flute playing off to their friends in public spaces like the *Plaza de Ponchos* marketplace?

Based on my field research, I was expecting the flute masters to react more like the young men when I committed my musical offense. Unlike the stereotype of Andean music being more egalitarian and inclusive, I learned from my observations and interviews that *flauta* music is hierarchical and competitive.<sup>51</sup> Revered flute players are not called anything that translates directly from English like adept, virtuoso, famous, or well-known; rather, the Kichwa terms for respected flute masters are strong (*sinchi*, K.) and cranky or bad-tempered (*millay*, K.).<sup>52</sup> In addition, some flutists bear nicknames, such as "boarish" (*berraco*, S.), which allude to their strong-headed and intimidating personalities.<sup>53</sup> The flutists I interviewed who learned prior to the

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<sup>50</sup> I performed *sanjuanese* and *fandango* music on violin during these performances. For more discussion about these genres and gendered musical characteristics (e.g. tempo), see Chapter 5.

<sup>51</sup> For an example of an influential ethnomusicological ethnography about cooperation, participation, and egalitarianism in Andean music, see Turino (1993).

<sup>52</sup> A secondary archetype of flute masters' disposition is a trickster (Personal communication, Patricio Maldonado, 2012 and 2013).

<sup>53</sup> There are two main archetypes of flute master personalities: the tough and cranky (*millay*, K.) persona and the jokester or trickster persona, similar to the Aya Uma who plays tricks on people in addition to

existence of Hatun Kotama's flute classes admitted to me that learning *flauta* was anxiety inducing. Men had to practice diligently and perfect their repertoire of songs on their own or with a trusted relative before being heard by other flutists. A man who had not yet established himself as a competent flute player risked severe public humiliation and even physical attacks in the event he made a mistake.

In many ways, learning this music could be considered a form of ritual initiation into manhood or masculine roles in society. Cachiguango frames learning the *flauta* and traditional Andean music in this way, writing that "one's mastering [of the *flauta*, *kucha*, and harmonica] constitutes one's dedication to, and personal initiation into, Andean spirituality" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63).<sup>54</sup> Many of the flutists I interviewed recalled the anxiety they felt leading up to the rite of passage of being accepted as a flute player in public celebrations and rituals. In an interview with Mariano Maldonado, he describes how difficult it was for men to be accepted as a competent musician by other flutists during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*:

Uchillakunataka ashtawankarin, hatunkunataka astishpa quedachinkapak munarian porque tuta bailana kashpaka, puñuyta, puñuy esquinakunapi puñushpa quedanlla karian. . . . Ña asha asha mejorarishpa pero ña chayka ña 15 añota charishpa ña. Chayka ña chaypi ña asha asha ña como yachashpaka ña yaykun karianchik asha ashalla na de una sola, na shuk alli yachakshnallaka, ña na yaykurin karianka chaypika, como kunan horas, nikuni, chay Kotamapika allipacha flautero kashka kakpika, chaypika allipacha yachakushpamariy chaymanka mitirina karian, ña imashtimi tunuta churankapak si no-ka, chay alli chura— alli músicapi kakllapi ña kutin makimanta aysashpa llukchinllamari karian, chaykunatapash de una veztamari. Ñukanchikka ña facilka directamente yaykuy ushakkarianchikka. (Mariano Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011)

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leading the ensembles and engaging in ritual confrontations. Patricio explained to me that nicknames like these are handed down from father to son; however, a son does not earn the honor of being called by his father's nickname until he has demonstrated a high level of proficiency on the flute and is recognized as a flute master (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, July 7, 2013). Several of my interviewees carried nicknames that their fathers also bore.

<sup>54</sup> "En Kotama el instrumento musical [*sic*] más importante de la celebración es la flauta travesa, la flauta 'kucha' y la armónica o rondín. Su aprendizaje constituye una dedicación e iniciación personal en la espiritualidad andina" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63)



Flutists would not take young boys out with them because the festival dancing would last all night. Kids would get tired and fall asleep at someone else's home, so they would be made to just stay at home. . . . Now when someone was a bit older and better at flute, around 15 years old, they would go out to dance, but with even just one mistake, they would be kicked out of the group. Similar to today, Kotama was renowned for its strong flutists then, so you had to know how to play a song very well or else an established musician would grab you by the hand and make you leave. We weren't able to just easily go out and become flutists. (Mariano Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation)

The exclusive nature of the *flauta* tradition has shifted somewhat, at least in the context of Hatun Kotama's classes, where flute masters are acutely aware of the need to encourage their youth to carry on with this music. Occasionally I noticed flute masters tease students struggling with *flauta* technique, but overall, they were patient and highly supportive of students, myself included. Mariano Maldonado, regarded as the best teacher for working with beginners, diligently demonstrated tunes and technique to students, slowing down the music to better indicate where the students needed to focus or what they needed to fix. Whenever someone made even the tiniest of triumphs, he would acknowledge their growth by laughing joyfully and telling them "*alliman*" (short for *allimariy*, or "very good" in Kichwa).

Despite this noticeable shift, I still observed aggressive and strict behavior among flutists. For example, while I was filming flutists in Cumbas Conde, another village at the Otavalo and Cotacachi canton borders, a flute elder sharply scorned his duo partner for not knowing the accompanying melody to two songs. During Hatun Kotama's classes, this behavior was occasionally in the form of a more advanced student trying to exert his dominance over other flute players, bullying some of the younger students and myself. Elder flutists were more ruthless with other players closer to their age. For example, several of the flutists were contracted to perform at a traditional face-washing wedding ceremony (*ñawi mayllay*, K.) where one of the older flutists' performance was considered to have been substandard. I did not attend the event,

but later that evening, I heard some of my host family members complain about this man's playing. According to what was said, the culprit played too sloppily for their liking and was derided by the other flutists, who challenged him to play songs they knew he had not mastered, thereby taking advantage of being able to ridicule him even more. Once home, my host father and brothers were still vexed, and after arriving at the house, Mariano practiced *flauta* with one of his sons. I could hear him grilling his son in the weaving room just outside my bedroom door. Later the son commented about the one flutist's mistakes at the event and joked about his father needing to "cleanse his ears" and "purify himself" by pop-quizzing him.

Considering the above information, I draw the following conclusions: (1) Flute masters were forgiving of my blunder because I am one of their students and they make a concerted effort to encourage their pupils; however, it is highly likely that my being a [foreign] woman, and therefore someone who would be held to lower expectations of mastering the instrument in the first place, largely contributed to why I was excused from some of the high standards for *flauta* playing; (2) although the performances during which I was invited to play flute were within a broader ritual context (i.e. celebrating the summer solstice), they were, to a degree, staged performances that were outside the primary performance contexts of the summer solstice in and around Kotama. Due to this removal from a strictly ritual context, it was not as awkward to have a woman perform a role that is predominantly masculine.

### **Why Men Play the *Flauta***

Even though some of my friends, host family, and interviewees could offer specific reasons why women do not, or should not, play *flauta*, I did not receive explicit reasons about why flutists are only men. I have yet to find a myth similar to those of lowland South America

that would explain why men dominate flute playing in northern Andean Ecuador.<sup>55</sup> The overall feedback I received was that it was "costumbre, no más" or just a custom. The closest explanation I heard was in my interview with Tayta Mochila, who recounted how his father encouraged him to learn flute: "He said, 'you must learn. You are a young man. You are a man, and you have to play *flauta*'" (Interview, September 12, 2012; my translation).<sup>56</sup> To examine this issue further, I focus on the purposes for performing flute music and connect them with the myth that Luz María De la Torre retells about gender roles.

Several ethnographers, musicologists, and tourists who have written about *flauta* music have interpreted this music's purpose based on the common paradigm that music is a reflection of one's feelings, inner-self, and personal or group identity. This purpose for music-making is often assumed universal in the Western world, where people tend to regard music as art, and the musician as an artist who follows a creative impulse to express emotions and passions from deep within oneself. In the field of ethnomusicology, this theme is prevalent in numerous English-language publications about music and identity.<sup>57</sup>

Travelers, anthropologists, and ethnomusicologists alike have mistakenly assumed that Runakuna express their feelings of misery when playing *flauta* music, while others have speculated that any happiness Otavalans exhibit while performing this music is a means of distracting themselves from life's hardships. Although life may be extremely difficult for those

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<sup>55</sup> For example, a common myth about Xinguano sacred flutes in the Upper Xingu (Amazonian Brazil) tells of women once owning the flutes, but relates that men later scared the women with the sounds of bullroarers in order to steal the flutes (Piedade 2011:240-241; Prinz 2011:285-286).

<sup>56</sup> "'Yachakunami kanki. Wampra, karimi kanki, kayta tocana kanki,' nirka" (Interview, Tayta Mochila, September 12, 2012).

<sup>57</sup> For a survey of the theme of music and identity in English-language ethnomusicology research publications, see Rice (2007, 2010). See also Tolbert (2002) for a discussion about the feminization of sensual, emotional, and bodily expression. In the endnotes, Tolbert mentions how music is often believed to represent the passions (endnote 12), and lists ethnomusicological case studies about laments, stylized presentations of emotions, and expressive culture (endnote 33).

living in rural or indigenous Ecuadorian communities, the authors who have propounded the above theories unfortunately overlooked music's broader relevance in Otavalan life. Generally, their misinterpretations can be attributed to their own biased conceptions of the people who play this music. During the first half of the twentieth century, Ecuadorian *indigenista* scholars and national intellectuals – who were wealthy, non-indigenous members of Ecuadorian society – debated social problems and exploited indigenous peoples to push their own political agendas.<sup>58</sup> These elite members of society assumed paternalistic roles and claimed to be protectors of the indigenous people whom they saw as ignorant and childlike. Others have carried more malicious and prejudiced beliefs about the indigenous people. Even today, there exist members of *mestizo* and *criollo* society who maintain that *Otavaleños* are dirty, poverty-stricken, inbred, and alcoholics.<sup>59</sup>

Not surprisingly, Runa ritual music and instruments were dismissed as trivial, just as the people often were. People's perception of this music to be minor or modal sounding has led many to misunderstand *flauta* music when applying their own culturally defined associations of music, pitch material, and emotion. An early example of this is Hassaurek's written account of his tour around Ecuador. The diplomat describes indigenous Otavalan music as crude, poor, pitiable, simple, and melancholic; he used many of the same words or their synonyms to describe the Kichwa of Otavalo (Hassaurek 1967 [1867]: 266-267, 273-274). In his 1930 book, Moreno claims that based on his musical analyses, all indigenous music is sad, melancholic, and performed in minor modes (1996 [1930]:12). He describes the Andean Ecuadorian countryside in another publication, meditating on the thin air, snowcapped volcanoes, and spread out homes that to him appear to be lonely, cold, and desolate. He poetically describes his impressions in the

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<sup>58</sup> For an overview of Ecuador's *indigenismo* movement, see Becker (2012).

<sup>59</sup> These ideas still persist today among non-indigenous parts of society; I often heard them repeated in conversations with people outside the indigenous community.

following passage: "This infinite solitude must fall upon one's heart like a mountain of ice, flooding one's soul from the deepest melancholy" (1972:77; my translation).<sup>60</sup> Moreno continues, claiming that despite few exceptions of more upbeat music, the natural landscape has affected the prevalent use of the minor mode among indigenous people. "And here I have indicated with just a few words why the aboriginal people of our inner Andean region have – instinctively and undoubtedly – adopted . . . the minor mode (sad, complaining, mournful). . . . I have not found even one solitary profane indigenous melody that was conceived of in the major mode" (1972:77; my translation).<sup>61</sup> A decade later, Buitrón describes *flauta* music as sad, evocative, and in the visual ethnography of Otavalo he co-authored with Collier, plaintive (n.d.:24; 1949:119).

In the mid-twentieth century, Ecuador's premier *indigenista* anthropologist Gonzalo Rubio Orbe published his book *Punyaró*, in which he describes Otavalan musical instruments as simple, lacking variety, and not being difficult to play. Rubio Orbe also claims that monotony and sadness are two general characteristics of the indigenous people as a whole. He writes, "these characteristics of an individual's life also extend to the community because they are reflections of family life" (2009 [1956]:253; my translation). Rubio Orbe believed that this also explains why flute and panpipe (*rondador*, Sp.) music is "sad and melancholic" (2009 [1956]:215; my translation).<sup>62</sup> Later, in his chapter about arts and music, the anthropologist concludes that "the [indigenous people's] music is simple, of incomplete scales; very sad and

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<sup>60</sup> "Esta soledad infinita debe caerle como una montaña de hielo al corazón, inundando su alma de la más honda melancolía" (Moreno 1972:77).

<sup>61</sup> "He aquí, en pocas palabras indicadas las causas por qué el aborígen de nuestra región interandina – de manera instintiva, indudablemente – ha adoptado para sus danzas y cantares el modo menor (triste, quejumbroso, lastimero); pues debo declarar que hasta ahora – salvo pocas melodías de carácter religioso y de algunas que debieron ser ejecutadas delante del soberano – no he hallado ni una sola melodía indígena profana que está concebida en el modo mayor" (Moreno 1972:77).

<sup>62</sup> "Monotonía y tristeza.-Estas características de la vida individual se extienden también a la comunidad, porque son reflejos de la existencia familiar. . . . la música es triste y melancólica en flautas y rondadores" (Rubio Orbe [1956] 2009:215).

melancholic. It is, after all, a faithful expression of one's individual and collective psyche" (2009 [1956]:253; my translation).<sup>63</sup>

Early twentieth-century scholars also labeled *flauta* music as primitive. Authors have supported this claim by insisting that the music is pentatonic and an imitation of nature. In several of his publications, Segundo Luis Moreno analyzes indigenous music according to Hispanic colonial beliefs rooted in Greek philosophies about weather and its influence over a people's temperament and degree of civilization. He claims that indigenous people are placid, monotonous, apathetic, and slovenly as a result of the high altitude and lack of four seasons, which he states, "seems to me [is] the principal reason for the laxness of [the indigenous people's] character" (1972:76-77; my translation).<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, he compares the pitch material of indigenous music to Ancient Greek and Chinese pentatonic music, professing that the Runakuna had not yet developed beyond early stages of Western classical music.

Colonial societies have often promoted the racist belief that indigenous people are primitive by framing them as more natural, part of the landscape, and therefore, less civilized. In fact, a common term Spanish chroniclers used for referring to indigenous peoples during early colonial times was *los naturales*, or the "natural ones." In the case of Otavalan *flauta* music, scholars like Moreno have insisted that indigenous music mimics nature. Moreno likens the Otavalans' melodies to bird chirpings, whispering winds, and murmurings from fountains and springs. More specifically, he suggests that the *sanjuanito* rhythms and pitches are inspired by

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<sup>63</sup> "La música es simple, de escalas incompletas; muy triste y melancólica. Es, al fin, fiel expresión de la psiquis individual y colectiva" (Rubio Orbe [1956] 2009:253).

<sup>64</sup> "La falta de las cuatro estaciones del año (que me parece la causa principal del relajamiento del carácter), vuelve la vida apacible y monótona, quitando a los individuos todo estímulo para el progreso y haciéndoles indolentes, descuidados, apáticos . . . un profundo abatimiento en el ánimo" (Moreno 1972:76-77).

the *cacique* birdcall (1996 [1930]:12-13; my translation).<sup>65</sup>

As recently as 2009, Michelle Wibbelsman casually mentions *flauta* music in her ethnography about Otavalan ritual and the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival. She writes that "the twin flutes . . . play a repeating one-part descending pentatonic melody," and that "groups move around the main plaza in Cotacachi in a counterclockwise direction to the birdlike tune of the twin flutes" (76, 96). The timbre, register, ornamentation, or melodic contour of *flauta* songs may sound birdlike to some people; however, this type of description too often echoes the persistent and biased stereotypes addressed above.

In my critique, I do not intend to suggest that *flauta* or Otavalan indigenous music is in any way divorced from nature. As I discuss in Chapters 5, *flauta* music relates both directly and indirectly with the musicians' surrounding landscape, in addition to a variety of human, spiritual, and natural beings. I also do not deny that many indigenous peoples are involved with ecological and environmental activism, often promoting more sustainable lifestyles based on traditional practices. This being said, however, I did not encounter a single flute player who spoke of this music as a means of communicating directly with wildlife. Nor have I heard any Runakuna speak of metaphors about music that would indicate flutists model their melodies after the sounds of birdcalls or imitations of breezes and flowing water, as has been found in other societies.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Moreno describes the sound of *flautas* as "gorjeos de aves, el susurro del viento, el murmullo de las fuentes" (1996 [1930]:12-13); See Chapter 5 for my own musical analysis of this music and a discussion of *flauta*'s music relation to sanjuanitos.

<sup>66</sup> Anthropologists and ethnomusicologists elsewhere have observed stronger associations between musical sounds and animal sounds, such as Fuks, who writes about how Waiāpi musical instruments mimic sounds of nature, such as the *tarutaru* bird, and vocals imitate the sounds and timbres of musical instruments (1988:157). See also Seeger (2004 [1987]), Stobart (1996b, 2006a), and Wissler (2009) for examples of highland and lowland Amerindian music that maintains mythic and practical relationships between people and animals. The closest comparison between *flauta* music and animal sounds I came across in my fieldwork is the use of the word *wakana* (to cry [out]), which is sometimes used to describe the sounding of flutes. The same verb is used to describe an animal making a sound, such as a cow mooing, a horse neighing, or a dog barking, etc. When discussing where songs come from, flutists mentioned that on occasion, spiritual energies like water sprites would give someone a song during their

In my experience, flute players have always stressed the flutes' complementary *human* qualities and their capabilities of bringing about joy as well as communicating with each other and spiritual energies.<sup>67</sup> Juniper Hill observed this as well during her fieldwork in Peguche. She writes,

According to local musicians and shamans, these *gaita* duets reflect the complementarity inherent in nature that is so important in Andean cosmology. They are often compared to the Sun God (*Inti*) and the Mother Earth (*Pachamama*) or to a husband and wife. I found these beliefs to be deeply ingrained in the musical practices of *gaita* players who either lived in very remote, isolated communities in the mountains or who were from the older generation. (Hill 2006:4-5)

In *Yaku-Mama*, Cachiguango presents what community elders and flute masters explained to him about the human qualities of the transverse flute:

Para nosotros, los instrumentos son "personas" capaces de conversar, hacer bailar y extasiar al runa. . . . El instrumento que hace de primera flauta es varón y la flauta que hace de segunda es mujer, a excepción de la flauta 'Kucha' que es la voz del aya (chuzalunku). (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63)

To us, musical instruments are "people" capable of conversing, making people dance, and exciting humans. . . . The [flute] that plays the primary melody is male and the flute that plays the second melody is female, with exception of the "*kucha*" flute, which is the voice of the [*chuzalunku*] spirit. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63; my translation)

Fabián Vásquez echoes Cachiguango, pointing out how all aspects of Kichwa life are based on a complementary duality of male and female counterparts. In particular, he illustrates this concept by comparing concepts of duality to a couple consisting of one man and one woman. He states:

Al menos en la pareja, digamos, o sea en una familia, siempre tiene que haber un hombre y una mujer. . . . Entonces, tanto la agricultura . . . la medicina, y en este caso, la música . . . lo interpretamos de esta forma. ¿Porqué? Porque existen los mismo principios en la música así como yo te lo decía que el hombre digamos es parte de la mujer y la mujer es parte del hombre. . . . Ahora, también existe en esta parte digamos de las dos flautas . . .

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dreams or while they are sitting beside a spring in which it dwells. I argue in Chapters 5 and 6 that *flauta* music is not just an imitation of ambient sound; rather, it constructs and maintains relationships between people and the spiritualized landscape and natural elements.

<sup>67</sup> Flutes represent human and non-human beings elsewhere in South America. For example, in "Arawakan Flute Cults of Lowland South America," Wright demonstrates how flutes from several Arawakan ethnic groups are the reproductions of human and non-human beings (Wright 2011).



la flauta que adelanta, podemos decir que esa es la flauta masculina y el que la acompaña es la flauta femenina. Ya? Entonces, así se cumplen la dualidad de todos los principios de nuestra vida en la parte de la música.(Interview, Fabián Vásquez, August 16, 2011)

At least with a couple, let's say, or be it a family, there always needs to be a man and a woman. . . . Therefore, just like with our agriculture . . . medicine, and in this case, music . . . we interpret it in this way. Why? Because the same principles exist in music as what I was talking about that we say the man is part of the woman, and the woman is part of the man. . . . Now, this exists as well with a pair of *flautas* . . . for the flute that leads, we can say that it is the masculine flute, and the flute that accompanies is the female flute. Yeah? Therefore, that's how the duality of our principles of life are fulfilled in [our] music. (Interview, Fabián Vásquez, August 16, 2011; my translation)

Additionally, the Otavalan transverse flutes are treated like humans who are regularly offered corn beer. Flutes may also request or demand food and drink, whereas it is considered rude for a person to ask a host for refreshments.<sup>68</sup>

When I asked Patricio to comment on the misconception that *flauta* music is an imitation of birds or other sounds of nature, he responded with the following:

Creo que no es el caso de flauta travesa que nosotros tocamos ya que se hacen melodías mas largas que el sonido de un pájaro o de otro animal. . . . Más bien creo que la naturaleza de la flauta actual es el de hacer melodías festivas para los runas y de comunión con la parte espiritual de la naturaleza (Pacha-Mama), porque no hay ninguna sola melodía que haga referencia al lenguaje de los pájaros u otro animal. Por otra parte tampoco tenemos festividades sobre animales. (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, September 16, 2013)

I do not believe that is the case with the transverse flute we play because [flutes] make melodies that are much longer than the call of a bird or another animal. . . . What I believe to be more likely is that the flute's real purpose is to make festive melodies for Runa people and of their communion with the spiritual part of nature (*Pacha-Mama*; Mother Time-Space, K.) because there isn't a single melody that references the language of a bird or other animal. On the other hand, we do not celebrate any festivals about animals. (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, September 16, 2013; my translation)

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<sup>68</sup> In many cases, as Hill and Chaumeil point out in the "Overture" to *Burst of Breath*, flutes are "frequently treated as human bodies (or body parts) that must be offered food and drink or that serve as socially appropriate ways of publicly asking local hosts for food or drink" (2011:26). For example, Chaumeil writes about how Yagua flutes are always thirsty and considered great drinkers (2011:55). In Kotama, there is a specific tune called "Rama" that is played when flutists are requesting to be served corn beer, food, or donated money to purchase alcohol.

The point Patricio makes about flute music facilitating a spiritual communion between people, and also between the Runakuna and the spiritual world, should not be mistaken as the *flautas* imitating whispering winds or gurgling brooks. In Kichwa spirituality, natural elements and landscapes are considered to have souls, just as human beings and animals do. By playing music, Runakuna are (re)connecting with spiritual entities, conversing with them, and negotiating with them, for example, when summoning more rains or beseeching rains to cease. To claim that *flauta* tunes are merely inspired by sounds heard outdoors is to oversimplify the relevance and power this music holds in the Runakuna's lives.

### **Music Gives Life to Life (*La Música Da Vida a Vida*)**

Some interviewees offered insight about the music and its life-giving properties that I believe, when contextualized with the Kichwa gender concepts discussed above, provide evidence as to why flutists are almost exclusively men. In an interview with the Smithsonian Institution, Hatun Kotama flutist and practitioner of traditional medicine Fabián Vásquez touches on the relationship between music and fertility. He points out that transverse flute music has traditionally been performed during life-giving moments, such as weddings, funerals, and harvest periods.<sup>69</sup> "[The *flauta*] is the sound of life," he concludes. "Music is life."<sup>70</sup> Fabián then summarizes Hatun Kotama's mission to revive *flauta* music as an important approach to continue with life, or keep giving more life to life. "In simple terms . . . the objective of the flute school is

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<sup>69</sup> The Runakuna believe that following death we go to another life, and therefore, in death there is life. This belief is found across the Andes as well, and it is often related to the ritual *tinkuy* fights and deaths that sometimes are a result. *Tinkuy* is the union of opposite powers, which must balance one another. The point in space and time where they meet, exist, or mix with each other is considered fertile and generative (Baumann 1996:48; Bourque 1994:238; Cachuango and Pontón 2010:50; Harrison 1989:103). See also Wibbelsman (2009:127).

<sup>70</sup> "[La flauta] es el sonido de la vida. . . . La música es vida" (Interview, Fabián Vásquez, August 16, 2011).

to preserve life. . . . To preserve life. To live together. To give life to life" (Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).<sup>71</sup>

Even though some Otavalan *flauta* aesthetics (e.g. hierarchical and competitive participation, polyphonic texture) contrast with common pan-Andean musical characteristics (e.g. egalitarianism and collective participation, hocketed texture), it does share similarities with historical and contemporary musical practices from across the Andes. In particular, it has been documented elsewhere that flute music possesses fertility powers and symbolizes life, especially through its relationship with agriculture. For example, Henry Stobart identifies music as an essential tool of the Kalankira in rural Bolivia and it is used to manipulate the climate in order to increase land fertility and ensure proper farming conditions.<sup>72</sup> Stobart asserts that musical performance meant to manipulate climate conditions holds a crucial position in maintaining bodily and community health (2000:40). Kalankira musicians play the *pinkillu* duct flutes and *kitarras* during the rainy season, and the panpipes and *charango* during the dry season, in order to help maintain desired weather conditions. Furthermore, the melodies played on *pinkillu* flutes give tubers and seeds the power to mature and grow (Stobart 1996b:481).

Similarly, Otavalan musicians have employed transverse flute music as an agricultural method. In the past, it was more common for flutists to summon or send away rainfall when necessary, such as during the *Wakcha Karay* (Offering to the Poor) ceremony.<sup>73</sup> Mariano

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<sup>71</sup> "En términos muy sencillos . . . el objetivo de la escuela de flauta es preservar la vida. . . . Preservar la vida, convivir. Darle vida a la vida" (Interview, Fabián Vásquez, August 16, 2011).

<sup>72</sup> See Stobart (1994, 1996b, 2000, and 2008). Stobart also writes about how music encourages llama mating. As noted in Chapter 2, it was once popular for men to learn *flauta* on their own while shepherding; however, I did not observe a similar connection between Otavalan *flautas* and animal fertility. Based on interviews and conversations, my understanding is that in recent generations, men did not play to increase animal mating; rather, it was a way to pass the time and be out in nature, alone, where they could develop their flute playing skills as they passed the time.

<sup>73</sup> This application of music has been declining more rapidly than other types of *flauta* musical performance. Cachiguango writes that with the *Wakcha Karay* ceremony, for example, the transverse

Maldonado talks about this relationship between music, agriculture, and fertility in an interview with the Smithsonian Institution. When describing crop fields (*chakrakuna*, K.), he explains that crops require a great deal of care and attention. Many of the Runakuna still live as farmers, so they spend much of their time going to tend the fields, take animals out to pasture, and gather food for their families and their livestock. According to Mariano and other flutists, part of a man's responsibilities for taking care of the family crops is to play the transverse flute. Mariano states that:

Chakra ñukanchikpak alimentonishkaka chayra kan ya cosechashpaka. . . .  
Coseshashpaka kushikuymantaka ña ñukanchik punta ñawpapika kashna flautakunawan  
kushikuymantaka payta sarakuta granota ña allichishpaka. Flautakunawan ña  
kushikushpa ñukanchikka fiestata ruran kashkanchik. (Mariano Maldonado, Interview,  
August 16, 2011).

The *chakra* nourishes us with the grains of corn we harvest. . . . When our ancestors would celebrate the harvest long ago, they would play the flutes to celebrate and express their gratitude for receiving a new corn crop, and they would also host celebrations when storing the corn crops. (Mariano Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).

As I wrote earlier, Kichwa Otavalo women are primarily responsible for managing food supplies, selecting seeds, storing food, cooking meals, and deciding when to plant and harvest crops. Men, on the other hand, help out with all of these tasks, but in addition, perform music as a way to complement women's life-giving work, ensuring fertility and giving life to all beings around them by managing weather patterns, connecting with other realms and extraordinary beings, and showing love, respect, and care for the land.

Considering the above comments about *flauta* music possessing generative and procreative powers, we can begin to contextualize this musical practice in the overall framework of flexible Kichwa gender roles presented by Luz María De la Torre. In the Kichwa creation

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flute is no longer used to beckon rain as it once was. He writes, "what this shows us is that many of the spiritual values of the ceremony have been lost over time" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:129).

story, the Creator bestows upon both genders the power and responsibility to protect and maintain life, to keep giving life to life. Women are granted the responsibility of caring for the physical, tangible, and visible forms of life, while men are delegated as the guardians over non-visible forms of life, such as weather and extraordinary beings.<sup>74</sup> Men are expected to bring life into being and place it in the hands of the women, who then care for it (e.g. child, crops) and direct men in how they may help to care for the life form or redistribute the food products.

An easily observed example of how these roles complement each other is pregnancy. When having intercourse, man deposits his sperm in the woman, and assuming the woman becomes pregnant, he helps bring the invisible child into physical being by placing her/him in the physical care—the womb—of the woman. Musically speaking, Kichwa Otavalan men perform *flauta* music to connect with other realms beyond our own present time-space, and bring beings into existence in our present world, *kay pacha* (literally, "this time-space"). The beings may be human, such as a new child, or extraordinary beings, like Mother Water (*Yaku-Mama*, K.) who may become manifest in the form of rain, or the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* spirit. Men perform music in order to spread joy and reciprocate with Mother-Earth during celebrations like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, and in doing so, they help maintain community health by ensuring that crops remain plentiful and spiritual balances are achieved.

In Western society, people often assume women are the sole producers of babies, and that only women possess procreative and reproductive powers. As a result, there exists a large body of anthropological works in which scholars have interpreted women's exclusion from fertility practices, such as flute playing, as men controlling women's reproductive abilities because they feel insecure about their lack of ability to procreate and seek a way in which they can preserve

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<sup>74</sup> Fiorini writes about this type of connection in lowland South America as well: "Music is to the flutes as a spirit is to a living body, and therefore musicians may be seen as being engaged in reconciling spirits to bodies as much as shamans" (2011:184).

men's superior status. In *The Gender of the Gift: Problems With Women and Problems With Society in Melanesia*, Strathern critiques how Western scholars have written ethnographies from this "industrial-capitalist" view without considering broader perspectives. In her critique, she refers to several different practices, such as but not limited to male flute cults, found in Melanesia and South America. Strathern questions how some of these ethnographies may project Western industrial-capitalist and patriarchal gender concepts on to the society being studied (1988:309-318).

### **Summary**

In this chapter, I have attempted to take a broader context into account from which I may draw a more comprehensive conclusion about why the Runakuna play the flute. By observing and analyzing Kichwa Otavalan women's roles, their relationships with men, and their music-related activities (e.g. brewing corn beer), I do not intend to merely offer a women's perspective to artificially counterbalance my focus on a masculine flute tradition. Instead, I have attempted to heed Stobart's warning against hastily interpreting women's exclusion from instrumental performance in terms of subordination by formulating a more comprehensive contextual understanding about gendered relationships (Stobart 2008:67). My approach also follows the lead of several anthropologists of lowland South America, who consider male and female ritual activities to be two expressions of the same complex (Chaumeil 2011:60). I base my analysis of these gendered relationships, which are sung into being through musical activities, on indigenous theories about Andean complementary duality and a flexible spectrum of gender expressions.

I argue here that the Otavalan *flauta* tradition is an especially masculine form of procreation, which masculine (*karilla*, K.) women may occasionally experiment with. Similar to

what Stobart observed in Ayllu Macha (northern Potosí, Bolivia), a crucially important point of *flauta* melodies is their power to generate transformations (Stobart 2002b:101). Men do not play the flutes to compensate for lacking a reproductive power or to control and exclude women; men play the flute because it is one way that they complement women's reproductive powers, generating happiness and giving life to life. By arguing this, I am not denying the fact that chauvinism exists among the Runakuna. There *are* chauvinist Otavalans who discourage women from playing flute; however, I contend that the gendered division of music-making is not based on the subordination of women or men's attempt to control women's childbearing abilities.

## Chapter 4

### Flute Making

In Chapter 3, I presented how the Otavalan *flauta* tradition, and especially the division of musical labor, embodies Kichwa concepts of complementary and flexible genders. In this chapter, I shift the focus to how the flutes themselves, the materials they are made from, and how they are performed are symbolic of these gender norms. To the Otavalans, transverse flutes represent gendered human beings. Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango explains:

Cabe destacar que los instrumentos musicales, para nosotros son personas con sexo, así la flauta o cualquier instrumento que hace la primera nota musical es macho y la que hace segunda es hembra, igual puede decirse de los instrumentos de cuerdas. (Cachiguango 2006:24)

It should be noted that musical instruments, for us [Runakuna], are sexed people, so the *flauta* or any instrument that plays the leading musical line is male and the flute that plays the complementary [melody] is female. The same can be said of string instruments. (Cachiguango 2006:24; my translation)

In this chapter, I examine the *flauta's* materiality by discussing how flute makers construct the instrument and by investigating how gender is ascribed to the instrument's physical qualities. In Chapter 5, I will extend the discussion about how flutes are performed, and I will provide a musical analysis that demonstrates how music and sound embody Runa gender concepts.

#### Flute Materials: *Carrizo* and *Mati*

##### *Carrizo*

The primary material currently used to make *flautas* is known by the common Spanish name *carrizo* (*Arundo donax*, L.) (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2).<sup>1</sup> Although there is still a debate about

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<sup>1</sup> Common English names for this plant are cane, reed, bamboo, bamboo reed, Danubian reed, donax cane, giant reed, Italian reed, Spanish reed, Provence cane. The names for this plant in other languages tend to be direct translations of cane or common cane. For example, Perdue lists *canne* (French), *kasab*



the origins of *Arundo donax*, scholars theorize that this grass originated in Asia (Mariani et al. 2010). Mariani and fellow researchers suggest that based on their data, "the origin of giant reed [*Arundo donax*] started from Asian progenitors," and then "spread from Asia throughout the Middle East to southern Europe and Africa" (Mariani et al. 2010:200). Consequently, the cane has been used across Asia, Europe, and Africa for musical instruments and, as Perdue points out,

[It] has played an important role in the culture of the western world through its influence on the development of music. The plant has a long history, perhaps as long as that of any other species with the exception of the basic food plants. Its utilization in the creation of music can be traced back 5,000 years. (Perdue 1958:368)

Spanish and Portuguese explorers most likely introduced *carrizo* to South America during the earlier years of the colonial period, since they are known to have traveled with Eurasian and Mediterranean plants (Bennett and Prance 2000:98).<sup>2</sup>

One of the reasons that flute makers have traveled long distances to find *carrizo* is because they prefer female cane (*warmi sukus*, K.). For the Runakuna, male (*kari*, K.) and female (*warmi*, K.) plants, such as bushes and shrubs, are distinguished from each other based on how large, thick, or strong the plant and its branches are; plants that are generally thicker, larger, or stronger are usually considered masculine. Flutists explained to me that *warmi sukus* had a much thinner wall than the thicker and spongier-looking male cane. "We call it *warmi sukus*, and cane that is thicker is called masculine," Mariano Quinchuquí told me. "Male cane doesn't sound

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(Arabic), *kalamos* (Greek), and *calami* (Italian) (Perdue 1958:369). The general Kichwa term for cane is *sukus*. It may also be called *cañahueca* (Sp.), *cañabrava* (Sp.), *sockos* (Q.), and *chuki* (Q.). Kotama flute maker Mariano Quinchiquí called *carrizo* grown in higher altitudes in and around Otavalo *soritón* (Sp.).<sup>2</sup> *Carrizo* can now be found across much of North America. It was intentionally introduced to Los Angeles, California via the Mediterranean in the 1820s to fight erosion in drainage canals. Today it is considered an invasive species throughout warmer regions of the United States and the Americas (Bell 1997:104).

good. It is twice as hard to work with. In comparison, female cane works well and sounds good" (Interview, August 8, 2012).<sup>3</sup>

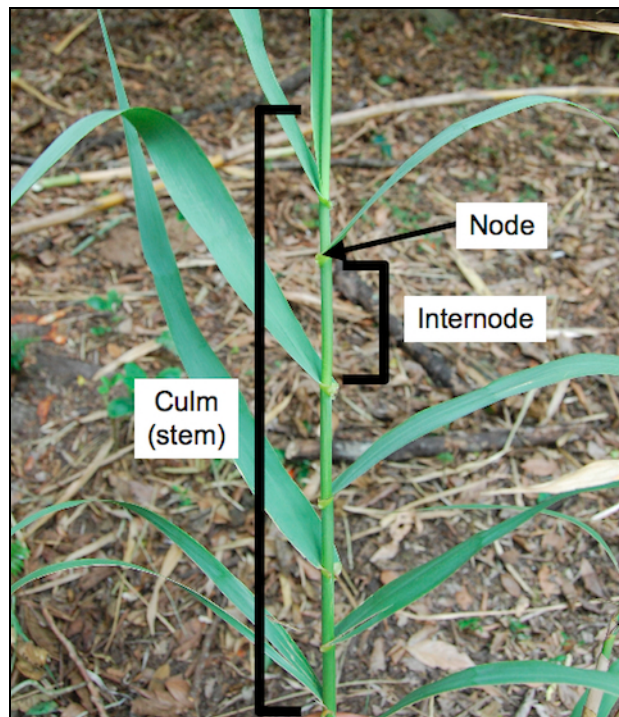


Figure 4.1: A young piece of *carrizo* cane (*Arundo donax*, L.) with parts of the culm (stem) labeled (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

Age and climate are known to affect the cane's thickness and density. In his interview, Mariano stressed to me that a flute maker should not use just any cane one finds around Otavalo. "So the cane [found along the Pan-American Highway] is not any good, where it is flat, right? Neither is the cane growing along the side of the road. No," he explained. "But out there in a deep ravine where there's water, that is good cane! It's good cane and has a good sound"

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<sup>3</sup> "Nosotros decimos, warmi sukus, o sea así es lo que se trae doble se llama el carrizo macho pues. . . El carrizo macho no se suena bien. Para trabajar, doble. Vuelta, en cambio, esos del carrizo hembra se vale y suenan bien" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012).

(Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation).<sup>4</sup> Young cane develops at approximately the full diameter of mature cane, and as it ages beyond the first growing season, its walls increase in thickness (Perdue 1958:369-370). Furthermore, warmer and drier subtropical climates, such as lower-altitude ravines and riverbeds surrounding the Otavalo region, tend to produce thinner and less spongy – what would be considered female – donax cane.<sup>5</sup> Flute makers named the regions of Intag, Chota, Urcuquí, Pimampiro, Chaltura, Cabuyal, Salinas, and Guayllabamba as prime places from which to harvest *carrizo*.

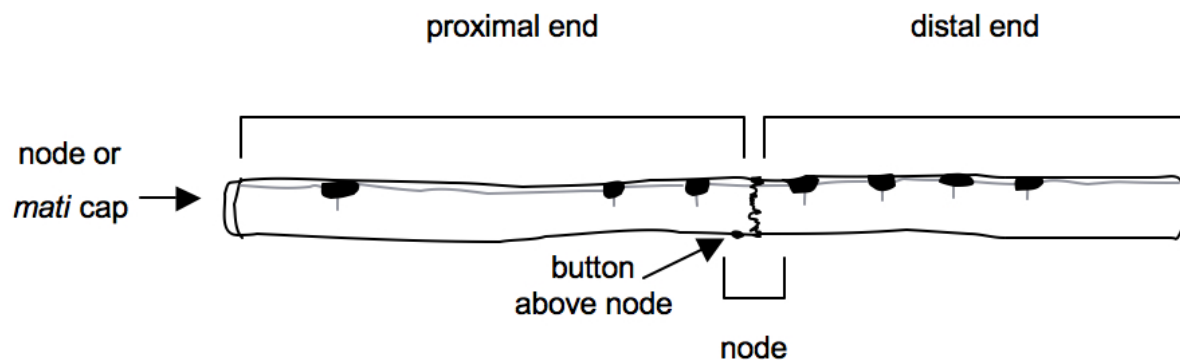


Figure 4.2: Diagram of a *flauta* indicating the proximal and distal ends, embouchure and finger holes, top (node of cane or piece of *mati* gourd), node or joint, and button of the cane. Gray lines indicate surface carvings of a centerline down the face and perpendicular lines that indicate where holes are to be carved. The distal end of the flute is left open.

### *Mati*

Equally important to the gendering of the flute's body are the calabash fragments that are carved into caps for the flutes. If the proximal internode (the half where the embouchure hole is carved) is the right length for the flute to be made, the node on the proximal end of the flute is left intact and serves as the flute's cap; however, if the section of the culm is too long and needs

<sup>4</sup> "Entonces, ese carrizo, no, allí no más así plano, ¿no? También, eh, ni orilla de camino. No. Sino que, allí en quebrada donde que hay agua, ¡éso es bueno! Éso es bueno y da sonido" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> Rachor has also found that European musical reed-makers have long preferred the thinner and firmer cane harvested from drier and warmer climates in southern Europe (2004:148).

to be shortened, the flute will be fitted with a piece of gourd or wood.<sup>6</sup> The preferred gourd for capping the flutes is *mati*, a tree calabash (*Crescentia cujete*, L.) that has traditionally been used for making dishes to serve food, water, and especially corn beer (see Figure 4.3).<sup>7</sup> Whereas flute makers Patricio and I spoke with agreed that *warmi sukus* was the material of choice, there was some difference in opinion about the type of gourd that should be used. Kotama flute maker Mariano Quinchuquí told me that the thinner, female gourd is best, but Alejandro Tuquerres, a flute maker from the Cotacachi area, stated that a thicker, male gourd should be used (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012; Alejandro Tuquerres, Interview, September 23, 2012).



Figure 4.3: Kotama flute maker Mariano Quinchuquí's *mati* gourd (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

Previously, tree calabashes and similar gourds were regularly traded from the warmer and more humid areas of Ecuador (e.g. Intag) to the highlands, so this type of material was readily available to most flute makers. Quinchuquí points out that

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<sup>6</sup> While the lower internode of the flute's size may vary slightly, I was told that the upper internode of the flute should be a precise length for the size of flute one intends to make (Personal communication, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> The tree calabash is also known as *maté*, *papamati*, *papamaté*, *chachamaté*, *pilche*, and *pilchimaté*. Mariano Quinchuquí, however, differentiated *pilche* from *mati*, and told me that *pilche* was too thin a material, which made it harder to work with than *mati*.

Ya no hay, pues, este material. . . . Ya no hay. Para comprar a los eh, eh la–las cosas de antigüedad . . . . Antes había por Intag, por Oriente, por ejemplo por costas, había, se daba, producción por allí, cuando aún no habían estos de plato. Ahora comimos en platillos decimos. Cuando no había eso. Antes comían en estas mati mismo. (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012)

Well, [*mati*] isn't readily available anymore. Not anymore. They are only sold as antiques now . . . . Previously, they were cultivated in Intag, the Amazon, and the coast, for example, back when we still didn't have plates. Now we eat on plastic dishes, *platillos* as we call them . . . . Before, we ate with dishes made of the same *mati* material. (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation)

*Mati* gourds may also remain within families as heirlooms. Flute makers still prefer to use this material when possible, but due to the scarcity of the gourd in the highlands, some flutists have substituted easier to find scraps of wood.<sup>8</sup>

### **Flute Makers**

According to Kotama flutists I spoke with, the communities to the west and southwest of downtown Otavalo, such as Yambiro, Perugachi, and Panecillo, were highly regarded for the skilled flute makers who lived there. Yambiro, in particular, was called "la cuna de los fabricantes de flauta," or the cradle of flute makers (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, August 27, 2012). On the other hand, villages to the north of Otavalo, such as Kotama, La Bolsa, Guanansí, Azama, and Gualapuro, have been known for their proficient flutists. Several of the Hatun Kotama flute masters used to purchase flutes from men who traveled to downtown Otavalo from Yambiro and other westerly communities to sell their flutes in the weekly markets.<sup>9</sup> Lizardo Perugachi, who grew up near Yambiro and is the son of flute

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<sup>8</sup> Mullo Sandoval also notes that indigenous musicians from nearby Cayambe are open to adopting new or different materials, such as plastics and metals, for building instruments (2006:24).

<sup>9</sup> Hatun Kotama flute master Mariano Maldonado remembers that he would normally purchase his flutes from a Yambiro flute maker called Lorenzo Perugache (Personal communication, August 27, 2012).

maker José Manuel Perugachi, recalled that a large majority of his father's customers were from several villages, but that most were from Kotama and Peguche (Interview, September 28, 2012).

Otavalan flute makers have often taken great risks and traveled long distances to obtain materials for making *flautas*. In past generations, flute makers hiked, barefoot, over treacherous Andean terrain for as many as three days roundtrip to secret riverbeds in lower altitudes where they would gather *carrizo* stalks.<sup>10</sup> On a flute maker's expeditions, he was often accompanied by his wife, child, or a group of men hired to help him carry the harvested cane. Despite the risks and expensive time commitment, flute makers would make these trips as many as two to three times in a year, even though *carrizo* is able to thrive in and around Otavalo as high as 2,600 meters above sea level (Jaramillo Cisneros 1991:73; Missouri Botanical Garden 2009).<sup>11</sup>

Otavalans have used *carrizo* for a variety of purposes in addition to constructing flutes. Runakuna also use the grass for weaving baskets, building walls and roofs of older-style huts, transporting large quantities of small livestock (e.g. chickens, roosters, guinea pigs), and making *castillos* for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (see Figure 4.4 and Chapter 3).<sup>12</sup> Basket weaving with *carrizo* and other similar plants, like *suru* (*suro* or *zuro*, Sp.; *Chusquea scandens* Kunth.), has

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<sup>10</sup> A three-day round trip was the longest trip that flute makers told Patricio Maldonado and me about in our interviews. It is possible others traveled farther distances.

<sup>11</sup> Much of Otavalo rests at approximately 8,385 feet (2,556 meters) above sea level. *Arundo donax* has also been found between 3500-4000m above sea level, and the primary provinces in which it thrives and has been cultivated are Carchi, El Oro, Esmeraldas, Guayas, Pichincha, Sucumbios, and Tungurahua (Missouri Botanical Garden 2009). Younger flute makers today are now experimenting with locally grown *carrizo*.

<sup>12</sup> For more information about how Otavalans weave *carrizo* baskets, see Jaramillo Cisneros (1991). See also Rubio Orbe (2009 [1956]:146-150) for more information about Punyaro and similar *suru* (*zuro*, Sp.) weaving traditions. *Castillos* are small altars hung in the home that serve as a spiritual banquet for extraordinary beings during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. Fruits, breads, bottles of corn beer, and purchased luxury items, like liquor, are tied to the small *carrizo* structures as offerings to these beings. *Arundo donax* may also be used for making mats, bobbins, toys, hats, cribs, fishing traps, arrows, fences, birdcages, and for medicinal and therapeutic purposes (Macía 2006:379-380; Bennett and Prance 2000:97; Perdue 1958:401-402). The plant is the primary material for making bassoon, clarinet, oboe, saxophone, and bagpipe reeds, in addition to having been used to make other types of flutes (Bell 1997:104; Perdue 1958:372; Rachor 2004).

long been associated with artisans from communities like Punyaro and Quichinche, which lie to the west of Otavalo and neighbor those where flute makers have tended to live. In previous generations, weavers and flute makers were also neighbors in the weekly markets where they sold their wares (José Manuel Perugachi, Interview, September 28, 2012). Although José Manuel Perugachi could not recall the gentleman's name, he identified the man seated second from the left in Blomberg's photograph (Figure 4.5) as a basket weaver who sold his products near where flutists sold their instruments.



Figure 4.4: Men make the final adjustments on a *castillo* brought to Kotama's communal center for the *Warmi Puncha* (Women's Day, also known as *San Pedro*, Sp.) festivities on June 29. The *castillo* is made with *carrizo* stems (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2010).



Figure 4.5: A basket weaver (seated, second from left) sells his products near flutists at the weekly market located at what was once the Collahuazo High School on Modesto Jaramillo Street, between Abdón Calderón and Juan Montalvo Streets. (Photograph by Rolf Blomberg, 1949, used with permission; courtesy of the Blomberg Archive/*Archivo Blomberg*).



## Making the Flutes

Each flute maker has his own special techniques and method for making flutes. The following description of how flutes are constructed is based on a composite of my own learning of how to make flutes and general techniques described to me by several flute makers.<sup>13</sup> The overall process for making flutes lasts about one year from start to finish, beginning with a preparation stage during which flute makers harvest and dry the cane, and followed by the carving and construction stage. Initially, flute makers trek to their preferred areas for harvesting cane to collect culms that are of comparable dimensions to the flute sizes they will make. The flute makers and those helping them may use a finished flute as a measuring tool to ensure the internodes are approximately the same length and width of their flute models (see Figure 4.6). José Manuel Perugachi would typically make these trips during the late winter, such as in February, whereas Mariano Quinchuquí would travel during August. Since there are only slight variations between the two main seasons of this region of Ecuador – dry and rainy – flutists could make these journeys when necessary. Both José Manuel and Mariano would make at least one trip a year, though they often needed to make multiple trips. According to Mariano, each person can carry enough cane for about 40 pairs of flutes (Interview, August 16, 2011). Considering that Mariano would make about 300 pairs of flutes a year, this would require several trips, which he regularly made with his wife. José Manuel's wife and son Lizardo would accompany him along with men he hired specifically to help him carry *carrizo* across the mountainous terrain and back to his home. Following their trips, both flute makers would spend the rest of the months leading up to the June solstice manufacturing flutes.

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<sup>13</sup> I interviewed six flute makers. In this chapter, I intentionally present an amalgamation of the techniques used in order to avoid disclosing too much of one flute maker's individual method.



Figure 4.6: Lizardo Perugachi measures *carrizo* with a finished flute (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

Although flute makers Patricio and I interviewed did not explicitly define a particular season as the best for harvesting cane, my host brother José Segundo Maldonado did explain to me that one should only harvest during specific times of the month. This knowledge seems to be slipping from the general collective memory of younger Otavalans, but José Segundo explained that his grandparents taught him which periods of the moon's cycle were best for performing activities, such as showering or bathing, washing laundry, cutting hair, planting, and harvesting. During a new moon, he explains,

Chay punchaka, na allichu kan . . . . Chay luna illakpi na armay ushanchu, o sea . . . na fuerza tukun maypi armakukpi. O sea, na charinki, fuerzata. O sea armanki pero siempre killanayachinka. A-ha . . . . Chaymanta kunan kashpaka, kunan luna illakpika kayamanta cuentana kanki: primera luna, segunda luna, tercera luna, cuarta luna, quinta luna. Quinta luna. Yah. Pichka puncha. Pichka luna punchapika chaypi tarpuyta na ushanki ni armayta na ushanki. (José Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012)

[The new moon] isn't good . . . . When the moon is absent you shouldn't bathe, well . . . when you're bathing, you don't gain any energy. Or, you don't have any energy. Or, well, you bathe but it will always make you feel drained. A-ha . . . . So when it's a new moon, when the moon is not out, you have to count from the following day: the first moon, second moon, third moon, fourth moon, fifth moon. On the fifth moon. Yes. The fifth

day. When it is the fifth day of the moon, you mustn't plant [crops], and you shouldn't bathe either. (José Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012; my translation)

According to José Segundo, the first quarter, or waxing quarter, moon phase is best for performing most activities, especially harvesting plants, such as crops and *carrizo*. José Segundo discusses the waxing quarter and full moon in more detail:

Sexto, séptimo, octavo, ushanki. Tukuylla, cuarto creciente alli kan . . . . Cuarto creciente kayna, cuarto creciente kunan, cuarto creciente kaya, kuchuy ushanki . . . . Yah, chaymantaka imashtimi nini cuarto crescientemantaka ña luna hatun, pura, chayka pura kan . . . . Luna llenapi kimsa punchata na armay ushanki . . . . Porque yapa es que blanqueta blanquea imataka kachun. Akcha, más con todo, o sea, chashna yachachishka kan, ñukaman abuelokuna chay kutin chayta nin. (José Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012)

On the sixth, seventh, and eighth day you can [plant, bathe, cut your hair, etc.]. The waxing quarter is the best time do everything . . . . On the day before, the day of, and the day after the waxing quarter moon, you can cut [your hair] . . . . Yeah, so then, [continuing with] what I'm saying, from the waxing quarter the moon is now big, pure, it's a full moon . . . . During the three days around the full moon, you shouldn't bathe . . . . This is because it takes away the color from anything and everything. Your hair, more than anything, well, that is what has been taught, from my grandparents to me, that is what is said. (José Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012; my translation)

Finally, as the moon wanes and enters the next quarter phase, José Segundo advises that,

Cuarto menguantepika kuchuriy ushanki pero ña wiñan. Wiñashpapash yapa mayta wiñan, ya . . . . Allimi kan, shinankapak, cuarto menguante y cuarto creciente alli kan, tukuyta, pero a cuarto menguanteka na recomendable kan ni o sea . . . suponte akchata kuchunki, cuarto menguantepi, pero akchaka ña na wiñanka ña, normalka, o sea, allimantapacha wiñan. (José Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012)

During the waning quarter you can cut your hair but it doesn't grow [well]. Even though it grows, it grows poorly. It's best to do all of these things during the waxing and waning quarter phases of the moon, [to do] everything, but it is not as advisable to do these during the waxing quarter, well . . . suppose you cut your hair, during the waxing quarter, but your hair won't grow well or normally, rather, it will grow slowly. (José Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012; my translation)

In other words, the moon's phase influences how life-giving forces and energies are transmitted, being absorbed by humans, plants, and other beings, or drained from them; therefore, one should take care in deciding when to undertake certain tasks, such as bathing, cutting one's hair, or

harvesting, that cause energies to flow from one source to another, so as to minimize the stunting or loss of life.<sup>14</sup>

Once the culms have been chopped down with a machete, the tall stems are cut into smaller portions that will be easier to transport and store. Mariano Quinchuquí, who would travel north of Otavalo with his wife to harvest *carrizo*, explains that these first few steps are the most difficult due to how labor intensive the journeys are (Interview, August 16, 2011). After the flute makers return home, they leave the flute blanks in the shade and out of direct sunlight for several months or up to a year or more. "They need to dry for an entire year to get good flutes, so that they turn yellow," Quinchuquí advises. "And if we don't dry them out, in just half a year after I've made them, they'll break."<sup>15</sup>

The flute maker will begin to craft his flutes once the *carrizo* has sufficiently dried.<sup>16</sup> An experienced flute maker can finish a flute from this stage in approximately forty-five minutes to an hour. To begin, he pairs together two flute blanks of similar size and shape.<sup>17</sup> Next, he makes more precise measurements with a ruler, another flute, or his hand, and then uses a knife or small saw to trim the flute's ends accordingly; the top of the flute should be an exact measurement, whereas the bottom half may vary approximately 0.5cm to 1.0cm. Once it has been trimmed, the inner part of the node will be removed by inserting a thin, metal pole or similar tool into the

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<sup>14</sup> Stobart noted a similar concern for maintaining, creating, and preventing the loss of life force (*animu*, Q.) among the Kalankira of Ayllu Macha in Bolivia, who also make sure to only harvest during appropriate lunar phases (2006a:27-30; 2008:73).

<sup>15</sup> "O sea sukusta apamunkapak, rinkapak achkata para rin. Y wata enterota chakichina kan, alli flauta kachun, kashna killu tukuchun. Si es que mana chakichinchik shuk chawpi watawanlla trabajayka kallarinchikcha wakllin, ñukanchikpa perdido llukshiy" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 16, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> I observed flute-making methods that ranged from using just a knife to using a mix of other tools, like rulers, handsaws, drill bits, and power tools. José Manuel Perugachi mentioned that he has also heard of people using fire as a method to make the holes of the flute (Personal communication, September 13, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> When finding a mate for a flute, the maker should match the size and shape of both pieces of cane as closely as possible; however, when I learned to make a flute, my mentors stressed it was more important to match the length of the cane rather than the girth.

open, distal end of the flute and slowly applying pressure until it has been popped out. This step is one of the more delicate and difficult steps, since the cane may crack easily if too much pressure is applied at once. In order to avoid breaking the flute, it is important to rotate the cane and slowly weaken the internal node. The same pole is used to scrape and remove any debris left inside the flute so that it will play in tune and with a clear tone.

Holding a thin knife blade or box cutter at an acute angle close to the flute, the flute maker scrapes dirt and dust off the outside of the flute until a more golden and shiny surface is revealed.<sup>18</sup> To finish cleaning the surface, he will wipe the flute off with a damp cloth. Some flute makers are particular about the type of water they use to clean the flutes. For example, José Segundo Maldonado opines that the mineral water from Yumpapukyu, one of Kotama's sacred springs, is preferable over faucet water, since the minerals help clean the surface better and give the flutes more energy (Personal communication, 2012).

After the flute has been cleaned, the flute maker uses a button-like dot found on the back of the flute as a reference point (see Figures 4.2 and 4.7). This button must be part of the flute's top half. Turning the flute 180° and bracing the cane between his chest and a wall or a similar surface, the flute maker aligns his blade at a perpendicular angle to the cane and shaves off a thin line from the distal end of the flute to the center, flips the flute, and then shaves the other half of the flute, connecting the line at the node (see Figure 4.8). The line should be thin and superficial for aesthetic reasons and to avoid making the wall of the flute too thin or weak on one side, which causes the flute to be prone to cracking, especially when a cap is applied to the proximal end.

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<sup>18</sup> This motion is similar to how one would peel carrots with a knife.



Figure 4.7: A photograph of the back of a *flauta* and the button over the node (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2014).



Figure 4.8: José Segundo Maldonado shaves off the centerline of a *flauta* (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2011).

The line shaved down the flute's face also guides the flute maker as he lines up and carves the mouth aperture and finger holes. Flute makers today often rely on metric rulers for precisely measuring where to carve the holes; however, in past generations, it was common for men to make the measurements based on their hands and fingers. When using his hand as a measuring tool, the flute maker will use increments of the width of one to four fingers to measure from the top of the flute to the mouth aperture (approximately four fingers), then from the aperture to the first finger hole (eight to ten fingers), between each fingerhole (two to three fingers), and from the last finger hole to the bottom of the flute (four fingers). Fingerholes are generally equidistant from each other.

When the flute maker has measured where holes are to be carved, he uses his cutting edge to score a horizontal line across the shaved, vertical line running the length of the flute. He may also use a writing tool to indicate where the center of each hole is to be made. Carving the holes of the flute is another delicate step that must be done with great care so as not to cause the flute to split. Using the point of a blade, the flute maker punctures the cane where the shaved and etched lines cross. Gently, he twists the flute and the blade in opposing quarter turns to scoop away some of the cane until a hole is made. Some flute makers today have adopted using hand drills, power drills, and sandpaper to help them carve the holes. When drill bits are used to speed up the process of creating the holes, the flute maker may attach the bits to an electric machine, or use them by hand as they would use a knife, twisting them manually to help carve the hole. One flute maker I interviewed utilizes a 7/16" bit for the mouth aperture and a 1/4" bit for the fingerholes. The fingerholes should be approximately the same size; however, Mariano Quinchuquí explained to me that the fourth and sixth fingerholes may need to be slightly larger than the other fingerholes (Interview, August 8, 2012).

If the flute does not have the top node still intact, the flute maker may use a temporary top – made by stuffing a rag or plastic bag into the top of the flute – so that he can check the tuning while he is carving the flutes' holes. The most important measurement, in terms of the tuning and where to place the holes, is the distance between the proximal end of the flute and the mouth aperture, as well as the diameter of the embouchure hole. As I learned through trial and error, it is best to begin with carving smaller fingerholes so that one has the option of making fine tuning adjustments by widening the fingerholes that produce a sour, sharp note. When a note sounds out of tune, one should adjust the holes that are left uncovered when that note is played, or experiment with the size of the first fingerhole or mouth aperture (see Figure 4.9 for photographs of José Manuel Perugachi carving holes in a flute).



Figure 4.9: A photograph with close-up of José Manuel Perugachi carving holes in a flute (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

To finish the body of the flute, the maker often uses sandpaper to smooth out not only the fingerholes, but also the distal edge of the flute, which may still be rough from the saw. He will also make sure to dump or remove any debris or shavings from inside the flute by covering the



metal rod with a cloth and inserting it into the flute. Finally, he wipes the entire flute down once more with a rag.

As I mentioned earlier, the node of the flute may be left intact as the flute's cap, but if the top internode of the flute is too long, it will be trimmed and will need to be topped with another material. To make the cap, one begins by selecting a square piece of material that is wide enough to cover the top of the flute. Next, one slices off small portions of gourd or wood until it is a circular shape close to the diameter of the flute. If using wood, one should cut with the direction of the wood's grain. The sides are sliced off so that the bottom side of the cap has a slightly smaller diameter than the top of the cap (see Figures 4.10 and 4.11). During this process, a mark may be made on the flute and on the top so that the flute maker is able to easily orient how the top should be carved and fitted into the irregularly-shaped hollow cane. The flute maker should also continuously compare how the top will fit into the cane to make sure that he does not trim the cap too much.

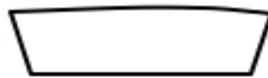


Figure 4.10: The general shape of carved *mati* fragments that are used as *flauta* caps.

There are a few options for affixing the cap and making sure it fits tightly and stays in place. First, the flute maker may sand the top of the cane and sides of the cap with sandpaper. Next, he wets the sides of the cane and the cap with water, corn beer, or his spit, and rubs them in dark, wet dirt (*yana allpa*, K.). Commercial glues may also be applied instead of liquid and dirt. He then inserts the cap carefully into the cane and gingerly pushes against a wall or hammers the top, rotating the flute to avoid any splitting or cracking that may happen due to applying too much pressure at once on one spot. After the cap appears to be secure, the flute

maker sucks on the end of the flute to make sure air does not escape from the top. He will also play the flute to make sure it speaks or cries out (*wakana*, K.) well. If wood is used for the cap, he may sand the top down to be even and smooth, and remove any leftover dirt still visible along the circumference of the cap. Clear nail polish is sometimes used to make the top shiny, like the rest of the flute, and patch any possible gaps where air may escape from in the future. Once the flute is completely finished, flute players will feed it corn beer as needed while performing in order to moisten the cane and attain a rich sound.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 4.11: Yampiro flute maker Luis Perugachi trims a *mati* fragment to make the cap for a *flauta* (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

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<sup>19</sup> When I asked flutists about what I should feed my flutes in the United States or when corn beer was not available, I was told that organic, sweetened oat milk would serve as an alternative (Personal communication, 2012). To make oat milk at home, one would need to boil oats in water, draining the oats and preserving the creamy liquid, which can then be boiled longer with sweetener.

## Flute Sizes and Tuning

Just as each flute maker I interviewed had his own system for making flutes, mixing and matching techniques, tools, and materials, I also found that flute sizes varied depending on the maker and the community. As Juniper Hill describes, the flute sizes – and therefore their tunings – vary "from community to community so that each song is identifiable as belonging to a specific community" (2006:4). Hill, as well as many other scholars who have worked in the Andes, contextualizes this type of variation as *cada llakta*, or being specific and unique to each (*cada*, Sp.) community (*llakta*, K.).<sup>20</sup> My field research about transverse flute performance in the Otavalan valley thus far has supported the *cada llakta* phenomenon. The variety of local offshoots of the tradition and lack of standard dimensions for making flutes evidence a venerable tradition that is limited by economic conditions and the properties of the natural resources from which the flutes are made (Ledang 1990:109).

When I visited flute makers home workshops across the valley, I encountered collections of *flautas* that comprise as many as ten different sizes. On occasion, I was also shown flute models made of something other than *carrizo* but meant to mimic *flautas*, or still made of *carrizo*, but a completely different type of flute all together. José Luis Perugachi, for instance, has experimented with making novelty *flauta*-like flutes out of other materials that he markets to tourists.<sup>21</sup> Alejandro Tuquerres, on the other hand, designed the *aya kallpachik* (spirit chaser) flute, a small instrument made of one *carrizo* internode. He fashioned this flute following a frightening encounter with an apparition, and was inspired to make an instrument that could ward

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<sup>20</sup> See also Hill (2006:4) and Schechter (1996:458; 1992:3, 8-9; 1982:26).

<sup>21</sup> There is no direction family relationship between José Luis Perugachi and José Manuel Perugachi.

off any malicious spirits.<sup>22</sup> Researchers have also documented *carrizo* flutes made in the nearby Cotacachi parish that are performed during Easter Holy Week; these flutes' construction differs from *flautas* in that the proximal internode is the lower part of the cane, which does not have the node's button on it.

In his book about Kichwa customs practiced in Kotama, Cachiguango lists three flute sizes that are typical of the village: (1) large or bass (*grave* or *gruesa*, Sp.; *raku*, K.); (2) medium or alto (*media* or *mediana*, Sp.; *pariku*, K.); and (3) small or soprano (*aguda* or *delgada*, Sp.; *ñañu*, K.) (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:65-69).<sup>23</sup> I realized during my fieldwork, however, that in Kotama, these size names were relational. Sometimes, what I thought was a medium flute, someone else called a small flute.

In Mariano Quinchuquí's words, "We have to tune [the flutes] well. If you want to make a quality instrument, the size of the flute matters." Based on Mariano's expertise after close to three decades of working as Kotama's primary flute maker, he lists the following lengths of *carrizo* as guidelines for making different flutes: small flutes should be approximately 41cm to 42cm long, medium flutes are around 45cm to 46cm or 51cm to 52cm, and large flutes may measure between 55cm to 58cm. "Those are sizes that make the best flutes, if not, it doesn't come out well" (Interview, August 16, 2011; Interview, August 8, 2012). José Segundo Maldonado

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<sup>22</sup> José Luis Perugachi made a flute using only one internode, though he did not call it an *aya kallachik*, or explain any specific purpose for playing this flute. He also made novelty flutes with large hollowed-out branches, which appear to be the stems of agave inflorescences (small trees that grow up from the center of an agave plant) or something similar.

<sup>23</sup> It is common across the Andes for instruments, like the *kena* (*quena*, Sp.) and panpipes (*zampoñas*, Sp.), to be made in families of different sizes.

from Kotama also follows these size ranges for his flutes (Personal communication, 2012).<sup>24</sup>

Upon further investigation, I found that some flute makers in Kotama had four models, adding an even smaller flute to their repertoire. These extra-small flutes from Kotama tended to be out of tune, and were manufactured more for selling to tourists at the markets; I never saw one played during a ritual performance, such as *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. In José Manuel Perugachi's collection of flute models, however, there are a few petite sizes that are smaller than flutes made in Kotama and appear to be made with for the purpose of performing.

Regardless of the length of the flute, all of the instruments I was able to obtain and measure have a longer top internode, which is between 54% and 58% of the length of the flute. The diameter of *carrizo* used for making the flutes I measured ranges between 2.6cm and 3.7cm, though most flutes have a diameter close to 3.0cm. In general, the wall of female *carrizo* (*warmi sukus*, K.) was 0.3cm or less thick. Cane with a wall of 0.4cm or thicker tended to be deemed male cane (*kari sukus*, K.), or *soritón* in Mariano Quinchuquí's words. The average mouth aperture diameter of most flutes is roughly 1.0cm, though larger flutes have embouchure holes as large as 1.3cm across. Embouchure holes were typically carved at approximately 1/8 of the length of the flute, measuring from the proximal end. Fingerhole diameters are generally between 0.7cm to 0.9cm, with most of the holes matching each other on one given flute; however, Mariano informed me that the fourth and sixth fingerholes may need to be slightly wider than the others in

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<sup>24</sup> "O sea chaypika afinana kan, ashtawan alli llukchishun munashpa, uh, según tamaño. 42pi, 56pi, 51pi, 57pi, chayllamariy alli llukshin. Sinoka, na alli llukshin" (Mariano Quinchuquí, August 16, 2011). In a second interview, Mariano Quinchuquí listed the preferred sizes as 41cm-42cm, 45cm-46cm, and 55cm-57cm (Interview, August 8, 2012). The measurements Mariano Quinchuquí refers to are in centimeters.

order to properly tune the instrument (Interview, August 8, 2012). The spacing between fingerholes is approximately 7% of the overall length of the flute.

I observed that flutists carry at least two *flautas* with them during performances, playing one flute and tucking the other one safely under their belt. Sometimes, they might carry both the male and female flutes of a pair together in case a duo or trio partner does not have a flute of similar size and pitch with which they can accompany them. More frequently, however, flutists go to performances with one medium-sized flute and one larger flute so that they are prepared to match whichever size flute their duo or trio partners decide to use on a given song.

With Otavalan transverse flute music, higher pitches are masculine rather than feminine because they have the power to cause instability, confrontations, and transformations. Whistling, the strident sound of the *kucha* flute (considered the voice of *chuzalunku*, a mountain spirit), and men who are accompanied by the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* spirit speaking in their head voices, are all examples of high-pitched, masculine sounds. Even though male flutes have a lower fundamental pitch than female flutes, their masculine melodies have a higher tessitura than female countermelodies. Some Kotama musicians suggested that small or medium flutes are best for teaching beginners because they are less demanding in terms of breath support and finger dexterity, but in general, I was told that Kotama flutists have the option to perform *flauta* songs with whichever flute size they prefer (Personal communication, 2011).<sup>25</sup> In other villages, however, there are more distinct expectations about which flutes are most appropriate for a type of music. Alejandro Tuquerres, who lives in a village in Cotacachi parish, stated that larger,

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<sup>25</sup> *Flauta* tunes are not played on the *kucha*, another type of transverse flute that is part of this tradition, nor are *kucha* tunes played on *flautas*.

lower-pitched (*raku*, K.) flutes should be played for more feminine genres of music, such as what is played at weddings, whereas higher-pitched flutes are better suited for masculine music performed during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (Interview, September 23, 2012; see also Chapter 5).

Although *flauta* tunings may sound dissonant, haphazard, or random to some listeners, I have learned that *flauta* musicians listen carefully for precise pitches and pitch relationships. Flutists are critical of an instrument that is not tuned properly just as they critique the player who plays out of tune due to poor breath support or embouchure. *Flauta* music aesthetics call for the tuning of each flute within a pair to not match perfectly; rather, there is one flute that is lower-pitched than the other one and is used to play the leading, higher tessitura, masculine melody. The remaining, higher-pitched flute is used to perform the complementary, lower tessitura, feminine countermelody. In most places, only two flutes are used, but in Kotama, one may commonly hear a trio in which the feminine countermelody is doubled. When Hatun Kotama commissioned a chorus of ten identically sounding flutes, or what the flutists called twins (*gemelos*, Sp.), however, Mariano Quinchuquí intentionally matched them to each other so that students and teachers could play in groups larger than trios without worrying about too wide a tuning range that would be a problem when combining five pairs of flutes.<sup>26</sup> When I played out of tune or had a flute that was not properly tuned, flutists corrected me, saying that, "Jessie, no regresa," or "Jessie, the [note] doesn't come back." As I discuss in my musical analysis in Chapter 5, *flauta* music employs a type of moveable do system in which an emphasis on pitch

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<sup>26</sup> Typically, when the ten-flute chorus performs, the balance of the two complementary melodies is maintained by having four flutists play the masculine melody while six flutists play the feminine countermelody.

relationships supersedes the need to consistently match exact pitches of the flutes' fundamentals and their notes.

### **Learning to Make Flutes**

Most flute makers Patricio and I interviewed learned how to make instruments in a similar fashion that flute players have learned how to play the music. Perhaps the most common way for men to be introduced to making flutes was by learning from a father, grandfather, or another male family member; however, during the interviews, I came to find out that claiming to have learned from someone did not always carry the same connotations as it would for a Westerner imagining a close one-on-one apprentice relationship. Often, a flutist or flute maker would consider someone his teacher even if he only carefully observed the master flutist or flute constructor from afar. Due to the competitive nature of the *flauta* tradition, it has been less likely one would develop mentor-type relationships akin to those of Western classical patriarchic genealogies. How well a man has been able to learn and master this tradition has long been dependent on a great deal of personal drive and initiative, regardless of whether male kin take the beginner under his wing or not.

For a long time, Kotama was better known for its flute players who regularly purchased flutes fabricated in communities on the other side of Otavalo. Two weeks prior to *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* in 1984, Mariano Quinchuquí finally decided to learn to play flute. "So I went out to buy [flutes] in Otavalo, and there wasn't anything! Nothing! So then, if I didn't have a flute by the next year, who were [my brother and I] going to dance with?" (Interview, August 8, 2012; my



translation).<sup>27</sup> From that point on, Mariano began investigating how to make flutes, which materials he needed to use, and where he was able to find the materials. He began by asking Luis Alfonso Cabascango (one of the flute masters in Hatun Kotama today) about *carrizo* and where to find it. Alfonso sent Mariano to an elder who lived up the hill and who eventually showed Mariano *carrizo* that Alfonso had brought him from Chaltura. "I cut [my first flute] from that large cane [the elder had], [and] just one pair came from it . . . . So in [1984], I [began] working already, and I danced [with my brothers] playing that flute" (Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation).<sup>28</sup>

Prior to the 1985 summer solstice, Mariano and his wife discussed him becoming a flute maker, and they decided together to strike out in search of *carrizo*. "We agreed and we left for Atuntaqui, then from Atuntaqui, we went to Chaltura by foot . . . . And well, it's far!" he exclaimed. "We took what we could [from an hacienda] . . . . But we didn't know how to leave from there, where we were going to go, we didn't know" (Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation).<sup>29</sup> As he recalls, the initial years he spent making flutes were very successful:

Como yo no más era maestro, entonces flautaka, como pan caliente pues. A-hah. Como pan caliente . . . . Así poco a poco, más experiencia, más experiencia, como cortar, como hacer hueco, como como limpiar adentro así. Ya construir más, más, más, y vino gente más, más, más, más, para San Juan, vino acá en mi casa tanto al mercado. (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012)

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<sup>27</sup> "Entonces yo salí a comprar para, comprar en Otavalo, y no había nada. ¡Nada! Entonces de allí, para otro año ya si no tenía flauta, ¿con quién íbamos a bailar?" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012).

<sup>28</sup> "Le corté con ese carrizo grande, un parcito le salió. . . . Entonces ya este año ya trabajé, ya con esa flauta nos bailamos" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> "Nos ponemos de acuerdo y salimos por Atuntaqui, entonces de Atuntaqui, salimos a, a Chaltura en pie . . . . Es lejos, pues! . . . . Cogimos lo que avanzamos . . . . entonces no sabíamos ni donde salir, donde vamos a ir, así no sabíamos" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012).

Since I was the only flute maker [in Kotama], my flutes were [sold] like hot bread. A-hah. Like hot bread. . . . And little by little, [I was] gaining more and more experience with how to cut [the cane], how to carve the holes, how–how to clean out the inside of the flute. And now [as I was] making more, more, [and] more [flutes], and people came, more, more, more, more for San Juan. They came to my house just as they came to [my stand at] the market. (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation)

Around this time, Mariano estimates he was producing as many as 300 pairs of flutes, and states that, "before, I was beginning [to make flutes] from August . . . in order to have enough flutes [to sell for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*]" (Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation).<sup>30</sup>

Since the early 1990s, Mariano has noticed a dramatic shift in how many flutists continue to participate in the tradition and purchase flutes from him:

Y ahora . . . ya no hay allí mismo. Ya acaba muriendo los tocadores. Regresa a los religiones. Se va por Europa. Ya no compra. No hay. Solo mujeres aquí en Imbabura ya casi existen . . . . Por eso, este año mismo, mmm, a ver, unos 60 parcos hice. (Interview, August 8, 2012)

Now . . . it's not the same here anymore. Flutists have died. [People] have converted to other religions. People have left for Europe. Now people don't buy [flutes]. There aren't [any players]. By now, it's basically only women who live in Imbabura . . . . That is why this year, hmm, let's see, I only made sixty pairs of flutes. (Interview, August 8, 2012)

Additionally, a few Kotama residents have begun to manufacture their own flutes, capitalizing on Hatun Kotama's revitalization efforts while also marketing their flutes to tourists in Otavalo's downtown markets. Mariano complains that this has negatively impacted the demand for his flutes even more in the last few years.

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<sup>30</sup> "Yo antes empezaba desde agosto . . . para tener harto flautas" (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012).



Figure 4.12: A map of sites in downtown Otavalo where flute makers have tended to sell their instruments.



Figure 4.13: Flutists at the weekly market located at what was once the Collahuazo High School on Modesto Jaramillo Street, between Abdón Calderón and Juan Montalvo Streets. (Photograph by Rolf Blomberg, 1949, used with permission; courtesy of the Blomberg Archive/*Archivo Blomberg*).



Figure 4.14: The building that was once the Collahuazo High School on Modesto Jaramillo Street, between Abdón Calderón and Juan Montalvo Streets. Around 1949, flute makers would sell their flutes at the weekly markets on this street (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

Travelers and anthropologists alike have long documented Otavalo's indigenous markets, though these accounts overlook the sale of *flautas* and instead, focus on other common goods sold at the markets (e.g. weavings, pottery).<sup>31</sup> During the last few generations, flute makers have typically sold their wares at one of three locations. The first location is on the section of Jaramillo Street, between Morales and Colón Streets. Approximately 65 years ago, flutists set up their stands against what was previously the Collahuazo High School located on Modesto Jaramillo Street, between Abdón Calderón and Juan Montalvo (see Figures 4.12, 4.13, and 4.14). When Patricio and I showed José Manuel Perugachi an archival photograph taken by Blomberg

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<sup>31</sup> See Blomberg (1950, 1967), Collier and Buitrón (1949), Halpin (2012), Kintner (1949a, 1949b), Meisch (2002), and Parsons (1945).

in 1949 of flutists at this location, he explained that the flute makers' market neighbors were basket weavers from Panecillo who sold a special type of basket (called *taza*, Sp.) made specifically for *medianos*, or a ritual type of food offering consisting of peeled, boiled potatoes and roasted guinea pig or chicken (see Figure 4.5 and also Chapter 6). The third location is a section of Abdón Calderón Street flanked by the streets October 31<sup>st</sup> and Modesto Jaramillo where flute makers sold their instruments approximately 15-20 years ago (see Figure 4.12). "From what I can remember, the majority of the people who would go to buy [flutes] from us were from Kotama," Lizardo Perugachi explained when recalling how, as a child, he would accompany his father, José Manuel, at the markets. "Well, people from everywhere would buy [flutes], and so did *gringos* (white foreigners); they bought a lot [of flutes]. . . . Sometimes [the *gringos*] looked like my father, who always carried armfuls and armfuls of flutes to sell, and he would sell flutes [to everyone] directly from that stand" (Interview, September 28, 2012).<sup>32</sup> Today, flutes are sold at various stands on the major Otavalan market days, Wednesdays and Saturdays, especially close to the *Plaza de Ponchos* and out in the Batán neighborhood near the bridge by Otavalo's sports stadium.

*Flauta* pairs cost approximately \$3-5 USD for small flutes, and between \$8-\$10 USD or more for larger flutes.<sup>33</sup> Most flutists recalled that prior to Ecuador's dollarization in 2000, a pair

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<sup>32</sup> "Bueno, chay rantik rirkunaka, rantinmi ñukapak yuyay riksiypika Kotamami alli rantik karian, flautataka, Kotama. Chaymantaka tukuy llakta rantik karian y shinata gringokuna ashtakata rantishpa. . . . Wakimpika ñuka taytashina hasta markay markay katushkalla karian, katun chay puestomanta directo, payka" (Lizardo Perugachi, Interview, September 28, 2012).

<sup>33</sup> Data was recently gathered from rural communities for the first time ever during the National Institute for Census and Statistics' (INEC) 2014 study on poverty in Ecuador; however, until a larger data set has been collected, official monthly income statistics for Ecuador are only available for urban centers (INEC 2014:2). Based on friends' estimations, I was told that most families in Kotama earn approximately \$200-\$300 USD per month. According to INEC's 2014 poverty report, the poverty line in Ecuador is an average monthly earnings of \$78.91 USD per person; the extreme poverty line is listed as a monthly income of \$44.47 USD per person (INEC 2014:2). Many of the families in Kotama consist of several members in a household, which would qualify most of them as living under the poverty line or in extreme poverty.

of flutes cost about 1 or 2 Ecuadorian Sucres (ECS); however, they had trouble recalling the old exchange rate and equivalency of the two currencies because the Sucre fluctuated between extremes during the end of the twentieth century.<sup>34</sup> Flutists estimated that the buying power of the old price was comparable to today's prices in relation to how much bread – more than a dozen donut-shaped *rosca* rolls – both amounts could purchase.

The flute makers Patricio and I interviewed do not rely on carving and selling flutes as their only source of income; rather, they have tended to practice subsistence farming and rely on a combination of instrument making, wage labor, or artisan work as a means of earning a living. As I stated above, flute makers would travel at least once a year, or as many as two or three times per year, to harvest cane and make flutes. On average, Mariano Quinchuquí used to fill seven or eight sacks of the 300 pairs of flutes he made each year to sell to musicians for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*; however, in more recent years, he only makes and sells 60 pairs, about 20% of what he sold in the late 1980s (Interview, August 8, 2012). In general, flutists purchase new instruments on a regular basis, often once a year and during the months just prior to the summer solstice. Unlike some traditions, flutes are not intentionally destroyed following *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festivities; instead, flutists often need to replace flutes that have been damaged, broken, or lost during the festivities. It is common for flutists to break or lose their fragile instruments since many spend a period of several days performing day and night as they travel through their own neighborhoods and nearby communities. Drinking usually accompanies *flauta* playing, as well, so it is common for men to fall asleep or pass out somewhere along a footpath (*chakiñan*, K.). Additionally, flutes are often damaged during the more violent confrontations

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<sup>34</sup> In 1979, the exchange rate was approximately 1 U.S. dollar=25.00 Ecuadorian sucres. By 1983, the sucre dropped to 1 USD=42 ECS. It fell even more dramatically during the 1990s, reaching an exchange rate of 1 USD=3,000 ECS in 1995 and 1 USD=25,000 ECS by 2000.

between rival musical groups when they confront each other while taking over public squares (*tomas*, Sp.) and during ritual fights (*tinkuykuna*, K.).

### **Flutes as Human Beings**

One of the similarities between the *flauta* tradition and flute cultures found elsewhere in South America is that these instruments are considered reproductions of human and non-human, extraordinary beings (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:30-35; Wright 2011:347).<sup>35</sup> Amerindian flutes may be viewed as whole bodies, but they also often represent tubular body parts through which bodily fluids pass (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:31). Otavalan flutists I spoke with never compared *flautas* to a vagina, and therefore did not associate corn beer that is served to and expelled from the flutes with menstrual blood. The performance of transverse flutes could be considered, at the very least, related to a type of male menstruation because women are discouraged from flute playing since it has the capacity to exacerbate a woman's menses to the point of damaging her reproductive organs or causing death (see Chapter 3). Flutists did not speak of the instruments as representing penises either, even though the phallic qualities of the flutes are referenced in the myth of the rabbit who offers to teach the wolf how to play *flauta* (see Chapter 3). Considering this association, one may infer that the thick, pale corn beer fed to and discharged from the flutes resembles semen.

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<sup>35</sup> The *chuzalunku* is a type of mountain spirit that is known for having an enormous penis. He is notorious for seducing and impregnating young women who wander alone in the mountains. Each mountain possesses its own *chuzalunku*. See also Chapter 2.



## *Flutes, Food, and Beer*

Otavalan transverse flutes, like many flutes from other South American societies, depend on receiving sustenance from the musicians who play them (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:31-32; Fiorini 2011:191). Based on my fieldwork observations, the human body part most commonly compared to the flutes, if they are to be perceived as a body part and not an entire body, is the throat or esophagus (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:32; Fiorini 2011:191). Flutists serve corn beer to their instruments as often as they feel necessary, depending on how dry, or thirsty, the flute sounds (see Figure 4.15).<sup>36</sup> Typically, a flutist serves corn beer to his flutes after having been offered a shot of corn beer himself. Once the flutist and his flute have consumed the drink, they dispense the remainder of corn beer to the ground as a gesture of toasting and nourishing *Pacha-Mama*.



Figure 4.15: Michael Chiza serves corn beer to José Moreta's flute (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

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<sup>36</sup> As a violinist, I would compare feeding the flutes corn beer to how a violinist would rosin her bow, which may be done as frequently as she feels necessary when the sound becomes too thin or the instrument more difficult to play.

Food exchange is instrumental for creating and transforming social bonds and relationships between people, or between people and spirits (Butler 2006; Corr 2002; Ferraro 2008; Fuks 1988; Hill and Chaumeil 2011:32; Jennings and Bowser 2009; Krögel 2011; Rhoades 2006; Weismantel 1988, 1991). Since sharing food is an important form of hospitality and social bonding in Andean culture, Otavalan women will typically have food or drink ready to serve any guests who may unexpectedly visit the home. Consequently, it is considered rude for guests to refuse food or to request food if it has not been offered.<sup>37</sup> On a daily basis, family, kin, or neighbor relationships are forged and maintained by sharing portions of meals between households. One of my host sisters who lives next door to her parents regularly sends one of her children over to our table with a plate of food, which is handed to my host mother and then redistributed between everyone dining at the time. My host mother then refills the dish with a portion of what she cooked, and sends the child back home. This etiquette is also performed between non-kin neighbors. For example, I established a friendship with a woman who lives across the footpath (*chakiñan*, K.) from my host family by sending pies I baked to her as a gesture of gratitude for calostrum she shared with my host family. From that point on, whenever I cooked for my host family, I was encouraged to bring our neighbor a portion of food, and she and I continued to exchange samples of our cooking throughout the rest of my fieldwork.

Festivals and ceremonies can be stressful times when women are especially preoccupied with having enough food to serve everyone who may arrive at the home. During *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, bands of musicians travel from house to house playing music, dancing, and in return,

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<sup>37</sup> Stobart notes that people in the Bolivian Andes sometimes feed spicy peppers (*uchu*, Q. and K.; *ají*, Sp.) to the *charango* to give it an aggressive and dominant voice that sounds loud and strong (Stobart 2002b:106).

the matriarchs of the home serve boiled potatoes (*papakuna*, K.), boiled and shelled hominy (*muti*, K.), toasted corn (*kamcha*, K.), corn beer (*aswa*, K.), boiled liquor mixed with berry juice, soda, or commercial beer. Even though it is generally seen as uncouth for a guest to ask for food, playing music is one way that men may engage in a type of ritualized dialogue with women as they politely request food or drink (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:32). In Kotama, flutists stand in place and stomp one foot to the beat as they play the song "Rama" to request that women from the home either serve them food or that musicians, dancers, and audience members donate money to purchase liquor or beer. The *sanjuan* song "Karaway," which is played by string or Pan-Andean wind instruments, may also be used to politely solicit refreshments.<sup>38</sup>

Just as Otavalans transform and maintain relationships with living relatives and neighbors through musical performances and food offerings, they use music and food to engage with deceased relatives and extraordinary beings (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:32). Men perform *flauta* music to connect with beings from other realms (*pachas*, K.) and *Pacha-Mama* (see Chapter 3), while women make food offerings. For example, maintaining relationships with deceased kin is valued in Otavalan culture. Families regularly travel to cemeteries to visit loved ones' graves weekly on Mondays or Thursdays, and annually for Day of the Dead (*Día De Los Difuntos*, Sp.) on November 2. On each trip, women pack generous portions of food that are shared among people present at the cemetery, including departed relatives, who are left extra servings of food at their graves to eat later. Large amounts of food are also shared at funerals.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> For a discussion about how *sanjuan*es are related to *flauta* music, see Chapter 5.

<sup>39</sup> See Wibbelsman (2009:128-130, 135-137).

For *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, family members assemble small altars (*castillos*, Sp.) made of *carrizo*. The entire family helps gather or prepare the products hung on *castillos* (breads, fruits, corn beer, liquors, and other items representing the harvest's bounty), but matriarchs direct everyone on what, where, and how to attach everything to the *carrizo* altar (see Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 4.4). Cachiguango summarizes the significance of the *castillo*:

El castillo es el banquete espiritual del que participamos todas las familias de Pacha-Mama porque es una ofrenda que los runa-s compartimos con nuestros ancestros, con nuestra naturaleza y con nuestras divinidades. Es un *wakcha-karay* u ofrenda rogativa porque el mundo se ha desequilibrado con las fuerzas masculinas . . . . Es un aporte del runa para pasar avantes [*sic*] el proceso de la transformación y restablecimiento del equilibrio de vida en el mundo. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:44)

The *castillo* is a spiritual banquet in which all of Pacha-Mama's families of beings participate because it is an offering that the Runakuna share with our ancestors, nature, and with our divinities. It is a *wakcha-karay* (poor one's offering) or an invocational offering because the world has been thrown off-balance with masculine energies . . . . [The *castillo*] is the Runa's contribution for moving forward with the transformation and restoration of a cosmic balance. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:44; my translation)

People do not eat or remove the items tied to *castillos* for most of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* prior to June 26.<sup>40</sup> Refraining from eating or drinking these items is meant to allow ancestors, divinities, and natural beings to eat, and therefore bless, people's physical and spiritual lives throughout the year. Following June 26, families begin to share the food and beverages hung on the *castillo*, and similar to how corn beer is a sacred drink that nourishes those who drink it with energies from all four seasons, eating products offered on the *castillo* has a strong spiritual significance.

Cachiguango writes that, "eating [food from] the *castillo* is a communion of the Runa with everything" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:44; my translation).<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> In Kotama, the solstice festival begins on June 22 and ends on June 29.

<sup>41</sup> "Comer este castillo es una comunión del runa con el todo" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:44).

### *Flutes, Gender, and Ornamentation*

Most *flautas* are made from female cane and either female or male gourd, but regardless of the physical characteristics of the materials from which the instruments are made, the flute's gender is expressed by its relationship with a partner flute. Gender in Kichwa society, as illustrated by Luz María De la Torre, is dynamic and something that all entities – from rocks and bodies of water, to people, spirits, and extraordinary beings – experiment with. Gender is constantly in flux since everything possesses feminine and masculine qualities, and the degree to which they are expressed may vary at any given time (2010; see Chapter 3). As I discuss in Chapter 3, Otavalan transverse *flautas* are gendered human beings, but just as De la Torre highlights how gender is flexible, I argue that a flute may also experiment with expressing gender.

When a pair of flutes is made, the flute maker may indicate which member of the pair is the masculine, lower-pitched flute. Mariano Quinchuquí, for instance, marked the male flute of pairs I purchased from him with a Roman numeral I. Whereas one may assume that the male flute within that pair would always be a lead or masculine flute, I observed that flutists, such as my host brothers and father, regularly tested the fundamental pitches of flutes, comparing flutes they planned to play prior to every performance. Depending on which flutes were to be played together and which flutists would accompany each other, the flute's gender, as expressed by pitch and in relation to another flute, may easily change.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> A flutist's embouchure and breath support also affect the tuning of the flute, and in turn, may influence how the instrument expresses its gender through pitch.

In addition to the Roman numerals, other decorations may be made on the flutes. During my fieldwork, I came across flutes that not only had vertical etchings indicating where to carve the flutes' holes, but were also adorned with symbols, markings, or decorative charms and accessories, similar to what has been documented in parts of lowland South America (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:31). Flute makers often carved some of these symbols (e.g. two parallel, diagonal lines or an hourglass shape) as a method for labeling and organizing their different models of flutes. Hatun Kotama flute master Luis Alfonso Cabascango, on the other hand, explained to me that the symbol he carved near his flute's mouth aperture was a practical means for identifying it with a special symbol, like a name, so that he would not lose it (Personal communication, 2013).<sup>43</sup> I observed that younger flutists in Hatun Kotama sometimes carved their own names into their flutes or wrapped it with a woven friendship bracelet bearing the Andean *chakana* cross. Unlike some lowland South American indigenous flute traditions, however, there was no indication that these decorations gave the flutes life, kinship status, or an identity that they would otherwise not possess if they were to be left bare, nor was it suggested that there was a special ritual related to adorning the flutes.

## Summary

In citing Taylor and Viveiros de Castro, Hill and Chaumeil write that "to say that an entity is a person is, first and foremost, to grant it the quality of a member of a community or a

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<sup>43</sup> *Carrizo* flutes are also popular in many Colombian indigenous nations (Abadía Morales 1991:46). I found illustrations of transverse *carrizo* flutes in Abadía Morales' survey of Colombian instruments that bear a striking resemblance to the Otavalan *flautas*, though most of the examples he illustrates are slightly longer than *carrizo* flutes played in Kotama (1991:46-48). These *carrizo* instruments include, but are not limited to, Páez *kuvi* flutes, Emberá transverse flutes, and Guambiano *loos* or *pegaté* flutes found in Colombia.

given collectivity" (2011:30-31). According to Hill and Chaumeil, flutes that are actors or persons in lowland South America usually constitute a kinship group, mediate relationships with their music, and possess wants, needs, and desires (2011:30). To Otavalans, *flautas* are persons and possess agency within Runa society. The music they make is a form of communication between other person flutes, between Runa men and women, and also between Runakuna and outsiders (e.g. people from other ethnic groups, and beings from other realms, such as ancestor spirits and extraordinary beings). Their bodies are assigned sex based on certain physical qualities, but the *flautas* experiment with gender just as human beings do. Both the Runakuna and flutes give life to one another: Runakuna nourish the flutes by serving them corn beer, and the flutes reciprocate by politely requesting food, or by praying for rain, abundance, fruitfulness, and fertility, thereby offering sustenance and life to the Runakuna in return.

## Chapter 5

### *Flauta* Music and Dance

Within *flauta* repertoire there are several different genres, which are distinguished from each other by their performance contexts, dance movements, and musical characteristics.

Although flutists generally refer to the musical genre by their contexts (e.g. dancing at a house for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, or walking to the church to take over the plaza), Kotama native and scholar Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango explains that Otavalan music is more broadly categorized as either masculine or feminine musical types (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63).

For this chapter, I focus predominantly on masculine music played in Kotama during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. My discussion will cover the musical characteristics of *flauta* music and draw attention to how these aspects express Kichwa concepts of gender, time, and the *pariverso* (pairverse, or universe of complementary pairings). Throughout the chapter, Otavalan musical aesthetics are juxtaposed with common features of other highland and lowland Amerindian musical practices. In order to contextualize *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* tunes within a larger framework of indigenous Otavalan music, I draw a comparison between *flauta* music, the *sanjuán* and the *sanjuanito*. Heeding Tara Browner's argument for transcription, I turn to Western style notation methods as an analytical tool to help demonstrate why I believe these three genres are related yet *distinct* from one another (2009). Part of my reason for this comparative approach is because in relatively recent scholarship, *flauta* tunes have been erroneously labeled as fragments of the more Western-sounding *sanjuanito* genre (Banning 1991:198). Furthermore, scholars have disagreed on possible origins of the *sanjuanito*. Musicologists, such as Raoul and Marguerite D'Harcourt, as well as Isabel Aretz all assumed that the *sanjuanito* is based on the Peruvian *wayno* (also *wayño*, *huayno*, and *huayño*) (Banning



1991:197; Delgado 2011:27; Moreno 1957:178; Mullo Sandoval 2009:89-90; Wong 2007:75). Whereas Mullo Sandoval does not outright accept or reject the hypothesis of Incan origins, Segundo Luis Moreno, Banning, and Delgado all agree that there is a lack of supporting evidence for this claim.<sup>1</sup> Wong adds that the *sanjuanito* differs from the *huayno* in its "affluence of the four-sixteenth-note rhythmic pattern and a moderate use of syncopated rhythms" (Wong 2007:75). In addition to placing *flauta* music under the umbrella of *sanjuanito* music, scholars today still conflate the *sanjuanito* song form with the similar but distinguishable *sanjuán*. Based on my fieldwork and performance experience of playing violin with indigenous ensembles for traditional (e.g. *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, Kichwa wedding ceremonies) and staged events, I learned that musicians differentiate between all of these forms; therefore, I conclude this chapter by proposing an updated, clearer classification of indigenous song forms played during the summer solstice in which I outline how Otavalan musicians distinguish between genres that have long been confused by academics and musicologists as merely one type of music.

### ***Kari-Taki*: Masculine Music's Generative Powers**

As I discussed in Chapter 3, Luz María De la Torre explains traditional gender roles by retelling a Kichwa creation story. In this story, the Creator (*Pachakamak*, K.) conferred the responsibility of redistributing energies (e.g. food, spiritual) to men. "Everything that you obtain, you will have to redistribute," the Creator told the man. "The more you redistribute, the stronger you will be. And you will go to this invisible world [I have put you in charge of] in order to bring what exists there in to being, transform these elements so that they are visible, to give them life,

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 2, in which I discuss some of these issues, such as the short time period that the Incas dominated the region, and Segundo Luis Moreno's agenda for emphasizing unique qualities of the indigenous music from northern Ecuador.

and you will put them in the hands of the woman" (De la Torre 1999:13-19). Previously, I analyzed how these gender roles relate to why playing *flauta* is a masculine activity, but in this chapter, my analysis shifts to how Kichwa gender is represented through sound and how these sounds are tools for expressing a degrees of gender through Kichwa song forms.

Cachiguango separates the various genres of Kichwa *flauta* music into the broader categories of masculine (*kari-taki*, K.) or feminine (*warmi-taki*, K.) music. Masculine music, he writes, "provokes fighting, confrontation, destabilization, and transformation," whereas feminine music causes "relaxation, stabilization and harmony" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63; my translation).<sup>2</sup> Cachiguango's description of gendered musical characteristics correlates with Luz María De la Torre's outline of masculine and feminine qualities. Masculine (*karilla*, K.) qualities possess a strong energy that surpasses average energy levels. Someone or something that is *karilla* is also typified by a proclivity for confronting challenges and approaching any activity head-on and enthusiastically. Feminine (*warmilla*, K.) traits on the other hand are related to a strong sense of order, concentration, dedication, and balance (De la Torre 2010:7).

According to Cachiguango, *kari-taki* (also called *taki-unkuy*, K.) is the most prevalent type of music performed in Kotama, and it possesses the power to "summon the *tinkuy*, the [ritual] battle for taking over the public plaza, the ceremony of reciprocating with *Pacha-Mama* [by] offering one's own life in order to incite *Pachakutin*, or a positive and progressive

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<sup>2</sup> "Taki-Unkuy es masculino porque provoca lucha, enfrentamiento, desestabilización y transformación. En nuestro medio se le conoce como kari-taki, la música varonil. Por su parte Taki-Sami es femenino porque provoca relajamiento, estabilización y armonía. Luego del taki-unkuy necesariamente tiene que haber taki-sami para complementar el círculo de la vida. Otro nombre con el que conocemos a esta música es warmi-taki o la música femenina" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63). In his book, Cachiguango uses *taki-unkuy* synonymously with *kari-taki* but does mention whether or not this is related to the indigenous political, religious, and cultural *Taki Unquy* movement of the sixteenth century (c.1564-c.1572) that was staged in resistance to Spanish invaders.

transformation of time-space" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63; my translation).<sup>3</sup> Otavalans who still observe *tinkuy* ritual fights maintain that blood spilled as a result of injury or death is an offering to *Pacha-Mama*, and that this type of destruction is generative. *Tinkuy* is essentially a masculine form of sacrifice that gives life to life, and in which transverse flutes have traditionally played a major role.

As Cachiguango suggests in his descriptions above about masculine and feminine music, melodies from both categories are relevant in Kichwa life because they have the power to spawn transformations (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63; Stobart 2002b:101). In Bolivia, similar concepts about music are described in terms of *tara* (masculine) and *q'iwa* (feminine) qualities (Stobart 2002b:112). Stobart defines *tara* sounds as symbolic of reciprocity; they are strong, vibrant, and an unrestrained release of energy. *Q'iwa* sounds, on the other hand, are associated with austerity; they are thin, clear, and contain or withhold energy. *Tara* and *q'iwa* may be interpreted as representative of the human lifecycle, such as with conception – a masculine release and redistribution of life energy placed in a woman's care – and the gestation period, which is a feminine form of containing and safeguarding life (Stobart 2008:73).

Stobart relates these concepts to the two main seasons of the Andean year (2002b:112; 2008:77). The drier *tara* months are characterized by unrestrained exchange and reciprocity during festivals, whereas the rainy *q'iwa* season is an austere time when crops are still growing and people who depend on growing their own food are more likely to feel hungry due to a necessary rationing of food supplies. In Otavalo, the rainy season extends throughout the feminine half of the year, beginning with the September fall equinox, peaking during the winter

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<sup>3</sup> "En Kotama utilizamos en mayor proporción kari-taki (taki-unkuy), la música masculina que llama al tinkuy, la lucha por la toma de la plaza, la ceremonia de reciprocitar con la Pacha-Mama ofrendando su propia vida para provocar el Pachakutin o la transformación del tiempo-espacio hacia situaciones mejores" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63).

solstice, and ending during the spring equinox. The dry season, or the masculine half of the year, constitutes the weeks spanning from the March equinox to the September equinox. *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* marks the climax of the masculine half of the year and coincides with the June solstice.

Within Kichwa and indigenous Andean societies, people generally criticize disproportionate shares of resources (e.g. food, money) and power. Furthermore, the release and circulation of life-giving energies and resources are considered sacrificial and regenerative acts (Stobart 2002b:99, 112-113). As a result, redistributing resources among members of the community are important social norms central to many Andean celebrations. Since Runakuna stress that *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, a festival held during the masculine season, is the largest and most important annual celebration for Kichwa Otavalans, it can be deduced that an outward redistribution of energies is strongly associated with masculine forms of sacrifice and procreation, which are strongly related to performing *flauta* music.

A festival like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* is a critical time period of change, reversals, and transformations (Stobart 2002b:112, 114). Despite how this festival is characteristically hyper-masculine, the concept of *pariverso*, or the idea that our cosmos is fundamentally divided into complementary pairs, still remains at the core of the event and influences how music is performed at this time. During *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, feminine music and sounds still occupy an important, complementary role in achieving social and cosmic harmony. In Cachiguango's words, following the performance of masculine music, "it is necessary that feminine music [is played] in order to complement the circle of life" (Cachiguango and Pontón

2010:63; my translation).<sup>4</sup> Cachiguango uses the San Pedro festival celebrated at the end of the summer solstice as an example of this:

La participación femenina más importante en Kotama es la noche del 28 de junio (vísperas de San Pedro) en donde tienen que bailar las mujeres hasta el amanecer para finalizar la celebración, pero por situaciones de prejuicios . . . se ha visto muy poca participación, por lo que como una forma de preservar el saber, los hombres han tenido que disfrazarse de mujeres para bailar con ritmos musicales más lentos y armónicos (sanjuanitos). . . Si no hay participación femenina por prejuicios foráneos creados, el mismo hombre guerrero y varonil tiene que disfrazarse de mujer para impedir que el mundo siga en la crisis. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:61-62)

The most important form of feminine participation [during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*] in Kotama is the night of June 28 (the even of San Pedro) when women need to dance until dawn in order to consummate the celebration. As a result of [religious and social] oppression . . . [this type of women's] participation has declined, [and] in order to preserve this knowledge, men have had to dress up as women and dance to slower and more harmonic music (*sanjuanitos*). . . If women's participation is lacking as a result of prejudices from outside influences, the aggressive and masculine man himself must dress as a woman in order to prevent the world from continuing in a state of chaos. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:61-62; my translation)

It is important to note that, as Luz María De la Torre describes, gender is something that everyone and everything is able to experiment with. In this case, men who dress as women, speak in high voices, and perform feminine music are as capable of achieving a proper cosmic balance of masculine and feminine energies as women. Cachiguango also distinguishes masculine *flauta* music and *sanjuanes* from the more feminine (slower, harmonic) *sanjuanitos*. Prior to analyzing *flauta* music and its masculine repertoire, a brief introduction to the related *sanjuán* and *sanjuanito* forms of music, which I revisit later in this chapter for a more thorough comparative analysis, is needed.

*Sanjuanes* are most similar to *flauta* tunes in terms of duration, form, beat pattern, dance, and performance context. They are very short, do not have an official ending, and are therefore

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<sup>4</sup> "Luego del *taki-unkuy* necesariamente tiene que haber *taki-sami* para complementar el círculo de vida" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63).

repeated for about a minute until they are interrupted by the next group of musicians who participate in stringing suites of these songs together throughout *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. These tunes may begin with a short introduction, which is usually the tonic pulsing to the steady beat several times until the duo is in sync. Next, there is a main melody that is repeated four times, followed by a contrasting theme, called *esquina* or sometimes the *alta* (the high part) in Spanish, which may also be substituted for the introduction. Like *flauta* tunes, the beat is a driving quarter-note pulse that is continuously sounded by strong footsteps of the spiral dancing that accompanies this music, especially during the summer solstice festival. People play these songs on string instruments and more pan-Andean or Western wind instruments, such as the *kena*, panpipes, and melodica. Often, the musical group playing *sanjuanes* consists of a melodic instrumentalist (e.g. violin or *kena*) accompanied by a guitar.<sup>5</sup> In the case that there are lyrics to the song, they tend to be one or two verses sung in Spanish or Kichwa, which are strophic and follow the main melody.

The form of a *sanjuanito*, in contrast, tends to be slightly longer despite it also adhering to a general binary melodic form that, when represented by thematic sections (e.g. ABABA; see comparative analysis at the end of this chapter), may seem identical. It begins with an introduction (*estribillo* or *esquina*) and is then followed by one or two melodic sections that alternate with the *estribillo*.<sup>6</sup> The song typically does not have a coda or specific ending; rather, the *estribillo* or *esquina* is also used to end the song. Due to the lyrical structure and length of verses, these songs tend to stand alone as separate songs more often and are not always overlapped or strung into suites like *sanjuanes* and *flauta* tunes. Furthermore, the main beat tends

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<sup>5</sup> *Sanjuanes* played on electric instruments and woodwinds, like the saxophone, are also popular.

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion about *sanjuanes* and *sanjuanitos* at the end of this chapter for an explanation of possible differences between *estribillos* and *esquinas*.

to be at a slower tempo and has an anapesto feel.<sup>7</sup> People may dance in a spiral, like with *flauta* music and *sanjuanes*, but it is also common for people to dance in a more linear fashion, facing a dance partner and moving in closer to each other and backward away from each other for a few beats at a time. Compared to *sanjuanes*, it is more common to hear a second voice harmonizing with the main melody in a *sanjuanito*, both throughout the instrumental sections in addition to the vocal sections. In this respect, *sanjuanitos* are more similar to *flauta* tunes than *sanjuanes*, since *flauta* songs also require two complementary melodic voices; however, the second voice in the *sanjuanitos* follows a much more Western sense of homophony and harmony. The melodic lines move together, synced to the same rhythm, but employ both parallel and contrary motion depending on the Otavalan-style common practices of voice leading, which creates harmony by using intervals of a third, sixth, fourth, and fifth often pulled from the guitar's harmonic progression. Non-chord tones may occasionally be used as well. These songs are more commonly performed for San Pedro, also known as the women's day of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, or during events such as weddings.

<b>Musical Elements</b>	<b>Feminine (<i>Warmi</i>) Characteristics</b>	<b>Masculine (<i>Kari</i>) Characteristics</b>
Tempo	Slower, less pronounced	Faster, made audible from footsteps
Steady beat/Rhythm	Anapesto, syncopated	Straight, driving
Pitch	Lower	Higher
Vocal Range	Lower, chest voice	Tense, high, head voice
Timbre	Softer, rounder, darker	Strident, sharper, Brighter
Instrumentation	Strings	Flutes, winds
Vocal Style	Strophic	Chanting
Texture	Homophonic	Polyphonic
Dynamics	Soft	Loud
Form	Binary, short, chained or independent	Binary, very short, chained
Dance	Partner, linear, occasionally spiral/circle	Spiral/circle
Context	Women's Day of <i>HP-IR</i> , weddings, funerals	Most days of <i>HP-IR</i>

Figure 5.1: Table of musical characteristics and their associated gender qualities.

<sup>7</sup> An anapesto rhythm features two less accented beats followed by one accented beat. Depending on the song, this may be manifest in one of several variations, such as two eighth notes followed by a quarter note, three quarter notes followed by a quarter rest, or two quarter notes followed by two eighth notes and a quarter note. See Figure 5.2.

## Gender and Musical Characteristics

Musical elements in Kichwa Otavalan music carry gender connotations and provide musicians and their instruments with a large range of possibilities for expressing degrees of gender. Even though some characteristics, like a fast tempo, may be considered more masculine, these aspects are often heard as relational, and depending on how music is performed, the gender of a performance of music may fluctuate in meaning due to a combination of gendered expressions. A table outlining general characteristics explained in this section is included in Figure 5.1.

### *Time*

In Cachiguango's quote about *sanjuanitos* being a feminine type of music that contrasts with *flauta* music played for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, we are clued in to how time is gendered in Kichwa Otavalan music. Generally speaking, tempo is the main time element in which flutists and musicians convey or experiment with gender. For example, a relatively moderate or slow tempo, such as that of a *sanjuanito*, is more feminine than the faster, masculine tempo of a flute tune.<sup>8</sup> Based on my field research, flutists do not seem to identify any specific rhythms as masculine or feminine, though it is possible that the anapesto feel of a slower *sanjuanito* could be considered to sound more feminine, whereas the straight, driving pulse emphasized by audible foot stamping in *sanjuananes* and *flauta* tunes are more masculine-sounding rhythms. See Figure 5.2 for comparative transcriptions of these beat patterns.

It is difficult to pinpoint an exact tempo marking that could be considered the divide between masculine and feminine tempos, since each community has its own aesthetics and

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<sup>8</sup> For a more in-depth explanation of the relationship between a *sanjuanito*, *sanjuán*, and *flauta* tune, see the discussion at the end of this chapter.



common practices. Kotama flutists claim to be known for playing songs at quicker and more masculine speeds than rival communities. I found this claim held true when comparing recordings of Kotama flutists playing *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* tunes with field recordings I made of Juan Saavedra and José Antonio Cumba Perugachi, the last two flutists of their community in the nearby canton of Cotacachi, playing the same type of repertoire. For the most part, dance tunes from Kotama were played in the range of approximately 172-180 beats per minute, meanwhile tunes played just on the other side of the cantonal borders in Cumbas Conde were played at speeds of around 157-163bpm.

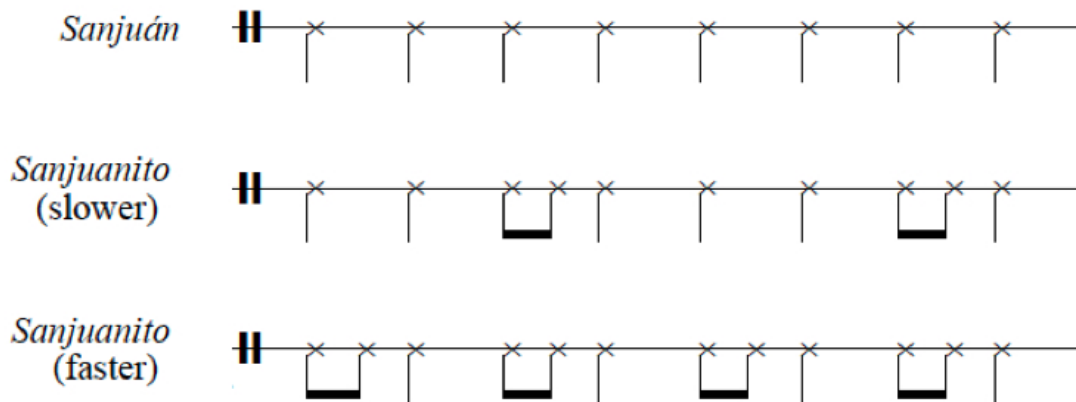


Figure 5.2: Straight, driving underlying beat of *sanjuanes*, usually sounded by dance steps or a *bombo* drum at about 160-180bpm, juxtaposed with examples of anapesto beat patterns of *sanjuanitos* normally played on a *bombo* between 85-95bpm.

The flexibility of gender that De la Torre writes about, especially how it relates to tempo, became more apparent to me after I had performed with flutists. On several occasions, I was invited to play violin with a guitarist, who accompanied me as we rotated with flute trios and shared the responsibility of continually playing music during the events. Some flutists joked that I was the sweetheart or godmother (*achik mama*, K.; *madrina*, Sp.) of Hatun Kotama and it was my duty to accompany them and contribute by playing feminine music, which was necessary to

balance performances that other women were not able to attend, such as the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in July 2013. Although my being female and my specialization of a string instrument, which is considered female in this context, certainly were a part of how I could contribute feminine energies to these moments, I found that tempo was another tool that flutists expected me to use for expressing femininity.

Prior to and during performances, such as the two Otavalan weddings I performed at, musicians explained to me that they needed me to play *sanjuanitos* during slower moments when people were just arriving to the home and may not dance; faster *sanjuananes* were reserved for when I was alternating with flutists and accompanying spiral dancing. When Hatun Kotama's flute masters were invited to Washington D.C. for the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, I was again told that they needed me to perform violin with the group in addition to interpreting from Kichwa to English for them on stage. Following these performances, Patricio Maldonado gave me constructive criticism about how I had rushed the tempo too much when playing *sanjuananes* in between *flauta* tunes. "Jessie, you are playing a feminine instrument," he advised me. "Therefore, even though you are playing masculine music, you need to play at a slower tempo, or else it doesn't sound right" (Personal communication, July 2013). I had mistakenly assumed it was more important to maintain a consistent dance tempo between the flutists' songs, and had not yet understood the more subtle intricacies of how sound is gendered in this context.

### *Pitch and Timbre*

Pitch, the frequency of a note or sound, and timbre, the quality or color of the sound, are often more obvious examples of how gender is ascribed to sounds. In Western society, for example, a large, burly man who sings in a shrill, soprano voice would elicit laughs undoubtedly

due to a general association of someone or something that is large, robust, and masculine with deeper and richer bass sounds, such as those made by a tuba or double-bass. A similar association holds true across much of the Andes, where even though there tends to be a preference for high-pitched tones, men tend to sing in a more relaxed register and are usually the instrumentalists, whereas women generally make music by singing in a thinner and soaring, high-pitched voice.

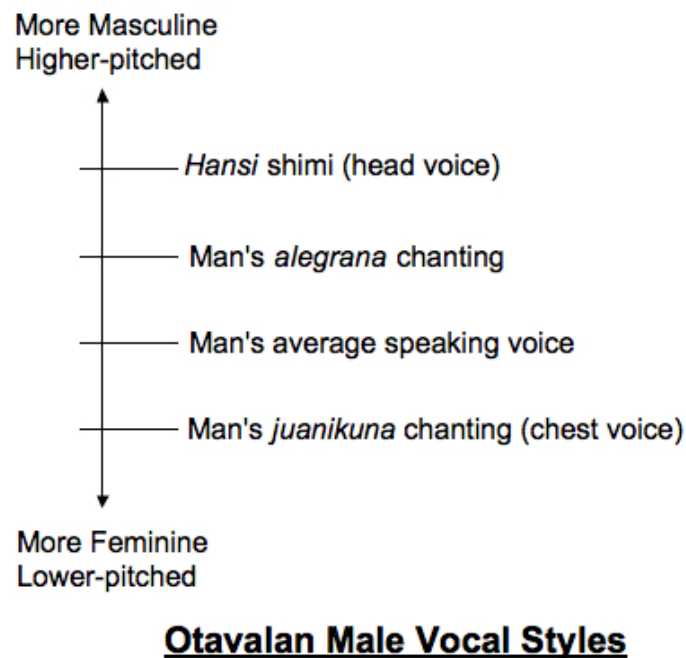


Figure 5.3: Gender associations with pitch as illustrated with male vocal styles.

Although Otavalan *flauta* music does share many common traits of musical expression with other areas of Andean and lowland South America, it seems as though there is a striking contrast with how pitch and timbre are related to gender in Otavalo (see Figure 5.3). For example, men's whistling is a masculine sound associated with *tinkuy* fights.<sup>9</sup> *Alegrana* call-and-response chanting, which is higher-pitched than a man's speaking voice, is performed by men in

<sup>9</sup> Women do not participate in making music by whistling (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, 2013).

their head voice for masculine *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* songs (see also Chapter 2). On the other hand, *juanikuna* chanting is sung in a man's chest voice and as a coda to feminine styles of music, primarily for funerals (e.g. "Limandero" by Hatun Kotama), new home rituals (*Wasi Pichay*, K.), and weddings (See Chapter 2). When men dress as women for San Pedro at the end of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, as Cachiguango describes in the above citation, they speak in their head voices in addition to dressing as women and performing (playing and dancing to) feminine *sanjuanitos*.<sup>10</sup> This high-pitched, stylized speech (*hansi shimi*, K.), however, is not necessarily a feminine sound. It is indeed part of the way a man becomes a woman during this time of the festival, but there are other meanings and representations associated with a man speaking in falsetto, which he employs throughout the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival, even when he is dressed as himself or as a masculine character.<sup>11</sup> Generally speaking, when a man speaks in his head voice, it indicates that the male festival spirit is accompanying him and he has undergone a transformation.<sup>12</sup> Men also use their falsetto voices to imitate the speech of souls in order to make them feel welcome as they join in on celebrating *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (Wibbelsman 2009:93). His true identity becomes hidden and he is rendered anonymous (*pakalla*, K.) by

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<sup>10</sup> I have not observed any women changing their voices in this manner. In his interview, Alejandro Tuquerres did recall the names of two women, Dolores Matanga and Carmen Yaya, who were known for dressing as a men when playing harmonica and flute, respectively (Interview, September 23, 2012). See Chapter 3 for a discussion about why men primarily perform *flauta* and instrumental music.

<sup>11</sup> People often dress in costumes and disguises for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. Although the *Aya Uma* is one of the more traditional and spiritually significant forms of attire, costumes of soldiers, mariachi musicians, Native North Americans, Ninja Turtles, and other pop culture figures are common, too. Wibbelsman lists some of the costume choices of dance groups in Peguche for the festival in 2001 (2009:92). Patricio explained to me that different communities are sometimes distinguished by sticking to a general theme of dress over the years. For example, dancers from Azama tend to wear black hats, *zamarras* (chaps pants with animal fur), military costumes, and will make more noise (*bullá*, Sp.). With the dance group from Kotama, on the other hand, people tend to fly flags and there is a large number of flutists (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, October 13, 2012).

<sup>12</sup> Some members of my host family expressed disapproval of men who cheapen the spiritual significance of speaking in this type of stylized speech by pretending to be in this state without having gone through the necessary transformative acts (e.g. dancing, bathing, intoxication). A similar critique was made about men who dress as the *Aya Uma*, treating it as a trend and failing to fulfill the spiritual leadership responsibilities that are associated with this role (Personal communication, 2012).

altering his appearance and voice.<sup>13</sup> Pitch and timbre therefore represent a man's transformation and moment of connection with the invisible world, such as nighttime, the past, future, and parallel spiritual realms, which Luz María De la Torre explains were placed under the man's domain when *Pachakamak* first created our world (see Chapter 3).

In Chapter 4, I introduced the fact that pitch is one of the more important musical elements with which flutes express gender. Within a pair of transverse flutes that are performed together, the instrument with the higher fundamental pitch is considered to be the feminine partner, and the one with a lower fundamental pitch the masculine partner; however, when the flutes are performed, the lower-pitched male flute plays the leading melodic line, which has a higher tessitura than the complementary melodic line played by the female flute. Additionally, the masculine connection with spirituality is also expressed by the pitch, register, and timbre of flutes, such as with the related *kucha* flute, which has a more strident and higher-pitched sound than *flautas*. While some may assume that the *kucha*'s shrill and higher-pitched voice is the feminine counterpart to masculine music played by *flautas*, Fabián Vásquez, an adult student and member of Hatun Kotama who has focused his study of *flauta* music on the *kucha*, explains that musically speaking, its "very thin sound . . . is the masculine sound" (Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).<sup>14</sup> In fact, the *kucha*'s sound is identified as the voice of a *chuzalunku*, a

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<sup>13</sup> For an audio example, listen to track 1 "Chinkashka" (Hatun Kotama 2013). Although the transformation into someone or something else and becoming anonymous or hidden was often described to me as important, some residents of Kotama spoke about how a flutist's individual playing style would help identify him. A man's partner (wife or a woman he was courting) would often be able to recognize how a man plays. I did not encounter any other type of information that would suggest transverse flutes were used in courtship (Personal communication, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> "La flauta kucha, el sonido delgadito digamos, ese digamos se puede decir musicalmente es el sonido masculino" (Fabián Vásquez, Interview, August 16, 2011).

type of well-endowed and hyper-masculine extraordinary mountain being who is said to provoke and incite the ritual clashing of energies known as *tinkuy* (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63).<sup>15</sup>

When I would ask flutists about which flute sizes were appropriate for specific contexts or songs, almost everyone insisted that a flutist was able to play whichever flute size he preferred (Personal communication, 2012; see Chapter 4). Based on my observations and conversations with fellow musicians, I found that flutists prefer to bring smaller instruments with them when going out to dance at homes or the church square during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. My *compadre* Lauro, who often accompanied my violin playing with guitar, explained to me that it is more practical and wiser for musicians to only carry smaller flutes or harmonicas instead of violins and guitars, since they are easier to carry for extended periods of time, it is less likely that they will be broken, and they are more easily replaced if damaged or lost. Musicians are especially aware of the possibility of having an instrument lost, stolen, or damaged when the likelihood for competitive encounters and *tinkuy* fights increases as the festival progresses and there is an increase in musicians facing rival groups from other communities.

Flutists in Hatun Kotama explained to me that smaller flutes were most practical and best for teaching beginning students, since larger flutes require more breath support and better dexterity for stretching ones hands to reach the finger holes. In lessons, I observed that the musical system for *flauta* music operates on a type of moveable do system, in which it is more important to maintain pitch relationships played by similar fingerings across multiple sizes of instruments than to always play the same pitches for a song. Flute masters frequently used a larger instrument to teach me a song, and they expected me to follow along using the same fingerings and having a strong sense of relative pitch.

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<sup>15</sup> "La flauta 'Kucha' que es la voz del aya (chuzalunku) que con su 'voz' o sonido continúa desafiando e incitando al *tinkuy* (duelo de fuerzas)" (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63). See also Chapter 2. For an audio example, listen to track 2 "Arias Uku" (Hatun Kotama 2013).

Although I did not encounter any strict regulations about the size of flute one must use or the register a song should be performed in, my suspicions about the relationship with flute size, performance context, and gender were confirmed when Alejandro Tuquerres explained to me that lower-pitched flutes are better for contexts such as *Ñawi Mayllay*, the face and feet-washing marriage ceremony, in which feminine music is performed (Interview, September 23, 2012; Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64-65). Playing higher-pitched instruments during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, especially during the *tomas* (takeovers of public squares) and ritual *tinkuy* fights, also allows these instruments to better compete with and be heard more clearly over other music ensembles and the ambient noise of food vendors and large crowds of onlookers. Even though there are several practical considerations behind why flutists would choose smaller and higher-pitched flutes for playing in *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, some of which may seem unrelated to Kichwa cosmovision and spirituality, there is still a sense that lower-pitched flutes are best suited for feminine music contexts and higher-pitched flutes are more appropriate for masculine contexts. Furthermore, if a flutist chooses to play on a lower-pitched flute for a masculine context, a wide range of other musical elements may be utilized to express masculinity (e.g. tempo, whistling, chanting); therefore, the performance still adheres to expectations of gendered sounds and their appropriate contexts.

### *Pitch Organization and the Pentatonic Myth*

The assumption that *flauta* music and other indigenous Otavalan genres are essentially pentatonic has persisted even in recent scholarship. Segundo Luis Moreno, an early twentieth century Ecuadorian musician, composer, and considered to be the nation's first ethnomusicologist, concluded through his musical analyses that *flauta* music is primitive and

based on pentatonic scales akin to earlier Greek and Chinese civilizations (1972:76-77). Dutch ethnomusicologist Peter Banning (1991, 1992) also claims that the *sanjuanito* pentatonic, concluding that

Durante la fiesta todavía suenan fragmentos musicales que, en cuanto a la construcción, coinciden con la del sanjuanito. . . . Todos los sanjuanitos tratados en este estudio, pueden ser reducidos – en concepto melódico – a una escala anahemitónica-pentatónica o a una escala diatónica. (Banning 1991:198)

During the [*Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* summer solstice] festival [indigenous people] still play musical fragments that, in regard to [the song's] construction, coincide with that of the *sanjuanito*. . . . All of the *sanjuanitos* covered in this study [including indigenous versions] can be reduced – in terms of melody – to an anahemitonic-pentatonic or diatonic scale. (Banning 1991:198; my translation)

As recently as 2009, Mullo Sandoval writes that,

En el sanjuán indígena se mantienen sistemas modales, esquemas rítmicos heterométricos, círculos armónicos dentro de la pentafonía, etc. . . . En el sanjuanito mestizo, el sistema tonal funcional europeo se hace presente, aunque mantiene su relación originaria con lo indígena, tal es el caso de la pentafonía. (Mullo Sandoval 2009:130)

In the indigenous *sanjuán*, musical characteristics such as modal systems, use of heterometric rhythmic schemes, and harmonic progressions within pentatonic modes, etc. are still maintained. . . . In the *mestizo sanjuanito* [played by string and pan-Andean wind instruments in both indigenous and *mestizo* contexts], the Western tonal system is present, however [the *mestizo sanjuanito*] preserves its original relationship with indigenous music, as is the case with [the use of] pentatonic [modes]. (Mullo Sandoval 2009:130; my translation)

In the same year, Wibbelsman also calls *flauta* music pentatonic, writing that during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, "the twin flutes . . . play a repeating one-part descending pentatonic melody" (2009:76).

John Schechter, an American ethnomusicologist who has written extensively about Otavalan harp music in Cotacachi, and Julián Pontón, a Quito-based flutist who provided a Western style musical analysis for Cachiguango's book *Yaku-Mama*, however, have both demonstrated by use of transcription that pitch collections in this music expand beyond a



pentatonic mode. Schechter concludes that some *sanjuanés* played in nearby Cotacachi on harps are hexatonic, due to an eschewing or absence of the minor supertonic in the primary melodic octave, but otherwise, the music is pentatonic (1992:110, 259). Meanwhile, Julián Pontón highlights in his transcriptions of Kotama *flauta* songs the fact that the pitch material can be grouped into several microtonal scales that are either tetratonic, pentatonic, hexatonic, octatonic, or nonetonic (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64-94). This analysis, however, is based on transcriptions of only 19 songs from a canon of approximately 100 tunes from Kotama alone.<sup>16</sup>

In transcribing a large number of songs, Schechter was able to identify more specific musical characteristics of Cotacachi harp *sanjuanés*, such as the three-note melodic germ created by the interval of a minor third followed by a major second (1992:104). Even though Banning also collected and transcribed many *sanjuanitos* and provides very detailed analyses of their melodic contours, it is clear he did not dedicate the same amount of effort to analyzing *flauta* songs, which he haphazardly asserts are only mere fragments of—but otherwise identical to—*sanjuanitos*.

By drawing attention to these assumptions and discrepancies, I am arguing that without a more thorough musical analysis and a larger sampling of *flauta* song transcriptions, it is too soon to define a musical system or even impose the concept of an organizational structure such as modes or scales upon *flauta* music's vocabulary of pitch material. Throughout my lessons and observations, I did not encounter any verbal reference to this kind of tonal organization, nor did I come across flutists separating groups of tunes by quantifying the pitches used to play them.

Although there are certainly common practices within the music that help define its sound, we

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<sup>16</sup> This number reflects the songs recorded on both of Hatun Kotama's albums and those that Hatun Kotama includes on their list of standard repertoire. Cachiguango writes that, according to testimonials he has heard, there are an estimated 300 songs that have been part of Kotama's musical heritage (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:71).

ought to be more cautious about not forcing our own musical language upon this practice. Nor should we resign ourselves to the belief that we can completely understand all of the structural elements of this music based on assumptions drawn from related, yet distinct, musical genres. A more exhaustive analysis of *flauta* music, especially by means of transcription, is clearly necessary in order to identify common practices of pitch organization or stock melodic phrasing styles in *flauta* music similar to the three-note musical germ Schechter found common throughout Cotacachi harp *sanjuanes*.

Finally, although the above descriptions do provide interesting information about some aspects of *flauta* music and related *sanjuanitos*, I take issue with the notable emphasis on quantifiable measurements of pitches, scales, melodic contours, and form (which I discuss further below), while there is a pronounced absence of a comprehensive analysis that takes less quantifiable musical elements into account, such as texture, timbre, and dynamics. As Tara Browner points out in her MUSA critical edition about transcribing Native American music and a pow-wow event, musical analyses that rely heavily or exclusively on measurable aspects of music (e.g. form, scale, melodic contour) point back to how diffusionists aimed to trace the origins and sharing of cultural attributes (Browner 2009:xvi).<sup>17</sup>

### *Texture and Dynamics*

Texture has perhaps been one of the most overlooked and least analyzed musical aspects of *flauta* songs and Otavalan music, which I believe has contributed to a lack of understanding about this music and its relevance and power in Otavalan life. I argue in this section that by examining the texture and dynamics of *flauta* music, we are better able to contextualize the

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<sup>17</sup> Although diffusionists certainly relied on measurable aspects in their transcriptions, they were not the only people who made transcriptions of music for their research on and collecting of folk musics during, prior, or following their time.

Otavlan transverse flute tradition within a broader context of Amerindian musical traditions in South America.

When *flauta* tunes are described as descending pentatonic melodies, it gives us the impression that they are played in unison, homophonically, or heterophonically (Banning 1992:132; Wibbelsman 2009:76).<sup>18</sup> Banning explains that *sanjuanitos*, which according to him encompass *flauta* tunes, are played by instrumentalists who perform the same melody but add their own variations of ornamentation based on idiomatic techniques (Banning 1992:145-146). Wong has also described *flauta* music as the heterophonic indigenous form of a *sanjuanito*:

[The indigenous *sanjuán*] is basically an instrumental piece in duple meter . . . performed in the ritual context by two *pitus* (horizontal flutes), regarded as male and female instruments according to the dualism of the Andean cosmivision. Musicians play short heterophonic melodies that are repeated with slight variations to the accompaniment of a *bombo* (Indian drum). They play in the center of a circle, while participants dance around them following the steady beats. (Wong 2007:218)

Julián Pontón's transcriptions of Kotama *flauta* songs for Cachiguango's book include both flute parts, but do not include the footsteps that keep the steady rhythm, nor do they give examples of how conch shells, bull horns, whistling, or chanting are also a part of this music's fabric.

Unfortunately, many of the published transcriptions and textual descriptions of this music may unintentionally lead the reader to assume that this music is homophonic or has a thin texture of just one or two flutes.

There are two main issues I believe have contributed to these misunderstandings. First, there are aural biases about what sounds are considered musical by (ethno)musicologists, anthropologists, and others who have written about Otavalan life. For example, it is likely that

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<sup>18</sup> Normally, the *kucha* flute is performed solo. Hatun Kotama's recordings featuring this instrument (e.g. Track 2 "Arias Uku" and Track 18 "Aya Shamuk" on the Smithsonian Folkways album) sound heterophonic because the musicians decided that, for an added dynamic effect, they wanted to record the same part twice (Hatun Kotama 2013). See below for a discussion about dynamic aesthetics.

ethnographers have not heard something like footsteps as musical, and it is possible they may have confused them with being just consequential noise made by dance movements. A second reason is a practical issue related to how we make field recordings. As ethnomusicologists, we are often limited by time and by our recording technology. With older recording technologies, it was often harder to capture the sounds of percussion instruments and footsteps (Browner 2009:xviii). Moreover, we are not always able to record musicians in the appropriate performance context.<sup>19</sup>

My field recordings in Cotacachi, for instance, were conducted with the two last flute players of a community where flutists no longer dance during the solstice festival. As a result, I recorded Juan Saavedra and José Antonio Cumba Perugachi, who were not accustomed to performing the music out of context, later in the summer. During the session, the two musicians stood in stationary positions, and my recordings therefore lacked many of the aesthetic elements of *flauta* music like footsteps, whistling, vocals, and other instruments. Part of their motivation to overcome the awkwardness of playing the music out of context was that they wanted to preserve their village's songs.<sup>20</sup>

Another hurdle for making ethnographic recordings is that it may sometimes be difficult to document sound during a festival like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, not only because the person recording the music may hear ambient sounds from crowds of onlookers, musicians, and dancers

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<sup>19</sup> Browner writes about how the limitations of technology affected ethnographic recordings of Native American music made by Alice Fletcher and Frances Densmore (Browner 2009:xviii). In Otavalo, Juniper Hill found that, "musicians [from isolated communities or older generations] were unable or unwilling to play the individual parts of the gaita duets separately, even in private lessons outside of the ritual context" (2006:5).

<sup>20</sup> When Patricio and I went to this village in the Cotacachi cantón, I was told that about 15-20 years ago, a *gringa* (white woman) accompanied by a Runa man recorded the same two flutists, but failed to return any type of materials to them. Due to this distrust, they were hesitant to record with me and initially denied Patricio's and my request. As we were leaving, one of the flutists' daughters convinced the men to agree to be recorded only if I were to give my word that I would give them a professional quality DVD and CD within two weeks.

as non-musical noise that impedes upon their ability to make a clear documentation, but because it can be physically difficult or even dangerous as well. Prior to attending parts of the solstice festival, my host family strongly advised against me bringing my primary cameras and sound recording devices due to the risk of a *tinkuy* fight breaking out; they were worried that my devices would be damaged or that someone would take advantage of the chaos and try to steal them from me. Due to many circumstances like those above, ethnomusicologists, including myself, have sometimes had to record *flauta* musicians out of context, resulting in the isolation of musical elements, which if heard without proper contextualization or input from the musicians themselves, may lead to serious misunderstandings about the musical tradition (Seeger 2004 [1987]:78).

Today, we are fortunate to have two albums, one with Ecuador's Ministry of Culture and the second with the U.S. non-profit label Smithsonian Folkways, recorded by musicians from the Hatun Kotama Cultural Center (Hatun Kotama 2010 and 2013). *Flauta* musicians helped co-produce both of these albums. I was a co-producer for the Smithsonian Folkways album, and witnessed how *flauta* musicians were granted the freedom to produce their recordings, ensuring that they met the flutists' preferred aesthetics. While in the studio, co-producer Patricio Maldonado spent most of the time instructing the production team and musicians about which takes were best and how we could add in different sonic elements, such as using a large, thin piece of wood for people to dance on to make the footsteps audible.<sup>21</sup> The final products are revealing. Compared to many field recordings, Hatun Kotama's tracks sound incredibly dense,

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<sup>21</sup> In *Recording Culture: Powwow Music and the Aboriginal Recording Industry on the Northern Plains*, ethnomusicologist Christopher A. Scales notes how liveness, either being recorded live or manipulating a recording to sound live, is a Native American aesthetic that pow-wow musicians value (2012). I have observed this preference with Otavalan musicians as well.

and these albums can help us open our ears to what Kichwa Runakuna hear as music in addition to which sounds play an important role in *flauta* performances.

I agree with Juniper Hill's description of *flauta* music as polyphonic. She writes, "*gaita* duets are repetitive and polyphonic, in duple, triple, or additive meters, and accompany traditional dance and ritual processions" (2006:4). Many musicians associate polyphony with Western classical Baroque counterpoint; here, I define it broadly as a texture that consists of many rhythmically independent voices that are still interdependent. These voices interweaving with one another contribute to a sense of harmony (though not necessarily Western harmony) as they are layered to make an overall musical fabric.

At the micro-level of just the two complementary *flauta* melodic lines, this polyphony is still present. Having learned to play the second part for some songs and having transcribed this music, I have concluded that the two voices are not related homophonically or heterophonically. They are played in different registers but not in octaves, and they have a note-against-note feel, occasionally coinciding rhythmically, but generally moving independently and sometimes in contrary motion to each other. Taking all of the other musical elements we hear on Hatun Kotama's albums into consideration, it is obvious that this music is also polyphonic on a macro-level, with many independent voices, such as two distinct flute melodies, footsteps, trumpeting from conch shells or bull horns, and multiple forms of vocalizations (whistling, ordinary speech, stylized speech, and chanting) all being woven together. This texture builds in depth and complexity as the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival progresses and the number of dueling musical groups increases, climaxing during the takeovers of central plazas.

When playing or listening to *flauta* music, I have frequently experienced the sensation that Henry Stobart calls a vibrant sound. To some Westerners, this beating effect may sound like

"acoustic dissonance," but as Stobart explains, the effect is a crucial aesthetic for the masculine *tara* sound and its violent, *tinkuy*-like harmonies (1996b; 2002b:118; 2006a:140-142; 2008:84). Based on my field research and musical analysis, a vibrant sound is also part of the aesthetic of *kari-taki*, or Otavalan masculine music, which Cachiguango highlights when he juxtaposes the feminine "harmonic" sound of *sanjuanitos* with masculine *flauta* music (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:61-62).

Dynamics are closely tied to the polyphonic texture of *flauta* music. Flutists in Kotama describe a good or desired sound for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* tunes as being the loudest and strongest, capable of competing with all of the other sounds of people and musicians during the solstice festival. Even though the footsteps remain constant throughout the music, the dynamics frequently swell when a musician or dancer elicits stronger stomping from the group by calling out phrases like "*churapay*" (roughly "place it," or "put it there") and "*llaz tuaz*" (onomatopoeia for the sound of stamping feet). Kotama elder and flute master Alfonso Cabascango explains:

Chay nishun ushaskha zapateanchik chayka ñukanchikpa rikurikun kariyay, valor, y kaykuna hasta allipacha bailadorkuna nishpa . . . Kaypi chaypi grupo grupo bailanakun chayka nachu maypipash ña gentekuna rikushpaka, vamos kachukunantin, o silbaykunantin, y chayka shuk valorta rikuchiyan, ñukanchik paykunamanyariy. (Alfonso Cabascango, Interview, August 16, 2011)

Let's say that we were able to dance very strongly, then we will be seen as manly, brave, and because of that, great dancers. . . . People see us dance here and there with all the different groups of musicians, with the sounds of the bull horns or whistling, and we make all of them see our courage. (Alfonso Cabascango, Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation)

Musicians and dancers achieve a louder and larger aesthetic by layering voices in the polyphonic texture I have already discussed. Similar to how musicians in Kotama are known for playing in a more masculine style by playing at faster tempi, they also tend to have a more masculine sound by playing more loudly. Out of all of the communities Patricio and I visited, everyone except

those from Kotama told us that flutists only perform in duos. This has also held true with the text-based sources I have read. In Kotama, flutists often perform in trios that have the feminine countermelody doubled. Hatun Kotama's decision to double the *kucha* on the Smithsonian Folkways recording may seem strikingly unorthodox considering the fact that the instrument represents the solo voice of a *chuzalunku*, an extraordinary mountain being, and is performed as a solo instrument during the festival. Ultimately, the aesthetic of a louder, more masculine sound was deemed more important in this context and was therefore experimented with for a new performance medium.

A preference for louder and larger sounds also contributed to why Hatun Kotama has experimented with expanding small *flauta* ensembles and forming choirs with as many as ten flutists (four players on the masculine melody and six players on the feminine melody) for staged performances. Some people who are unfamiliar with this tradition may hear or describe it as overwhelming, cacophonous, urgent, or dissonant. As Hill and Chaumeil have eloquently articulated in their edited volume of essays about flutes in lowland South America,

To speak of a "cacophonous" mode can be disputed in the sense that it implies, a priori, a referential "harmony," which could perhaps reveal our own bias, one that does not necessarily correspond to the point of view and the aesthetic sensibility of indigenous musicians. (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:33)

I argue that polyphony is the best and most accurate textural description for *flauta* music.

Multiple layers of sound heard in *flauta* music also have spiritual implications. In summarizing the role of polyphony in lowland Amerindian music, Hill and Chaumeil note that a large, thick, and loud texture gives a material form to mythic space-times or realms where there is an absence of clear distinctions between humans and other entities (Hill and Chaumeil



2011:28).<sup>22</sup> The same ideas can be applied to Otavalan beliefs about a man's role in our cosmos, including why he performs music and how music allows for men to communicate with invisible worlds (e.g. past, future, other spiritual realms). As Patricio Maldonado mentioned in an email to me, "the flute's real purpose is to make festive melodies for Runa people and [to facilitate their] communion with the spiritual part of nature (*Pacha-Mama*) [Mother Time-Space]" (Personal communication, September 16, 2013; my translation).<sup>23</sup>

In Chapter 3, I write about how men perform *flauta* music as a means to generate happiness and give life to life. Even though *flauta* music may sound melancholic or urgent to Western listeners, *flauta* players hear the music as happy, uplifting, jubilant, and exciting; the energizing qualities of *flauta* music help people reach altered states during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. Stobart and Beaudet have also written about how joyful sounds are fertile sounds (Stobart 1996b; Beaudet 2011).<sup>24</sup> In Beaudet's words, "the sounds themselves, joyful sounds, are also fertile. Laughter, exclamations of pleasure, the peal of trumpets among the Wayãpi, sonorous euphoria in its entirety, are, in Amerindian cultures, agents of fertilization" (Beaudet 2011:376-377). In this respect, *flauta* music directly relates to a broader South American Amerindian aesthetic of generative polyphonic textures and loud dynamics.

### *Form*

In his book *Why Suyá Sing*, Anthony Seeger writes, "musical units must be considered in all of their various lengths and the musical performances studied as parts of a long series of such

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<sup>22</sup> For an example of how cacophony, or polyphony, is a means for loosening the borders between time dimensions in a lowland Kichwa society, see Whitten (1976:184).

<sup>23</sup> "La naturaleza de la flauta actual es el de hacer melodías festivas para los runas y de comunión con la parte espiritual de la naturaleza (*Pacha-Mama*)" (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, September 16, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> See also Turino's article that covers the concept of *dense sound*, which refers to the overlapping and blending of sounds to create a thick texture similar to what I call polyphonic (1983b). In relation to *flauta* music, however, this concept does not apply entirely since a sharp, clear, and strong (not breathy or overblown) sound is the preferred aesthetic among Otavalan flutists.

events" (2004 [1987]:74). Taking his words into account, I will discuss the form of *flauta* music on several different levels, examining the form of individual phrases, songs, suites made by chaining songs together during short performances, suites of performances that are strung together throughout a multi-day festival, and finally how music for *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* is part of a longer piece or suite of music, such as that of the solar year and the human lifecycle. For the following analyses, I will reference back to two overarching ideas that are present in this music. One permeating concept is the sense of balance associated with the pairverse (*pariverso*, Sp.), the idea that our universe or cosmos is founded on the existence and cooperation of interdependent halves (see my discussion of the *pariverso* and Andean complementary dualism in Chapter 3). The *pariverso* concept is present in the overarching binary form of *flauta* music and performances contexts, in which a balancing of complementary opposites is constantly at play. Although Cachiguango emphasizes that the *pariverso* is an important aspect in this musical tradition, Pontón's transcriptions, which only include the two flute parts, do not demonstrate how else the *pariverso* is expressed through music.

The second guiding concept is the spiral progression through time and space. When I began learning Kichwa with Luz María De la Torre, and continued with classes taught by Patricio Maldonado, one of the recurring themes that we covered was the idea of time and space existing on a spiral. Occasionally, Patricio would talk about our universe as if it were a giant conch shell. As the earth orbits the sun, for example, we arrive time and again at almost the same point. Life moves in a circular fashion, but it is not contained in a closed, singular line. As time progresses, we grow and time extends outward.

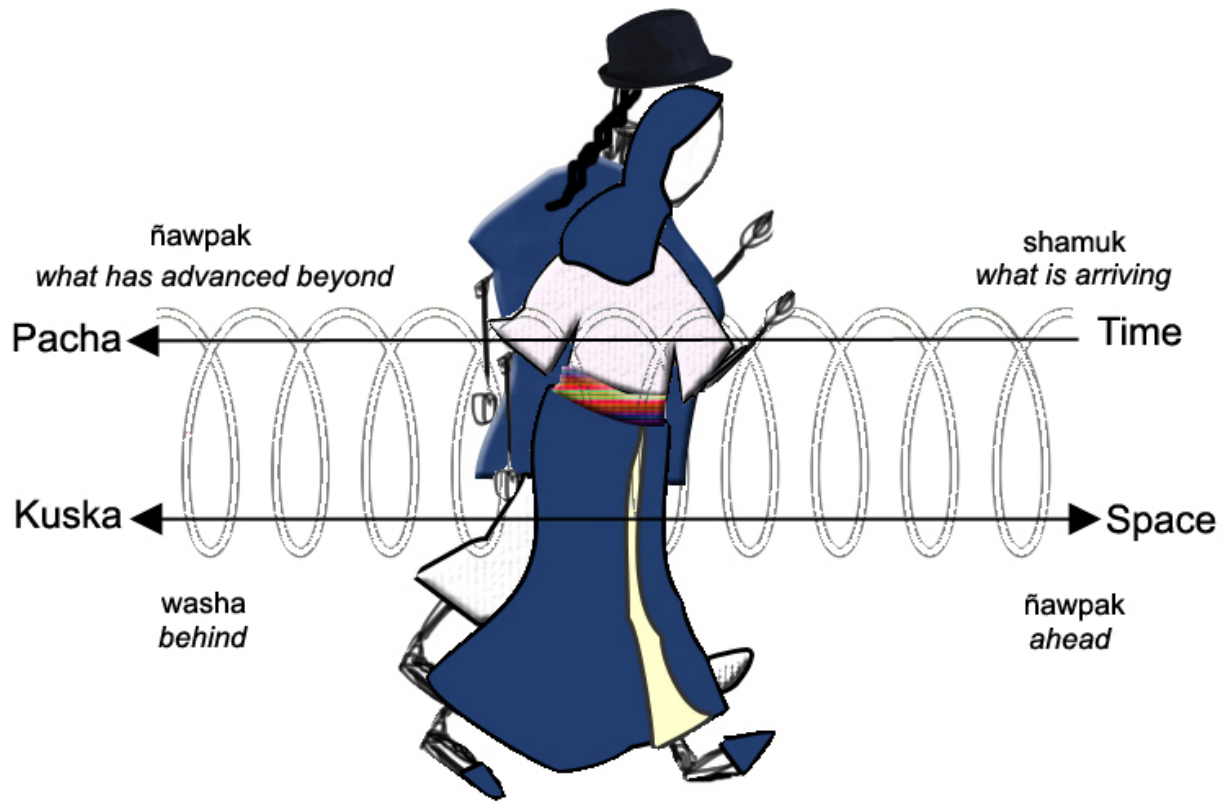


Figure 5.4: Diagram of how travel through time and space is conceived of in Kichwa cosmivision. The couple is traveling backward through time.

During my early language lessons, I found that talking about time and space in Kichwa triggered headaches and caused me and my fellow students to feel disoriented because when referring to time, prepositions, such as *ñawpa* (ahead) and *washa* (behind), mean the opposite of what an English speaker is accustomed to. *Ñawpa* may describe something or someone that is in a leading position or moves ahead of us, such as the *ñawpak* or leading, masculine flute melody.<sup>25</sup> I vividly recall the confusion that my fellow students and I felt when we first encountered this issue during our unit on narrating stories in De la Torre's class. The equivalent of "once upon a time" was "*ñawpa, ñawpa pachapi*," or translated back to English, "during a

<sup>25</sup> The -k suffix added to the word alters this word, making it the noun form of "leader" "or one who leads" instead of the prepositional form of "leading."

time [and] in a place way out ahead of us." Similarly, the term *washa*, meaning behind or at one's backside, could mean something that lies in the future, not in the past. Why was this so? Patricio handed me a diagram similar to Figure 5.4, which illustrates how Kichwa Runakuna perceive travel through time and space. The couple is positioned walking backward, with the past extending out in front of them because they already witnessed previous events. The future lies behind the pair, out of sight, but in the direction they are moving. Movement through time is not linear, and throughout one's life, s/he is constantly traveling through different cycles. The spiral represents how time is repetitive and successive as well as cumulative (Basso 1981:277).<sup>26</sup>

On a micro-level of musical phrases within a flute part, most melodies can be divided into two phrases, referred to as *esquinas* (corners), which may be subdivided into quarters of a song.<sup>27</sup> This is not always as obvious to the listener since in recordings and performances, phrases are repeated anywhere from three to six or more times before switching to another phrase.<sup>28</sup> Sometimes phrases within one line of a song are only made distinguishable from each

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<sup>26</sup> With the Canelos Kichwa of nearby lowland Ecuador, time is also considered to exist as a type of spiral, since, as Whitten writes, they view the present time as existing in "many nows," and rituals continuously merge or blend the edges of time of the ancients and the present (1976:46).

<sup>27</sup> This applies to a large majority of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* songs, but there are some songs in the repertoire that are considered more difficult because they consist of a more complicated combination of phrases.

<sup>28</sup> During my first meeting with Juan Mullo Sandoval in Quito, he advised me to pay attention to how compound binaries, like the number 6 (3+3) and its variations, are expressed in *flauta* music. In the liner notes for Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways album, I glossed over this point about how phrases or *esquinas* are repeated (Vallejo 2013). Leaders in Hatun Kotama recommend to students that they should repeat each phrase three times; however, I found when listening to recordings and during performances that this rule was not strictly followed. For example, in "Hawa Kotama," track 15 on *¡Así Kotama!: The Flutes of Otavalo, Ecuador*, the *esquinas* are often repeated six times, though sometimes deviate from this pattern (Hatun Kotama 2013). It was difficult for me to communicate to the flutists about this point and why it puzzled me. In one case, when I asked Mariano Maldonado, my host father and one of Hatun Kotama's flute masters, about why flutists varied the form on Hatun Kotama's Smithsonian Folkways album, he only commented on how the flutist rushed (*muspirirka*, K.) the song. Some flutists mentioned that there were small mistakes made in the album, though did not elaborate on what kind of mistakes. For now, further research and more exhaustive transcriptions of particular performances are needed in order to better assess how often the number six and compound binary divisions of *flauta* music are present, and to what extent these patterns of organization are particularly significant in this tradition.

other by a subtle difference in the approach or ending of a phrase, as is the case with Figure 5.5 "Allku Wayku" ("Dog Ravine"), a *flauta* tune played in Kotama and La Bolsa. To make matters more confusing for the uninitiated, flutists often improvise ornaments and add their own stylistic flare to how they perform a song.

**"Allku Wayku" ("Dog Ravine")**  
*sanjuán (flauta)*



Figure 5.5: Transcription of the main melodic sections of the lead (*ñawpak*) flute part in "Allku Wayku."

One of the ways I was clued into how flutists themselves hear the division of phrases is based on how they taught songs in classes with Hatun Kotama. Typically, a flute master, like Mariano Maldonado, would approach a student like myself, teach me the first phrase (*esquina*, Sp.) of the *ñawpak* (leader) masculine part, and then leave to teach others while I practiced on my own (see Figure 5.5).<sup>29</sup> If I had mastered the phrase by the time he returned to me, he would teach me the second phrase. The feminine part, called the *katik* (follower), would be taught in the same fashion once a student could play through the entire *ñawpak* part.

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<sup>29</sup> In the classes I attended, one or two flute masters would focus on working with me at a time, but my primary teacher would frequently change for the next class.

Moving to a slightly larger scale of one *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* song, we hear many different binary elements that follow the *pariverso* scheme. First of all, there are two complementary flute melodies accompanied by audible footsteps. The dance steps are performed in a binary fashion since dancers alternate their feet, moving one foot after the other; right left right left, etc. *Alegrana* chanting is also performed in a binary, call-and-response form. To some listeners unfamiliar with this tradition, it may sound overly repetitive and lacking of musical development, but the constant cycling or spiraling through the *esquinas* is an important aesthetic of this music, which is meant to be embodied and induce a type of altered or heightened state.<sup>30</sup>

The next level is that of two or more songs played in succession, chained together in order to form suites during the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival.<sup>31</sup> This happens during every performance when a group of dancers and musicians arrives at someone's home and begins dancing. Similar to other Andean traditions, musicians are charged with a responsibility to keep music playing almost constantly throughout feasts, and if they make a mistake, show fatigue, or cause a moment of silence at the wrong time (as I did once, see Chapter 3), they often receive harsh criticism from the public and fellow musicians (Stobart 2002b:100; Turino 1993:62).<sup>32</sup> Musicians may take over the musicians' circle and chain a new song by playing a *kallariy* (Figure 5.6), or an introduction that helps interrupt musicians already performing. Alternatively, they may just begin playing the song, or less frequently but more like *sanjuanes* performed on string and wind instruments, flutists may play a tonic-like note several times as they take over the player's circle. Once they are themselves interrupted, they peter out and do not play a closing

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<sup>30</sup> See also Stobart (2002b:100) for more about the relationship between repetitive song forms and altered states.

<sup>31</sup> Harp *sanjuanes* are also chained together in this way (Schechter 1992:168). Stringing songs together into suites is a common practice among some lowland Amerindian musical traditions as well (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:26; Cruz Mello 2011:266).

<sup>32</sup> In this respect, music playing is a sacrifice made on the behalf of men, who must endure long durations, testing their stamina, to perform during festivals and rituals (Stobart 2002b:111-112).

theme to end their song. Although music is meant to be constant throughout the festival, there are intermittent pauses, intermissions that serve as moments of silence when everyone rests to eat, drink, and prepare to dance more or leave for the next home.

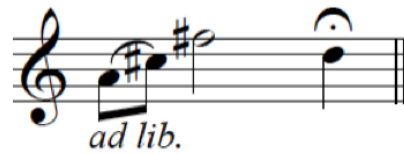


Figure 5.6: The *kallariy*, or introductory phrase often played by Kotama flutists. Can be heard in several tracks on *¡Así Kotama!: The Flutes of Otavalo, Ecuador*, such as track 3 "Llaz Tuaz" (Hatun Kotama 2013).

The specific songs that are performed during this festival, especially when groups are dancing from home to home, depend on the personal repertoire of the musicians. Instrumentalists cycle through the tunes they have mastered throughout each performance, repeating them over and over again while dancing at one home, dancing at multiple homes throughout the evening, dancing at many homes over the span of several evenings, and ultimately, when dancing and playing these songs countless times over the course of their lives and the many years that they celebrate this festival.<sup>33</sup> Hence, while people follow a large spiral path marked by music, they also experience many small spirals as they travel through time and space.

When musicians leave a home or their community and walk along the footpaths (*chakiñankuna*, K.) and roads to the next place where they will dance, flutists often perform a musical interlude.<sup>34</sup> In Kotama, the song "Kulumpillu" is played while musicians travel from

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<sup>33</sup> There is a direct relationship between the number of songs musicians have mastered and the social capital awarded to them from the community.

<sup>34</sup> Western classical musicians may be reminded of the "Promenade" movements in Modest Mussorgsky's piano suite *Pictures at an Exhibition*.

home to home.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, flutists play "Kotama Loma" ("Kotama Hill") when leaving Kotama and entering La Bolsa, a neighboring village. Later, musicians sound the tune "Kotama Ñan" ("Kotama Path," track 30) when returning to Kotama after having danced through both La Bolsa and Guanansí (Hatun Kotama 2013). Later in the festival, musicians play songs like "Capilla Ñan" ("Path to the Church," track 12) as they travel from their own community to the church plaza where they take over and coalesce with musicians and dancers from other nearby villages (Hatun Kotama 2010). These songs serve as interludes and are revisited time and again during the festival.

The dancing during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* also follows a spiral path through time and space similar to that of the musical form and chaining of songs together to make suites. When a dance group arrives at a place where they will dance, musicians take over the center of the circle and members of the crowd dance in a spiral formation around them. I call the dance a spiral rather than a circle formation because it is not a closed circle, nor is it just one or more parallel lines of dancers moving in a circle. People, especially musicians, move to and from the center of the circle. Dancers at the fringes frequently join in or trail off of and leave the main group. The mass of people is constantly fluctuating in size, swelling and shrinking, and the people entering or leaving create a type of trail extending beyond the core group. Furthermore, the direction of the dance changes periodically, alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise. This often happens when a new song begins or at the change of a phrase within a song. Dancers may also instigate this change by turning around and dancing in the opposite direction (*contravía*, Sp.), causing confusion and laughter, or by calling out phrases like "*utsya utsya utsya*," and "*vuelta*,

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<sup>35</sup> "Kulumpillu" translates roughly as "Surrounded by Thunder and Lightning." *Kulun* refers to the sound of thunder caused by lightning. *Pillu* comes from the verb *pilluna*, or to be enveloped, wrapped, or surrounded by *kulun*, or stormy winds and thunder.



*vuelta, vuelta.*"<sup>36</sup> See Figures 5.7 and 5.8 for examples of the spiral dancing and change of directions. In the diagrams, the large triangles represent musicians at the center of the circle facing each other, the circles represent dancers, and the small black triangles indicate the direction of the dance. Figure 5.9 is a photograph of this type of dancing taken during the celebration outside St. John's Church (*San Juan Capilla*) in Otavalo.

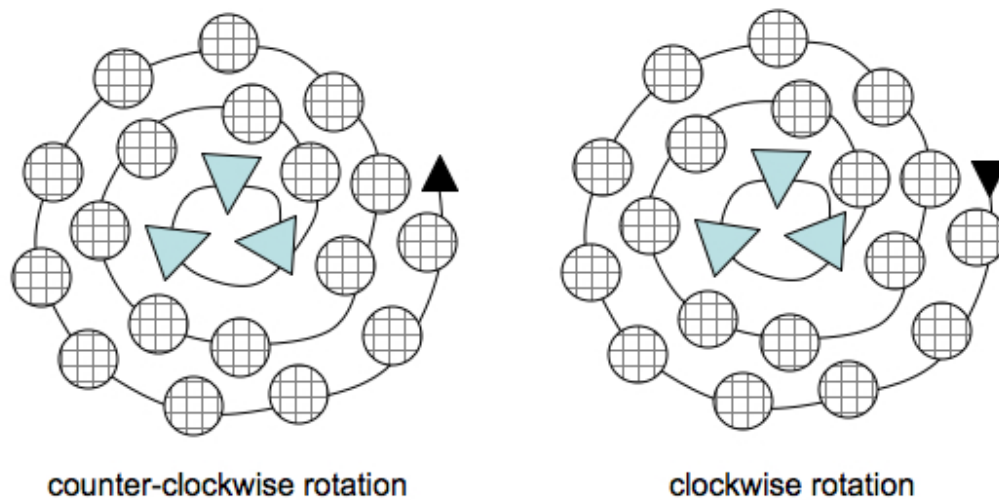


Figure 5.7: Diagrams of spiral dancing for events like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*.

Dancing this way during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* is spiritually significant, Cachiguango explains, because,

Representa a la comunidad. Dentro del círculo de los bailadores todos somos iguales. . . . Todos nos sentimos uno sólo, al mismo tiempo nos sentimos unidos a las demás dimensiones o pachas del universo andino. A más de la comunidad, el baile en círculo representa al ciclo agrícola anual. En el sentido espiritual representa la noción circular de la pacha o tiempo-espacio andino en donde el hawa pacha o el mundo de arriba (cielo para los cristianos), se interrelaciona con el kay-pacha o este mundo, como también con el uku pacha o el mundo de abajo y el chayshuk-pacha o el mundo de los muertos. Estos “mundos” se intercomunican unos con otros constantemente y se necesitan el uno del otro para mantener el equilibrio universal. El baile en círculo es la representación del diálogo, la

<sup>36</sup> Both the Kichwa term *utsya* and Spanish term *vuelta* translate as "turn around," "change," or "lap." *Vuelta* also translates to English as "return." Patricio explained to me that *utsya* is a phrase that people have traditionally used when working with oxen to plow fields, yelling it out to encourage the oxen to turn and begin digging the next row for planting crops (Personal communication, 2010).

conversación y la comunión continua y permanente de *Atsill-Pachakamak*, *Pachamama*, el *runa*, los *Aya* y los espíritus de los antepasados. (Cachiguango 2006:25-26)

[Dancing in a spiral] represents the community. Within the dance circle we are all equal. . . . We all feel as if we were one, at the same time we feel united to the other dimensions or *pacha-s* in the Andean universe. In addition to representing the community, the dance circle represents the annual agricultural cycle. In a spiritual sense [the dancing] represents the basic circular [spiral] form of *pacha* or Andean time-space, in which the *hawa-pacha* or the world above us (Heaven for Christians), interrelates with *kay-pacha* or this world, as with *uku-pacha* or the world below us, and *chayshuk-pacha* or the world of the dead. These "worlds" communicate between one another constantly and depend on each other for maintaining a cosmic balance in our universe. Dancing in a circle represents the dialogue, the constant and ever-lasting conversation and communion of *Atsill-Pachakamak* (World Creator), *Pacha-Mama* (Mother-Time-Space), the human being, extraordinary beings, and the [transcended] spirits of our ancestors. (Cachiguango 2006:25-26; my translation)

Cachiguango's words echo much of what Basso found in her work with the Kalapalo about a sense of unity and heightened state achieved by performing similar types of rituals:

This intensification and compression of ritual time and space and of the unity of the community seems to be felt by the performers themselves, through the cumulative effects of their dance movements, repeated costuming of their bodies, and the increasing satisfaction resulting from greater performative success. In other words, what seems to occur is an intensification of *feeling*, not about some ritual object, but about the ritual experience itself . . . in particular . . . the experience of the magical power of community emerging from group performance. (Basso 1981:286)

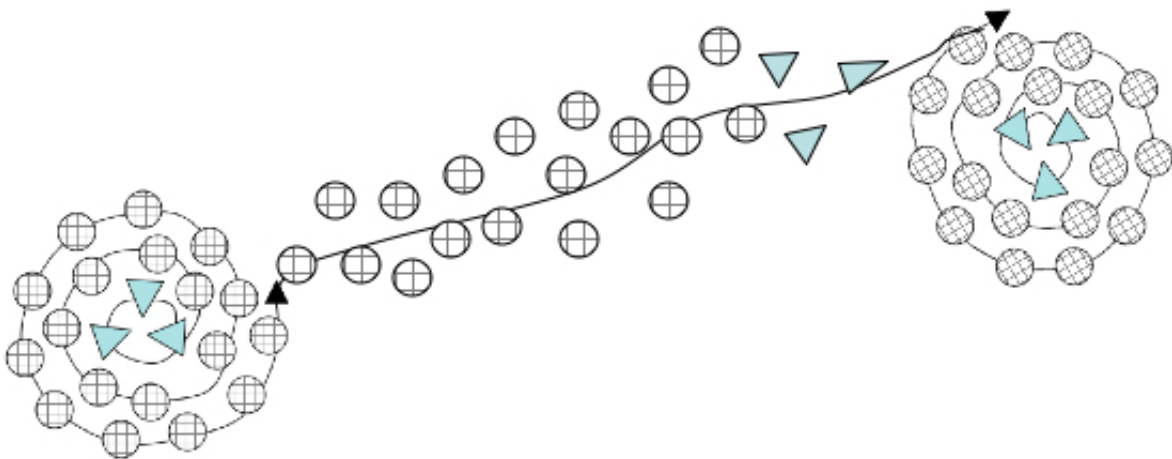


Figure 5.8: Diagram of an example of how dancers travel between the patio of one home to the next, passing along a footpath (*chakiñan*, K.) in between both homes.

At the beginning of the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival, musical groups are smaller and tend to be close-knit networks of family members or close friends, but as time progresses, groups combine with each other, representing neighborhoods within villages and eventually entire villages as they move on to face rival groups from nearby villages. As the Maldonado family explained to me, these musical groups tend to join together and dance along the same trail year after year and generation after generation. Musicians and dancers therefore express space and time as a spiral, (re)arriving and (re)connecting with parallel points in time and space year after year, as they travel well-worn paths and (re)inscribe them with song (Basso 1981:278).

Both Tara Browner and Anthony Seeger write about how transcription is an important ethnomusicological tool for uncovering musical characteristics that may otherwise go unnoticed by practitioners and ethnomusicologists alike (Browner 2009; Seeger 2004 [1987]:102). Moreover, Browner critiques how the lack of attention paid to transcribing dance movements, especially with Native American music, has been a general problem in the fields of ethnomusicology and musicology (2009). Part of my approach for transcribing *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* music included mapping where dancers travel and play music, which could not have been done without Patricio Maldonado's knowledge of the communities where we conducted research. In doing so, he and I both discovered that traveling groups of musicians and dancers follow a counterclockwise path as they dance through their own villages, pass through neighboring villages, and when they arrive at the church plaza. For example, Figure 5.10 depicts the typical spiral-like counterclockwise path that Kotama musicians follow around their own community and neighboring villages during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. Figure 5.11 outlines Kotama residents' normal route to and around St. John's Church.



Figure 5.9: Kotama residents take over the plaza of St. John's Church (*San Juan Capilla*), dancing in a spiral in a counterclockwise direction on June 25, 2012 (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo).

Although we were not able to find anyone who could comment on why a counterclockwise path was significant, Patricio found this similarity to be intriguing. Dance and direction of travel, especially in circles, often carries important meanings in Amerindian societies, from Native North American pow-wows and Haudensaunee Longhouse ceremonies to

the lowland Canelos Kichwa *yachajuí*, a ceremony in which musicians walk in a counterclockwise direction in a home (Whitten 1976:165).<sup>37</sup> Even though flutists just shrugged when Patricio and I inquired about this fact, it is highly likely that the counterclockwise movement is related to Kichwa cosmovision and spirituality.

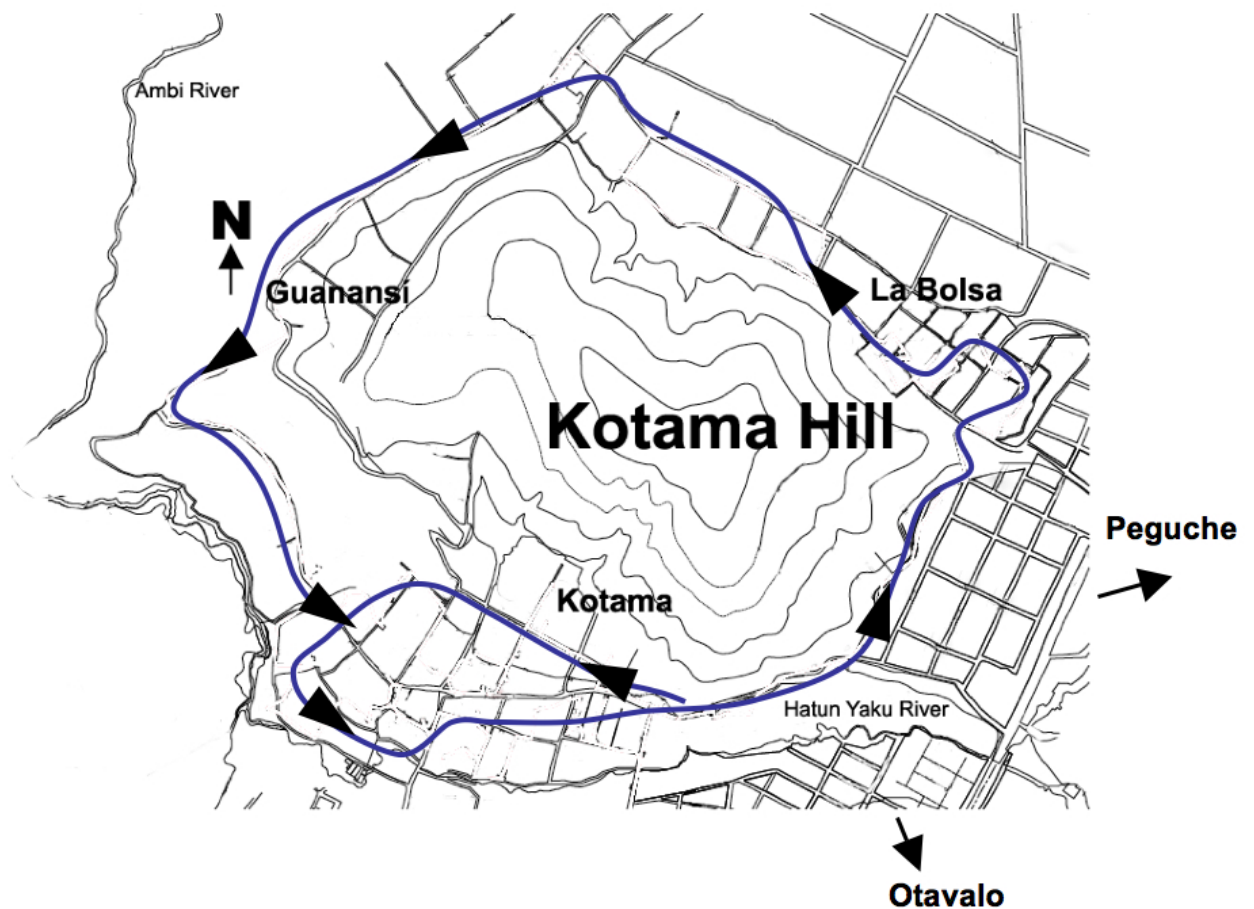


Figure 5.10: Map of flutists' general path as they dance through Kotama and around neighboring villages La Bolsa and Guanansi in a counterclockwise, spiral path.

<sup>37</sup> For example, in North American Haudenosaunee Longhouses people dance and serve food in a counterclockwise direction, which is considered the regular way or path of life and the way the primordial woman, Atsi'tsiaká:ion (The Matured Flower), dance in a shuffle step when she began the miracle of birth. In recognition of a death, however, dancers and food servers will move in a clockwise direction for at least one complete circle (Porter 2008:43, 52-53; Diamond 2008:99). In Native North American pow-wows, dancers normally follow a clockwise circle. Tara Browner illustrates the connection that pow-wow grounds and dancing have across spiritual realms, as well (Browner 2002:91-99). See also Diamond (2008:123).

Expanding from the time-span and musical unit of a one-day suite, the multi-day festival may be considered to be a distinct piece itself, a suite consisting of masculine movements followed by a coda of feminine music. For example, within the weeklong celebration of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*, which is overall masculine, both masculine and feminine genres are chained together. Musicians perform masculine music from June 22 until June 28. To close the festival, the repertoire shifts to more feminine genres. Musicians perform *sanjuanitos* during the evening of June 28, the women's night (*warmi chishi*, K.) in Kotama, and throughout the following day, thereby complying with the *pariverso* concept and need to maintain a cosmic balance of masculine and feminine energies.<sup>38</sup>

Like Seeger, Stobart also examines the year as a musical form in Amerindian societies (Seeger 2004 [1987]:70-74; Stobart 2006a). Within the musical piece of a solar year, there are two movements, or seasons, that are suites of smaller musical units, such as festivals, strung together. In Otavalo, the year is divided into two seasons, the dry, masculine season, and the rainy, feminine season, seen in Figure 5.12. Festivals and ritual music mark the beginning, climax, and end of each season during equinoxes, solstices, and other important moments as illustrated in Figure 5.13.<sup>39</sup> The musical form over the year is analogous to how musicians perform at homes, play songs that act as bridges or interludes as they walk in between homes,

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<sup>38</sup> For days prior to the festival proper, many musicians practice with their groups, dancing between homes of family and friends. Although the festival is now tied to the Western calendar, the festival used to follow the growth and maturing stages of maize (Mariano Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011). In a sense, music is what officially made the seasons change (Seeger 2004 [1987]:70). Finally, festival days vary from community to community. In 2010, the Women's Day/San Pedro was held on June 29 in Kotama and July 1 in Cotacachi.

<sup>39</sup> Basso, too, writes about how music in South American indigenous societies is typically performed as a means to create liminal spaces or during transitional moments when there is a deconstruction of ordinary states of social relations, space, and time. This often translates to musical performance taking place during twilight hours, changes in seasons, or a transition in someone's life. In terms of temporal positioning of these rituals, Basso refers to the "time out of time" that is characteristic of the experience of the event (Basso 1981:284-285). See Chapter 2 of this dissertation for a discussion of performance contexts for *flauta* music.

and take moments of rest at the homes during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. In between major festivals observed at equinoxes and solstices, other smaller events are hosted in the community. These ceremonial interludes, analogous to the tune "Kulumpillu" played in Kotama, are primarily variants of the *Wakcha Karay* (Offering to the Poor). They are held weekly at cemeteries, or during July, October, and November as a way to manage rains and connect with other realms. Additionally, *Wakcha Karay* ceremonies, or what Cachiguango calls *LLaki Wakcha Karay*, may be held in response to droughts, floods, or other climate-related issues (Cachiguango 1997:299; Cachiguango 2006:11).<sup>40</sup> Non-musical moments in between festivals serve as pauses, or intermissions similar to the brief moments that musicians take to rest, eat, and drink during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*.

According to Cachiguango and flutists, some musical performance contexts have become obsolete, such as those associated with the equinoxes and the peak of the feminine half of the year (*Warmi Pascuas*, *Warmi Pacha*, or *Kapak Raymi*, K.; *Misa de Gallo*, Sp.) during the December solstice. In Otavalo, the *Koya Raymi* is no longer widely practiced during the September equinox. Instead, the main celebration for the last sixty years has been the town-sponsored *Fiesta del Yamor*, a celebration that features concerts, beauty pageant contestants, and *chicha de yamor*, a fermented corn beverage (*aswa*, K.) made with seven different varieties of corn.<sup>41</sup> The spring equinox and winter solstice have essentially been replaced by the Christian holidays of Easter and Christmas (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:21-22; Personal

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<sup>40</sup> *Llaki* refers to emotional states of sadness, worry, and stress. It may also be used to refer to a problem.

<sup>41</sup> Much to the amusement of Patricio and other flute players, I learned through trial and error during a Hatun Kotama class in September 2012 that *chicha de yamor* should not be fed to flutes due to its thicker consistency than *chicha de hora* (*aswa* made with germinating corn). Consequently, my flutes sounded off and were difficult to play with a good tone.

communication).<sup>42</sup> In recent years, some communities are working to revitalize celebrations like *Llullu Muru Raymi*, or the March equinox celebration of tender and baby grains (see Chapter 6 for more discussion about revitalization of festivals and *flauta* performance contexts).

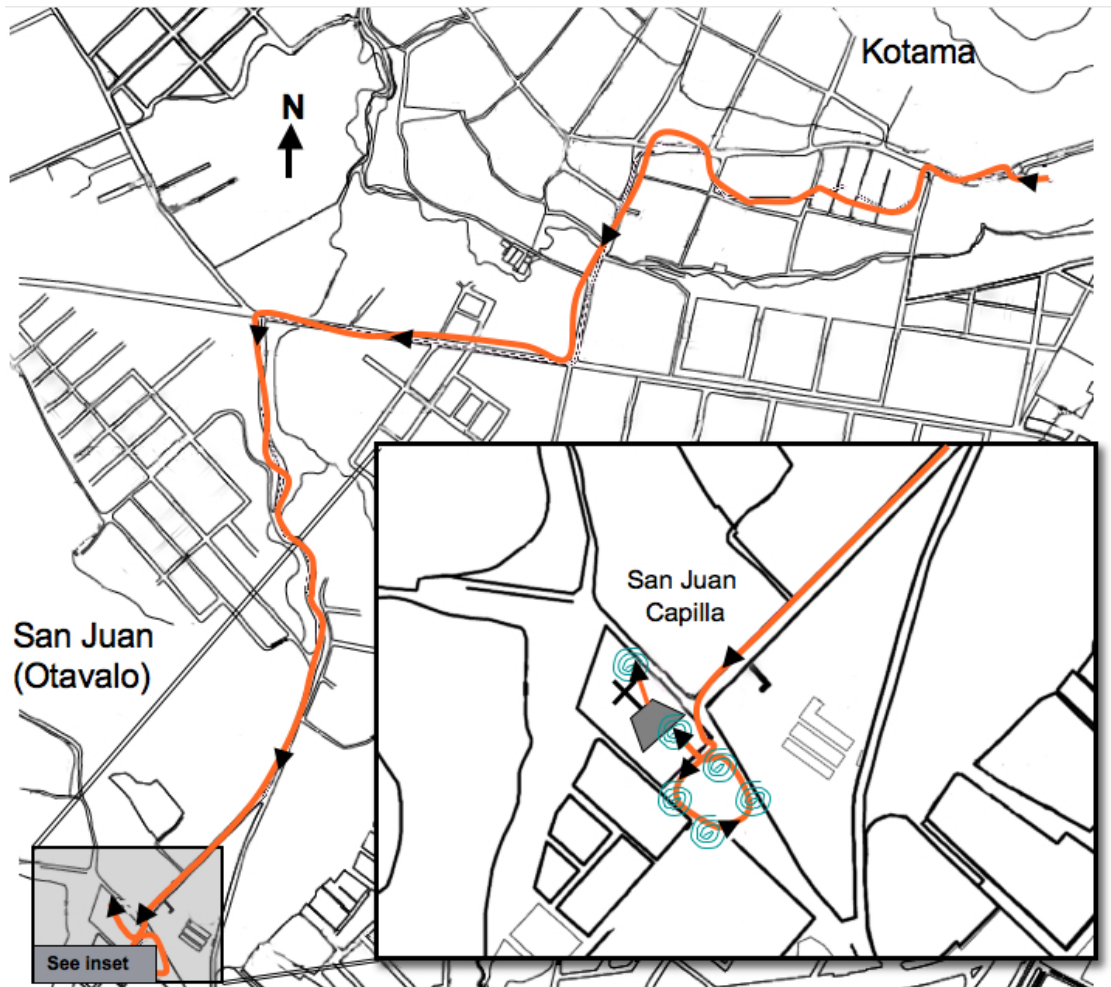


Figure 5.11: The path from Kotama to St. John's Church (*San Juan Capilla*, Sp.) that dancers and musicians follow during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*.

Anthony Seeger emphasized in his course about South American Amerindian musics taught at UCLA that the human life may also be analyzed as one very long musical suite made up of many yearlong musical pieces. As *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* drew nearer during my

<sup>42</sup> Juan Saavedra and José Antonio Cumba Perugachi still remembered two songs that flutists from their village would play at the church plaza on or around December 24.



fieldwork in 2012, my host family would speak of the change in seasons and the excitement they felt as the climate changed subtly from the rainy to dry season, a shift that was barely noticeable to me due to my growing up in central New York and having been more accustomed to a sharper contrast between seasons. As my host brothers spoke about arriving once again at a point in time, I observed how, to them, there is a strong sense of us spiraling through time and constantly re-arriving at places we once were and will eventually return to. Repertoire, such as feminine wedding songs or funeral songs that are performed for someone typically only once in a person's lifetime, are experienced multiple times throughout one's life as family and community members also pass through these life stages.

Finally, I would like to extend Seeger's class exercise of viewing the human life as a musical piece to include a person's afterlife. When discussing Kichwa funerary musical games, Mariano Maldonado explains that, "we see death as only one step to another life" (Interview, August 16, 2011).<sup>43</sup> In Kichwa cosmivision, people move on to a new life in a parallel world (*chayshuk-pacha*, K.) following their death in our world (*kay-pacha*, K.).<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, despite one's physical absence, the deceased relative continues to interact with her/his kin still living in our current world, especially during ritual moments and festivities. I learned this aspect of Kichwa cosmivision early on during my first trip to Ecuador. Only two weeks into my residence in Kotama, I attended a young woman's Catholic confirmation party with some of my host relatives. On the following morning, I found that my skin had broken out in what seemed like chickenpox but eluded the Western doctor who eventually treated me. In the end, my host family

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<sup>43</sup> "Wañushka kipa, shuk kawsayman rinchik, ninchik. Llakimi kanchik, shinapash payka kushiwan mushuk kawsayman llukshichun munanchik" (Mariano Maldonado, Interview, August 16, 2011).

<sup>44</sup> This idea, that out of destruction comes creation, also relates to the concept of *tinkuy* ritual fights in Andean societies (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:50). Wibbelsman recounts what her *compadres* explained to her were necessary materials (e.g. food, garments, tools) for sending a soul to her/his next life (2009:127).

suspected that I had caught *mal aire* (a bad wind) from an extroverted relative of the confirmed woman who had recently passed away, but who they believed attended her party and gave me a warm—yet spiritually overpowering—welcome. Even though family members pass on to another life, they are believed to remain actively engaged with our earthly existence.

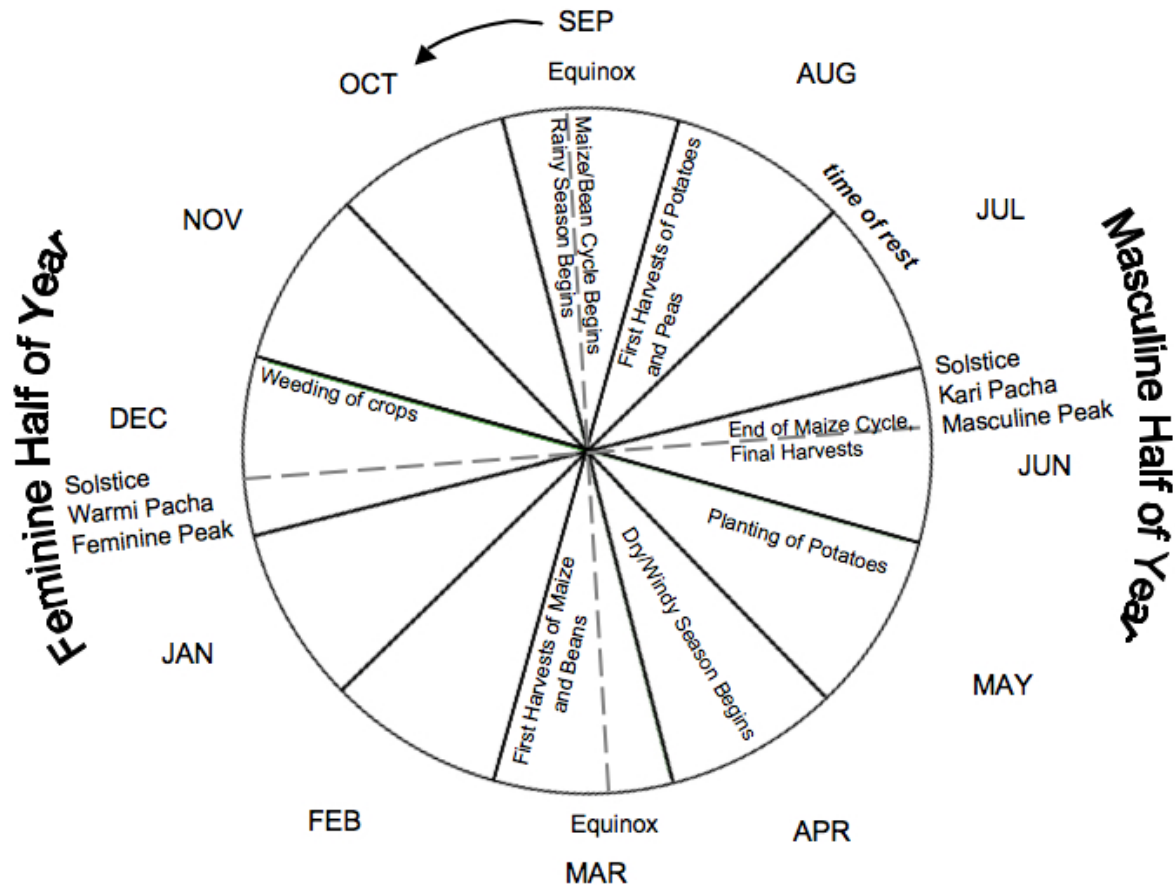


Figure 5.12: Solar calendar of significant agricultural and astronomical events in Otavalo. Associations, such as the division of the year into female and male counterparts, are indicated as well.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Otavalo lies at a latitude of just 13'59" north of the equator; therefore, the summer solstice occurs in June and the winter solstice in December. I lay out the calendar in a counterclockwise progression because it is the direction that Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango illustrates the progression of seasons in his book *Yaku-Mama* (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:22). Even though Cachiguango begins with the March equinox at the 12 o'clock hour, I begin with the September autumn equinox, since it marks the beginning of the maize cycle, which is closely related to flute playing. Another reason why I chose to present the year in a counterclockwise fashion is to remain consistent with how flutists and dancers travel around their own and neighboring communities during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*.

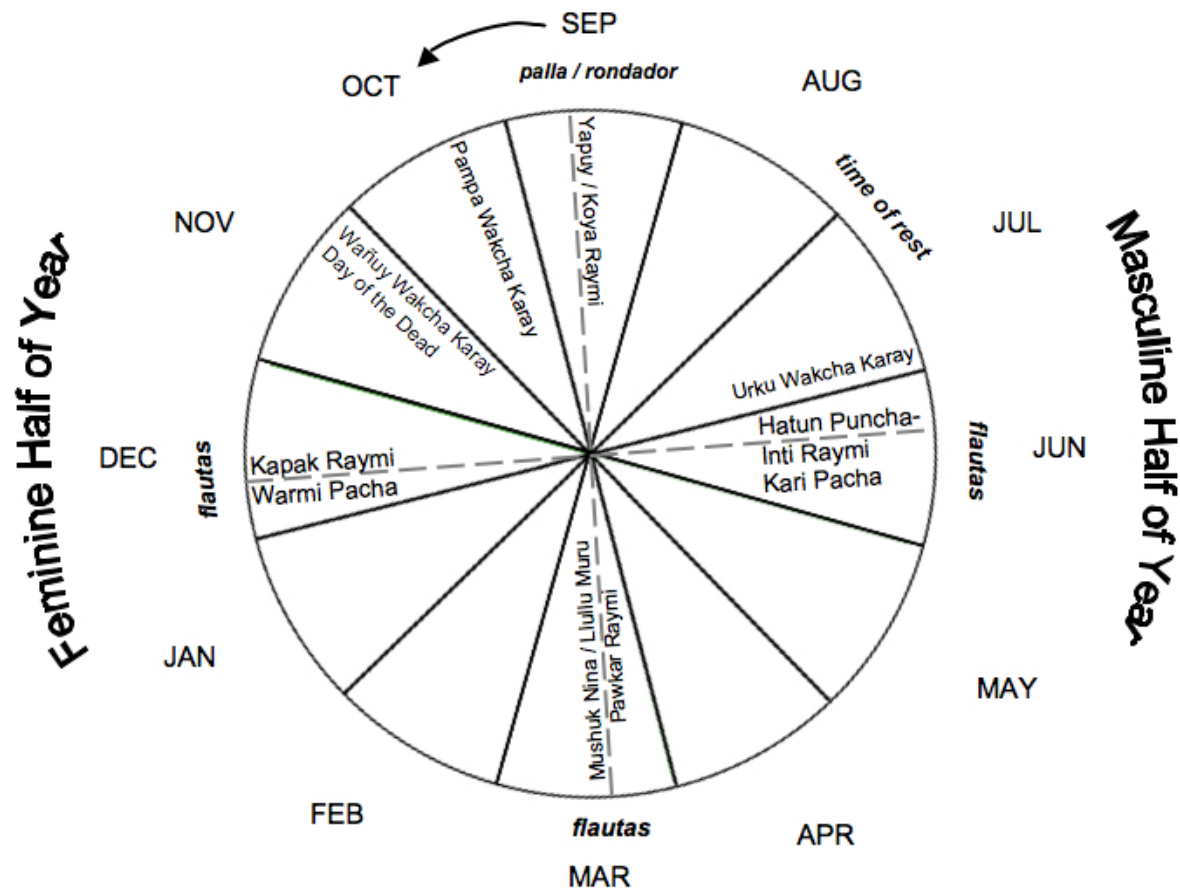


Figure 5.13: Solar calendar of significant festive, ritual, and musical events in Otavalo. Associations, such as the division of the year into female and male counterparts, are indicated as well. For more information about performance contexts, see also Chapter 2.

Music is an essential element during fiestas that helps loosen boundaries between cosmic realms.<sup>46</sup> According to Cachiguango, music helps facilitate crossing boundaries and maintaining

<sup>46</sup> Food is another element for interacting with other realms. On a weekly basis, for instance, family members may go visit the graves of relatives. Mondays and Thursdays are the days for connecting with ancestors, and are when most family members will go to visit the cemetery (Cachiguango 1997:298; Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:24; Patricio Maldonado and Segundo Maldonado, Personal communication, 2010). At the cemetery, people share food with each other and with transcended spirits or souls, often leaving food behind for the spirit to eat later. Otavalans share food in a similar way for annual events, such as Day of the Dead (*Wañu Wakcha Karay*, K.; *Día de Los Difuntos*, Sp.) in early November and *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* during the June solstice (Cachiguango 1997:299; Wibbelsman 2009:113, 123-127). As I described in Chapter 3, women actively participate and contribute to carrying out *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* by preparing and serving food and drink. Women also guide their families in preparing *castillos*, which are spiritual banquets made of hanging fruits, bread rolls, liquor bottles, and other items on a lattice of *carrizo* cane. The food is hung for several days throughout the festival, when it

relationships between people, spirits, and extraordinary beings. In a festival like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*,

Los ancestros también tienen una participación activa durante todo el proceso porque ellos también bailan junto a nosotros los días y noches de la celebración. . . . La vivencia del *kay-pacha* (este mundo) se une con la vivencia del *chayshuk-pacha* (el mundo de los ancestros), así como también con la vivencia del *hawa-pacha* (el mundo de arriba, macro) y con la vivencia del *uku-pacha* (el mundo interior, micro). Las cuatro *pacha-s* (mundos) se unen a la celebración de la vida en la *allpa-mama* o madre tierra. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:62)

Ancestors also have an active role during the entire process [of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*] because they also dance with us throughout the days and nights of the celebration. . . . The experience of *kay-pacha* (this realm) unites with the experience of *chayshuk-pacha* (the realm of our ancestors), as does the experience of the *hawa-pacha* (upper realm, the broader universe) with the experience of *uku-pacha* (the inner realm, the minute parts of the world). The four *pacha-s* (realms) mesh together during the [*Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*] celebration of life on [our] *Allpa-Mama* or mother earth. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:62; my translation)<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, even following one's death, people continue to experience events and music as a spiral through time, returning to them over and over again.

### ***Flauta Music, Sanjuananes, and Sanjuanitos***

At the opening of this chapter, I pointed out that there has been some confusion about similarities and differences between song forms that many (ethno)musicologists have amalgamated under the umbrella term *sanjuanito*. According to Ketty Wong, who writes about national music, identity, and *mestizaje* (cultural mixing or cross-fertilization) in Ecuador,

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is shared with deceased relatives and beings from other realms prior to being redistributed between family members (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:44). For a brief discussion about the *castillo* and its connection to the cane material used to make flutes, see Chapter 4. See also Weismantel who cites Catherine Allen about how eating in excess allows us to feed other people and spirits (1991:869).

<sup>47</sup> For a similar practice among lowland Kichwa, see Whitten's account of how Canelos Kichwa (Quichua in Spanish orthography) men lead home ceremonies (*wasi* or *huasi*) by walking in counterclockwise circles and playing musical instruments (drums with snares or transverse flutes) with other men in order to acquire thoughts, knowledge, and soul power. Women also participate in these events by serving corn beer (*aswa*, K.) (1976:165, 180-183).

scholars have largely ignored the more urban (what she refers to as *mestizo*) *sanjuanito* (2012:141). Wong attributes the lack of attention paid to urbanized *sanjuanitos* to its strong association with indigenous and folkloric contexts. Despite the broader recognition and discussions of *sanjuanitos* and related genres performed in Amerindian contexts, I believe that these song forms, whether in rural, indigenous or urban, *mestizo* and *criollo* contexts are still largely misunderstood.

The terms *sanjuán* and *sanjuanito* used to label what I argue are distinct musical genres have frequently been used interchangeably. Consequently, this has led to a general misunderstanding about the music and how Kichwa Otavalans differentiate between sounds, genres, and performance contexts. In Banning's article about the *sanjuanito*, he asserts his belief that *sanjuanes* and *sanjuanitos* are the same:

Las palabras sanjuán y sanjuanito, ambas usadas en relación a la música y danza, son dos denominaciones del mismo género. . . . La palabra sanjuanito es la denominación más frecuente . . . . Hay inclinación a usar la palabra sanjuán cuando se trata de la música en contexto ritual, fuera del contexto ritual se usa el término sanjuanito. (Banning 1991:196-197)

The words *sanjuán* and *sanjuanito*, both used in relation to the music and dance [of the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival], are two names for the same genre. . . . The term *sanjuanito* is the name used more frequently. . . . There is a tendency to use the word *sanjuán* when talking about music in a ritual context, [whereas] outside of a ritual context the term *sanjuanito* is used. (Banning 1991:196-197; my translation).

When Banning cursorily addresses *flauta* tunes, he states that, "during the festival [indigenous people] still play musical fragments that, in regard to the [song's] construction, coincide with that of the *sanjuanito*. This form is based on a sequence of two or three musical themes" (Banning 1991:198; my translation).<sup>48</sup> Finally, Banning responds to John Schechter's work adding that, "even though Schechter calls this genre '*sanjuán*,' both examples are identical. From this we are

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<sup>48</sup> "Durante la fiesta todavía suenan fragmentos musicales que, en cuanto a la construcción, coinciden con la del sanjuanito. Esta construcción está basada en la secuencia de dos o tres partes" (Banning 1991:198).

able to infer that '*sanjuán*' and '*sanjuanito*' reference the same [genre of music]" (Banning 1991:215; my translation).<sup>49</sup>

Ethnomusicologist John Schechter distinguishes between the *sanjuanito* and *sanjuán*, polarizing them with the adjectives *runa* (indigenous) and *mestizo* (a mix of indigenous and Spanish influences). Schechter primarily separates the two genres based on formal structure, writing that *mestizo sanjuanitos* (sometimes referred to as *sanjuanitos de blancos*, or white/European-descended *sanjuanitos*), "often have two phrases, each repeated once" and *runa sanjuanes* consist of "a single, repeated phrase occasionally varied or interrupted by a secondary motive" (Schechter 1992:183). Other authors, such as Mullo Sandoval and Wong, have used a similar racialized dichotomy, contrasting variations of the *sanjuanito* based on instrumentation (transverse flutes vs. a combination of string instruments, commercial and pan-Andean winds, electronic instruments, or woodwinds), and the incorporation or absence of Western-style harmonies (Banning 1992:133; Mullo Sandoval 2009:89-90; Wong 2007:75-76).<sup>50</sup>

Unfortunately, the use of *runa* and *mestizo* descriptors implies assumptions about purity, authenticity, and to an extent, racial, ethnic, and class ownership over these musical traditions. The quote by Cachiguango I cite at the beginning of this chapter informs us about how indigenous musicians perform string-based *sanjuanitos* for indigenous contexts, especially the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (also called San Juan in Spanish) festival.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, *sanjuanitos* are a major part of the repertoire of renowned indigenous pan-Andean-style ensembles, such as

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<sup>49</sup> "Aunque Schechter llama a este género '*sanjuán*,' ambos ejemplos son idénticos. De esto se puede deducir que con '*sanjuán*' y '*sanjuanito*' se quiere decir lo mismo" (Banning 1991:215).

<sup>50</sup> Wong and Delgado both write about the *sanjuanito* as a national music and the performance of this genre with woodwinds (e.g. saxophone) and electronic instruments (Wong 2007:203, 216-222; Wong 2012:142; Delgado 2011:29)

<sup>51</sup> The *sanjuanito*, as I define it, is heard in many non-ritual contexts and festivals that are not related to the summer solstice, such as wedding, baptism, and confirmation parties. See Schechter (1983, 1992) for detailed ethnographic accounts about harp *sanjuanes* in children's wakes. *Sanjuanitos* are also played by garbage trucks as they pass through town in more urban areas of Otavalo.

Charijayac, Karullacta, Ñanda Mañachi.<sup>52</sup> Although the *sanjuanito* has been adopted as a national music genre, it is just as popular—if not more popular—among Kichwa musicians and continues to be a necessary musical genre for indigenous contexts, both ritual and non-ritual. Labeling *sanjuanitos* played on string instruments as *mestizo* may seem to be a convenient way to address some degree of Western influence based on the instrumentation and loosely related harmonic structure. In her book, Wong admits *mestizo* is a slippery term (Wong 2012:141). I refrain from using these terms because I agree with Wong, and furthermore, I believe racialized categories like *mestizo* are laden with judgments about authenticity, and to some extent, exclude indigenous musicians from engaging with different forms of music, denying the fact that string instruments and Western-style harmonies have been a part of indigenous life across the Americas for over five hundred years.

At the same time I am critiquing how (ethno)musicologists have misunderstood Otavalan *flauta*, *sanjuán*, and *sanjuanito* music, I would like to acknowledge that it is understandable how scholars have struggled with analyzing these genres and their nomenclature. Firstly, musicians have not always been as open with academics as Hatun Kotama's members have been with me in discussing the details about *flauta* music. Parsons notes in 1945 that German-Ecuadorian photographer and businessman Bodo Wuth would ask musicians about songs during the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival but Kichwa musicians would not respond to any of his questions (110).<sup>53</sup> A second point of confusion is related to how the diminutive is used in Kichwa and

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<sup>52</sup> Wong refers to the *sanjuanito* genre played by Pan-Andean folkloric ensembles as the "folkloric *sanjuanito*" (2012:143).

<sup>53</sup> Although Bodo Wuth struggled to elicit information from flutists, it seems as if others were more welcomed into the tradition. Segundo Luis Moreno writes about Cotacachi *mestizo* musician José Páliz Albán (b. ca.1780–1890), a virtuosic and dedicated violinist throughout his long life who was known for playing *flauta* with indigenous musicians for festivals like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. He writes, "[José Páliz Albán] played the [transverse cane] flute very well; and in the Runakuna's common festivities – during the festivals of St. John, St. Peter and those of the Patron saint of September – when the

Spanish in the Imbabura region. Indigenous and non-indigenous Otavalans often add the suffix *-ku* to Kichwa words and *-ito* to Spanish words. The diminutive in both languages adds an element of affection (*cariño*, Sp.).<sup>54</sup> Due to this habit, someone who differentiates between the straight, driving pulse of a *sanjuán* and the anapesto beat of the *sanjuanito* may still call the *sanjuán* a *sanjuanito* when speaking in an affectionate tone.

Thirdly, after reading through the analyses and descriptions of *sanjuanitos* I have cited so far, it is evident that many (ethno)musicologists have relied on analyzing measurable and quantifiable musical characteristics, such as form, pitch collections, and melodic contour, which lend themselves more easily to tracing the musical origins and the sharing of cultural attributes between distinct populations (Browner 2009:xvi). Browner writes about how this has particularly been a problem with previous and even contemporary studies of Native American music:

The major analytic foci of most scholars of Native music were and are musical form, melodic contour, and overall melodic range, in large part because of the assumption that drum and rattle parts, being repetitive and seemingly similar from song to song, remain static through time. Melodic elements allow song-to-song, style-to-style, and genre-to-genre comparisons to be made (Browner 2009:xviii).

Like Browner, I have noticed a lack of attention paid to other musical aspects, such as phrasing, dynamics, and articulation, which Browner points out are not of primary concern because they tend to be thought of as similar from genre to genre or not illustrative of any particular cultural attributes. In response to her critique and as an attempt to fill in these gaps in scholarship about

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indigenous people entered dancing through the public square, and just as they tended to go out [to dance], José Páliz would play the *flauta* accompanied by the musical group. (Tocaba muy bien la flauta; y en las diversiones populares de los indios - en las fiestas de San Juan, San Pedro y las de la Patrona en setiembre - cuando los aborígenes entraban danzando a la plaza principal y así volvían a salir, José Páliz ejecutaba la flauta de carrizo acompañado de la banda de música" (1923:15; my translation).

<sup>54</sup> I have often heard Kichwa speakers emphasize the importance of speaking in a tender, caring way, showing affection and speaking from one's heart. Other syllables, such as the suffix *-lla* (translating roughly to "just" or "no más") and morpheme *-pa* (used in verb conjugations) add to the affection and politeness of one's speech. Synonymous with *-ku*, the suffix morpheme *-wa* is used in some communities, such as San Rafael, where Berta Ares Queija conducted research about the Corazas festival (1988).



Amerindian music, I have made sure to focus on some of these oft-ignored elements, adding texture and timbre as well as how all of these musical elements are gendered, to my discussion above.

A fourth reason I believe has led to scholars struggling with how to describe these musical genres is related to the *cada llakta* concept (see Chapter 4). In general, a standard form of this music and a standard vocabulary of talking about it within indigenous communities do not exist. Wong also comments on this issue in regard to the *sanjuanito* in her dissertation:

As with many indigenous musical expressions in Ecuador, it is problematic to make generalizations about the *sanjuanito* genre because there are multiple lyrical variations, instrumental ensembles, and performance contexts, even among communities located next to each other. (Wong 2007:218)

Regardless of these challenges, I believe it is important to establish a framework that addresses important differences between musical genres performed in Otavalan communities and during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. It is not my intention to impose a standard terminology for these genres; rather, I separate the *sanjuanito* genre into three distinct forms of music using common vocabulary from the Kotama village, to which I was introduced through conversations with Kichwa Otavalan musicians. It should be understood that other names may be popular in communities across the region, and these three genres likely adhere to unique aesthetics that depend on who is performing, on which instruments, and where. Based on my multi-sited fieldwork across the Otavalan valley, I do believe that concepts I discuss throughout this chapter, such as the gendering of sound, performance contexts, and accompanying dance movements, have a broader connection with Kichwa cosmivision and widespread relevance across communities. Additionally, I feel that it is time for (ethno)musicologists to be aware of the pitfalls and limitations inherent with relying too much on quantifiable analytical tools rooted in diffusionism.

In expanding our analytical toolkit, we will be better equipped to understand and recognize the complexity of this music, which has long been unwarrantedly dismissed as simplistic, underdeveloped, and rustic.

First, I believe it is important to observe the Kichwa gender frameworks put forth by Luz María De la Torre and Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango (see also Chapter 3), primarily how our cosmos, including music, is divided into complementary opposites (the *pariverso*, also called *yanantin* in literature about Andean cosmovision) and one's ability to experiment with expressing degrees of gender that are not limited to one's biological sex. In Figure 5.14, I apply Luz's analytical framework of how gender is expressed in the Kichwa language to musical genres all considered, at least at one point in time, to be only the *sanjuanito* (*sanjuanito*, *sanjuanes* played on harps, *sanjuanes* played on string and pan-Andean wind instruments, and *sanjuanes* played on the transverse cane flute).<sup>55</sup>

Second, we should consider how Otavalan musicians categorize the songs they perform. For example, flutists typically classify songs (*tunus*, K.) by the movement or dance performed along with the music. Cumbas Conde flutists Juan Saavedra and José Antonio Cumba Perugachi described songs with titles such as *purinkapak* (for walking), *chayashpa* (arriving at a home), *tushunkapak* (for dancing), or *wasipi tushuy* (dancing in a home) (Interview, September 22,

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<sup>55</sup> Even though I do not analyze harp *sanjuanes* in detail for this chapter, I feel it necessary to point out how harp *sanjuanes* could be considered a fourth genre that is *karilla* (masculine feminine), or more feminine than *sanjuanes* but more masculine than *sanjuanitos* (see Figure 5.14). First of all, harp music is generally performed for feminine music contexts, such as weddings or funerals. As demonstrated in Schechter's transcriptions, a typical harp *sanjuán* is binary in form and has a straight beat tapped out on the side of the harp by the *golpeador* (beater), which is similar to masculine *sanjuanes* from Kotama (2002:407-410). The syncopated rhythms of main melodies in harp *sanjuanes*, however, appear to be more akin to feminine *sanjuanito* melodies. Vocal sections are also strophic and the music is homophonic. Furthermore, the fact that the harp is a feminine string instrument that plays at a soft volume and with a darker, rounder timbre would also contribute to its feminine qualities. The back-and-forth, linear dance movements Schechter describes are additional evidence that harp *sanjuanes* lean to the feminine end of the gender spectrum (1992:156-158, 2002:414). See also Schechter (1993).

2012). In Kotama, musicians commonly use the terms *inti raymis*, *raymis*, *zapateados*, or *sanjuanés* as the categorical name for melodies that are part of the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* canon. These names may be used interchangeably, referencing both *flauta* songs as well as similar genres performed on string instruments, pan-Andean wind instruments (e.g. *kenas*, panpipes), harmonicas, and melodicas (what most scholars have called *mestizo*).<sup>56</sup> Since the beat stomped by dancers or played on percussion instruments is one aspect that, in many ways, dictates how people move, we should not overlook or omit these aspects from our transcriptions and analyses.

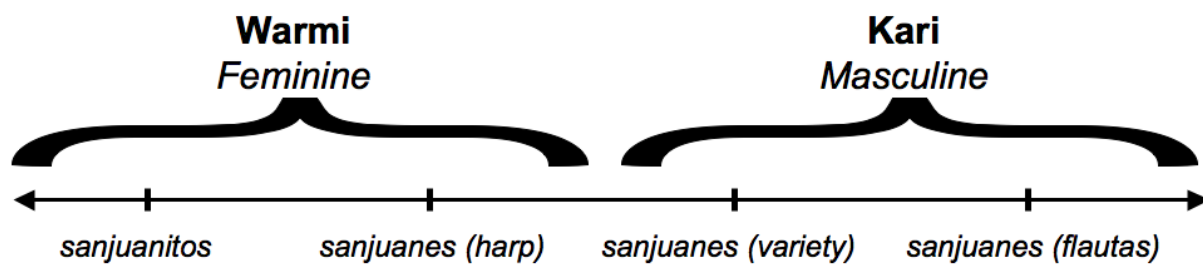


Figure 5.14: Genres Western musicologists have typically labeled as all part of the same genre – the *sanjuanito* – are separated by their gendered characteristics and placed on Luz María De la Torre's linguistic analysis of the Kichwa gender spectrum (see also Chapter 3).

Below I juxtapose "Allku Wayku" with transcriptions of two other melodies to help illustrate some of the musical similarities and differences between *flauta* tunes, *sanjuanés*, and *sanjuanitos*.<sup>57</sup> I begin with only presenting the main melody, much in a similar fashion to what most authors have included in their respective articles. As I move through the comparison, I will

<sup>56</sup> Schechter dates the use of the term *sanjuán* to as early as 1860 (Schechter 2002:403). Ethnomusicologists explain that the term has referred to a type of song performed during the festival of St. John [*Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*], the dance performed at the festival, and the dancer-musicians who participate in this festival (Coba 1985, 1994; Mullo Sandoval 2009; Schechter 2002).

<sup>57</sup> It is beyond the scope of this chapter and dissertation to compare these genres to the Peruvian *wayno* (*huayño*), in part due to the wide variety of *wayno* forms across the Andes. A future comparison that analyzes a wider variety of musical elements, and not just form, melodic contour, or their role in *Inti Raymi* festivals, could be made to evaluate to what extent the *sanjuanito* is similar to or different from the *wayno*.

progressively add transcriptions of other voices and sonic elements to the scores in order to expand the focus from quantifiable aspects such as form, pitch material, and melodic contour, to embrace other musical elements that have been overlooked, yet were identified by Otavala musicians as defining characteristics. See Figure 5.15 for a chart summarizing the general similarities and differences across the three genres.

<b>Musical Elements</b>	<b><i>Warmi Sanjuanito</i> (strings+winds)</b>	<b><i>Karilla Sanjuán</i> (harp)</b>	<b><i>Warmilla Sanjuán</i> (strings+winds)</b>	<b><i>Kari Sanjuán (flauta)</i></b>
Tempo	Slower	Slower	Fast	Faster, made audible from footsteps
Steady beat/Rhythm	Anapesto, syncopated	Straight	Straight, driving	Straight, driving
Vocal Range	Chest voice	Chest voice	Chest/throat voice	Tense, high, head voice
Timbre	Softer, rounder, darker	Softer, rounder, darker	Bright	Strident, sharper, Brighter
Instrumentation	Strings, pan-Andean winds	Harp and <i>golpeador</i> (beater), violin	Strings, pan-Andean winds	Flutes, winds
Vocal Style	Strophic	Strophic	Strophic	Chanting
Lyrics	Spanish/Kichwa	Spanish/Kichwa	Spanish/Kichwa	Kichwa
Texture	Homophonic	Homophonic	Homophonic or polyphonic (especially when performed during <i>HP-IR</i> with other instruments)	Polyphonic
Form	Binary, short, independent or chained	Binary, chained	Binary, short, chained	Binary, very short, chained
Dance	Partner, linear, occasionally spiral/circle	Linear dancing	Spiral/circle	Spiral/circle
Primary Context	Women's Day of <i>HP-IR</i> , weddings, funerals	Children's funerals	Most days of <i>HP-IR</i>	Most days of <i>HP-IR</i>

Figure 5.15: A comparison between gender qualities and musical elements of *sanjuanitos* and three different types of *sanjuanes*.

All three songs transcribed in Figure 5.16 could easily be heard during the weeklong festivities of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. In the case that the listener or ethnographer were not aware of how days throughout the festival are gendered, and therefore how musical styles

performed during each day may shift, s/he may mistakenly assume that they all fall under the same genre and are performed for the same reason during the same context. Despite the fact that these melodies are among some of the less complex of what I have heard, none of them are in a pentatonic mode. Whereas sections of the main melodies may lead one to assume the song is pentatonic, it becomes clear that a broader palette of tones is used when taking the contrasting themes into consideration. Additionally, the melodic contours of the songs vary; some descend, such as the main melody or verse of "Los Indios Bailan Así," whereas the primary melody of "Allku Wayku" and "El Celular" undulate. Although I am not able to present a more exhaustive comparison of numerous songs from these genres, I would like to emphasize that these three melodies are not exceptional in the respect of pitch material or melodic contour. They demonstrate that *flauta*, *sanjuán*, and *sanjuanito* songs are not solely pentatonic, descending melodies. Instead, there is a greater variety in pitch material and melodic contours than previous analyses have claimed, and which Pontón's transcriptions also suggest (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:65-94). This fact is further supported when taking the second voices or complementary melodies into consideration, as I do with "Allku Wayku" in Figure 5.17.

**"Allku Wayku" ("Dog Ravine")**  
*sanjuán (flauta)*

**A**

**B**

Musical notation for the first piece, "Allku Wayku". It consists of two staves, A and B, in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff A contains a melodic line with various intervals and rests, ending with a double bar line. Staff B contains a similar melodic line, also ending with a double bar line.

**"Los Indios Bailan Así" ("The Runakuna Dance Like This")**  
*sanjuán (strings+winds)*

**A**

**B**

Musical notation for the second piece, "Los Indios Bailan Así". It consists of two staves, A and B, in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff A contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, ending with a double bar line. Staff B contains a similar melodic line, also ending with a double bar line.

**"El Celular" ("The Cell Phone")**  
*sanjuanito*

**A (esquina)**

**B**

**(B)**

Musical notation for the third piece, "El Celular". It consists of three staves, A, B, and (B), in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff A contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, ending with a double bar line. Staff B contains a similar melodic line, also ending with a double bar line. Staff (B) contains a similar melodic line, also ending with a double bar line.

Figure 5.16: Main melodies from a *flauta sanjuán* ("Allku Wayku"), a string and pan-Andean winds *sanjuán* ("Los Indios Bailan Así"), and a *sanjuanito* ("El Celular").

**"Allku Wayku" ("Dog Ravine")**  
*sanjuán (flauta)*

esquina 1



esquina 2

Figure 5.17: Complementary melodic lines from a *flauta sanjuán* ("Allku Wayku").

Musical form is one of the elements that these three genres share the most. All of these follow a general binary form that has a primary theme alternated with a contrasting theme. The introductions to *flauta* songs, *sanjuanés*, and *sanjuanitos* tend to be drawn from a stock repertoire of phrases and may be used with multiple songs based on the musicians' preference.<sup>58</sup> In the event an introduction continues to be revisited throughout the song as a contrasting theme, I label it as A. If the introduction is only heard once at the beginning, I do not label it as the A theme. For all three genres, it is typical for one musician to lead by starting the introduction while the other musicians join in within a few notes or beats. Songs typically end when the next group of musicians interrupts; otherwise, as is the case with many *sanjuanitos* when they are performed individually and not as part of a suite, musicians may slow down and hold out the tonic.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> For audio examples of the *kallariy* played by various *flauta* sizes, listen to tracks "Llaz Tuaz," "Kotama Ñan," "Kotama Wayra," "Yaku Taki," "Así Kotama," "Ñawi Mayllay," and "Yaku Chaka" (Hatun Kotama 2013). Banning also makes this observation (1992:147-148).

<sup>59</sup> In Kotama, musicians typically end *flauta* and *sanjuán* songs by petering out after being interrupted. In the event another musical group does not interrupt the musicians, those playing may diminuendo to end the song, or terminate the song following the completion of a phrase. For the latter, musicians will usually

In "Allku Wayku," the second theme is only distinguished from the first based on the approach to the first note of the phrase, and each phrase is generally repeated three times.<sup>60</sup> The secondary theme in "Los Indios Bailan Así" is a starker contrast. Based on my experience performing *sanjuanes*, the B theme, often called *la alta* (the high part) due to the melody reaching into a higher register, exists in several stock variations that are interchangeable with each other, but generally similar to what is transcribed in Figure 5.16. Short phrases in *sanjuanes* played on string, percussion, and pan-Andean wind instruments are often repeated four times each, or eight times if the melody is very short. Phrases in *sanjuanitos* tend to be longer and repeated in pairs of twos. The contrasting theme, and often what is used as the introduction, is called either *estribillo* or *esquina*.<sup>61</sup> In "El Celular," I mark the *esquina* as A because it repeats throughout the song, and the main melody, which is often played as an instrumental and sung for verses, as B.

If only the larger formal sections are mapped out, as I present in Figure 5.18, it is understandable how many would assume that all of these song forms share the same binary form. When these larger sections are broken down to examine the performance practices and use of repetitions, however, one may begin to see how merely labeling these genres as binary is

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end with the B or secondary, contrasting theme. *Sanjuanitos*, on the other hand, are not strung together as suites as often and may end following the fourth or last repetition of the contrasting theme by sustaining the tonic. They may also finish with an ascending fourth melodic interval (dominant to the tonic, "sol-do"). Flutists Juan Saavedra and José Antonio Cumba Perugachi I recorded in Cumbas Conde (Cotacachi), however, ended *flauta* songs by trilling between two notes at the interval of approximately a whole step, which Patricio admitted he had never heard before and amused him.

<sup>60</sup> Some *flauta* songs, such as "Ali Kotama" (track 4) have much more distinct contrasting themes (Hatun Kotama 2013). As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the number of repetitions is flexible based on the lead musician.

<sup>61</sup> When learning *sanjuanitos*, I heard musicians refer to the contrasting theme as either *estribillo* or *esquina*. Although I was unable to elicit a direct explanation about whether there is a difference between these two terms, I was given a clue when my *compadre* Lauro's brother-in-law, Alfredo, corrected how I was playing "El Celular." Initially, Lauro and I had practiced the song with a typical type of *estribillo*, featuring a bouncy, ascending leap of a fourth and triadic arpeggiation (Schechter 2002). Later, Alfredo taught me what he called the *esquina*, which features a step-wise ascent from the tonic to the dominant, as seen in my transcriptions of "El Celular" in this chapter.



inadequate for understanding the full form of these types of songs. Despite exhibiting similar structures of contrasting melodic phrases, these genres still differ from each other in respect to their form, as I show in Figure 5.19. I make one important distinction by considering the section marked (B) of "El Celular" (*sanjuanito*) as the C theme. Even though the melodic material is almost identical, musicians consistently referred to this section as *la alta*, or the high part, when the melody explores, even if ever-so briefly, a higher register.<sup>62</sup> The lyrical content of the verses for the B theme and *la alta* are also different from each other. Prime markings in "Los Indios Bailan Así" and "El Celular" are added to indicate when the main melody is played as an instrumental from when lyrics are sung strophically along to the melody.



Figure 5.18: Comparison of basic binary structure of one *flauta* song, one *sanjuán* played by a combination of wind, string, and percussion instruments, and one *sanjuanito*, also played by winds, strings, and percussion.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Banning (1991, 1992) refers to the B theme as the *bajo* or lower part. Other *sanjuanitos*, such as many featured on Runakuna's album *Shamuni*, have an extra instrumental theme that contrasts with both the main melody and *la alta* (played as an instrumental and with vocals) and the *estribillo*. For example, see to tracks "Shamuni," "Pañuelo Blanco," and "Mushuc Taqui" (1996). If the song has an expanded form, like those on Runakuna's *Shamuni* album, *la alta* could be considered theme D.

<sup>63</sup> In my field recording of "Los Indios Bailan Así," the song was played at a rehearsal and therefore longer than a typical *sanjuán*, which lasts approximately 1-2 minutes.

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**"Allku Wayku"***Sanjuán (flauta)*

1:29

(Intro) AAA BBBB AAA BBB AAAA BBB AA (song interrupts)

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**"Los Indios Bailan Así"***Sanjuán (variety)*

4:32

(Intro) AAAA BBBB AAAA BBBB A'A' A"A" BBBB AAAA BBBB  
la alta verse1 verse2A'A' A"A" BBBB AAAA BBBB AAAA BBBB AA (song fades)  
verse1 verse2

---

**"El Celular"***Sanjuanito*

5:19

AA BB CC AA BB CC AA B'B' C'C' AA BB CC  
esquina/intro la alta verse1 verse2AA BB CC AA B"B" C"C" AA BB CC AA BB CC AA  
verse3 verse4

---

Figure 5.19: Expanded form, including repetitions of themes, of one *flauta*, one *sanjuán* played by a combination of wind, string, and percussion instruments, and one *sanjuanito* song, also played by winds, strings, and percussion.

By juxtaposing the transcriptions I include in this section, it becomes easier to pinpoint some of the misunderstandings or biases that scholars have held about what constitutes a musical sound or instrument. At the same time, we may be reminded of Tara Browner's critique of how transcriptions of Native American music tend to be void of expressive markings or notations that allow someone reading it to have a more intimate understanding of the music (2009:xviii). In my full transcription of the *flauta* tune "Allku Wayku," I aim to represent the polyphonic texture of this music more accurately, including sounds that Kichwa musicians like members of Hatun Kotama have indicated are heard as part of the musical fabric (see Figure 5.20 and Appendix 2).

One crucial element that most transcriptions of Kichwa Otavalan music have unfortunately excluded is the sound of dancing and percussion instruments. As I wrote above, tempo and the song's main beat are important gendered components of this music. The type of

beat and the speed at which it is played have direct influence over how people move to the music.<sup>64</sup> Musicians, therefore, play specific songs during precise times, days, and in certain places as a means to influence how people move through time and space. Just as I have already discussed, music that is more masculine, such as *flauta sanjuanes* and *sanjuanes* played by winds, strings, and percussion, has a straight, driving steady beat, as opposed to the anapesto rhythms and slightly slower tempi of feminine *sanjuanitos*. It is also worth mentioning that the masculine sound of dance steps is largely absent from *sanjuanito* recordings by Otavalan string bands.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> To my knowledge, the beat patterns for *sanjuanes* and *sanjuanitos* are almost exclusively in duple meter, but *flauta* music tends to be more flexible, having additive meters or a heterometric feel since songs sometimes feature two unequal length *esquinas* (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64-94; Hill 2006:4; Mullo Sandoval 2009:130). Regardless, the main beats of *flauta* music are divided in a binary form and are marked by alternating feet in the dance.

<sup>65</sup> The masculine sounds of footsteps and whistling are not performed in feminine music (*taki sami*, K.) or wedding songs (*sawari taki*, K.) (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:64-65). For audio examples, see tracks "Ñawi Mayllay" (track 34) and "Limandero" (track 35) (Hatun Kotama 2013).

# Allku Wayku (Dog Ravine)

Hatun Kotama / Trans. Jessie M. Vallejo

♩ = 170  
*ad lib.*

Flauta 1  
Flauta 2  
Flauta 3  
Feet  
Voice 1

4  
Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vc1  
Vc2  
CS.

Ha la ku Ha la ku  
Ha la ku

7  
Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vc1  
Vc2  
CS.

Ko ta ma Ti o Ko ta ma Ti o Sha mu kun ma riy  
Ha la ku Ko ta ma Ti o Ko ta ma Ti o

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10

Fl.1

Fl.2

Fl.3

Feet

Vcl.1

Vcl.2

Wh.

CS.

Sha mu kun ma riy All ku Way ku ta All ku Way ku ta

Sha mu kun ma riy Sha mu kun ma riy All ku Way ku ta

13

Fl.1

Fl.2

Fl.3

Feet

Vcl.1

Vcl.2

Wh.

CS.

Mi ku sha mi Mi ku sha mi All ku Way ku pi

All ku Way ku ta Mi ku sha mi Mi ku sha mi

16

Fl.1

Fl.2

Fl.3

Feet

Vcl.1

Vcl.2

Wh.

CS.

All ku Way ku pi Chu ray ca ra jo Chu ray ca ra jo

All ku Way ku pi All ku Way ku pi Chu ray ca ra jo

Figure 5.20: Transcription of *flauta* song "Allku Wayku" with all accompanying voices. For full score, see Appendix 2.

In the quote by Cachiguango at the opening of this chapter, he writes about how Western-style harmony used in *sanjuanitos*, and also in *sanjuanes*, is a feminine sound. Here, I would like to add that while a polyphonic texture is deemed masculine, a homophonic texture is heard as feminine. For example, the guitars and *bombo* drums accompanying multiple melodic instruments (e.g. violins, *kenas*, or sung vocals), which play melodies and harmonies that move more or less in rhythmic unison, adds to the femininity of *sanjuanitos* and even *sanjuanes*.

The vocalizations that are performed with *flauta*, *sanjuán*, and *sanjuanito* music vary according to gender associations. In *sanjuanitos* and *sanjuanes*, the verses are strophic and the vocal line follows the main melody as the vocalist sings lyrics in Kichwa or Spanish. Whistling and *alegrana* chanting are masculine vocals that are performed with *flauta* music.<sup>66</sup> Everyday speech and chatting is present in almost all of the recordings I have heard made by Otavalan musicians, which hints to us that the sounds of the crowds and social settings surrounding these musical genres is an important part of the texture and aesthetic of all three types of music.

## Summary

In most literature about Otavalan music, the terms *sanjuanes* and *sanjuanitos* have been used indiscriminately to describe indigenous Otavalan music. Consequently, there has been some confusion about what distinguishes several genres of Otavalan music from each other. In this chapter, I have applied Luz María De la Torre's model of a gender spectrum, as expressed in the Kichwa language, to sound and Kichwa music, which Cachiguango asserts is gendered but does not provide a full analysis of how this is so in his book *Yaku-Mama* (2010). For my analysis, I

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<sup>66</sup> Some words are borrowed from Spanish, like *carajo* (jerk or prick), but otherwise, *alegrana* chanting is almost exclusively performed in the Kichwa language.

incorporate lessons learned during fieldwork and participant observation about masculine and feminine sounds with De la Torre's gender spectrum.

Furthmore, my approach to transcribing *flauta* music aims to create a more intricate description of *flauta* music while at the same time echoing Tara Browner's and Anthony Seeger's concerns about recording and transcribing issues that ethnomusicologists have struggled with in the past when analyzing Amerindian music. I argue that ethnomusicologists must pay special attention to less measurable musical elements, such as texture and timbre, in order to achieve a broader understanding about the music we study. Finally, this chapter explores how the balancing of complementary gendered sounds in *flauta* music and related genres are generative and give life to life in Kichwa Otavalan society.

## Chapter 6

### Transmission, Sustainability, and Revitalization of the *Flauta* Tradition

This chapter focuses on the sustainability of the *flauta* tradition and its transmission contexts. In it, I will introduce how *flauta* music was traditionally passed on from one generation to the next prior to Hatun Kotama's founding in 2008. Next, I outline challenges, such as social oppression, religious conversion, the distribution of land among Ecuador's population, labor, economically motivated emigration, and the adoption of foreign instruments and musical elements that Kichwa Otavalans have faced in maintaining cultural practices like transverse flute playing. Within this discussion, significant events from the turn of the twenty-first century that served as critical moments and stimuli for Hatun Kotama's founding are highlighted. To close the chapter, I present a case study of Hatun Kotama in which I introduce the cultural organization in more detail and analyze their strategies for revitalizing *flauta* music and Kichwa culture.

#### *Flauta* Transmission Contexts

Throughout my stay in Ecuador, my host family explained to me that *flauta* playing was ubiquitous in previous generations.<sup>1</sup> To illustrate the popularity of *flauta* music, Patricio compared how men would walk around playing their flutes as they traveled to and from their homes, jobs, or taking livestock out to pasture to how people today constantly walk the streets listening to their iPods and mp3 devices (Personal communication, 2012). I was told that these private moments were times when men could perfect their technique and polish their repertoire as they occupied themselves while walking.<sup>2</sup> Taking animals to pasture, usually between the

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<sup>1</sup> This is also evident from Segundo Luis Moreno's work (1996 [1930]:170-171).

<sup>2</sup> Music is a means for actualizing one's breath, giving it an audible form. One might consider how music serves as a type of protection from malicious spirits when men play it as they travel during the evening (e.g. on their commute home from work or during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*). I also observed that smoke



hours of 12pm and 5pm, was an especially popular time for a young man to teach himself the instrument. In fact, Patricio recalled that if a boy were to express interest in playing *flauta*, stating, adults would advise his parents that, "well then, you better give him a poor little sheep!" (Personal communication, September 30, 2012).<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally a young man was fortunate enough to have a male relative teach him how to play *flauta* and later perform with him during festivals, but this was not always the case. In an interview, Kotama flute maker Mariano Quinchuquí recalls the sadness and frustration he felt when growing up due to his father refusing to teach him to play flute as a child. Later as an adult, he learned his first two songs from his brothers (Interview, August 8, 2012). When a young man lacked family members or friends who were willing and able to teach him *flauta*, it was up to him as the student to take the initiative to learn indirectly from other flutists or independently from them. As Patricio phrased it to me, "the young flutist had to discover his inner soul, his path for arriving to be a [flute] master" (Personal communication, October 7, 2012; my translation).<sup>4</sup>

Respected flutists were known for gathering during evenings in small, flat clearings (*patakuna*, K.) in specific sections of the village. In Kotama, there are four *patakuna* that are located along a central line through the community, bisecting it into northern and southern halves, as seen in Figure 6.1. When meeting in these spaces, flutists would circulate among each

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is another method for making breath and air more perceivable, which in return provides a type of protection, which Schechter has mentioned as well (1992:143-144). When I went on some hikes with my *compadres* and their children, my *compadre* Lauro, who is not a smoker, would light a cigarette and smoke it as we passed through dense, dark areas of forest in the daytime or during dusk. We were ordered to stay close to him and the smoke, which would protect us from *mal aire* (a bad wind). Additionally, when I was sent to a local shaman for a mysterious allergic reaction, the *yachak* blew smoke over me as one of his curing techniques. Finally, on San Pedro or the Woman's Day of *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (June 29), families burn old items from their homes once the sun has begun to set as a means to send spirits and extraordinary beings back to their own realms.

<sup>3</sup> As an example, Patricio used the phrases "flautata yachakuchun munani (I would like to learn flute)," and "shuk wakcha llamakuta rantishpa kupaylla (well then, you better give him a poor little sheep!)" (Personal communication, September 30, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> "El flautero joven tuvo que buscar su 'ser interior,' su camino para llegar a ser maestro" (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, October 7, 2012)

other, sharing what they knew with those who were accepted as part of a neighborhood contingent of musicians. Moments such as festivals, planting, harvesting, collaborative community projects (*minkakuna*, K.), and places of employment, such as *haciendas*, were other spaces where flutists might share their knowledge with trusted peers.

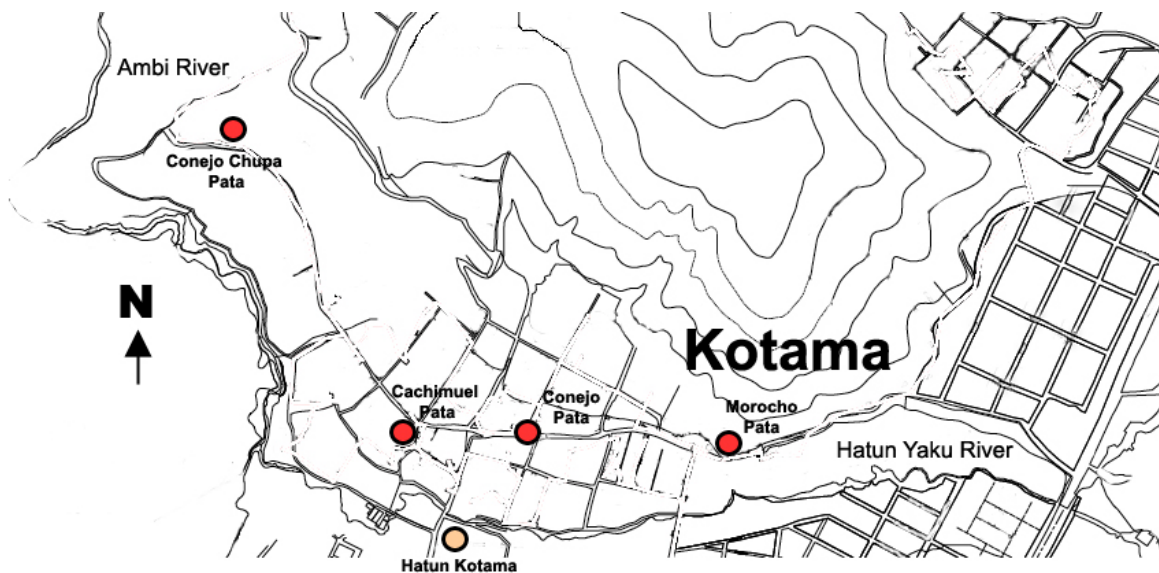


Figure 6.1: Small clearings (*patakuna*, K.) where flutists used to gather in Kotama, and where Hatun Kotama's classes are held in relation to the *patakuna*.

According to Patricio, flutists were very secretive and protective over their knowledge.<sup>5</sup> They were not open to taking on apprentices or patiently instructing less-experienced players on how to play a song. As I discussed in Chapter 3, it was usually difficult to be accepted as a competent flutist within the community because established flutists were notorious for chastising and publicly shaming flutists who did not perform up to their standards. This meant that when respected flutists would gather at a *pata* or for a special event, young flutists would remain in the shadows where they could listen or observe from a distance without risking humiliation or rejection (Personal communication, October 7, 2012). Patricio and I found in the interview

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion about how flute makers have often been secretive about the whereabouts of high quality cane and other sources of materials for making the instruments.

process that a flutist would list someone as his teacher, but when we were able to follow up with the identified teacher and ask if he had taught the man who claimed to be his student, the teacher almost always denied having taught the individual. This mentor-mentee relationship is akin to if I were to claim that Anne-Sophie Mutter, a world-renowned solo violinist, was my teacher because I had studied her recordings and live performances carefully even though I had not worked with her personally.

In a similar distanced learning fashion, flutists from one community may borrow or adopt a song they have heard played by musicians from other villages. Most often, flutists would be introduced to songs from other communities during the *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* festival or through working at *haciendas*. For example, track 2 on Hatun Kotama's second album, *¡Así Kotama!: The Flutes of Otavalo, Ecuador*, "Arias Uku," is a *kucha* melody that Don Julio Tabango recalls hearing during his childhood when accompanying an older relative to Arias Uku, a community that lies near Mt. Imbabura (2013). Patricio and I also came across a couple of *flauta* songs played by Juan Antonio Cumba Perugachi and Juan Saavedra Perugachi in the Cotacachi area that sounded very similar to songs played in Kotama. My host brothers suggested to me that one might consider that *flauta* tunes exist in families of songs, which have spun off from each other due to players' individual stylistic interpretations, memory mistakes, or after being borrowed across communities (Personal communication, May 2, 2012).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Juan Mullo Sandoval spoke about his suspicions that *flauta* songs are shared, adopted, or borrowed between communities during one of our meetings in Quito (Personal communication, April 18, 2012). This type of sharing is something that has been documented in other regions of South America, such as in the Amazon with the Kisêdjê (Seeger 2004 [1987]:58). Citing David Kyle's work, Michelle Wibbelsman comments on a general openness among Otavalans to borrow from other cultures and communities (2009:34).



Figure 6.2: The food offering (*mediano*, Sp.) made to me by my *compadres* Lauro and Marina when we confirmed I would be the godmother for their daughter Jessie Marina (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

In the event that parents hoped to arrange an apprenticeship for their son with an accomplished flute player, a ritualistic food offering called the *mediano* could be made. *Medianos* are formal offerings of food that may be exchanged on a number of significant occasions. Often, *medianos* are exchanged between families for weddings, baptisms, or for a number of other significant events. Depending on one's financial resources, a *mediano* may be anything from one basket of food and a small quantity of drinks to dozens of baskets of food and many large beverage containers. Typical items that are included in a *mediano* are potatoes, roasted guinea pig, boiled chicken, bread rolls (*rosca*s, Sp.), bananas and other assorted fruits, fresh milk, cola soft drinks, beer, liquor, or corn beer. An example of a modest *mediano*, which I

received from my *compadres* Lauro and Marina when we confirmed I would be the godmother for their fourth child, Jessie Marina, is pictured in Figure 6.2.<sup>7</sup>

Over breakfast one morning, my host father Mariano Maldonado recounted to Patricio and me that his father Juan Maldonado Avinchu presented Rafael Maldonado, Mariano's uncle, with a *mediano* in order to request lessons for Felix Maldonado, Mariano's older brother. Following this offering, Rafael – perhaps better known as Totolo and still remembered as a legendary flute player from Kotama – would work with Felix each weekend.<sup>8</sup> Mariano's earliest flute lessons occurred as he observed, from a distance, his uncle mentor his brother. Later, Totolo took Mariano under his wing, and when Mariano was approximately fifteen years old, Totolo invited him to play *flauta* with his music group during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (Personal communication, June 30, 2012).

Flutists also spoke of visiting springs (*pukyukuna*, K.) to request guidance in learning music from extraordinary beings referred to as *sirinus*, *serenos* (water sprites or mermaid-like spirits, K. and Sp.), or *dueños* (owners, caretakers) who reside in these small bodies of water.<sup>9</sup> Kotama master flutist Segundo Quinchuquí explained in his interview that he would often visit springs known for their helpful and friendly *dueños* and doze off near them after work.

According to Segundo, if one listens to the gurgling water carefully, he is able to hear faint

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<sup>7</sup> Sometimes I heard *mediano* used in reference to just the basket of peeled potatoes boiled in chicken broth and meat (chicken or guinea pig). A slightly larger *mediano*, including all of the gifted food and drink, might consist of as many as five baskets of fruit (pineapple, apples, bananas, oranges, grapes, pepinos, oranges), two baskets of potatoes with a full boiled chicken and five roasted guinea pigs, eighteen liters of soda, two cases of beer, a large box of bread, a large box of bananas, two small half-gallon cartons of orange juice, and one box of assorted chocolates.

<sup>8</sup> Along with Rafael "Totolo" Maldonado, some other legendary flute players from Kotama are Pedro Visarrea, Carlos "Sargento" Arrellano, and Pedro "Upa Haku" Zambrano. In Kotama, Totolo, who was from Hawa Kotama (Upper Kotama neighborhood) and Pedro Visarrea (from Ura Huchu, or the westerly neighborhood in Kotama) are credited for having passed on the majority of tunes still performed in the village. Totolo and Sargento often met to practice together at *Morocho Pata*, the meeting place for most flutists in Hawa Kotama, and performed with each other during festivals.

<sup>9</sup> Flutists spoke about how these extraordinary beings each had a distinct form, such as a woman from lowland indigenous groups, a bear, or a snake.

music, especially string music, in the background. He also commented about how the water sprites may teach someone songs through his dreams or when someone is in a half-sleep state (Interview, September 3, 2012).<sup>10</sup> Musicians like Totolo have also been known to leave their instruments (e.g. *flautas*, guitars, violins) by a *pukyú* over night to have them tuned and to help absorb powers necessary for playing well (Personal communication, September 9, 2012).

To many flutists, especially in past generations, learning to master one's instrument depended on a ceremonial type of initiation in which a man needed to be accepted by a water sprite. Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango cites his father, Don José Antonio Cachiguango, in describing the central role of the *mediano* in this endeavor:

Flauta-ta toca-nata yachakunkapak munashpaka sereno sami tiyak pukyumanmi rina nin, chaymanka imata yachakunata munashpapash shuk mediano tazawan rina chaypi karashpa, ashataka mikushpa sereno samita takinata yachachiway ninkapak. Shinami guitarra-ta shuk takinakunatapash yachakun. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63)

When one would like to learn to play *flauta*, it is said that he must go to a spring where a [female] water sprite lives. In addition to bringing with him whatever [musical instrument] he would like to learn, [he must also bring with him] a *mediano* basket as a gift. By [sharing and] eating a small portion [of the *mediano*], he requests that the water sprite teaches him how to play music. One may also learn to play the guitar and other instruments in this manner. (Cachiguango and Pontón 2010:63; my translation)

This relationship between musician and an animated landscape, specifically with sirens or water beings, has been widely observed across the Andes throughout documented history.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> When explaining how one could learn songs from water sprites, Segundo Quinchuquí stated that "muskuypi willan," or in English, "they share [songs] in dreams" (Interview, September 3, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> See Guaman Poma de Ayala (1987 [ca.1615]:315), Stobart (1996b:481; 2002b:100-101; 2006b), Turino (1983a), and Wissler (2009:43-45). Wissler also connects this relationship with the land to R.T. Zuidema's (1982:432) and Tom Cummins' (2002:41-42) research about the maintenance of *wakakuna* (*huacas*, Sp.), natural shrines that were located along *ceque* lines radiating from Cusco, the capital of the Inca Empire (Wissler 2009:43).

## Challenges and Threats to the Sustainability of *Flauta* Music

By the late twentieth century, transverse flute playing in northern Ecuador had drastically declined. Ecuadorian ethnomusicologist Juan Mullo Sandoval writes that by the 2000s, "music tied to the indigenous calendar festivals . . . is being lost more and more each day . . . the evidence of this can be seen in the lack of performance of . . . transverse flutes . . . which are no longer practiced by the younger generation" (2007:71; author's translation).<sup>12</sup> As I found out during my fieldwork, there was a fairly sudden and alarming decline in the number of transverse flute players that was highly concerning to musicians I befriended in Kotama.

In my discussions with flutists, they collectively identified four main issues that they believe have contributed the most to a shift in the sustainability of *flauta* music: (1) A preference for other musical instruments and styles, especially among Otavalan youth; (2) religious conversion and social oppression; (3) changes in the labor force; and (4) institutionalized racism and the lack of access to healthcare. If this tradition had remained relatively intact throughout the last five hundred years since early colonial encounters, and sources from the early 1900s reported that this tradition was still widespread, I wondered then, what was exceptional about the late 1900s that caused such a severe decline? Kichwa Otavalans in northern Ecuador have engaged with all of these issues for centuries, but based on my field research, I believe that socio-economic changes during the 1960s and into the turn of the century set up a perfect storm of situations that contributed to seriously interrupting the transmission and performance contexts of this musical tradition.

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<sup>12</sup> "Aquella música ligada a los calendarios festivos indígenas . . . cada día va perdiendo continuidad . . . esto se constata por ejemplo en el poco uso de los instrumentos musicales propios . . . flautas travesas . . . los cuales ya no son practicados por los jóvenes" (Mullo Sandoval 2007:71).

In general, Ecuadorian land reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s ended the feudalistic *huasipungo* system.<sup>13</sup> This shift set the stage for several notable socio-economic changes to come over the next forty years. One major consequence of the land reform movements was that the Catholic Church was stripped of much of its land (i.e. power), thereby leading to a decrease in the Catholic Church's influence over indigenous peoples' lives. Following Catholicism's decrease in power, a space was created for evangelical and Protestant religions, which are even less tolerant of religious hybridity and alcohol consumption, to flourish.<sup>14</sup> Religious conversion was often cited as a primary reason that some villages abandoned playing *flauta* and participating in festivals like *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* (José Manuel Perugachi Perugachi, Interview, September 28, 2012).<sup>15</sup>

When spreading the gospel to new communities, Christian missionaries have often discouraged or prohibited converts from continuing to practice non-Christian celebrations and associated musical styles. In the place of local cultural expressions, religious leaders have

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<sup>13</sup> The *huasipungo* system was a colonial labor system that required laborers to exchange work shifts for the usufruct rights to a small plot of land (Kyle 2000:230). European descended whites and the church governed these lands and indigenous peoples were employed as peons and indentured slaves. Toward the end of his dissertation, Sergio Huarcaya gives a personalized account of how indigenous activism was employed to gain access to lands following land reform movements. Specifically, he retells the story of Kotama resident and Hatun Kotama *kachu* (cow horn) player José Clelio Cachimuel's fight for land rights (2011:239-243). David Kyle mentions that land reform movements were made possible by earlier developments extending as far back as the nineteenth century when the export sector began to lead Ecuador's economy (2000:23).

<sup>14</sup> The Catholic Church has generally been more tolerant of indigenous traditions throughout the Americas because they have relied on mapping Catholic practices on to indigenous rituals as a means for converting people to Catholicism. In his book, *Remembering the Hacienda: Religion, Authority, and Social Change in Highland Ecuador*, Barry J. Lyons uses ethnographic and historical approaches to explore the impacts and lasting legacies of the *huasipungo* system, land reform movements, power relations, and religious movements in Ecuador (2006). For historical analyses of the power dynamics between hacienda owners and peasants, see Guerrero (1991a, 1991b). Even though many traditional rituals have been able to survive under the guise of Catholic practices, the Catholic Church still subjected indigenous people to intense persecution and evangelization (Wibbelsman 2009:3-4).

<sup>15</sup> See Butler (2006) for an account of how villagers in Huaycopungo converted to evangelical religions following an earthquake in 1987, which was believed to be a divine punishment from God in response to villagers' excessive drinking.



imposed Western harmonic styles and musical instruments, such as guitars, violins, and harps. Today, many of the evangelical churches in Otavalo still strictly prohibit their parishioners from engaging in *runa* or indigenous celebrations. Several musicians Patricio and I spoke with in interviews were once renowned flutists in their respective communities, but after joining a church, had abandoned playing flute. Some of these interviewees were excited to reminisce about playing the instrument and participating in *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi*. One gentleman became very emotional in his interview; when talking about the *flauta* and being asked to recall tunes and play them for us, he was reminded of his father and grandfather who have since passed away.

Even though Christian leaders have often forced converts to abandon traditional practices, it is important to note that there are many instances when indigenous peoples have adopted new practices and material culture of their own volition. Kichwa Otavalans, for example, have long participated in forms of globalization and glocalization, adopting customs from neighboring Amerindian and Euro-American societies. Their history of engagement with other societies is reflected in the choice of instruments used for performing ritual music, such as cattle horns in place of conch shells, harps and violins in children's funeral wakes, and harmonicas, *kenas*, and *charangos* in more pan-Andean style groups.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of the degree of choice, however, the result has frequently been that more traditional instruments and musical styles, like the *flauta*, have been cast aside in favor of newly adopted musical idioms.<sup>17</sup>

At the same time that religious influences began to drastically change, the labor and debt peonage system was dismantled. This time period also saw an increase in access to educational

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<sup>16</sup> Adopting new instruments does not necessarily indicate that the significance, context, or application of the music has changed. Cachiguango emphasizes that with Kichwa Otavalan music, it has often been the case that adopted instruments are fit into traditional, local contexts (2006:25).

<sup>17</sup> For a detailed example of how this has occurred in the Otavalan region, see Schechter's research about Christians introducing the harp to indigenous peoples in Ecuador and across Latin America (1992).

institutions for the average Otavalan. Although these new opportunities had an overall positive impact on indigenous peoples' lives, especially since they were freed from what was essentially indentured servitude, a major transmission context was erased. Throughout the centuries that the colonialist hacienda system was in place, the ranches and large estates became important spaces where Kichwa men from many different villages interacted. *Flauta* performances had become strongly associated with harvest celebrations hosted by wealthy landowners, such as *cargo pasay* (the passing of the burden).<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, for flutists like José Manuel Perugachi Perugachi, the hacienda was a place where men could exchange knowledge about secret places to harvest cane. Tayta José Manuel also shared musical knowledge with his co-workers as they practiced flute during breaks at work and on their commutes between home and the hacienda (Interview, September 28, 2012).

Over the decades, these changes in Ecuador's labor force served as an impetus for many Kichwa Otavalans to be able to gain capital, travel, and eventually form what has been called a native leisure class (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999). By the 1990s, many Kichwa Otavalans were working in more urban jobs or traveling abroad.<sup>19</sup> Mariano Quinchuquí comments on how men have become largely absent in Otavalo over the last couple of decades:

Ahora, en ese tiempo, ya no hay allí mismo, ya acaba muriendo los tocadores, regresa los religiones, se va por Europa, ya no compra. No hay. Solo mujeres aquí en Imbabura ya casi existen. Ya no compra nadie. (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012)

Now, currently, there aren't any [flute players] here anymore, players have died, [evangelical] religions have come, [Otavalans] leave for Europe, [and] now people don't buy [flutes] anymore. There aren't any [male flute players]. Now it's practically only women who live here in Imbabura. Barely anyone buys [flutes] anymore. (Mariano Quinchuquí, Interview, August 8, 2012; my translation)

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<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 2 for a brief explanation of the *cargo pasay* event and how *flauta* music was a part of it.

<sup>19</sup> See Atienza de Frutos (2009), Colloredo-Mansfeld (1999), Kyle (1999, 2000), Meisch (1997, 2002) and Watkins (1994), who all focus on Otavalan transnational migration and who also write about traveling musicians from the area.

As American sociologist David Kyle points out, Ecuador experienced mass domestic and transnational migrations throughout the second half of the twentieth century (2000). The trend of Otavalans traveling abroad became more prominent during the 1960s and 1970s, increasing sharply by the mid-1980s. Across the country of Ecuador, travelers and emigrants alike were overwhelmingly male. Otavalan migrants were no exception; Kichwa Otavalan travelers during the late twentieth century were almost exclusively young men who had not yet, or had just recently, formed independent households (Kyle 2000:221, 223). People from more elite artisan-farmer (*artesanos-agricultores*, Sp.) communities, like Peguche, were more likely to be educated and possess financial capital; therefore, there were higher rates of men from villages with economies based on the exportation of artisan crafts traveling abroad than those from more rural and agricultural villages, like Kotama and its adjacent villages Guanansi and La Bolsa (Kyle 2000:28, 38, 218-221).<sup>20</sup>

When Otavalans turned to using music as an export commodity, the difference between the number of men and women traveling abroad became even greater. Non-elite Kichwa Otavalans were more likely to participate in this second phase of emigration, traveling as members of music ensembles, which was less demanding of time and monetary investments when starting up (2000:142, 161). Kyle notes that, "traditionally, folkloric musical groups from the Andes are almost always exclusively male, hence the reduction in the proportion of females in more recent outflows" (2000:221). In fact, he observed during his field research that the growth in number of musical ensembles traveling abroad in the mid- to late-1990s was so

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<sup>20</sup> Kyle borrows Guerrero's terms *artesanos-agricultores* (artisans-farmers) and *agricultores-artesanos* (farmers-artisans) to distinguish between two main economic systems found in Otavalan villages that are rooted in Spanish colonial socio-economic structures (Kyle 2000:21, 150; Guerrero 1991a). Like Guanansi and La Bolsa, both discussed by Kyle, Kotama is an example of a village economy that primarily depends on farming and agricultural labor, whereas Peguche is a community that has long been entrenched in producing crafts for sale in local and foreign markets.

significant that operators of tour agencies "complained that none were left to play in the local San Juan festival" (2000:142).<sup>21</sup>

Given these circumstances, we are able to understand how changes that are for the most part viewed as highly positive for indigenous peoples in Ecuador could also contribute to what some deem negative consequences, such as by disrupting the transmission of *flauta* music, which is place-based and intimately connected with agricultural lifestyles. Following more intense urbanization and modernization trends as well as the adoption of more cosmopolitan lifestyles, Otavalan youth became disconnected from a rural and ancient tradition. Young men who would have been the next generation of *flauta* players were more likely to be absent, and furthermore, many Kichwa youth would begin to identify more strongly with musical genres (e.g. pan-Andean music, electronic dance music, hip-hop, and reggaeton) that were considered more lucrative to perform, or more familiar after being heard while living abroad. Patricio and his older brother Segundo commented on how they have noticed that younger generations of Otavalans do not always connect with *flauta* music because they feel it is too old, repetitive, and have trouble identifying the difference between melodies (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, September 26, 2012; Segundo Maldonado, Interview, October 8, 2012).

In his book, Kyle emphasizes that one defining characteristic of late twentieth century Otavalan migration was that few Otavalans remained abroad permanently.<sup>22</sup> He writes, "in Otavalo the gender imbalance owing to migration is temporary," and that Otavalans continuously return home (2000:221, 40). According to Kyle, April and May were the peak months of the year when Otavalans traveled abroad, often coinciding with the northern hemisphere's summer months when Otavalan musicians and artisans tend to take advantage of festivals like state fairs

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<sup>21</sup> Kyle cites that estimates of Otavalan ensembles performing abroad were in the hundreds (2000:142).

<sup>22</sup> David Kyle emphasizes how this trait differs from immigrants leaving coastal and southern regions of Ecuador and settling in cities like New York City (2000).

where they could market their music and wares. This time period could also conflict with *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* activities; however, I noticed during my fieldwork that many Otavalans consider returning to Otavalo for summer solstice celebrations a priority.

Without a doubt, the timing of all of the situations described above contributed to creating, at the very least, instability during a crucial transition period for the continuation of *flauta* music. During my research, however, I found myself wondering about how *flauta* musicians were able to adapt the tradition time and again throughout centuries of colonial contact, during which they would have confronted similar situations to many of those I have described in this section. As I discovered, master flutists from Kotama theorize that institutional racism and a lack of access to healthcare during the early 1990s was what compounded all of these issues and lead to the rapid decline and near collapse of the *flauta* tradition.

#### *Cholera and the Cultural Toll of the Epidemic in Otavalo, 1991-1996*

The cholera epidemic struck Ecuador between 1991 and 1996; the most devastating year was 1991, when there were roughly 46,000 officially reported cases and 650 reported deaths from cholera nationwide.<sup>23</sup> Imbabura province, where my field research was located, was consistently among the provinces with the highest number of cases, and Otavalo canton (one of six in Imbabura) had the highest rate of cases in Imbabura during 1991, totaling approximately 1,700 of the 2,000 reported cases in Imbabura that year (El Diario 1991d, 1991i).<sup>24</sup>

For many reasons that I discuss below, the epidemic affected a disproportionately high number of indigenous people. Medical staff from Otavalo's main hospital, Hospital de San Luis,

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<sup>23</sup> Sources vary on the number of cholera cases in 1991: 43,000 (El Diario 1991j), 45,542 (Chevallier et al. 2004:275), 46,284 (Creamer et al. 1999:77), and 46,320 (Glass et al. 1992:1525).

<sup>24</sup> There are 226 cantonal divisions in Ecuador. In Imbabura, the first reported case in the news was on April 9, 1991. From that date, cholera cases exploded in the region, rising swiftly to 368 cases and 30 deaths by April 25, and 2,000 cases by the end of May (El Diario 1991a, 1991b, 1991f).

who were at the hospital in the 1990s and still worked there in 2012 explained to me that all the cholera cases that were treated at the hospital were cured; however, they also admitted to me that indigenous people were more likely to have died from the bacteria. One of the social development engineers employed at the hospital blamed the unnecessary deaths in the indigenous community on their ignorance of the disease (Personal communication, June 19, 2012).<sup>25</sup>

Even though it is highly likely that the indigenous population was unfamiliar and unequipped to deal with cholera, I believe the circumstances for indigenous populations were exacerbated by institutional racism and a general lack of access to healthcare. It is true that many Otavalans would have attempted to treat cholera symptoms with home remedies. During my fieldwork, Patricio and I discussed how Otavaleños may have easily mistaken early stages of cholera for mild cases of food poisoning or a general health issue attributed to *mal aire* (a bad wind or spiritual illness).<sup>26</sup> Another important reason why many indigenous people may have avoided seeking treatment at Western hospitals is the result of Otavalans' general distrust of whites, *mestizos*, and Western medicine. For example, Western and Otavalan conceptions of the body and medicine are very different, and many Runakuna have experienced discrimination or have felt uncomfortable with Western doctors and medical institutions (Wibbelsman 2009:117). Ethnic tensions and mistrust between communities have been so extreme that, as Patricio told me, many Otavalans believe that cholera was introduced to the region as a form of biological warfare meant to exterminate indigenous peoples. This negative experience is even represented

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<sup>25</sup> Newspaper articles cited health ministers of Ecuador, who also claimed that people's poverty and ignorance were at fault for spreading cholera (El Diario 1991c).

<sup>26</sup> Very few people in the communities where Patricio and I conducted research could recall anyone who died from cholera. We believe that this may reflect the fact that many people were unfamiliar with the disease at the time it struck northern Ecuador. It may also be possible that twenty years after the epidemic, people, especially elder flute players, who may have known of someone who died from the illness might have since forgotten about it, or have since passed away themselves.

in how people talk about Western medicine in Kichwa. As we learned in Luz María De la Torre's UCLA Kichwa classes, Western medicine is labeled with the term *waklli* (spoiled, harmful) to differentiate it from *runa* medicine (*hampiy*, K.). My *comadre* Marina, who recently attended the hospital for a routine surgery, cried to me over the phone about how awful and prison-like Hospital San Luis is.

Cholera treatment was provided free of charge by Ecuadorian hospitals, and even though it may seem as if finances would not have been an impediment for indigenous peoples, there were other monetary-related obstacles that they faced. In the event that someone may have wanted to seek help or bring a sick relative to the hospital, it would have been nearly impossible for them to travel to downtown Otavalo. Roads were in much worse conditions prior to many of the public works projects that I have observed over the last four years of Correa's presidency.<sup>27</sup> Today, many of the communities Patricio and I traveled to during fieldwork were out of the way and usually required arduous hikes up or downhill in addition to bumpy and long bus rides. Cell phones were not as popular within indigenous communities during the 1990s, and most places still do not have public telephones for people to use. Ambulances and taxis, which would have been expensive for many Otavalans, often refuse to travel along some of the unpaved roads in these communities, as well. Furthermore, during the cholera epidemic, whites and *mestizos*

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<sup>27</sup> Rafael Vicente Correa Delgado was elected president in 2006 and began his first term in 2007. At the time of the writing of this dissertation, he is still serving his third term (Correa was re-elected in 2009 and 2013). He is a member of the left-wing PAIS Alliance (*Alianza Pais*, Sp.) party and has allied with South American leaders such as the late president of Venezuela Hugo Chávez and Bolivia's current president Evo Morales. Correa is often regarded as a President of the people who travels to places like the *Plaza de Ponchos* indigenous market in Otavalo without bodyguards. One of his primary political and socioeconomic projects is the Citizen's Revolution (*Revolución Ciudadana*, Sp.), which aims to achieve a socialist reconstruction of Ecuadorian society the formation of a plurinational and intercultural state. Some of Ecuador's citizens highly respect Correa for increasing jobs, opening access to education and healthcare, as well as investing in infrastructure, building and repairing roads, and funding the installation of streetlights. Some leaders, such as indigenous politicians associated with the Pachakutik party, criticize him for greedily concentrating too much power in his own hands, for bullying any opposition, and for privileging liberal, individualistic policies that fall short of the radical socialism he claims to promote. In Kotama, I noticed a small number of homes that had pro-Correa posters hanging in them.

openly blamed indigenous people for spreading cholera, and even healthy Otavalans were denied service by taxi drivers who would lock their doors and not take on indigenous customers.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, Hospital San Luis and other hospitals were critiqued on their lack of efficiency in how people were treated. In general, it has been pointed out that the hospital often kept people interned too long and that the hospital remained beyond full capacity throughout the epidemic; therefore, it is possible that some ill people may have been turned away (Creamer 1999).

As I pursued my archival research on this issue, questioning staff and reviewing documents at Hospital San Luis, several parish civil registries, and in Otavalo's cemetery, it became apparent that the magnitude of how this epidemic may have affected Otavalans was essentially erased from history due to a lack of documentation. In order to be buried in a cemetery, someone's death had to be registered at a civil registry.<sup>29</sup> Patricio explained to me that it is not customary for the Runakuna to bury dead relatives within their villages or near their homes, so all deaths should have been recorded. What was not required was an official examination performed by a coroner on all of the deaths. Patricio and I noticed in the civil registries that very few deaths were listed as cholera, but many people with names Patricio identified as being most likely indigenous were documented with causes of death related to cholera symptoms, such as colic, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, and gastroenteritis.<sup>30</sup> In total,

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<sup>28</sup> Colloredo-Mansfeld writes about this in his 1998 article (198), and Patricio Maldonado also recalled these types of extreme prejudice (Personal communication, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> Due to time constraints, Patricio and I had to limit our focus to men above the age of 12, when they would have been likely to be learning *flauta* more seriously or have been accepted as a competent player. We noticed a high rate of infant and child mortality listed with cholera-like symptoms, and Patricio was suspicious that an increase in infant mortality during this time may have played a part in causing there to be more women than men in many Otavalan communities over the next couple of decades. We collected minimal data about women who died of cholera, but Patricio mentioned that if the wife of a flute player dies, the widower may cease playing flute, especially during the mourning process.

<sup>30</sup> Death entries listed with specific causes, like dehydration grade III, which would have been reported by a medical examiner, were passed over since it was assumed that the medical examiner would have detected cholera had that been a reason for death.



we found that the ages of people who passed away due to these symptoms during 1991, 1992, and 1993 ranged from 12 to 86. Most of the men we noted were aged in their forties and fifties at the time of death, and the months of April and May had the highest incidents of suspected cholera deaths.

Non-indigenous Ecuadorian citizens are quick to blame the spread of cholera on indigenous peoples' ignorance, yet whites and *mestizos* failed to understand or appropriately address many issues when attempting to quell the epidemic. First of all, there were cartoons and public announcements routinely published in newspapers advising the public to take precautionary measures to avoid spreading cholera, such as boiling water before consuming it. Although newspapers would have been easily accessible to some younger Otavalans who regularly traveled or lived in urban centers and had achieved higher levels of education, there would have been a large majority of Runakuna who would not have been able to read the Spanish-language news reports. Due to racial discrimination and ethnic tensions, it appears that there was little to no outreach to rural communities to help educate them about cholera or to treat them in their home villages.<sup>31</sup>

Whites and *mestizos* have long stereotyped the Runakuna as dirty and unhygienic (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998). These prejudices were often at fault for clouding non-indigenous perspectives and causing people to dismiss or distort serious issues that were happening during

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<sup>31</sup> During my time in Otavalo, I found that my non-indigenous friends were often uncomfortable with entering Kotama. Usually, I would need to meet them outside the community to get picked up or dropped off by car because they were fearful of being mistaken as thieves. Some friends even told me about an incident a few years before my fieldwork when two thieves who were caught stealing from a business near Kotama were bound and burned in the field where I often played soccer. The thieves survived, but Kotama earned a reputation for being fierce among whites and *mestizos*. When I asked my host brothers if the story was true, they acknowledged that it had happened. The brothers said that although it was unfortunate, it was necessary because the authorities would not have helped them and the community wanted to make sure it would never happen again. Across the region, there are also stories about census officials and religious missionaries being killed when trying to enter indigenous communities.

the epidemic. When cholera struck the region in April and May, calls for indigenous people to abandon summer solstice festivities made front-page news even a month before the festivities were to begin. On May 22, 1991, the front page of *El Norte* newspaper read, "[Otavalans] Should Suspend 'Sanjuanese:' These traditional festivals will become the main site for spreading cholera due to a lack of sanitary measures" (El Diario 1991e).<sup>32</sup> There are certain practices associated with indigenous celebrations that would easily repulse some people, such as communal drinking of corn beer from one or two cups that are used to serve all festival attendees; however, jumping to the conclusion that drinking corn beer during *Hatun Puncha-Inti Raymi* would cause cholera to spread even more demonstrates white and *mestizo* ignorance about indigenous practices. When corn beer is brewed, the water is boiled for multiple hours, which would definitely kill cholera bacteria in the water used for the drink. Furthermore, bacteria do not thrive in fermented beverages. If drinking corn beer spread the disease, it most likely would have been the result of washing drinking vessels in cholera-infected water just prior to serving someone the drink, too soon for the bacteria to die off in the fermented beverage.

### *"Dirty Indian" Stereotypes and Discrimination*

Non-indigenous citizens often claim that unhygienic indigenous practices are to blame for polluting water sources, spreading disease and filth between communities and within their own. Even in 2012, these beliefs were still common. One acquaintance of mine, a graduate student from the area, was pursuing a research project about social works dedicated to cleaning local water systems, like the Hatun Yaku stream that runs across the southern edge of Kotama. When describing her thesis to me, she claimed that indigenous people were those who ignorantly

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<sup>32</sup> In Spanish, the headline reads, "Deben suspender los 'Sanjuanese:' Estos festejos tradicionales se transformarán en el gran foco de infección por la falta de cuidados sanitarios" (El Diario 1991e).

polluted the very waters they depend on. Based on my experiences living in the community, however, I did not find this to be the case. Pollution from downtown Otavalo and private businesses was much more of a problem in Kotama. I often observed garbage, such as potato chip bags, floating down the Hatun Yaku stream on my way to and from my host family's home. Even more concerning, I noticed that every few days the stream would change color. When I asked Patricio why the river changed from white, to blue, red, and green over the course of several days, he informed me that this was due to a private paint company upstream that dumped refuse freely into the river. Despite complaints made by residents of Kotama, he told me, the municipal government was not able to force the wealthy business owner to adopt better ecological practices. I also found that small heaps of garbage were dumped at the fringes of the village where suburban neighborhoods of downtown Otavalo bordered the indigenous village.

Another common stereotype associated with Otavalans is that they are severe alcoholics.<sup>33</sup> Although alcoholism can be an issue within indigenous communities, it became a convenient excuse that whites and *mestizos* cited when calling for indigenous celebrations to be canceled. On May 28, 1991, an article was published in the El Norte newspaper featuring Imbabura's governor Mauricio Larrea demanding that cantinas and *chicherías*, indigenous bars that served primarily corn beer, be condemned and closed down indefinitely (El Diario 1991g). Patricio and I also noticed that in the civil registries and sensationalist newspaper articles, indigenous deaths were often assumed to be a result of dehydration caused by alcoholic binges and were not examined by a coroner (El Diario 1991h).

A question that can be raised, then, is how could cholera have directly impacted the flute tradition and pushed it to the brink of extinction? Although few people in Kotama died from

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<sup>33</sup> See Mercedes Prieto's dissertation, in which she writes about 1920s research conducted in Ecuador by Dr. Arturo Suárez and his scientific team. Some of Suárez's research focused on the degeneration of indigenous people due to poor hygiene and alcoholism (2003:178-179).

cholera, the Maldonados explained to me that they believe the epidemic took a significant toll on the tradition across the region.<sup>34</sup> First, if communal cups washed in contaminated water were used for serving corn beer, flutists would have been most at risk of being exposed to cholera. Flutists are commonly asked to serve corn beer to festival participants, who then toast the musician by saying "*upyapashun*" (let's drink together). The phrase obligates the flutist to take a shot of the beverage prior to serving the person who toasted him; people who serve drinks in this manner often end up drinking much more than the average participant due to being toasted throughout the festivities. Whether or not a flutist may have ingested cholera bacteria from corn beer, had even one flutist in a community fallen ill and died suddenly due to the disease, it would have had a severe effect on the tradition in his community. Patricio estimated that based on the small size of many indigenous villages, it is likely there were only one or two groups of flute masters (approximately 4-6 flutists) per village prior to and during the epidemic. Additionally, unlike the practice in Kotama, flutists from most Otavalan villages still only perform in duos, not trios. This means that due to the competitive nature of *flauta* groups, if even one flute master fell victim to cholera, a community could lose 50% or up to 100% of its master flutists because a replacement partner could be hard to come by.

It is difficult to definitively state an exact recipe of the factors and the degrees to which these factors caused the flute tradition to wane in each community. Regardless of this, flutists in Kotama grew increasingly concerned since the late 1990s and early 2000s about the alarming decrease in the number of flute players across the region. In response to this issue, some

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<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, Colloredo-Mansfeld notes that in the Arias Uku (also spelled Ariasucu) village, four of the five victims of cholera were adult males over the age of 40 (1998:198). He does not mention whether or not these men were flutists, but they were of the age that most men are around the time they might be considered a flute master.

musicians began to take action and look for ways to revitalize the tradition. The Hatun Kotama Cultural Center (previously known as a flute school) formed as part of this response.

### **The Founding and Development of Hatun Kotama**

The groundwork for Hatun Kotama began initially during the year 2000, when Kotama community members began searching for ways to revive the tradition and encourage the village's youth to learn *flauta*. The organization began with the name *Primera Escuela de Flauta Autóctona Indígena de la Comunidad de Kotama* (The Village of Kotama's First Native Indigenous Flute School), though due to a lack of community support, the project went on hiatus for several years. In 2008, a second wave of interest began under the guidance of Kotama scholar and *yachak* (holder of wisdom) Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango, who received a grant from Ecuador's Ministry of Culture for the purpose of publishing a book and CD about Kichwa customs and music specific to the Kotama village. Cachiguango originally proposed the publication project to Kotama's political leadership with the intention of involving the entire community; however, it was tabled due to disagreements about who would manage the funds. Mariano Maldonado, a master flutist who had been concerned about the rapid disappearance of the *flauta* tradition, approached Cachiguango offering to help him with the musical elements of the proposed book and CD regardless of the leadership's decision. Hatun Kotama's first meeting was held soon after on the second floor of Mariano's home, where a small group of Kotama's flute masters and Mariano's four sons – Segundo, Patricio, Edison, and Juan – met with Cachiguango to develop

the project (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, September 9, 2012).<sup>35</sup> Some of Kotama's flute masters are pictured in Figure 6.3.

The Hatun Kotama Flute School hosted its inaugural classes on August 10, 2008. The founding members were flute masters Mariano Maldonado, Julio Tabango, Estéban Cachiguango, Mariano Quinchuquí, Segundo Quinchuquí, and Mariano Maldonado's four sons, Segundo, Patricio, Edison, and Juan. Cachiguango and the group of flutists also collaborated with Quito-based Western classical flutist Julián Pontón, who provided master classes on basic flute technique to students in Hatun Kotama and the musical transcriptions and analyses in Cachiguango's book. Flute masters Alfonso Cabascango, Mariano Maldonado, Segundo Quinchuquí, Mariano Quinchuquí, and Julio Tabango recorded the tracks heard on Hatun Kotama's first CD, which accompanies Cachiguango's book, *Yaku-Mama: La Crianza del Agua; La Música Ritual del Hatun Puncha – Inti Raymi en Kotama, Otavalo*, which was published just prior to my arrival to Ecuador in June 2010 (Hatun Kotama 2010; Cachiguango and Pontón 2010).

When I finally arrived in Ecuador and began attending Hatun Kotama's classes, it became apparent to me that despite celebrating the recent release of the book and CD, members of Hatun Kotama were not satisfied. Many business meetings held after flute classes were dedicated to brainstorming and debating how the group would continue documenting and promoting their music as well as creating new performance spaces and contexts. Even before I decided to pursue researching Otavalan *flauta* music, I reached out to Daniel E. Sheehy (Director of Smithsonian Folkways) to see if there was a way we could connect Hatun Kotama with the non-profit music label. Fortunately, there was enough funding available to carryout the recording project, and in

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<sup>35</sup> Since Hatun Kotama's founding, others flute workshops have been hosted by other communities in places like Cotacachi (El Diario 2013b). A rival group known as Los Flauteros de Kotama, consisting of flutists who did not want to join Hatun Kotama, was active especially during 2011 (El Diario 2011).

August 2011, a team from the Smithsonian, including myself, traveled to Otavalo to record Hatun Kotama's second album, *¡Así Kotama!: The Flutes of Otavalo, Ecuador* (Hatun Kotama 2013). The Smithsonian Folkways album differs from the organization's first recording primarily in that Kotama's youth were invited to perform alongside the flute masters on the album.<sup>36</sup> As Patricio explained to me, Hatun Kotama held a series of auditions in which students as young as eleven years old were evaluated on how well they had mastered both the first (*ñawpak*, K.) and second (*katik*, K.) parts for the song(s) they wished to perform.<sup>37</sup>

During my 2012 field research, Hatun Kotama updated their name, changing it to the Cultural Center of Ancestral Investigation and Community Development "Hatun Kotama" (*Centro Cultural de Investigación Ancestral y Desarrollo Integral Comunitario "Hatun Kotama,"* Sp.). Their new name represents the group's broader mission of preserving, maintaining, and revitalizing local indigenous customs and the Kichwa language through the performance and mastery of the *flauta* tradition. Under their new title, Hatun Kotama registered officially as a cultural organization with the Ministry of Culture. They are now entitled to certain types of recognition from the government, such as being recommended for cultural events and receiving a tax ID number; however, they do not receive financial support or subsidies from the government.

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<sup>36</sup> Since we finished the recording sessions early, Hatun Kotama invited the Smithsonian team to join in on the bonus track "Yaku Chaka," in which Daniel E. Sheehy performed the lead flute part, Pete Reiniger and Charlie Weber joined Hatun Kotama members on the foot stepping, and Cristina Diaz-Carrera and I chanted the *alegrana* (Hatun Kotama 2013).

<sup>37</sup> Including musicians who performed the footsteps (*zapateado*, Sp.) and the conch shell (*churu*, K.) on the album, the age range of performers on the album is from 8 to 72 years old. Whereas musicians tend to perform songs in duos or trios in Kotama, the group took a slightly different approach for recording the music on their second album and did not have separate individuals perform the complementary melodies of the songs; rather, only one flutist recorded each track's flute parts. For example, Mariano Maldonado performed all the flute tracks for the song "Llaz Tuaz," and Tupac Arellano, who was 11 years old at the time of recording, performed all the flute tracks on "Arellano Flauta." Part of the reasoning for this was to demonstrate that the musician had completely mastered the song (Hatun Kotama 2013).



Figure 6.3: Four of Hatun Kotama's flute masters. From left to right, Alfonso Cabascango, Segundo Quinchuquí, Julio Tabango, and Mariano Maldonado (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

Since 2010, Hatun Kotama has been actively performing in Ecuador. Members are often contracted for private engagements (e.g. weddings, funerals, and indigenous graduation ceremonies) and public festivals (e.g. parades, staged concerts) throughout northern Ecuador and in the country's capital, Quito. In 2013, Hatun Kotama debuted internationally when flute masters Alfonso Cabascango, Mariano Maldonado, Mariano Quinchuquí, Segundo Quinchuquí, Julio Tabango traveled to Washington, D.C., where they performed at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival and the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts' Millennium Stage (Smithsonian Folklife Festival 2013; John F. Kennedy 2013). Hatun Kotama has also been featured numerous times in Ecuadorian newspapers and televised news programs.<sup>38</sup> In the words of one of Patricio Maldonado's friends, "Hatun Kotama is more famous than Coca-Cola!"

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<sup>38</sup> For a selection of articles about Hatun Kotama's activities, see Diario La Hora (2011, 2013a, 2013b), Sierra (2011), Quisoboni (2012), Castro Torres (2013), El Diario – El Norte (2013a), Lema (2013a, 2013b, 2013c), Macias (2013), and Ramos (2013).



(Personal communication, September 7, 2012; my translation).<sup>39</sup> Below, I analyze some of Hatun Kotama's approaches to revitalizing *flauta* music.

### **Kaypimi Kanchik! [We Are Still Here!] Approaches to Revitalization**

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, indigenous nations in Ecuador organized nation-wide coalitions that, during the 1990s, staged large-scale uprisings (*levantamientos*, Sp.) in which they demanded an increase in indigenous peoples' rights, denounced oppression, and pushed for a plurinational state.<sup>40</sup> Following these political movements, indigenous people became more active in revaluing their heritage and resisting sociopolitical pressure to homogenize with *mestizo* and Euro-Ecuadorian society. Motivated by these changes in Ecuador's social and political landscape, members of Hatun Kotama see their work as something much more than that of a musical ensemble. They are keenly aware of how their organization is capable of engaging with political dialogues about indigenous rights and asserting an indigenous presence and agenda. Consequently, Hatun Kotama members see their performances and recordings as tools for creating and redefining socio-political relationships. One of the ways that Hatun Kotama has reflected this vision of the organization's purpose is by changing their name to Hatun Kotama Flute School to the Cultural Center of Ancestral Investigation and Community Development "Hatun Kotama" (*Centro Cultural de Investigación*

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<sup>39</sup> "Hatun Kotama es más famosa que la Coca-Cola!" (Personal communication, September 7, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> See Almeida et al. (1993), Becker (1999, 2008, 2010), Clark and Becker (2007), Lalander (2010), Mijeski and Beck (2011), Porras Velasco (2005), and Whitten and Whitten (2011). For a closer look at women's participation in social movements, see De la Torre (2003) and Radcliffe (2008). See also Colloredo-Mansfeld (1999), Kyle (2000), and Meisch (2002) for more information about Otavalan entrepreneurship and adaptations to changing socio-economic conditions. For historical examples of ethnic segregation, marginalization, and discrimination in Otavalo, see Blomberg (1950, 1965, 1967), Collier and Buitrón (1949), Kintner (1949a, 1949b), and Parsons (1945).

*Ancestral y Desarrollo Integral Comunitario "Hatun Kotama,"* Sp.), which better reflects their mission for engaging with social issues and community development projects.

In this chapter, I would like to emphasize that Hatun Kotama's activities are an example of revitalization and not just preservation, since the latter only describes one small aspect of their work. The flutists feel it is important to create a record of songs, and that is one reason why they have professionally recorded two albums of music (2010, 2013). Rather than attempt to freeze this musical tradition and maintain it as it has been practiced in previous generations, however, members of Hatun Kotama do not hesitate to experiment with various aspects of this music and its performance. Conscious efforts have been made to adapt how this music is transmitted, and these in turn have brought about notable changes in the music itself.

One important approach the group has taken is by offering classes where flutists of all abilities meet to share and practice songs together. Previously, learning and being accepted as a competent flutist was risky and full of anxiety due to the competitive nature of this tradition. As I describe above, a young flutist often had to learn on his own, listening to flute masters from a safe distance before debuting his musical skill. Today, Hatun Kotama's leaders aim to cultivate a more encouraging environment with group classes – run only in Kichwa – to make the tradition more accessible and appealing to beginners. In flute master Alfonso Cabascango's words, how he and others teach in Hatun Kotama respects traditional forms of reciprocity and is done with much care and affection: "I am teaching with a lot of love, and [the students] give me care in return" (Alfonso Cabascango, Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).<sup>41</sup> As student Segundo Tulcanazo describes, "The flute masters, they're not mean. They teach us all to be good people

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<sup>41</sup> "Con amor yachachikupani, paykuna ña charin ñukanchikwan" (Alfonso Cabascango, Interview, August 16, 2011).

and live well together, and that's making a positive change in my life" (Segundo Tulcanazo, Interview, August 16, 2011; my translation).<sup>42</sup>

Throughout our months working together, Patricio and I pondered daily over what kinds of changes were beneficial and necessary to keep the tradition going, and what aspects should left alone or should remain constant. As I discussed earlier, the transmission contexts – or lack thereof – were identified as a problem that flutists needed to address if they wanted to keep the tradition alive. In one of these debates, Patricio elaborated on why Hatun Kotama's leaders opted to institutionalize the tradition in the form of a school and cultural center:

Estamos perdiendo lugares de trabajo, chakras, y ahora estamos haciendo la escuela como otro lugar de continuar re-haciendo, revitalizando, re-encontrando, reviviendo la cultura. En el churo, todo tiene su tiempo y su regreso. Si hablamos de "crear" o "construir," hablaría de algo lineal, algo que quita o sale o rompe el churo" (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, October 7, 2012).

We are losing the [previous transmission contexts] of [agriculturally-related] jobs, crop fields, and now we are adding the school as another place where we can continue re-making, revitalizing, re-finding, re-living [our] culture. In the conch shell [of time-space], everything has its time and its return. If we speak of "creating" or "constructing" [something entirely new], we would be speaking of something linear, something that takes away from, or leaves, or breaks the conch shell. (Patricio Maldonado, Personal communication, October 7, 2012; my translation).

Based on Patricio's point of view, establishing the transmission context of the school is not deviating from the tradition or creating something entirely new. Instead, the school is an extension of the other transmission contexts, a space to which the flutes have found their way to and where people are rediscovering them once again. Essentially, Hatun Kotama is an x-mark, a coerced sign of Native consent made under conditions that were not of their own making, but nevertheless is seen as a positive adaptation (Lyons 2010:2).

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<sup>42</sup> "Maestrokunawan um, alli, um, allikarin porque imashiti maestrokunaka na shuk coleralla shina ima mana kanchu porque maestrokuna alli alli tukuyllawan portarin alumnokukunawan y chay, chay ñuka vidapika alliyen" (Segundo Tulcanazo, Interview, August 16, 2011).

Over time, Hatun Kotama's leaders have experimented with their pedagogical approaches, mixing one-on-one mentorship with different types of team teaching. The Sunday afternoon classes typically begin when Mariano Maldonado, who possesses a copy of the keys for the gates to the elementary school building where Hatun Kotama practices, arrives to the school and begins sweeping the classroom.<sup>43</sup> As other members arrive, there is some degree of socializing while others help out with cleaning the space and preparing for classes. Everyone who arrives greets everybody with a handshake and salutation. Although people are not assigned or required to bring food and drink, someone undoubtedly comes to the rehearsal with food (typically bread or bananas) and a few liters of soda, corn beer, or alcohol (beer or hard liquor), which are shared with everyone during the rehearsal. If nobody arrives prepared with sustenance, everyone pitches in monetary donations and someone leaves to buy food and drink at a nearby corner market.

Eventually, flutists begin gravitating to different areas where they practice with peers, a mentor teacher, or on their own. Occasionally they recline against a bank and relax as they eat, drink, and review repertoire. When I was a complete beginner, I was asked to wait at one corner of the schoolyard where Mariano Maldonado came over and taught me the first phrase (*esquina*, Sp.) of "Chulla Kachu" ("One Cow Horn"). Once I was able to repeat the phrase back to him, he left me alone so I could practice. Periodically, advanced and intermediate students would pass and practice the *esquina* with me in between reviewing more advanced repertoire with other students, peers, or master teachers. Sometimes multiple master flutists would work with me

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<sup>43</sup> The following description is based on my experience attending Hatun Kotama's classes in 2010 and 2012. During fieldwork in 2012, I was usually in charge of initiating the cleaning, since I would open the school grounds to teach free violin lessons to community members an hour before flutists would arrive.

throughout the session.<sup>44</sup> Mariano, who was often my primary teacher, would circulate between everyone on the grounds and return to teach me the second phrase, completing the lead melody. Advanced students would then pass by again and practice the song as a duo, accompanying me with the feminine countermelody (*katik*, K.). When they felt I was ready, master flutists and advanced students would then demonstrate the *katik* in a similar fashion. Initially, flutists would break down the phrases to basic melodies and progressively demonstrate more intricate forms of ornaments that I was expected to imitate.

As my flute playing developed, I found that some master musicians expected me to be able to pick up the second *katik* melody upon only listening to them accompany me once or twice. For example, on July 8, 2012, Segundo Quinchuquí worked with me on the song "Yumpa Pukyu." After running through the song a few times with me playing the *ñawpak* melody, he asked me to switch with him and accompany him with the *katik*. I was caught off-guard and struggled with improvising the part that I had not paid much attention to since I concentrated so heavily on mastering the lead melody. Segundo chuckled and told me to keep working on the masculine melody while he left to work with someone else.

After about an hour or an hour and a half of practicing in small groups, musicians trickle in to the small classroom and set up the chairs in a U-shape for a type of master-class setting. Master teachers invite students they worked with that day to stand in front of the group and demonstrate what they have learned. Occasionally they perform the song with them, or have multiple students perform together. For the most part, the atmosphere is encouraging and Mariano always told me and other students to not be shy and that it was a safe space to practice

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<sup>44</sup> In the classes I attended, one or two flute masters would focus on working with me at a time, but my primary teacher would frequently change from one class to the next. Mariano Maldonado was often the teacher who looked over me, since he was my host father, but he would often suggest different master teachers I should learn with at each rehearsal.

performing. On occasion, however, I did observe teachers engage in debates about style and give harsher criticism to more advanced students. The Sunday classes eventually transition from the master-class setting to a more formal meeting led by the directive board. Topics vary from discussing upcoming performances and events to lectures about Kichwa cosmovision and Kotama's history. By 6:30pm, people begin returning to their homes for dinner (*la merienda*, a regional Spanish term), which is typically served at 7pm.

To someone who is not entirely familiar with Kichwa cultural practices, the structure of Hatun Kotama's classes may seem loose, informal, or even unprofessional. This may especially be the case for those who are accustomed to alcohol free educational settings and more linear, patriarchal, one-on-one student-teacher relationships. In the quote I cite from an interview with Segundo Tulcanazo, the young adult mentions that attending Hatun Kotama's classes and being taught in the manner outlined above is teaching him *how* to live, *how* to be Runa. How might this be, and what is he learning, exactly?

In terms of lesson content, flutists pass on knowledge about musical repertoire, related rituals (e.g. marriages), and how music guides movement through time and space within their own and neighboring communities (e.g. Song "X" is performed during "Y" event or when moving from, to, or through "Z" place). Lectures that follow flute practice sessions aim to educate students about history and culture and incorporate both oral and text-based knowledge. As important as these elements are for teaching *what* it means to be Runa, I believe it is important to underline that they are not necessarily the lessons that teach someone *how* to be Runa that Segundo Tulcanazo identifies in his statement.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Scott Richard Lyons meditates on how people may define indigenous identities in his book *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (2010). In his discussion, he highlights the differences between doing and being, actions and products, and processes and things when asking whether or not Indians should act as

As a Western classical music educator by training, what caught my attention during my time with Hatun Kotama was how their classes provided a space for the musicians to actively *be* Kichwa Runa. When members of Hatun Kotama arrive for lessons, they are immediately expected to follow specific social norms of interpersonal relationships, beginning with maintaining a respectful and polite demeanor as s/he greets everyone with a handshake. Furthermore, in Kichwa culture, relationships between humans, the landscape, and beings from parallel realms have traditionally been mediated through highly codified forms of reciprocity and symbolic gestures of sharing food and beverages. These acts are regularly demonstrated through the more social moments of the lessons. Hatun Kotama is also a microcosm of Kichwa political life, since flutists are elected to serve on an executive board that governs the organization in a similar fashion to how leadership is elected for the village.

Hatun Kotama's focus on and employment of music as a pedagogical tool that facilitates synthesizing different aspects of Kichwa life resonates strongly with what I observed in Kanien'ke:ha (Mohawk) language immersion classrooms in Ahkwesáhsne, a territory of the Mohawk Nation located on the St. Lawrence River and near Cornwall, Ontario (Vallejo 2010). For my M.A. research, I observed classrooms led by four Kanien'ke:ha teachers who are also musicians. In the classes led by Kaweienón:ni Cook-Peters, her husband Teddy, and her two daughters Teioswáthe and Kawennahén:te Cook, music performance has been a linchpin pedagogical tool for creating a holistic educational environment in which they teach ritual procedures, such as entering the ceremonial Longhouse, introducing oneself in the Kanien'ke:ha language, and leading ceremonial events. Additionally, there are social responsibilities associated with being a member of singing societies. Musicians are often called upon as leaders

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Indians? He boils his point down to the idea that it's not just *what* people eat, but *how* they eat, that makes them who they are (2010:53, 89).

who provide charity work and aid for community development projects. Basic step-by-step instructional exercises are not necessary; rather, knowledge about *how* to be Runa or Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk person) are inculcated in the students as they participate in routine modules for music-making. On a few occasions, Kaweienón:ni repeated the adage to me about how it takes a village to raise a child. For Hatun Kotama and the Cook-Peters' immersion classrooms, music facilitates this type of community mentorship in educating and socializing students young and old about *how* to be while providing them spaces and moments to be Kichwa or Kanien'kehá:ka.

In both educational settings, music and language are intimately linked with one another. It may appear at first that Hatun Kotama focuses more strictly on musical knowledge than the Cook-Peters; however, the flutists' emphasis on using Kichwa during lessons and meetings indicates that there is just as strong of a priority to promote the language as well as the music and other lifeways. Translation or interpreting from Kichwa to Spanish is rarely provided to members and visitors who are not fluent in the language. Kotama youth are often teased in a friendly manner if they do not understand, and most flutists continue to speak in Kichwa to non-fluent speakers, forcing them to rely on and build upon what they already know. Hatun Kotama's classes are an incredibly rich and invaluable setting for one to learn the Kichwa language because students not yet fluent are able to engage with speakers in addition to being exposed to how elders speak amongst each other. The Cook-Peters' are strong advocates of using team-teaching in their classrooms, which seeks to provide this type of indirect language instruction. They argue that even when students are only listening, they are hearing the language in action, which they have found decreases a need to translate and increases the rate at which one learns



conversational skills, idioms, and style of the language (Cook and Cook 2009). This approach is proving to be effective for Hatun Kotama as well.

In his book about indigenous aesthetics and identity, Steven Leuthold boldly claims that, "for obvious reasons, traditional song can only survive in the fullest sense when native languages survive" (1998:93). In response to this, Kaweienón:ni told me that to her, music "is crucial to every indigenous culture. It is not a matter of singing or playing music but almost a matter cultural survival" (Kaweienón:ni Cook-Peters, Personal Communication, April 20, 2011).<sup>46</sup>

Throughout my work so far with Hatun Kotama, I have repeatedly observed how their success also challenges Leuthold's statement. Flutists all maintain that music gives life to life, and I argue that their classes are evidence for how music creates space that languages depend on to remain alive.

Hatun Kotama's approaches to revitalizing *flauta* music have led to adaptations to how the music is performed. For example, flutists have adopted a general standard of repeating melodic phrases (*esquinas*, S.) of a song three times before switching to the other phrase. As is evident in Hatun Kotama's audio recordings, there is room for improvising as well as making mistakes.<sup>47</sup> The rule of three repetitions has been reinforced, however, because it has been a convenient and basic framework for beginning students to follow. Hatun Kotama has also experimented with how flutes are tuned and paired in a small ensemble. Traditionally, *flautas* are performed in duos or trios with instruments that are purposefully tuned with different

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<sup>46</sup> I also made this argument during the International Council for Traditional Music's meeting in Newfoundland, Canada (Vallejo 2011).

<sup>47</sup> Some indigenous traditions in the Americas require that a performance is free of any errors in order for it to be effective or to avoid having to perform the ceremony over again. It is my impression that this is not the case with Otavalan *flauta* music. Patricio Maldonado and members of his family mentioned that they heard errors on recordings of Hatun Kotama and field recordings I made, but comments were limited to statements such as "that was rushed." A grave mistake that would be harshly criticized is if a flutist does not play audibly or leaves a moment of silence when music should be played.

fundamental pitches.<sup>48</sup> Since Hatun Kotama is frequently invited to participate in parades, perform on stage at festivals, or give performance demonstrations, they commissioned ten identically tuned flutes for a flute choir ensemble.<sup>49</sup> Flutists have also begun to criticize certain flute playing techniques following recording their two albums. During one Sunday afternoon class, flute master Alfonso Cabascango lectured me and two other flutists to be mindful of our breaths and how we intake more air between musical phrases. He advised that we should be careful to breathe in a large amount of air quietly, so that microphones would not pick up the sound (Personal communication, August 26, 2012).

One of the most glaring challenges for the group has been to adapt a place-based music to contexts outside its native landscape. Flute tunes are closely intertwined with defined spaces and movements through these spaces. For instance, there are specific tunes played when flutists walk between homes within their own village, dance at someone's home, or pass between their village and a neighboring village during the summer solstice festival. The music and dance also requires participation from a relatively large audience. When flutists Alfonso Cabascango, Mariano Maldonado, Patricio Maldonado, Mariano Quinchuquí, Segundo Quinchuquí, and Julio Tabango were invited to the Smithsonian Folklife Festival's One World Many Voices exhibit, they all worked tirelessly to reinterpret their music and find a way to make it relevant for the audience, as well as work with a small number of musicians. As a result, the group brainstormed and rehearsed tirelessly for their performances, which were never repeated. Throughout most

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<sup>48</sup> The flute with the lower-pitch fundamental is used to play the leading masculine melody, and the higher-pitched flute(s) play the complementary, feminine countermelody. As far as Patricio and I were able to ascertain, Kotama is one of the only, if not the only, village where flutists tend to play in trios.

<sup>49</sup> Although this innovation has changed some of the traditional tuning practices, the balance of which flutes play the masculine and feminine lines is maintained by having slightly more flutes play the feminine countermelody (e.g. in a group of ten musicians, four flutists play the lead melody and six flutists play the countermelody). This change is also in accordance with general aesthetics of the tradition and a preference for large, fertile sounds (see Chapter 5).

performances, Patricio would narrate in Kichwa – and I would interpret – information about the context of how this music is performed traditionally. Audience members and interns were frequently borrowed and asked to participate with dancing on or in front of the stage. Figure 6.4 is an image of when the flutists and I played music and danced through the Hungarian tent to take it over in a similar fashion to how flutists take over church plazas in Otavalo and Cotacachi.<sup>50</sup>

Long before people in the United States began occupying public spaces during the Occupy Movement, or flamenco artists began staging flash mobs in Spanish banks to protest a failing capitalist economy, the Runakuna of Ecuador have been taking over public spaces through music and dance.<sup>51</sup> In doing so, the Runakuna (re)create relationships between rival indigenous communities, as well as turn hierarchical relationships between indigenous people and Ecuador's dominant parts of society upside-down. The *toma*, or taking over of a public space, is a powerful performance context that Hatun Kotama has expanded beyond the confines of Otavalo. In addition to playfully interacting with Hungarians and festival attendees in D.C., flutists have taken over the busy city streets of Quito's northern suburbs, blocking traffic by dancing and performing music, as seen in Figure 6.5, making a strong statement that "kaypimi kanchik," or "we are still here!" Following this take over, members excitedly talked about possibilities for a future take over of the San Francisco Cathedral's plaza in the heart of historic Quito. Some of the students even joked about how they were beginning their takeover of the world.

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<sup>50</sup> For more information on ritual dancing, *tomas*, and *tinkuy-s*, see Wibbelsman (2005; 2009).

<sup>51</sup> See Josh Brown (2014) for an account and analysis of how guerrilla flamenco musicians have been occupying Spanish banks.



Figure 6.4: Hatun Kotama takes over the Hungarian plot during the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Pictured left to right from the group are: Mariano Maldonado, Segundo Quinchuquí, Alfonso Cabascango, Mariano Quinchuquí, Jessie M. Vallejo, Patricio Maldonado, Julio Tabango. Pictured also is Charlie Weber (Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage videographer) behind Segundo Quinchuquí (Photograph by Diana Bossa, 2013; used with permission).



Figure 6.5: Hatun Kotama takes over the streets of Carapungo, also known as Calderón, just north of Quito (Photograph by Jessie M. Vallejo, 2012).

## Summary

In this chapter, I have argued that the combination of socio-economic shifts in Ecuadorian society and public health failings led to destabilizing the foundations of *flauta* transmission. If we consider the fact that many transmission and performance contexts had been adapted to white and *mestizo* institutions, such as Catholicism and the *huasipungo* feudalistic system, we are able to recognize the resilience of this musical tradition and those who have performed it over the last few centuries. Hatun Kotama's work speaks to the flexibility and adaptability of Kichwa people and how musical practices are central to their lives and cosmovision.

Hill and Chaumeil suggest that as indigenous South American nations move through modernity and engage with a globalizing world, they will seek out or create new political and interpretive spaces for their music, which is largely linked to their communities and spiritualities, to persist (2011:36-40). Some of the changes or strategies that Hill and Chaumeil highlight in their edited volume *Burst of Breath* include archiving and documenting their own music for preservation purposes, embracing or experimenting with technology and new forms of communication and transmission, adapting the purposes for performing music, and framing newly adopted sound devices or musical styles in culturally-specific ways. Upon examining Hatun Kotama's work over the last several years, we see how the organization has led the *flauta* revitalization movement by adopting new modes of transmission and experimenting with recording culture. Rather than merely preserving the music as an artifact of what it once was, however, Kotama flutists' have actively sought out new possibilities and spaces for the music. As a result, the institutionalizing and recording of *flauta* music has had a transformative effect on

the music itself and on Kichwa social practices.<sup>52</sup> Even though some of Hatun Kotama's innovations may seem like radical departures from a centuries-old tradition, I argue that they demonstrate how Kichwa musicians are maintaining a long tradition of generative change as they move through modernity.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> In his examination of the North American pow-wow recording industry, Christopher A. Scales presents how recording traditional music has a transformative effect on music and social practice (2010). Additionally, Scales asserts the idea that "the practices of 'recording culture' (creating and consuming commercial powwow CDs) express a unique kind of indigenous modernity that allows Native Americans to be simultaneously modern and traditional" (2012:22).

<sup>53</sup> Although the metaphor of the x-mark does not carry the same relevance for South American indigenous nations as it does for North American nations who signed treaties with colonial governments, I believe that Scott R. Lyons' use of the metaphor in analyzing Native American peoples' acceptance and valuing of change to be highly relevant to Hatun Kotama's approach for revitalizing the Kichwa language and related customs, like *flauta* music (Lyons 2010). See also Romero (1990) for a context-sensitive case study about resistance, adaptation, and evolution of musical traditions in the Mantaro Valley of central Peru.

## Coda

### Reflections and Thoughts

Throughout the previous chapters, I have discussed an Andean transverse flute tradition once widely common across northern Ecuador and among the Kichwa-speaking Otavalans. One of my goals in this dissertation is to introduce the transverse cane flute (*flauta*, Sp.), which has been routinely overlooked and often dismissed as frivolous in the scholarship published about Otavalo and the Kichwa Runakuna from the area. In Chapter 2, I place the *flauta* in a broader context of Otavalan musical instruments, styles, sounds, and performance contexts. Additionally, I juxtapose the different arguments surrounding what the *flauta's* origins could be. Most anthropologists and sociologists have assumed that the Otavalans exhibit a strong link to the past Incan regime. Despite some of the obvious connections between the two societies and historical time periods (e.g. traditional attire), flutists maintain that *flauta* music is pre-Incan. Furthermore, archaeologists point out that the rulers of the Otavalan Valley and surrounding areas controlled many of the Andean trade routes; therefore, the ethnic groups of northern Ecuador were likely to have influenced Incan customs as well. It is impossible to state what the exact origins of the Otavalans or the *flauta* tradition are, but I do emphasize that this music has adapted time and again over the last few centuries. Even if there are pre-Incan roots, *flauta* music has long interacted with and responded to post-Incan and post-Hispanic influences.

Kichwa political leader Nina Pacari introduces one of Luz María De la Torre's books with the following critical observation:

Concebimos a los pueblos indígenas como sujetos distintos en cuanto a las costumbres, idiomas, vestuario o música, que vienen a ser los elementos más expresivos que la definen en su diferencia. Sin embargo, no se asume que los pueblos indígenas sean también portadores de un pensamiento. (Pacari 2004:11-12)



We conceive of indigenous people as distinct entities in terms of their customs, languages, dress or music, which come to be the most expressive elements that define them as unique. However, it is not assumed that indigenous people are bearers of their own system of thought. (Pacari 2004:11-12; my translation)

While at UCLA and during my time in Otavalo, I have been extremely fortunate to be a student of both Luz María De la Torre and Luis Enrique "Katsa" Cachiguango, two renowned Kichwa intellectuals. In Chapter 3, I base the foundation for most of my dissertation on De la Torre's and Cachiguango's insights and theories about gender in Kichwa society, especially how gender is always in a state of flux, is expressed along a spectrum of degrees, and consists of two complementary and interdependent types of energies (masculine and feminine) on which our cosmos, or our *pariverso* (pairverse) is based. I demonstrate how these epistemologies are maintained and expressed in the constructing of a *flauta* (Chapter 4) and in Kichwa musical aesthetics (Chapter 5).

Chapter 5 also focuses on transcription issues that are frequently encountered when researching Amerindian music. I echo Tara Browner's and Anthony Seeger's beliefs about the importance and continued relevance of transcription in ethnomusicological research. Furthermore, my discussion and presentation of musical transcriptions address many of the biases that Tara Browner critiques in her critical transcription of a Native American Pow-wow (2009).

Chapter 6 examines Hatun Kotama's revitalization efforts of the Otavalan *flauta* tradition. The chapter begins with analyzing the storm of socio-economic situations that contributed to severely interrupting the transmission of *flauta* music. For the second half of the chapter, I point out how Hatun Kotama's approaches to revitalizing this music are an example of Scott Lyons' interpretation of an x-mark, or a commitment to living a new life and modernizing in contexts of coercion.

South Americanist scholars have often assumed that a major distinction between lowland and highland indigenous nations is the presence (or absence) of flute cults and societies. Hill and Chaumeil note that,

We should remind ourselves that in South Americanist studies, the theme of secret flutes and associated rituals has played an important role in the great classifications by cultural areas in the 1950s, as in the case of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (1946-50). In the model adopted by the editor of the *Handbook*, Julian Steward, the demarcation between the so-called north-west Amazonian tribes and the Montaña tribes follows in a certain way the line marking the presence of this presumed cult of the sacred flutes. (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:10)

Speaking broadly of lowland flute traditions, the authors continue to describe the relationship between the shape of flutes and reproductive organs:

Ritual wind instruments belong to this family of tubular structures that transform energy, sustain life, and convert potentially dangerous "others" (e.g. affines) into fully socialized members of local kin-based communities. Ritual wind instruments are thus symbols of the ability to build connections, or enduring social ties, between the living and the dead, mythic ancestors and human descendants, humans and animals, men and women, kin and affine, indigenous peoples and nation-states, and so on. These sacred flutes, trumpets, and clarinets are the skeletal inner structure of the social body that binds together men, women, animals, spirits, and others into coherent universes of meaning and discourse. (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:25-26)

In particular, flute cults have been defined as musical traditions or societies dedicated to performing fertility rituals, which feature a combination of masculine and feminine elements, and are not strictly performed in honor of ancestors (Hill and Chaumeil 2011:10). Even though flutists are almost exclusively men in most South American indigenous musical traditions, current scholars of both lowland and highland Amerindian flute music emphasize that this does not indicate these rituals are meant to express symbols of masculine domination (Hill and Chaumeil 2011; Stobart 2008).

Based on what I have put forth in the previous chapters, I argue that this division between lowland and highland flute traditions is not as clear as has been commonly assumed or accepted,

which Holly Wissler also acknowledges (2009:43). The Otavalan transverse flute tradition exemplifies many of the attributes outlined by Hill and Chaumeil.<sup>1</sup> More than anything, *flauta* music is intertwined with an exploration of oneself (especially for men), as well as the building, or singing, of relationships between humans, their environment, and spiritual worlds into being (Basso 1981).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, even though Otavalan *flauta* music is masculine, its effectiveness depends on the combining of masculine and feminine elements for everything from how the instrument is crafted and sorted into pairs to the instrumentation and aesthetics heard in a song, throughout a festival, a year, and a lifetime.

As I finish this dissertation, I am looking forward to observing how the *flauta* revitalization movement, led by Hatun Kotama, impacts other communities and grows throughout the region. Based on what I have researched, I agree with David Kyle's assumption that the farmer-artisan (*agricultores-artesanos*, Sp.) communities will tend to be sites where traditions that are considered more authentic, like *flauta* music, will be included in the revival of other festivals and rituals. Even though *flauta* music has experienced a significant decline at the end of the twentieth century, I believe that Hatun Kotama's work indicates that a new and innovative chapter of this tradition lies ahead of us and that Otavalans will continue to move through modernity, mapping space and time with their music.

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<sup>1</sup> One difference I would like to reiterate is how Otavalan transverse flutes facilitate relationships with the surrounding landscape, which Hill and Chaumeil do not include in their list of examples. Additionally, *flautas* do not engage with animals in this way, whereas this seems to be more common in lowland areas (see Chapter 3).

<sup>2</sup> In *Burst of Breath*, Prinz (2011:295) and Ruedas (2011:316) specifically address how music allows one to gain awareness of oneself and others.

APPENDIX 1

*Aruchicos* (Photograph by Rolf Blomberg, 1949, used with permission;  
courtesy of the Blomberg Archive/*Archivo Blomberg*)



APPENDIX 2  
Full Transcription of "Allku Wayku"

Allku Wayku (Dog Ravine)

Hatun Kotama / Trans. Jessie M. Vallejo

♩ = 170  
*ad lib.*

Flauta 1  
Flauta 2  
Flauta 3  
Feet  
Voice 1

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Ve2  
CS

Ha la ku Ha la ku  
Ha la ku

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Ve2  
CS

Ko ta ma Ti o Ko ta ma Ti o Sha mu kun ma riy  
Ha la ku Ko ta ma Ti o Ko ta ma Ti o

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10

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl.  
Vcl.2  
Wh.  
CS.

Sha mu kun ma riy      All ku Way ku ta      All ku Way ku ta

Sha mu kun ma riy      Sha mu kun ma riy      All ku Way ku ta

13

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl.  
Vcl.2  
Wh.  
CS.

Mi ku sha mi      Mi ku sha mi      All ku Way ku pi

All ku Way ku ta      Mi ku sha mi      Mi ku sha mi

16

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl.  
Vcl.2  
Wh.  
CS.

All ku Way ku pi      Chu ray ca ra jo      Chu ray ca ra jo

All ku Way ku pi      All ku Way ku pi      Chu ray ca ra jo

19

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Vcl  
Wh.  
CS.

Co mo Ko ta ma Co mo Ko ta ma Llaz Tu az  
Chu ray ca ra jo Co mo Ko ta ma Co mo Ko ta ma

22

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Vcl  
Wh.  
CS.

Llaz Tu az Gi ris Tu az Gi ris Tu az  
Llaz Tu az Llaz Tu az Gi ris Tu az

25

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Vcl  
Wh.  
CS.

Sin chi ku na Sin chi ku na Ko ta ma Ti o  
Gi ris Tu az Sin chi ku na Sin chi ku na

28

Fl.1

Fl.2

Fl.3

Feet

Vc1

Vc2

Wh.

CS.

Ko ta ma Ti o Ha tun Ko ta ma Ha tun Ko ta ma

Ko ta ma Ti o Ko ta ma Ti o Ha tun Ko ta ma

31

Fl.1

Fl.2

Fl.3

Feet

Vc1

Vc2

Wh.

CS.

Im ba bu re ño Im ba bu re ño O ta va lo ka

Ha tun Ko ta ma Im ba bu re ño Im ba bu re ño

34

Fl.1

Fl.2

Fl.3

Feet

Vc1

Vc2

Wh.

CS.

O ta va lo ka Sha mu ku ma riy Sha mu ku ma riy

O ta va lo ka O ta va lo ka Sha mu ku ma riy



37

FL.1

FL.2

FL.3

Feet

Vcl

Bai lan pash Ri shun chik lla Ri shun lla mi

Vc2

Sha mu ku ma riy Bai lan pash Ri shun chik lla

Wh.

CS.

40

FL.1

FL.2

FL.3

Feet

Vcl

Al li ku na Al li ku na Sha mu na kun mi

Vc2

Ri shun lla mi Al li ku na Al li ku na

Wh.

CS.

43

FL.1

FL.2

FL.3

Feet

Vcl

Sha mu na kun mi Bol sa man ka Bol sa man ka

Vc2

Sha mu na kun mi Sha mu na kun mi Bol sa man ka

Wh.

CS.

46

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Vc2  
Wh.  
CS.

Taz Tu az Taz Tu az Gi ris Tu az  
Bol sa man ka Taz Tu az Taz Tu az

49

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Vc2  
Wh.  
CS.

Gi ris Tu az Al li Ko ta ma Al li Ko ta ma  
Gi ris Tu az Gi ris Tu az Al li Ko ta ma

52

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vcl  
Vc2  
Wh.  
CS.

Sha mu na kun mi Sha mu na kun mi All ku Way ku pi  
Al li Ko ta ma Sha mu na kun mi Sha mu na kun mi

55

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3

Feet

Vcl  
Vc2

Wh.

CS.

All ku Way ku pi Tu shuy ca ra jo Tu shuy ca ra jo

All ku Way ku pi All ku Way ku pi Tu shuy ca ra jo

58

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3

Feet

Vcl  
Vc2

Wh.

CS.

Tu shuy ca ra jo Llaz Tu az Llaz Tu az

Tu shuy ca ra jo Tu shuy ca ra jo Llaz Tu az

61

Fl.1  
Fl.2  
Fl.3

Feet

Vcl  
Vc2

Wh.

CS.

Gi ris Tu az Gi ris Tu az A si Ba ta llu

Llaz Tu az Gi ris Tu az Gi ris Tu az

64

Fl.1  
Fl.4  
Fl.5  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vc1  
Vc2  
Wh.  
CS.

A si Ba ta llu Hu chu ku na Hu chu ku na

A si Ba ta llu A si Ba ta llu Hu chu ku na



67

Fl.1  
Fl.4  
Fl.5  
Fl.2  
Fl.3  
Feet  
Vc1  
Vc2

Hu chu ku na

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