

**ANDEAN MUSICIANS IN VANCOUVER:
TRANSCULTURAL TRADITIONS AND IDENTITY**

by

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1980s, “traditional” music of the Andes has become familiar to Vancouver audiences, as well as to those in urban centres throughout North America, Europe, Australia and Japan. This thesis explores the performance and presentation of Andean music in Vancouver, as an example of music making in transcultural displacement. Profiles of three musicians are presented, based on data compiled through formal interviews with musicians, observation of performance events, and research of promotional materials produced by Andean musical groups. All three are part of the Latin American immigrant “community” of Vancouver, and all have many years experience performing what they identify as Andean folkloric music. Their backgrounds, however, are diverse, as are the styles of music they currently perform. There are differences, also, in how their music relates to the construction and presentation of their ethnic identities in Canada.

Central to this study is the issue of how musicians in a transcultural setting consider the notion of authenticity in maintaining musical traditions. The relation of a musical tradition to musicians’ sense of identity, and how it may change over time, is also examined. This study demonstrates that in order to understand how and why a musical tradition changes through the process of globalization, we must examine the dynamics among musicians sharing that tradition, and the complex cultural and social networks in which each is embedded.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1950s, when migrant Bolivian groups such as *Los Ruphay*¹ first began performing folk music on the streets of Paris, “traditional” music of the Andes has become a familiar and recognizable style of music for urban audiences throughout Europe and North America. It is a style of music that has, until recently, been presented and perceived as an “authentic” expression of an indigenous South American cultural tradition. While this music probably reached the apex of its popularity during the 1980s (when it was closely associated with Latin American solidarity movements), Andean groups are still a feature of the musical landscape in many cities. Currently in Vancouver, Canada, there are several groups, and individual musicians, who perform what may be identified as Andean music. While many of these groups include arrangements of traditional songs and melodies within their repertoires, most also perform their own compositions. Some label their music “traditional” or “folkloric”², while others identify with a “world beat” or “global fusion” categorization.

Andean music as it is performed in Vancouver, as elsewhere, is an example of music making in transcultural displacement. As migration throughout the world accelerates, and individual musicians become involved in increasingly complex networks of relations, we need to find ways of studying how this affects the music they perform, and the way that they perceive this music in relation to their cultural or ethnic heritage and identity. As Zheng (1994) asserts:

Ethnomusicology has historically embedded its knowledge in the assumed coherence of culture and place. To a large extent, it studies others’ music in their place, supposedly a self-

¹ See Pekkola 1996:82 and Wara Cespedes 1984:226.

²“Folk music” and “traditional music” are problematic terms which are difficult to define, and they are often used interchangeably. *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* offers the following definition of folk music:

Music in oral tradition, often in relatively simple style, primarily of rural provenance, normally performed by non-professionals, used and understood by broad segments of a population... characteristic of a nation, society, or ethnic group, and claimed by one of these as its own. (Nettl 1986)

Obviously this is a broad generalization, and many folk performers today are urban professional musicians although their style of music may be originally of a “rural provenance”. In this paper, the music discussed as traditional may be considered part of the Andean folk repertoire, with its roots in the music played by indigenous people in rural communities throughout the Andes region. *Música folkórica* [folk music] is a term generally used by the musicians in this study; it has been used in many South American countries since the 1960s, primarily to describe traditionally-based music performed in urban settings.

contained entity...while leaving out the dynamics of diasporic or translocal cultural processes. (275)

This paper explores some of the ways in which individual musicians' perceptions of, and relations to, traditional Andean music have been affected by both internal and external forces operating through transcultural and diasporic processes. Such processes include the immigrant experience; the degree of connection to home communities, or nations; their relations with other "Andean" musicians; and how they relate to the broader musical context of the host community, as well as to the world music industry in general. What will be demonstrated is that to understand how a musical tradition changes through the process of globalization we must examine the dynamics among individual musicians sharing that tradition, and the complex cultural and social networks in which each is embedded. As ethnomusicologist John Blacking asserts:

Musical change... is not 'caused' by 'contact among people and cultures' or the 'movement of populations'...; it is brought about by decisions made by individuals about music-making and music on the basis of their experience of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts. (Blacking 1995:160)

In the context of transnational migration there are forces acting on musicians which may propel them, on the one hand, toward a desire to preserve their musical traditions intact, by resisting other influences. On the other hand, such forces may inspire them to adopt and incorporate elements from a variety of sources, while maintaining a strong connection to their tradition. Within the world music industry, both trends are evident.

Prior to the mid-1980s, "world music" was a term used by ethnomusicologists, to identify their object of study – the music of all the world's peoples. All, that is, except for Euro-American music, which was the domain of musicologists.³ In the mid-1980s, "world music" was adopted by the commercial recording industry as a convenient label to encompass an increasingly diverse array of

³Euro-American music genres falling outside of the classical music tradition came under other labels such as "folk" or "popular"; folk music sometimes came under the purview of world music whereas North American and British popular music was mostly ignored by ethnomusicologists before the late 1980s.

musical products coming out of various developing nations (Taylor 1997). Since then, world music has seen a significant growth in its share of the recording industry market, moving from an esoteric specialty to a relatively mainstream genre. The label itself refers to a broad and heterogeneous category, which “spans a continuum from primitivist fantasies through to the postmodern embracement of an endless multiplication of musical formations” (Barrett 1996:238); in other words, it can include anything from ethnographic field recordings of Central African pygmy songs, to Indonesian gamelan music, to Latin salsa. A sub-genre, “world beat”, designated popular musical styles (as opposed to traditional/folk), especially those which are obvious syncretic hybrids (Feld 1995). “Global (or world) fusion” is another term used to label musical styles celebrating transcultural hybridity, often through collaborations between artists from two or more disparate musical traditions.

Where contemporary performances of Andean music fit into this nexus of globalized flows (Appadurai 1990) is difficult to locate. Whereas distinct localized traditions continue to exist in highland communities in South America, the style of Andean music performed throughout most of the world has long been part of a globalized process. It involves a diasporic community of Andean musical migrants now spread throughout the world in places as disparate as Cusco, Boston, Oslo, Tokyo, and Tasmania. They come from various countries in Latin America and most began by performing “traditional Andean folk” music, a relatively standardized style which in fact developed in urban settings in the 1960s, as will be discussed below. Today, however, while some musicians continue to play in this “neo-traditional” style, many have been affected by the global phenomenon of “world music” and there is a growing trend towards musical experimentation, which takes divergent forms. The increasing diversity of styles, which come under the rubric of “Andean music”, is clearly in evidence among musicians in Vancouver.

Vancouver has a relatively small, but growing, population of Latin American heritage.⁴ Of this group, an even smaller number come from the Andean region of South America. Yet, a conservative estimate would place the number of Andean music groups in Vancouver over the last five years, at approximately eight to ten.⁵ This may be due, in part, to the popularity this music gained in the 1970s and 80s as it spread throughout Latin America, which allowed it to become an easily recognizable symbol of Latin American identity.

In this study, three musicians are profiled, each of whom directs, or has directed, his own ensemble. All three are part of the Hispanic/Latin American immigrant “community” of Vancouver, and all have many years experience performing what they identify as Andean folkloric music. Their backgrounds, however, are diverse, as are the styles of music they currently perform and the ways in which their music relates to the construction and presentation of their ethnic identities. Each may be seen as exemplifying a particular response to the problem of maintaining traditions in a transcultural environment. For the present paper I identify these responses with the following categories: 1) transplanted tradition, 2) cosmopolitan tradition, and 3) indigenized tradition. These categories will be elaborated when discussing the individual musicians.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Research for this study was conducted through the following methods: formal and informal interviews with musicians; an informal musical apprenticeship; attendance at concerts and other events at which Andean music was performed; listening to commercial recordings of the music, and researching promotional materials concerning Andean musical groups. Cassette recordings were made (with permission) of some performance events, as well as of interviews and of my music lessons (described below). The Internet (World Wide Web) became an important tool in locating

⁴ According to data from the 1996 Census of Canada, 17,200 immigrants in Vancouver came from Central and South America; approximately 3500 of these arrived since 1991. [Source: Statistics Canada website: <http://www.statcan.ca/> accessed Aug. 2000]

⁵ Groups often form and dissolve then reform. I have identified eight groups, and have unconfirmed reports of

musicians and groups, both in Vancouver and throughout the world, as increasingly musicians are using websites as a means of promoting their music.

The research began with a period of informal musical apprenticeship⁶, in which I studied *quena* [vertical notched flute]⁷ with René Hugo Sánchez, a Peruvian musician who has lived in Vancouver since 1990. These lessons began in October of 1997 and continued until June of 1999—initially weekly and later biweekly—interrupted for a few months when Hugo Sánchez made extended trips home to Peru. I also enrolled in a course (five sessions in a five-week period), on constructing and playing *zampoña* [Andean panflute] that Hugo Sánchez taught in February 1999, at the West Point Grey community centre in Vancouver.

The use of apprenticeship as a research method in anthropology has a long history.⁸ One of the benefits of such a method is summed up in the following statement: “Since it involves actual participation with an expert, it is a very good way of learning not only the skill itself, but the premises on which its practice is based” (Goody 1989:254). It has also been said that apprenticeship is a useful tool for understanding the aesthetic and technical aspects of craft production (Coy 1989:117); extending this idea to the study of musical production, apprenticeship becomes an obvious tool in ethnomusicological research. Nuttall (1997) explores her own apprenticeship within a tradition (North Indian *tabla* drumming) where there is an established pattern of learning through guru/disciples relationships. Central to her study is the question of how cultural knowledge becomes embodied in the acquisition of performative skills. A less formal musical apprenticeship (in Bulgarian music) is examined by Rice (1994), in his study of musical experience through both social and cognitive processes of learning music.

several others.

⁶Coy defines informal apprenticeship as an “association of a skilled person with an unskilled person for a flexible and indefinite period of time” (1989:1).

⁷ See Appendix for description of Andean instruments.

⁸ It can be traced at least as far back as Ruth Bunzel’s work with Pueblo potters in the 1920s and is seen by many researchers as a logical and formalized extension of the role of participant-observer, long considered an essential tool in ethnographic fieldwork (Coy 1989). Most texts on theory and method in anthropological research include discussions of the role of participant-observation (e.g., Emerson et al 1995; Knauff 1996;

My own period of apprenticeship was of a different nature than either of the preceding examples. Rather than learning a localized tradition in its place of origin, this was an example of learning a musical tradition in a context of displacement. In weekly music lessons, that encompassed far more than purely musical skill and technique, some form of cultural transmission took place. In order to teach me how to play the *quena* it was also necessary for Hugo Sánchez to introduce me to some of the conceptual and ideological context out of which Andean music is produced.

MUSIC, IDENTITY AND AUTHENTIC TRADITIONS

This research draws primarily on two broad areas for its theoretical framework. The first concerns the study of tradition and authenticity in manifestations of culture. There is a large body of literature in this area, crossing a number of disciplinary boundaries, including anthropology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies and folklore. In the past two decades, much of this literature has been devoted to challenging long-held assumptions concerning the nature of tradition and what constitutes “authentic” culture. Following seminal works on the “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), several writers sought to identify the historical conditions in various cultures which have led to the construction of so-called “traditions”. Explorations of global cultural “flows” and celebrations of hybridity (Clifford 1988; 1997; Appadurai 1990) helped to establish a more dynamic concept of traditions, destabilizing essentialized notions of authentic cultural practices. As traditions are maintained through transmission, invention is an ongoing process. And as people carry their traditions into different social contexts, the form in which transmission occurs must vary.

In this study, I consider cultural invention in the sense of ongoing cultural reproduction:

Invention takes place within a field of culturally available possibilities, rather than being without precedence. It is as much a process of selection and recombination as one of thinking anew. Creativity emerges from past traditions and moves beyond them; the creative persona reshapes traditional forms. The circumstances of creativity admit to contact, borrowing, and conflict. (Lavie, Narayan and Rosaldo 1993:5-6)

Bernard 1995).

Contact and borrowing become increasingly salient in transcultural or transnational settings. To understand the musicians' position as immigrants, or migrants – as people who have moved, or continue to move, between cultures – I have drawn on general theories of migration and transnationalism. The admission of travel and migration as valid and often necessary inclusions in ethnographic studies (Clifford 1997; Olwig and Hastrup 1997) means that the idea of bounded, mutually exclusive, cultures is no longer tenable. Hannerz' concept of the “global ecumene”, and his analysis of contemporary globalized cultural flows as a “network of networks”, have been particularly useful in comprehending individual Andean musicians and their multiple connections and influences (Hannerz 1992a;1992b). Similarly, his notion of “creolization” of cultural forms (1996; 1992a), can be easily applied to Andean music as a cultural commodity that has long been involved in transnational processes.

If the concept of authenticity, as a valid criterion of judgment or analysis, has been destabilized in anthropological and ethnomusicological research, then individual or collective notions of what constitutes “authentic culture” have been highlighted as an important area to examine. Most notably, in studies of the world music phenomenon, scholars have demonstrated the complex, hybrid nature of most musical products, while noting that “authenticity” is a potent marketing strategy that resonates with both performers and consumers (Feld 1988, 1996; Pacini Hernandez 1998; Barrett 1996; Erlmann 1993, 1996; Garofalo 1993; Roberts 1992; Taylor 1997). In the case of Andean music, as it has been disseminated globally, these ideas are particularly apt.

The relationship between music and social identity is also addressed in this paper, as it is often entwined with concepts of tradition and authenticity. This subject has been explicitly addressed by cultural theorists such as Frith (1996a) who asserts that music is simultaneously “an individualizing form” and “obviously collective” and that it often “stands for, symbolizes and offers the immediate experience of collective identity” (121). As a sense of collective identity very often relates to ethnicity, it has also been useful to draw on more general theories of ethnic identity construction and ethnic boundary maintenance (Barth 1969). The dynamics of negotiating ethnic and other social

differences through music, in the Canadian context, are explored in a diverse collection of essays (Diamond and Witmer 1994); the editors of this work suggest that “Canadian culture may be less defined by boundaries than by ways of ‘crossing the boundaries’ of communities” (304). Music is often seen as “the cultural form best able to cross boundaries” (Frith 1996:125), but in this paper I am more concerned with how individual musicians negotiate these boundaries through the music they create and perform.

Andean Ethnic Identity

Culturally and geographically, the Andean region of South America roughly corresponds to the area once occupied by the Incan Empire. While it was centred in the highland regions of what are now Peru and Bolivia, this empire, known as Tawantinsuyu (“land of the four quarters”), stretched along the Andes cordillera, eventually encompassing the mountainous territory from northern Ecuador down to its southern reaches in northern Chile (Doughty 1991).⁹ While the population dominated by the Incas was both ethnically and linguistically diverse, the people held many cultural traits in common, such as similar forms of social organization, religious beliefs and ritual, and forms of expressive culture (Stern 1982; Rowe and Schelling 1991). These commonalities were emphasized when opposed to the alien culture of the Spaniards in the post-conquest era.

Quechua, the language of the Incan rulers, was imposed as the *lingua franca* throughout their empire. The Spanish colonial regime, and particularly Roman Catholic missionaries, continued to use Quechua throughout most of the Andean region¹⁰ (with the exception of the southern areas where Aymara was the predominant language), which perhaps contributed to its survival at the expense of

⁹Some authors place the northern boundary of the Incan empire in southern Colombia (see Rowe and Schelling 1991).

¹⁰At least until the late eighteenth century when it was made illegal for use by clergy, and subsequently stigmatized, following a number of Andean uprisings (Turino 1991a:266).

many other indigenous languages (Turino 1991a). Today Quechua and Aymara remain the only indigenous languages spoken by substantial numbers of people in the Andean highlands.¹¹

Despite these common cultural traits, however, it is not accurate to frame these as constituents of a cohesive “Andean culture”, as is acknowledged in the following statement: “To refer to Andean culture as a unified concept is perhaps to risk too great an abstraction in the face of local differences” (Rowe and Schelling 1991:51). Nevertheless, local differences become less marked when viewed in relation to the dominant Hispanic culture of urban South Americans. The term “Andean” thus remains a useful and convenient descriptor, and continues to be used by researchers in a wide variety of disciplines, including anthropology and ethnomusicology.

It is important to recognize that the people characterized as Andeans have not historically thought of themselves in that way. As Turino asserts:

Indigenous Andeans in the rural highlands perceive of their identity concretely in terms of their localized *ayllu* or community, and the notion of a Quechua or Aymara society is not part of their daily discourse...Neither a national Peruvian nor a macroethnic consciousness seems strongly evidenced as a basis for unified political or social action among rural peasants or most urban migrants from this background. (1991:260)

This strong sense of localized identity is elaborated by a number of Andean researchers, and is particularly marked in studies of urban migrants from rural communities, who identify themselves as “Tapeños” (from Tapay) or “Puneños” (from Puno), and organize socially, according to their home community, province or region (Paerregaard 1997; Turino 1993; Goldstein 1998). On the other hand, in Andean countries ethnic distinctions clearly exist, but they are closely tied to sociocultural and class categories. For example, both Peruvian and Bolivian society have been characterized as consisting primarily of three ethnic groups:¹² 1) *criollos*, or “whites”(also termed Hispanics), those of

¹¹Quechua is spoken throughout most of the Peruvian Andes, in parts of Bolivia, and in Ecuador, where it is known as Quichua. Aymara is spoken in southern Peru (Department of Puno), and by the majority of indigenous people in Bolivia.

¹²This tripartite division leaves out several smaller but also significant groups: the indigenous people of the *selva* [lowland rainforest of the Amazonian basin] who have been even more marginalized than Andeans; the mainly coastal population of Afro-Peruvians; and substantial immigrant populations such as Japanese-Peruvians (see Doughty 1991; Klarén 2000).

Spanish/European heritage who reside primarily in lowland cities and occupy elite positions politically and socially; 2) indigenous people¹³, descendants of the original inhabitants of Tawantinsuyu, living in remote villages in the *sierra* [highlands], who have been politically and economically marginalized since colonial times, and 3) *mestizos*¹⁴, an intermediate ethnic and cultural category, resulting from widespread miscegenation since the beginning of the colonial era. Today, while indigenous monolingual Quechua or Aymara speakers remain the majority population in the remote highlands, much of the Andean region is populated by people who identify as mestizos, especially in the provincial towns and cities. These people are predominantly Spanish-speaking, though many are bilingual. Due to pervasive prejudice against indigenous *serranos* [people from the highlands], many have sought to abandon obvious markers of indigenous cultural identity (e.g. language, style of dress, music) and adopt those which would identify them as mestizo, especially following migration from rural communities to urban centres. Thus, whether one is identified as indigenous or mestizo depends, to some degree, on context and is not a straightforward issue of ethnicity.¹⁵ The sense of an Andean identity, or “Andeanity” (Droogers 1996), while not historically salient, is increasingly being adopted by both indigenous and mestizo migrants. The development of a relatively standardized musical style, as discussed in the following section, has aided in the construction of a pan-Andean identity.

¹³There is a confusing multiplicity of terms used to label indigenous Andeans. The Spanish term *indios* carries negative connotations and is generally considered derogatory, although the corresponding English term “Indian” is frequently used by researchers (e.g. Romero 1990). Populist governments, hoping to integrate indigenous highlanders into the nation-state, attempted to officially replace it with *campesinos* [peasants] in both Bolivia, in the 1950s (Wara Cespedes 1984; Pekkola 1996) and Peru, in the 1970s (Wilson 2000; Doughty 1991). Another Spanish term used is *indigenas* [indigenous people]. The Quechua self-referential term is *runakuna* (Doughty 1991).

¹⁴Mestizos are called *mistikunas* (Doughty 1991) or *mistis* (Paerregaard 1998) in Quechua. Another (generally negative) term, *cholo*, applied primarily to highland migrants to urban centres, effectively defines an intermediary social or cultural identity, between indigenous and mestizo (see Zapata Swerdlow and Swerdlow 1998; de la Cadena 2000; Klarén 2000).

¹⁵The history of complex negotiations between these two categories of ethnic/cultural identification have been explored by a number of Andean scholars (e.g., Romero 1990; Wilson 2000; de la Cadena 2000).

The Ethnography of Andean Music and Transnational Migrants

As an ethnographic study of Andean music in the Canadian context, this paper examines how migrants perpetuate a tradition while adapting it to a new social context. It contributes to the field of Andean musical ethnography, particularly among urban migrants, as well as the ethnography of immigrant musicians and musical traditions in Canada. This research adds also to the understanding of music-making and musical change among transnational migrants in general, and the investigation into notions of tradition and authenticity in the flow of globalized cultural commodities such as “world music”.

Beyond ethnographic studies of Andean music focussed on particular regions or communities (den Otter 1985; Romero 1990; Turino 1993), some researchers have also studied the musical activities of highland migrants in urban environments, examining the role of music in identity construction (Turino 1988, 1993; Goldstein 1998; Wilson 2000; Rogers 1999; Borrás 1994). While not specifically addressing music, Paerregaard (1997b) describes the use of folklore in establishing and reproducing complex identities among an “unbounded” community in Peru that includes both highland rural and urban migrant residents. The history of folkloric representations of Andean culture (especially music and dance) and the appropriation of Andean cultural symbols to serve as national symbols is an issue that touches on tradition and authenticity. Several studies explore the presentations of Andean culture through state-sponsored tourism in Peru and Bolivia, and the transformation of rural traditions into urban “folklore” (Goldstein 1998; Turino 1991a).

The history and development of the urban Andean folkloric music style within Bolivia and Peru has been well documented (Fairley 1985; Wara Cespedes 1984, 1993); Pekkola (1996) offers a valuable case study of several Bolivian groups who perform this music. However, there has been relatively little research into the contemporary expressions of Andean musical groups in transnational contexts. Borrás (1992) offers a brief overview of such groups in France, primarily to inform readers of the vast distance between the style of music heard as “Andean” in Europe and that played by indigenous musicians in rural Andean communities. One other study that examines the phenomenon

of Andean migrant musical groups provides a useful point of comparison for the present research: Robichaud (1996) has written about such groups in Montreal, another Canadian city. While the approach of each study is similar, the conclusions reached concerning the nature of musical change and how Andean musicians in Canada view the issues of tradition and authenticity differ considerably. An explanation for the discrepancy between Robichaud's findings and my own conclusions will be discussed in the analysis section of this paper.

Finally, there has been a recent surge in studies of the musical traditions perpetuated by transnational migrants. In Canada, the collection edited by Diamond and Witmer (1990) provides a number of case studies of individual immigrant musicians from a variety of cultural backgrounds, as well as theoretical chapters on the role of music in ethnic identity construction. Research into other contexts of diasporic or transnational musical traditions that comprise examinations of the complex social networks in which musicians live and work, both in their original and host communities include a study of Algerian *rai* music in France (Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1996), and Chinese music in the United States (Zheng 1994).

Andean Music: Identifying The Tradition

What actually constitutes traditional Andean music is difficult to identify definitively, given the wide range of styles played by people in different locations in the Andes, and the degree of influence and borrowing due to centuries of intercultural contact. Defining any music as "traditional" is, of course, problematic, as the term is so imprecise. As Tim Rice explains:

Tradition ... is a vexing concept because it is constantly used but annoyingly difficult to pin down. Many ethnomusicologists would probably prefer to avoid it as either so full or empty of meaning as to have no explanatory usefulness. (Rice 1994:13)

However, even if scholars would like to eschew it as analytically unsound, the concept of authentic, folk traditions continues to have currency in popular usage; how these terms are understood by Andean musicians and their audiences is what I want to address here. Until recently, most recordings of Andean music available to European and North American consumers were marketed as the traditional, *authentic* music of indigenous peoples of the Andes mountains in South

America. Liner notes of commercial recordings and promotional material often invoked the Incan empire, suggesting an unbroken link with the past (Borras 1992).¹⁶ For many audiences, the term “Andean music” conjures images of musicians wearing colourful ponchos and playing panpipes (Wolff, Fairley and Bullen 1994). For reasons I will discuss below, these have become the dominant symbols associated with the musical culture of the Andes for audiences in North America, Europe and elsewhere.

The music performed by Andean folkloric ensembles today, considered traditional both by audiences and by many performers, was developed in urban settings in the 1960s, in Bolivia, Chile and Peru. Although derived from indigenous musical styles of the remote highlands, it is far removed in style and sound from the music that continues to be played in the rural Andes. Prior to the 1950s, indigenous Andean music was rarely heard in the cities of Peru or Bolivia. In keeping with dominant *criollo* attitudes towards *sierra* culture, indigenous music and instruments were disparaged as inferior and associated with low social status. There were relatively few urban migrants from highland communities, and these tended to adopt *mestizo* cultural markers, as stated earlier.

During the 1950s, there was already a large expatriate community of Latin American artists and intellectuals living in Paris, which included Chilean folksinger Violeta Parra. While there, Parra and others came in contact with a group of Bolivian musicians who played traditional Andean instruments, including *quena* (Pekkola 1996). Gilbert Favre, a Swiss flautist and friend of Parra’s, took up the *quena* and developed a virtuosic style of playing, based more on European than Andean aesthetics of performance:

Favre’s technique included a vibrato, a voluminous sound with a wide range of dynamic changes, a ubiquitous glissando between intervals as third or more apart, a distinctive phrasing and a personal “signature”, which was the raising of the last note of a phrase by a minimal pitch, thus creating a “tail”. (Wara Cespedes 1984:226).

¹⁶ Taylor has identified “authenticity” as one of the key discursive strategies of the world music industry, in which the use of ancient, or at least non-European, instruments is highlighted, as is the use of unfamiliar, indigenous languages (1996:21-28).

Favre later accompanied Parra back to Santiago, Chile where he introduced this style of playing. At the same time, some urban mestizos in Bolivia had begun to develop a solo, virtuosic style of playing another indigenous Andean instrument, the *charango* [a small round-backed guitar], in an effort to raise its status. In the 1960s, Favre ended up in Bolivia, playing in one of the first “*peñas folklóricas*” [a sort of folk club/coffee house] in La Paz, Bolivia. Here he joined with *charango* player Ernesto Cavour to form the group *Los Jairas*. The most important innovation of this group, aside from their virtuosic and soloistic style of performance, was the combination of instruments in a way previously unknown – *quena*, guitar, *charango* and *bombo* [large drum], along with singing. In the subsequent decade, Los Jairas’ style was much imitated by other groups [*conjuntos folklóricos*] and many of their compositions became “classics”(Wara Cespedes 1984; Wolff, Fairley and Bullen 1994; Pekkola 1996). Panpipes were added by later groups, also played by soloists, and soon became standard – they are now the single most identifying feature, both visually and acoustically, of Andean folk ensembles.

The style and aesthetics practised by these groups contrasts in many ways with indigenous musical traditions. Although music does not exist as a uniform style throughout the Andes region, but rather as a series of localized traditions, there are certain generalizations that can be made. Indigenous Andean music developed out of the cultural collision between pre-Conquest native and Renaissance Hispanic musical traditions, giving rise to a syncretic style, and a profusion of new instruments.¹⁷ Today, each community has its own repertoire of song and dance types, associated with particular seasonal festivals or other performance occasions. They also have unique inventories of musical instruments, again with particular performance associations; many instruments are played only at certain times of the year. While *zampoñas* [panflutes - called *sikuri* in Aymara] are prevalent in some areas (particularly Bolivia, and Puno department of southern Peru), in other regions they are not played at all. In many communities, especially in the central highlands of Peru, flutes have been

¹⁷ Archaeological evidence suggests that various flutes and drums were present in pre-colonial Andean cultures, while stringed instruments appeared after contact.

mostly replaced by saxophones and brass ensembles (Romero 1990). In some regions there are marked differences between the kinds of instruments used by mestizos and those played by indigenous people (den Otter 1980; Turino 1994), whereas in other areas, these differences are not so clearly defined (Romero 1990). Overall, indigenous aesthetic preferences favour a high-pitched, strident sound, with a strong rhythmic drive rather than melodic clarity or individual virtuosity (Turino 1984:259-60).

One of the distinctive features of indigenous Andean music is that instruments are played in large ensembles (sometimes 30-50 players) consisting of “families” (different sizes) of the same type of instrument. For example, *zampoñas*, *quenas* or *pincullos* (another kind of flute); these instruments are often accompanied by drums, but different types of flutes are never played together in ensembles, nor are flutes combined with stringed instruments (Turino 1993; Hugo Sánchez, personal communication). Despite the articulation of musical aesthetic ideals, “equal access to participation and congenial community relations have priority over the quality of the musical sound” (Turino 1991b:124). Also, *zampoñas* require pairs of musicians to play them, as the notes of the scale¹⁸ are traditionally split between two instruments that complement each other. In the *conjuntos folklóricos*, *zampoñas* also became a solo instrument, with a number of distinct stylistic features:

Besides the vibrato solo, it is sometimes used as accompaniment, at other times as a second voice against a melodic line played by another instrument. Thus, counterpoint enters into the new style. A glissando in the panpipe is introduced as well as a “staccato” effect caused by tonguing, techniques that differ drastically from indigenous practices. (Wara Cespedes 1984:234)

As the *conjunto* style gained popularity and spread to Peru and other South American countries, some groups also carried it to France. International exposure was heightened when Paul Simon heard the Peruvian group Los Incas in Paris and invited them to play accompaniment, on a 1970 Simon and Garfunkel recording, for an arrangement of *El Condor Pasa* – a Peruvian tune for which Simon wrote English words.¹⁹ During this early period, despite their stylistic innovations, most groups were

¹⁸ A variety of scales are used including pentatonic(5-note), tritonic(3-note) and the European diatonic scale.

¹⁹ Considered a classic of the traditional repertoire, this melody was written in 1913 by Peruvian folklorist

concerned with presenting “authentic” Andean melodies from the traditional repertoires of highland communities; some were actively involved in researching and collecting this music. Later, many groups began to compose their own music, based on the traditional melodies and rhythms, especially the *huayno*.

During the 1960s, another musical development was occurring in Chile. Folk musicians such as Violeta Parra and Victor Jara were instrumental in creating a musical movement called *nueva canción* (or “new song”). Closely aligned with the socialist ideals of Salvador Allende’s governing party (elected in 1970), *nueva canción* has been characterized as “a dual project of roots recovery and social criticism” (Mattern 1998). Musicians turned to indigenous Andean music in an effort to create a uniquely Chilean, or Latin American, folk music, as a symbol of opposition to North American and European cultural and political imperialism. Related in many ways to the ideology of *indigenismo*, an urban liberal-intellectual movement which had surfaced previously in Peru and Bolivia²⁰, *nueva canción* musicians consciously chose indigenous instruments such as the *charango*, *quena* and *zampoña*, as unique, identifiable symbols of national identity and regional solidarity (Turino 1991b:125). In addition to the symbolic representation of the musical instruments, many groups adopted a style of indigenous dress in performance, including ponchos and knitted hats (Wolff et al 1994).

Following the 1973 military coup in Chile, in which President Salvador Allende was killed, and Victor Jara was subsequently tortured and murdered, many *nueva canción* musicians and groups such as **Inti-Illimani** and **Quilapayún**, were forced into exile in Europe. Exiled musicians often passed through Peru and Bolivia, where they influenced the development of the *conjunto folklórico* style. These ensembles proliferated as musicians adopted a “pan-Andean” musical style as a symbol of pan-Latin American solidarity against political and cultural oppression. While Andean instruments

Daniel Alomia Robles.

²⁰ See Turino (1991a; 1984) and de la Cadena (2000) for in-depth discussions of the regional and nationalist goals of *indigenismo* in Peru.

still figured prominently, the songs were based on folkloric traditions from all over Latin America, and other instruments were often introduced. In the subsequent decades (1970s and 80s), this style of playing spread internationally, not only through the exiled Chileans, but also through touring groups from Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, many of whom ended up settling in various European and other countries.²¹ In the past few years, a kind of “virtual” community of Andean music has evolved through the use of the Internet and the World Wide Web. At present, two online international associations of Andean musicians exist, both of which publish web newsletters.²² Andean music has enjoyed widespread popularity among urban audiences throughout the world. Despite its exotic flavour, lending it an aura of authenticity, its easy acceptance may be attributable to the fact that it was already a creolized cultural commodity (Hannerz 1996:78).

THE MUSICIANS

In the following section, I profile three musicians who each currently directs, or has directed, his own Andean musical group in Vancouver. In varying circumstances, all learned to play in the Andean *conjunto folklórico* style outlined above. While they should not be seen as representative of all the musicians who have performed Andean music in this city, they do exemplify the diversity of musicians grouped in this category, both in terms of background and in their musical styles. As stated earlier, Blacking (1995) asserts the importance of examining how individuals adapt musical traditions based on their experience and attitudes in changing social contexts. The active role played by people in constructing and presenting their identities, in response to different social contexts is also addressed by Eller (1999). The three musicians profiled below can be viewed as exemplifying three different types of response to the context of transnational migration, in how they have attempted to

²¹ In my research, I have identified Andean groups currently based in France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia, Japan, Australia, as well as Canada and the United States.

²² Tawantinsuyu TACMA [Asociación de Autores, Compositores y Músicos Andinos/ Association of Authors, Composers, and Andean Musicians], publishes *El Chasqui*: <http://musicosandinos.com> and A.I.M.A. [Asociación Internacional de Músicos Andinos/International Association of Andean Musicians, publishes *Quipu Aymarinka*: <http://aima.8m.com/>

maintain their tradition. The first response I have labelled “transplanted tradition” (represented here by Rene Hugo Sánchez) meaning that the individual tries to reproduce the musical style learned in the homeland, thereby maintaining the tradition in the new environment. While a certain amount of change is acknowledged as necessary, there is not obvious borrowing of musical elements from other cultural traditions. The second category I term “cosmopolitan tradition”; exemplified by Hugo Guzmán, this response allows for a high degree of manipulation of the tradition, through an openness to many different musical elements from a variety of cultures. While maintaining a connection to the roots of a tradition, the emphasis is on sophisticated musical production strongly influenced by Euro-American musical styles and aesthetics. The third category, “indigenized tradition”, is the least clear and may be an anomalous response. Exemplified by Marcos Arcentales, in this case the tradition is adapted to the new environment by consciously incorporating elements that are identifiably Canadian. It is doubly “indigenized” in that the elements most in evidence come from the musical traditions of various indigenous people of Canada and throughout the Americas.

1) TRANSPLANTED TRADITION: RENÉ HUGO SÁNCHEZ AND CUSKAPUNI

Background and Early Musical Experiences

René Antonio Hugo Sánchez grew up in the 1960s, in the remote highland community of Totora-Oropeza (two villages separated by the Oropeza River) in the department of Apurimac, in southern Peru. He grew up speaking Quechua, but he is also fluent in Spanish, which he first learned from his father. Since coming to Canada, Hugo Sanchez has learned to speak English as well. Mateo Hugo Prieto, Rene’s father, was the local schoolteacher and one of the few people in the village who had been to the city (Cusco) to study.

Hugo Sánchez has described his village as “very musical”. As elsewhere in highland communities, festivals are held throughout the year, each associated with its particular type of music. Boys are expected to learn to play the quena – he has described this process as a kind of “game”

where children learned by listening and imitating the adults and helping each other. There was never any instruction from the adults on *quena*. Hugo Sánchez's first musical instruction came from his father who taught him to play the mandolin. He thinks he learned his first complete song at about the age of seven. His father also played guitar, *bandurria* and *quena*. Hugo Sánchez describes this early experience with music as "learning the music of his town".

At the age of 16, Hugo Sánchez left his village to study at the university in Cusco. He began by studying electrical engineering and education. He gained his teaching degree, but before he finished his engineering programme, a music conservatory opened in Cusco and he began studying music as well; eventually music became more important to him and he dropped out of engineering, one semester short of completing his degree.

At the conservatory, the Instituto Superior de Música Leandro Alvina Miranda, from 1985 to 1990, Hugo Sánchez studied classical guitar as well as the history and theory of European art music. At that time there was no formal instruction on *quena*, although the school has since added a faculty member who is the first professional *quena* teacher in Cusco.

While he was a student, he began playing at night with various folk ensembles around Cusco in the *peñas folklóricas*, or folk music clubs. It was during this time that he learned to play *zampoñas* and other Andean instruments that were not part of the musical tradition of his home region of Apurímac. Because Cusco is "the most touristic place" in Peru (Hugo Sanchez, Interview, 1998), there was always a lot of work for musicians. Hugo Sánchez describes being able to easily make enough money playing to pay for his university studies and all his living expenses. After graduating, he toured Peru with various groups, performing and recording, with both Andean folkloric ensembles and bands backing *huayno* singers. He was in demand, primarily as a mandolin player, as he was able to readily adapt his playing to different regional styles. He feels this was due to his ability to really listen and imitate—skills he acquired through the method of learning music in his village.

In 1990 Hugo Sánchez came to Canada with a folkloric group from Cusco, called *Ayllu*, to play at various Children's Festivals, including ones in Vancouver, Calgary, Regina and Seattle. At one of the

concerts, Hugo Sánchez met his future Canadian wife, Kelly MacLean, and stayed on in Canada, touring and meeting other musicians. In 1994, he also travelled to China with his wife, who was part of a martial arts (Tai Chi) team representing North America. They invited Hugo Sánchez along because they wanted to include some musical performance as well. Hugo Sánchez taught some of the team to play *zampoñas* well enough to accompany him in performance; he finds it ironic that he was then part of a group performing Andean music in China, representing Canada.

The Group Cuskapuni – Foundation and Members

While still in Peru, Hugo Sánchez had decided to “dedicate [himself] to the research and preservation of traditional Andean music” (Liner notes, *Rio de Oropeza*, 1994). Since coming to Canada he has taught, composed and performed the “music of his people”. He has formed a musical group called Cuskapuni, a Quechua word meaning “forever united”, and has recorded two CDs:

- *Rio de Oropeza: music of the Peruvian Andes* 1994
- *Cuskapuni: traditional music of the Peruvian Andes* 1998

The core members are:

Rene Hugo Sanchez (Peru)	Vocals, vast array of Andean flutes, stringed instruments and percussion
Kelly MacLean (Canada)	Vocals, violin, <i>zampoñas</i> , percussion
Edgar Romero (?)	Percussion

The remaining membership remains flexible and fluid, and sometimes includes some of Hugo Sanchez’ students. On the second recording, there are five additional musicians, including two students on *zampoñas* and vocals; also given credit is the dancer, Lucy Mendoza Palomino, who often performs with the group.

The majority of music performed by Cuskapuni is either composed by Rene, or belongs to the traditional repertoire of his region (Apurimac/Cusco). They also include a few pieces from other regions of the Andes, and occasional examples from the coastal regions. He makes frequent trips back to his home village in Peru, and continues to unearth more traditional music, with the help of his family and friends. On his most recent CD, he states: “It gives me immense satisfaction to revive

ancient songs which have disappeared from the landscape of the Andes" (Liner notes, *Cuskapuni*, 1998).

Cuskapuni – Presentation and Promotion

Cuskapuni markets and presents itself as an “authentic” Andean folk ensemble. They wear matching costumes (brought back from Cusco) and often include demonstrations of traditional dances. One of their primary performance venues is in schools through the province’s cultural education programme, “ArtStarts in Schools”. Performing groups audition each year for this programme, and individual schools choose from among the groups selected. Rene uses these opportunities to teach Canadian children a little bit about Andean culture generally, as well as demonstrating the different instruments and dances, and performing songs.

Other performance occasions include Latin American festivals in Vancouver (such as the annual Soy Latino event), and events sponsored by the Peruvian consulate. Rene has also performed regularly as a solo musician at the Vancouver Seabus terminal, a “busking” position that now requires a license from the Vancouver City Council (for which musicians must audition).

Cuskapuni has produced a promotional pamphlet for distribution, which includes a brief biography of Rene, and a description of the group and its music. The musical instruments used feature prominently in the pamphlet, with many of them being identified and described. This is clearly considered one of Cuskapuni’s strength’s:

The astonishing array of instruments this group plays is one of the things that makes Cuskapuni so unique. We have more than twenty-five traditional instruments from both pre- and post-colonial eras in Peru. Some instruments even predate the Incas. (“Cuskapuni” date unknown)

The traditional aspect of the music is stressed not only by the instruments but also by reference to the “folk songs” sung by the group, which “have often been passed down and built upon for generations”. Rene’s background is also highlighted to emphasize the authenticity of the music:

Born and raised in a remote Inca village in the Peruvian Andes, Rene Hugo Sánchez is Vancouver’s premier representative of authentic, and often rare, Andean music. Having studied classical music in Cusco, Peru, he has come to Canada as an ambassador of Andean culture and as a consummate professional artist. (“Cuskapuni” date unknown)

The flexibility of the group is another aspect which is stated in their promotion. Suggested occasions for their performance are listed as: concerts, festivals, school presentations, workshops, lessons, parties. The variability of membership is also made explicit:

The size of our group can be adjusted to suit the size of your budget. From a one man band who will astound you with his versatility, to a colourful, ten-member troupe complete with dancers, we can provide the ensemble best suited to the occasion.
("Cuskapuni" date unknown)

One other important way in which the group presents itself is in the design and appearance of their CDs. Both back covers and interior liners show pictures of Rene, either alone or with the group, performing in costume (traditional Andean festive clothing). This allows Cuskapuni to display some of the variety of their instruments, as well as clearly marking them as a folkloric ensemble. This is not atypical of the way many "traditional" Andean groups around the world have presented themselves on their CD/album covers [as discussed previously]. However, it is interesting to note that Cuskapuni's covers also include images related to Rene's home village: the front cover of *Rio de Oropeza* features a photograph of a *chumpi* – a colourful woollen belt hand-woven by Rene's mother, Constantina Sánchez Flores, "in the traditional style of Oropeza", while the front of the second CD is an aerial photograph of his village by the Oropeza River. These images serve to ground the music of Cuskapuni in a particular and identifiable place, through Rene's ties to his familial, ancestral and geographic origins.

Both CDs were self-produced and are not associated with a record label, therefore distribution is necessarily very limited. Although the first CD was made available to a small number of local music stores (I found it at a local store specializing in classical music, with a selection of folk and world music recordings in their inventory), the second CD was not distributed through any retail outlets. The majority of their sales have always been direct, by making recordings available for purchase when the band is performing.

Songs and Lyrics

The songs performed by Cuskapuni are either from the “traditional” repertoire or are composed by Rene. On their CDs, each song is given quite extensive notes explaining its origin and its meaning, or the occasion for its performance. Of the five pieces listed as “traditional” on the first CD recording, *Rio de Oropeza*, three are selections of melodies from Rene’s village – two from annual festivals, and the other a medley of folk tunes. The two other pieces are a Peruvian *vals criollo* and a Bolivian tune, both arranged for guitar by Rene. Most of the songs on this CD are instrumentals; only one of the twelve tracks, “Charanguito”, includes vocals. The mixing of Spanish and Quechua occurs frequently in the lyrics composed by Rene, as well as in some traditional songs. The following is a song from their second CD, *Cuskapuni*, written by Rene and based on a *sikuri* rhythm from southern Peru:

Muyu Pollerita [“Swirling Skirt”]

<i>Ya me voy, ya! Me estoy yendo</i>	[Span.]	I go on my way
<i>Sicuriyta takiycuspa</i>	[Quech.]	Singing my sikuri!
<i>Allhuiycamuy trenzaycamuy</i>		Braiding the melody
<i>Punollajtacc usuchampi</i>		In the style of Puno!
<i>Muyu pollerita</i>		Swirling skirt
<i>Que viva la fiesta nuestra</i>	[Sp.]	May the party live!
<i>Muyu pollerita</i>		Swirling skirt
<i>Que dure la fiesta nuestra</i>	[Sp.]	May the party go on!

The lyrics of this song are typical of those performed by Cuskapuni. In both the traditional songs and those composed by Hugo Sanchez the themes are of fiestas, love, nature and agriculture. The texts of the songs are generally brief: in performance, individual words are often repeated, as are entire lines or verses; variation comes in the accompanying instrumentation, or in the vocals (for example in the song *Sihui Sihui Palloma*, there is alternation between male and female voices).

Teaching Andean Music

Another source of income for Rene is teaching music. Over the years he estimates he has had approximately 20 students, for varying amounts of time each. Most of his students study guitar, mandolin or *zampoñas*. He has had only a couple that studied *quena*, which he considers more

difficult than *zampoñas*. He has also taught beginning guitar through various community centres around Vancouver, but he has not offered to teach Andean music this way. One exception was a short course in *zampoña* playing (at the West Point Grey community centre), where a group of students learned to make and play their own *zampoñas*. Rene has expressed interest in teaching more of these courses as well as teaching classes in the Quechua language.

In teaching Andean music to musicians in Vancouver, Rene has tried to find a compromise between the traditional way of learning in indigenous Andean communities, and a more formal, classically-based style. As many people here read music, he finds this to be:

a good help for learning an instrument ... In order to teach here, I have to use the written; the written is very useful. At the same time I try to [teach students] to listen and then write, because that's how I learned, just by listening. And it's very important in the music.²³

Observation and listening were essential tools for Rene as a child learning to play music. While he remembers his father helping him learn the mandolin, he did not have any real instruction on the *quena*, but rather learned it as a game, along with the other children in his village; they learned:

Just by listening, and watching. They don't teach us like in lessons or in a group. Just watch. And I could ask questions to the others: "How do you make the sound?" And then they'd show you how to make the sound. Then you practise by yourself. *Quena* [is] just between kids. One kid is better than others and he teaches them. It is a kind of game. We don't go to parents to ask to be part of the game... Sometimes, if it's too difficult, but generally it's fun to discover it ourselves. So that all the learning is based in...self. That's the style of learning in the Andes.

Rene also tries to teach an Andean philosophical approach to music and life. He feels that to play the music you have to truly understand it. In order to understand it, you must understand where it comes from. Part of this is in the language, and he feels you must eventually learn Quechua (or Aymara) to be able to play Andean music. Partly this is to understand the lyrics, but also the rhythms of the songs come from the language. According to Rene, another way to better understand the music is to learn to dance it. In the Andes, everyone dances and the music becomes embodied. While his students here are not likely to ever achieve that degree of understanding and familiarity with the

²³This and the following quotations are from an interview conducted December 17, 1998, unless otherwise noted.

music, he finds it interesting that there are Canadians who are open to learning Andean music, “even though they don’t understand [it] and they don’t know the history”. This attitude to unfamiliar musical styles is in marked contrast to how people in the Andes traditionally react to music from other places, as will be clear from Rene’s comments in the following section.

Tradition and Authenticity

As stated earlier, Rene is characterized as “Vancouver’s premier representative of authentic, and often rare, Andean music” (“Cuskapuni” promotional pamphlet). When Rene first came to Vancouver, he had the opportunity to play with other musicians performing Andean music. In general, he found it unsatisfying, and now prefers to play solo, or with Cuskapuni. Partly, this came from a desire to carve out a distinct identity as a performer (or group) and is common to all the musicians discussed here. But in Rene’s case, there was also an issue of feeling uncomfortable with some people’s desires to change the instrumentation and interpretation of traditional songs to fit a conventional aesthetic, in keeping with the established norms of folkloric presentation:

Some pieces are very ceremonial. I can play by myself. And people think it sounds very sad. And it needs some drum – but this song doesn’t have drum! And so if I play in a group, they will ask me to put drum in, or they’ll ask me to put charangó, or ask me to put all kinds of instruments, and then it loses its originality.

Also, while he is reluctant to criticize anyone else, it is clear that Rene feels that many of the other musicians in Vancouver who play Andean music, because they did not grow up in the highlands, do not truly understand the music:

Ninety-nine per cent of the people, they don’t speak Quechua. I’m the only one. And ninety-nine per cent of the people they don’t come from high up, they come from the big cities. And some of the people who play this kind of music have learned here, for the situation.

In order to feel that he is being true to his musical and cultural roots, therefore, Rene maintains a certain distance from other groups who claim an Andean connection, and retains creative control over the music he desires to perform, even if it is not financially rewarding:

I try to be separate. I try to remain my own. I used to sometimes but, for me it's not just economical, it is more, more ... spiritual. So even though I could be earning more money playing with another group, or any occasion where they need one, but I don't feel good with myself. I prefer playing the songs that have some social significance. Or songs that come from areas that I know, or songs that address, something to do with people that I know ... the history of, or ... Well, any song that has to do with Andes, but not just Andes from now – Andes from the past ... I'm very happy to play. But here, not everybody wants to play that kind of music. Sometimes that kind of music may not make money.

Rene's approach to traditional music and "authentic" interpretations does not, however, preclude his enjoyment of other types of music. He acknowledges that in the Peruvian Andes today, people play all kinds of music from classical to Latin American popular songs to rock. When asked if he liked these other forms of music being performed on Andean instruments, he responded:

Yeah, it's a challenge. A real challenge – it's hard to play, for example, Tico Tico , a song that has lots of semitones, for the quena. [hums tune to demonstrate] Di de di de...very fast. That's a challenge. So you need to practise, not just play it at once. I can appreciate it. But, for me, it's not for the soul. I don't mind that [kind of] piece – it's very useful for my technique, because if I don't play this type of music that have more notes, more challenging, my technique would be the same, or would become worse. It's very important. But for my own personal satisfaction, I actually prefer my traditional music, for my heart.

What constitutes "his" traditional music has broadened over the years. As Rene explains, people in the Andes maintain distinctive styles of playing and unique repertoires that are particular to their town or village, as a way of asserting their identity. While they may appreciate music from other areas, there is a clear preference for the music that they have grown up playing:

In the Andes, the people, they're not too open-minded. Because, for example, if they come from a small town – I just keep that, I just keep my quena, my style of quena playing. In my town we play this quena, we don't play the bigger quena. I just play that, wherever I go. I just show them that—my identity.

For Rene, this began to change when he moved to Cusco and started to play instruments not found in his town, as well as different styles of music. Studying music in the European classical tradition and applying Euro-American aesthetics of technique and practice to Andean instruments has also affected his sense of tradition:

So ... when I ... when I went to the city I wasn't too traditional because I'd started to learn other instruments too. It's not just—I'm not ... too traditional anymore ... because I don't—I am not living in my town. I'm living in another place. So I have to learn also from other people. I have to learn things from here and there, and reading classical music.

Asked how people in his town feel about other types of music being played on Andean instruments, Rene explains that it is not that people disapprove of non-traditional ways of playing or dislike other styles of music; rather it is that, in general, they do not find the music meaningful and it cannot fulfill the social and spiritual roles ascribed to their traditional music:

They like it – that’s cute, that’s interesting. But they cannot dance it, they don’t understand it... People in the Andes, in my town, they judge music for its danceable quality. So if they can’t—don’t dance, it’s not good. Or they cannot pray—if it’s very ceremonial, you have to be able to pray with the flute. And if you can’t pray with that playing, you don’t imagine mystery—there’s nothing coming from the inside. And when you hear the music that’s not good. So... the only songs that could bring them to the next level, from the physical world, is their own music.

The authenticity of the music rests with Rene as the carrier of an inherited tradition, learned from his father and from other people in his town. It also lies in the fact of his origins – growing up in a village in the Andes highlands, and in his language – having Quechua as his mother tongue. These are claims to authenticity made by Rene himself, as well as by others in describing him.

2) COSMOPOLITAN TRADITION: HUGO GUZMÁN AND SUMALAO

Background and Early Musical Experiences

Hugo Guzmán is a self-taught musician, in his mid-40s, who was born and raised in Chile. He immigrated to Canada in 1987 and has lived in Vancouver since then. Spanish is his first language and although he is now fluent in English, he did not speak any when he first came here. His parents were also both born in Chile, but were the children of immigrants from Spain and Italy. His family was not particularly musical, but Guzmán started playing guitar when he was quite young – he remembers that the first piece he learned on guitar was a *trote norteño*, a Chilean folkloric tune. However, he grew up in the capital city of Santiago, Chile, where his early musical influences were primarily North American and British rock and pop music:

I grew up pretty much influenced by the North American culture...I started to get into what was ‘in’ on the radio. I grew up listening to the Beatles so I learned a lot of Beatles tunes, and then when I was a teenager, at the age of 13, playing Grand Funk, Led Zeppelin – you name it – Deep Purple. I was playing lead guitar – long hair, lead guitar – I was that kind of guy. (Guzmán, Interview, 2000)

In his later teens, he was influenced by the political climate in Chile which produced the *nueva canción* movement, or *música protesta*, particularly after the 1973 military coup when such music went underground and many musicians went into exile. As Guzmán describes it, because *nueva canción* / folk music was a forbidden, oppositional music, that was what was “in”. Musicians and groups from this period that he has named as inspirations include Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún. While at university, he began to play in folkloric ensembles and learned to play Andean instruments, following in the tradition of Inti-Illimani and others. The groups would play at events for human rights organizations such as Amnesty International.

He has never studied music formally and has not thought of it as a career. He is passionate about creating music, but has never tried to make a living at it. Before coming to Canada, he spent a year in Mexico City, during which time he played regularly in *peñas folklóricas* (at night; during the day he worked for an organization called ILESCO – Latin American Institute for Studies in Communication). This was the first time he had been paid for performing; in Chile they had always played for free.

Hugo Guzmán arrived with his family (his wife and three children) in Vancouver as immigrants in 1987. Within a few days he had met some other Chilean musicians (the first one he met was Nicanor Parra, a nephew of Violeta Parra), and within a week he played his first gig here, at the Plaza of Nations. He describes his first years here as a time when Andean music was relatively new to Canadian audiences and he was able to make a good living through “busking”. One particularly rewarding experience was playing (as a duo) at the Calgary Winter Olympics in 1988, on the street and at various pavilions. He relates how people were very excited by the music and instruments, and how even in February they attracted crowds. However, Guzmán feels the situation has changed greatly over the past decade and that Vancouver has been completely saturated with Andean folk groups, who no longer generate much interest or excitement among Canadian audiences. He no longer has any interest in playing on the streets and does not like the current situation where

musicians have to audition to be street performers. He notes that there is now a very competitive climate, for example, among musicians who perform at Granville Island.

One of the most rewarding musical experiences for Guzmán occurred in radio in 1991. At that time, he was hired by CBC Radio to create a national programme featuring World Beat music. Called “Out of this World”, the show was hosted by another Vancouver musician, Sal Ferreras, who is originally from Puerto Rico. According to Guzmán, the show was the first of its kind in Canada, and was popular with listeners. It ran for about one year, but unfortunately it did not survive budget cuts. He feels the CBC was short-sighted at the time, not realizing the burgeoning popularity of world music; he also notes that there are now two shows on CBC Radio One featuring World Music – “Global Village” and “Roots and Wings”.

The Group Sumalao – Foundation and Members

Guzmán was one of the original members of another Vancouver Andean-based group, Ancient Cultures, founded in 1987, but he left early on to pursue his own creative vision. Since 1991 Guzmán has directed the ensemble he founded, called Sumalao. (On their first recording, Salvador Ferreras is listed as a co-director, but after 1993 he moved on to pursue his own musical projects.) Guzmán’s aim is to create a unique musical fusion, incorporating the Andean “sound”, while appealing to a broad audience. He was not interested in continuing to play only traditional or folkloric Andean music. As he explains:

What appealed to me was the sound of it. What appealed to me was what you can create with the sound – of the *zampoña*. So for me the starting point was the Andean instruments. And then from there to develop into a new sound, adopting foreign influences – African influences with the congas; with the Peruvian box, the *cajón*... and you know Afro-Peruvian, Afro-Cuban, Afro-Caribbean, and then with the North American jazz, European jazz, incorporating soprano sax, tenor sax, upright bass... (Guzmán, interview, 2000)

The original seven members of Sumalao exemplify this array of influences:

Hugo Guzmán (Chile)	various strings	Jack Duncan (Canada)	percussion
Marcos Uribe (Chile)	guitar	Laurence Mollerup (Canada)	electric bass
Aldo Araya (Chile)	Andean flutes	Graham Ord (Canada)	silver flute, saxophone
Sal Ferreras (Puerto Rico)	percussion, marimba		

Several of these musicians are well established in the Vancouver musical community. They are professional musicians who make their living playing in many different ensembles, as well as teaching: Ferreras plays in a wide variety of musical styles including classical, jazz, Latin jazz and salsa; Duncan is a well-known Vancouver percussionist, who has trained intensively in West African and Afro-Cuban drumming; Mollerup and Ord are primarily known as jazz musicians. The membership has changed slightly from the original line-up, but the instrumental balance has remained similar; so, too, has the ratio between Chilean and Canadian born musicians. Miguel Vasquez , another Chilean, has replaced Araya (Antü) on Andean flutes, while after the departure of Ferreras, percussionist Robin Reid became a regular member of the group. (She appeared on their first CD, on one track only). Sumalao have so far released two CDs:

- *Encuentros*, 1993, a studio recording, and
- *Fiesta de la Luna*, 1997, a live concert, recorded at the Vancouver East Cultural Centre.

Guzmán has been working on material for a third CD, but has not yet had the financing, or the time, to go into the studio and record.

Sumalao – Presentation and Promotion

Sumalao is a name that Hugo Guzmán brought with him from Chile – it had been the name of the group that he performed with in Santiago. The origin of the name is somewhat obscure, but the following definition is offered on the band's website:

It is thought that the word "Sumalao" originated from a combination of two of the most ancient Latin American languages, Quechua and Aymara. It means "the encounter point", which captures the essence of the group. [Sumalao website <http://www1.icgc.bc.ca/sumalao/>]

Of the three groups discussed here, Sumalao has the highest profile in Vancouver. Their CDs are the easiest to find, often available in retail outlets (both chains and independent music stores) and in many of the public and academic libraries throughout British Columbia. The wide public exposure of Sumalao may be attributed to several factors: the release of their first CD on a small, but commercial label (Skylark), with established distribution patterns; Guzmán's association with CBC radio, which led to exposure on national radio programmes such as Disc Drive, as well as their second CD being

recorded by the CBC for broadcast on the radio programme “Encore”; and, the fact that many of the current and past members of Sumalao are established professional musicians, well-known in the Vancouver music scene, some of whom are also associated with academic institutions. Guzmán also performs weekly at The Latin Quarter, a Vancouver restaurant-club, usually with fellow band member Uribe²⁴. Although the repertoire they play at this venue is almost entirely different from what they play with the band (Guzmán describes it as Latin guitar music, in the style of performers such as “Strunz and Farah” or the “Gipsy Kings”), they perform under the name “Sumalao”.

As of 1999, Sumalao has maintained a website to promote the group and their CD recordings. The site includes photos of the group, a description of the band and its foundation, and brief biographies of band members. Also included are excerpts from critical reviews, descriptions and track listings for each of their CDs, including many available as audio files, and links to sites such as CBC Radio’s Disc Drive programme and the Vancouver East Cultural Centre. They also offer their CDs for sale directly from the website.

In the past, Sumalao has typically presented one large public concert annually, at venues such as the Vancouver East Cultural Centre; the last of these was in 1998, when Guzmán added a small brass section to the regular band members onstage. At this concert he feels he came closest to the ideal sound he has envisioned for Sumalao. Although the band did not put on any public concerts in 1999, they did perform at several private events such as the BC Wine Festival, where they played at the Chilean pavilion. Guzmán had hoped to be able to stage a large public concert in 2000, but financial and time constraints have led to a postponement until the year 2001; because the band members all perform in other ensembles, it is difficult to coordinate their schedules.

One concern of Guzmán’s is for the music of Sumalao to be very “professional” and musically sophisticated, and he clearly desires to distance himself from the image of a folk performer. The group has never performed in folkloric costume, and does not promote itself as an Andean ensemble.

²⁴As of 2001, Uribe is no longer listed as a group member on Sumalao’s website.

While other sources sometimes describe them as a Chilean band, in their own materials they label themselves as a “World Music” or “Latin” ensemble. An introduction on the group’s website states the following:

Sumalao was born in Vancouver in 1991 with the desire to create a new sound inspired by time honored Latin American rhythms, incorporating Jazz and African influences. The idea was to explore the possibilities that a fusion of Latin folk music with contemporary expression could contribute towards the redefinition of "World Beat." The source of the music can be found in the highlands of the Andes, the streets and plateaus of South America, the Caribbean islands, the drums of Africa, and the improvisation of Jazz.

The fusion of many musical and cultural elements is popular in current discourses surrounding “world music”, often with the implication that the more incongruous the constituent elements appear to be, the more interesting (equals “better”) the resultant mix. These ideas are echoed in the recommendation given the band by Disc Drive host Jurgen Gothe (printed in the liner notes to *Encuentros*, Sumalao’s first recording, and reprinted on the band’s website), as is evidenced in the following excerpt:

It’s rooted in South America high up in the clear mountain air. Then it journeys down to the seaside, into the forests, over the plains and every once in a while, right into the heart of the cities. That’s where the jazz and pop tinges come from. There’s even a little French Baroque now and then!

This last line is in reference to a version of Disc Drive’s theme song, “Fanfarinette” by French baroque composer Jean-Philippe Rameau, which Guzmán arranged for Andean instruments; the piece appears on the *Encuentros* CD and was also given regular airplay on Disc Drive. Gothe goes on to say:

Expect a lot of variety here—and whether it’s the pan flute, the saxophone, the charango or the good old guitar that takes the lead, the music soars and swirls, the rhythms rollick or soothe—the whole thing just feels good. The South American aspect is merely a point of departure for these journeys and explorations, dances and dreams.

Songs and Lyrics

Rather than being “merely a point of departure”, as Gothe asserts, however, the South American origins of Sumalao’s music are centrally important. While the majority of their songs are newly composed by Guzmán, they are clearly based in traditional rhythms from throughout Latin America.

This is made explicitly evident on the second CD, *Fiesta de la Luna*, where the liner notes identify and describe the particular rhythms in which each song is composed. These rhythms include the Cuban *son*, the Chilean *cueca* and *rin*, the Venezuelan *joropo*, the Mexican *son jarocho*, and the Bolivian *taquirari*, as well as the Peruvian *huayno*, the only Andean song-type identified in Sumalao's repertoire. All song lyrics are in Spanish only.

On *Encuentros*, their first CD, three out of fourteen tracks are identified as "traditional folklore", one from Mexico and two from Venezuela; nine songs are compositions by Guzmán. Of the remaining two tracks, one is the baroque "Fanfarinette" described above, a musical novelty in relation to Sumalao's other pieces. The final piece "Calabó y Bambú", contains lyrics from a poem by Puerto Rican poet Luis Pales Matos and music composed by band members Sal Ferreras and Jack Duncan.

On *Fiesta de la Luna*, eight of the eleven tracks are composed by Guzmán, and are instrumental pieces. Only one song is "traditional", a *joropo* from Venezuela; the other two pieces are Cuban *sons* by well-known composers, Francisco Repilado and Miguel Matamoros.²⁵ Although these composers are credited, no background information about them is offered. The liner notes are quite detailed, however, in their descriptions of song types and rhythms, including historical and contemporary cultural contexts for each.

As stated earlier, other than the few examples of *huaynos*, the only other Andean feature of Sumalao's music is in the instruments. But, although charango, quena and *zampoñas* are only part of this diverse ensemble which includes instruments from Europe, North America, Africa, as well as many other parts of Latin America, their sound is so clearly recognizable that Sumalao is often seen as an Andean group.

²⁵ Repilado, also known as Compay Segundo, is one of the legendary Cuban musicians who appears on the CD *Buena Vista Social Club* (Nonesuch, 1997) as does his song "Chan Chan", recorded here by Sumalao; Matamoros was a famous and influential Cuban musician of the 1920s and 30s.

Tradition and Authenticity

In describing his relation to the tradition of Andean music, Guzmán is careful to point out that as an urban Chilean, and not an indigenous Andean, he has borrowed rather than inherited this music. He does not speak Quechua, nor do any of the members of his group. The tradition he relates to most strongly is Chilean protest music, or the *nueva canción* movement, whose innovators borrowed from Andean traditions. In describing these musical influences, he repeatedly mentions the names of Victor Jara and Violeta Parra and the groups Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún.

More recent influences include various Latin guitar groups, such as the Gypsy Kings, a Franco-Spanish flamenco-type group who experienced enormous international popularity and commercial success in the early 1990s. Other influences he cites include flamenco guitar duo Strunz and Farah, the Afro-Cuban music of the “Buena Vista Social Club” musicians, and Latin salsa music.

Clearly, Guzmán is not concerned with “authentic” performances of Andean, or other Latin American music, in the sense of reproducing music as it is played in indigenous communities. While he wants to acknowledge his musical roots and the origins of the music he plays with Sumalao, he also aims to present it in new ways which he sees as reflecting the contemporary context. In his view, there was no future in continuing to perform in a folkloric Andean ensemble; coinciding with what he perceives as declining interest in Andean music among international audiences was Guzmán’s own desire to find new ways of incorporating traditional Andean musical elements with other musical styles. But for him, what makes the music Andean is the *sound*; the sound quality of the instruments. In this way he hopes to introduce Latin American music to a broader audience who are increasingly looking for new “world music”.

3) INDIGENIZED TRADITION: MARCOS ARCENTALES AND KANATAN ASKI

Background and Early Musical Experiences

Marcos Arcentales was born in Quito, Ecuador but grew up in Toronto after his family immigrated to Canada in 1970 (when he was two years old). His parents grew up in Quito, but their

families had earlier migrated to the capital – his father’s family from a village in the Andean highlands, while his mother’s family was from the northern coastal region of Esmeraldas.

Arcentales grew up in a Latin American immigrant community in Toronto during the 1970s, where there was a large number of Chilean exiles in the years following the 1973 military coup. This community had a profound influence on him, in terms of his personal and musical development. It was through some of these Chileans that Arcentales was first exposed to Andean folk music, and later learned to play the music himself.

When Arcentales was twelve years old, his father gave him a charango that he had brought back from a trip to Ecuador. The following year, at age thirteen, he began guitar lessons, and at fourteen he started playing Andean music with a group of Chilean musicians. (One of the people he grew up near was Aldo Araya, a musician who now lives in Vancouver and performs Andean music under the name *Antü*; Araya also appeared on the first Sumalao recording.) This first group was called *Los Chaskis* (they later changed their name to *Los Chaskikunas*) and they performed around Toronto, mainly busking in places like the St. Lawrence Market, the Beaches, and the area around the Bloor and Bathurst intersection – “wherever they wouldn’t be hassled” (Arcentales, interview, 2000). They also played in coffee houses, becoming regulars at the Trojan Horse Café after the previous house band (*Los Compañeros*, another Chilean Andean group) disbanded, and at many community events, where they always played for free. The music they played was in the urban, neo-folkloric style discussed above. During this time, Arcentales learned to play a variety of Andean instruments, including winds (flutes), but his main instruments are the strings – guitar, charango and mandolin.

Arcentales later became more interested in exploring his own Andean roots in Ecuador, and has been back there several times. On one trip, in 1988, he met his wife, Patti, who is from the Otavalo region of Ecuador. They were married soon after, and he returned with her to Toronto, where they lived for a few years, before moving to British Columbia. Through his wife, Arcentales was introduced to a group of *Otavaleño* musicians – a band called Nanda Manachi, who were very well known, both in Ecuador and abroad. He brought this group to Canada and toured with them for a

couple of years. In 1992, Arcentales and his family (he has two young children) moved to Victoria, and since 1995 he has lived in Vancouver.

The Group *Kanatan Aski* – Foundation and Members

In about 1991, Arcentales founded the group Kanatan Aski. Unlike most other Andean groups, the name does not come from the Quechua language; rather it comes from Cree and means “clean land”. This name was chosen, partly, because Arcentales wanted something that was unique, which marked them as distinct from other Andean groups. It was also important that the name be connected to Canada, as he has grown up in this country and feels that is an important part of his identity. As well, he feels a great affinity with indigenous people, not only in South America, but throughout the Americas also, and one of his aims is to bring together Native peoples through music.

Kanatan Aski has been a fluid group from its beginning, with different musicians coming together on different projects. For at least six years after the group’s founding in 1991, some of the musicians continued to live primarily in Ecuador, coming to Canada to perform and/or record for several months each year (see Montague 1997). The core members, as listed on the band’s website, are:

Marcos Arcentales (Ecuador/Canada)	guitar, other strings
Fernando Hinojosa ²⁶ (Ecuador)	lead vocals, guitar, whistling
Antonio Maldonado (Ecuador)	Andean flutes, drums
Louis Maigua (Ecuador)	guitar, charango, Andean flutes
Lucho Abanto (Peru)	zampoñas, saxophone
Jason Burnstick (Canada, Cree)	lead guitar player

Several other North American Native musicians have appeared with Kanatan Aski, including **Pura Fe** (founder of the group Ulali) who collaborated on their first recording and on one that has not yet been released. The creative vision uniting these varied musicians has come from Arcentales, who has been the musical director of the band throughout its existence.

²⁶ Formerly of the Ecuadorian group Nanda Manachi, Hinojosa has gone on to create his own group in Vancouver, Okarina [Okarina website <http://www.evevancouver.ca/music/okarina/okarina.html>]

At this time, the musicians no longer play together as a band; they have moved on to other projects. However, Arcentales hopes to unite them for one final concert in the future, to mark the completion of their final recording, *Indigenous World*, a project he has been working on for the past seven years. Kanatan Aski has released three recordings:

- *Condor Meets the Eagle*, 1994
- *Andean Colours*, 1994
- *Andean Universe*, 1995

These CDs were all self-produced, under the label of Black Jaguar Productions, Arcentales' production company. A fourth recording, titled *Indigenous World*, has been in production for over eight years, and is planned for release sometime in 2001²⁷.

Kanatan Aski – Presentation and Promotion

In the early 1990s, when Kanatan Aski performed the members would often appear in stylized folkloric dress: woven Andean vests over white shirts and pants. This form of costume was ambivalent enough to allow them to present themselves as an “ethnic” ensemble with Andean roots, but also as a contemporary, urban group. In time, as the group moved away from playing mainly Andean music, they did not always wear these matching outfits. In the early days the band would play concerts on the street as well as other venues, and would sell their CDs – in the beginning, as many as 100 in a day. But that has changed and according to Arcentales it is very difficult to keep the momentum going; marketing and promoting their music is very expensive and time consuming.

Promotional tools employed by Arcentales include a website [<http://persweb.direct.ca/marcosa/>] and printed leaflets; similar to Sumalao, the Kanatan Aski website features brief biographies of band members, descriptions of their recordings, and a few audio files²⁸. The band's CDs can be ordered through their website; they are not currently sold at retail outlets in Vancouver, although their first recording, *Condor Meets the Eagle*, was carried by a downtown HMV outlet until June 2000. This

²⁷A “collector's edition pre-release” of this recording is currently (May 2001) available through the band's website.

²⁸ More recently (as of May 2001) there are also Andean instruments and crafts offered for sale through the website.

recording was nominated for a Juno (Canadian music) award in 1994 for Best Global recording, and the band performed live at that year's Juno awards. They also made a music video for Much Music; Arcentales sees 1994 as the year in which the band's popularity peaked. (Interestingly, the Juno award was won that year by another Vancouver Andean group, Ancient Cultures.) Whereas recordings by Ancient Cultures and Sumalao are found in several public library collections in the lower mainland, I could find Kanatan Aski's *Condor Meets the Eagle* only in the Burnaby Public Library catalogue.

In current media promotions, the Andean aspect of the group is downplayed; the introduction on the website proclaims: "Kanatan Aski – Latin, Native and World Beat Fusion Music". Many of the images that appear on the band's website are related to North American indigenous cultures: Northwest Coast and Plains First Nations; powwow drumming; symbols of Southwest Native Americans. There are also links to Otavalo sites in Ecuador and to sites of First Nations performing groups (Ulali, Hearts of the Nations).

Songs and Lyrics

The music on the second and third recordings (*Andean Colours* and *Andean Universe*) represents, as their titles suggest, the Andean roots of the group. The performers on these two projects were Arcentales and the Ecuadorian/Otavaleño musicians Fernando Hinojosa, Antonio Maldonado, and Louis Maigua, as well as Lucho Abanto, who comes from Cajamarca, Peru. These recordings include both traditional and contemporary Andean songs, with either Spanish or Quechua (or Quichua – the northern dialect, spoken in Ecuador) lyrics. *Andean Colours* includes some well-known melodies, including "El Condor Pasa", while *Andean Universe* "was created to expand the original concepts of Andean rhythms, unique and contemporary" (Kanatan Aski website).

The band's first recording, *Condor Meets the Eagle*, and the forthcoming *Indigenous World*, reflect a greater variety of source material, in contrast with the two "Andean" CDs. On the first CD, a number of guest musicians perform (e.g. on saxophone, congas) and many of the songs feature vocals by a group of First Nations singers - Janie Lauzon, Monique Mojica and Sharon King (all of

whom have recorded independently and with other groups) as well as Pura Fe. One piece is a powwow dance, performed by Kanatan Aski and the drum group the Eagle Heart Singers. Song titles and lyrics are in a variety of languages, including English, Quichua, Spanish, Ojibway, Cree and Navajo. Songs from the traditional Andean repertoire, arranged by the group, include four from Ecuador and one from Bolivia; the other songs are all new compositions.

Arcentales' musical vision for the band is explained in the liner notes for *Condor*:

Kanatan Aski was formed to create and demonstrate a new style of Native contemporary music of the Americas. Our main objective has been to bring together Native peoples from this continent in understanding ourselves as ONE NATION through our music. It has been foretold through a prophecy that two great birds, the Condor from the South of the Americas and the Eagle from the North of the Americas, will one day unite in Spirit to strengthen our people against oppression and destruction.

It is clear from this passage that Arcentales' project includes social and political aims as well as musical. *Condor Meets the Eagle*, the title track from this CD features lyrics written and performed in English by Pura Fe, with translations in Spanish and Cree voiced almost simultaneously with the English words. Another song, *Nishin*, has an Ojibway title (meaning "it's good"), but the lyrics are in English; written by Pura Fe the words invoke a pan-indigenous sentiment:

There's a place in my heart, I remember so well
Yearning for the people and the land we dwell
Hear the voice of the ancestors, the water that cleans
Spirit of the people, living, dancing this dream
Call me back to dream and receive...ya-ya-yeh-oh

There's a place in my heart, I remember so well
Yearning for the people and the land we dwell
Hear the voice of the ancestors, the fire that warms
The soul of the people who live and dance round the flame
Call me back to the sacred source to pray...ya-ya-yeh-oh

The title track *Indigenous World* from the forthcoming CD, also sung by Pura Fe, carries a similar theme:

Hey – if you wipe away these people, you will wipe away the [touching?]
That provides all the people – life on earth
She's dying to live, she's dying to give.
Fighting on the frontlines, government, corporations,
Sucking life from the [feet?] and leaving millions with no reason, nowhere to go
She's dying to live, she's dying to give.

The indigenous world and mind, hey-ai-ey
The indigenous soul, hey-ai-ey
Carries the crimes from the centre of the earth...

These lyrics are repeated several times throughout the song, sometimes only in fragments, with the musical accompaniment being a complex layering of many different instruments fading in and out, including a string quartet arrangement.

Tradition and Authenticity

For Arcentales, along with instrumentation and melody, one of the essential features which makes music Andean is “who it’s played by” (interview, 2000), meaning those closely associated with the music and culture, either through growing up in Andean communities, or those who adopted the folkloric tradition through *nueva canción*, and other forms of musical resistance. Arcentales self-identifies as a person of Andean heritage; however, depending on the context, he may also consider himself an Ecuadorian, a Latin American, a Canadian, a Latino-Canadian and an indigenous person of the Americas. The latter identity comes through strongly in the following statement:

I see the Americas as a unity and I feel united with indigenous people throughout the Americas. I feel at home in and on the land, everywhere in the Americas: South America, Panama, Guatemala, Mexico, North America. I’ve travelled a lot in Europe. I like it there, but I never feel *at home*. (Arcentales, Interview, 2000)

Arcentales is not interested in performing Andean music in a traditional style and the issue of authenticity is not important for him. Or rather, authenticity lies in performing music one feels truly connected to. As an urban Canadian, with many cultural influences, Arcentales wants to share his Andean musical roots, but aims to present them in ways which reflect his multiple identities. He sees Andean traditional music as a source that he can always return to: “It continues and changes in its own ways; communities will continue to play their own particular songs and dances”. But he is drawn to creating and performing musical fusions that he believes have potential for widespread popular appeal, and he sees no reason why Andean fusion music cannot be as popular as the commercially and critically successful music of “Loreena McKennit or the Buena Vista Social Club”, but he acknowledges that there is no way of knowing what kind of music will really sell. For

Arcentales, Andean folk music no longer has the novelty appeal it had when it first appeared in Canada – it has become familiar and part of the Canadian musical fabric.

THREE VARIATIONS ON A THEME OF TRADITION

Andean music, as it has been disseminated in the world music industry and by performing groups throughout the world, has been shown to be a musical style that is a relatively recent development, although it is firmly rooted in the musical traditions of indigenous highland communities. Due to centuries of relative isolation, music in highland communities developed independently of music in *criollo* society in all the countries of the Andean region, and its distinctness is easily recognizable. For this reason, Andean musical symbols were readily adopted by urban musicians seeking to celebrate and establish a distinct regional or national folk music, in opposition to what they viewed as the foreign and imperialistic European or North American values embedded in *criollo* culture (Turino 1984; Schechter 1999). The urban folkloric musical style that developed in the 1960s and 1970s, thus represents another level of hybridization in “traditional” Andean music, between elements of the post-colonial indigenous Andean traditions, and certain Euro-American aesthetic and stylistic features.

The musicians profiled in this study are all conscious of the fact that Andean music, as it is performed in North America and elsewhere, is not a “pure” or “authentic” representation of a centuries old musical tradition. Despite the acknowledgment that this style is a modern development, the notion of authentic tradition is still present in the way the musicians characterize the music. This is most clear in the case of Hugo Sanchez, who, as stated earlier, is promoted as “Vancouver’s premier representative of authentic, and often rare, Andean music” (“Cuskapuni”, date unknown). In talking with the other musicians, it is clear that they also recognize him as “an authentic Andean folk musician”, or “the real deal” (Arcentales and Guzman, personal communication). His claims to authenticity obviously rest on his intimate knowledge of indigenous music and culture, having grown up in a highland community, and his ethnic identity as indigenous, and speaking Quechua, “the

language of the Incas” (“Cuskapuni”, date unknown) as his first language. Given his background, and the deep nostalgia he feels for his home culture and community, it is not surprising that he has chosen to “transplant” his musical tradition to this new cultural context. He feels that he is closer to the tradition than other Andean musicians or groups in Vancouver, and presents his identity as carrier of a folk music defined in both national (*Peruvian* Andean music) and localized terms (“music from my town”). On the other hand, Hugo Sánchez is the only one of the three musicians who is a formally trained musician, having studied European classical music at a conservatory in Cusco. Unlike the men of his town, and other communities in the Andes, who only get together to play for specific occasions (Hugo Sánchez, personal communication; Turino 1993) he is a professional musician who practises daily to perfect his art.

Guzmán and Arcentales are also highly cognizant of the urban, ideological and political roots of the *nueva canción* movement and its influence on folkloric Andean musical groups. Guzman learned to play Andean music in the context of the *nueva canción* movement in Santiago, Chile in the years following the 1973 coup, when the music was an obvious symbol of social and political opposition to oppression. Arcentales was also influenced by *nueva canción* musicians, but in a different context: Toronto, in the late 1970s and early 80s, from members of the exiled Chilean community. For Guzman, learning and performing this music was a means of establishing a *political* identity within Chilean society, and later (in Mexico) of maintaining connections with other Latin Americans with similar ideals. For Arcentales, growing up in Toronto, learning to play in an Andean folkloric style was a means of connecting with his heritage and with others in the Latin American immigrant community. It was, therefore, an important factor in constructing his *ethnic* identity, as well as showing political solidarity. In some ways, both Guzmán and Arcentales could be seen as displaying a “cosmopolitan” attitude to Andean musical traditions, as both are interested in expanding the parameters of the folk tradition through a fusion with other musical elements. However, there are clear distinctions between their respective responses, as is discussed later in this section.

Given the relatively small Latin American community in Vancouver, these musicians all know each other and have occasionally played together. They all identify with the Spanish-speaking Latin American community and participate in pan-Latin events (such as the “Soy Latino” annual festival). But they also maintain identities based on nationality: Chileans comprise one of the largest and most established segments of the Latin Americans in Vancouver, and Guzman is well known in this community. As his wife is also Chilean, his family network is established primarily within this community. He and his group often perform at events sponsored by the Chilean consulate; despite the cosmopolitan nature of Sumalao, in both membership and musical style, the band is often resented as representing Chilean culture in Canada. Similarly, Hugo Sánchez participates in events sponsored by the Peruvian consulate; in 1996 he was recognized by the consulate as “an outstanding representative of Peruvian culture abroad” (“Rene Hugo Sánchez” 1999, my translation). Yet, he does not have very much to do with the Peruvian community in Vancouver, as he finds *criollo* prejudice against indigenous Andeans persists among many Peruvian Canadians (personal communication, 1998). Thus, while being Peruvian is an important aspect of how he identifies himself, Hugo Sánchez also desires to distinguish himself from other Peruvians in Vancouver by highlighting his Andean identity. The Ecuadorian community in Vancouver is very small, and there is little consular presence. While his wife is Ecuadorian, and he has other Ecuadorian friends, for Arcentales, nationality has less salience in how he presents his identity.

For Hugo Sánchez, playing Andean music is a means of staying connected daily with his home and family, as well as his heritage; returning to his village periodically allows him to renew these connections. Because he knows the origins of the songs he plays, the dances that are meant to accompany them, and the ritual or social contexts in which they are (or would have been) performed, the songs have a deep spiritual or social significance for him, even those which are not from his own village. While none of the other members of his group are “Andean” and most have learned to play Andean music from him, including his Canadian wife, Hugo Sánchez’s own Quechua identity is strong enough to impart an “authentic” image to the whole ensemble.

Timothy Taylor, in his study of global popular music, has identified “authenticity” as one of the key discursive strategies of the world music industry (Taylor 1996:21-28). In this discourse, the use of ancient, or at least non-European, instruments is highlighted, as is the use of unfamiliar, indigenous languages. These practices have been widely prevalent in the dissemination of Andean music throughout the world, as discussed earlier in this paper. Yet Taylor also notes an overlapping and sometimes conflicting discourse – a language which stresses novelty and freshness, reflecting what he and others have termed “sonic tourism” (1996:19; Mitchell 1995:68), . This is where fusions are privileged and anything which sounds too “folkloric” is somewhat negatively characterized as “ethnographic” and quaint (see Wolff et al 1994). This view is echoed in the assertion by cultural theorist Stuart Hall that “all the most explosive modern musics are crossovers” (1997:38).

The music played by Guzmán’s group Sumalao and Arcentales’ group Kanatan Aski, are reflective of the latter trend in world music. While both began performing what they considered traditional folk music of the Andes, they eventually found this to be too limiting a form to express their musical ideas. Guzmán positions himself as someone with an urban, cosmopolitan background rather than a rural, indigenous one. As stated earlier, Guzmán identified strongly with Chilean groups such as Inti-Illimani, whose music began to change dramatically after being exiled in Europe. Guzmán is interested in extending the possibilities of Andean instruments through opening up to the many musical influences around him, and choosing those that he can combine with them. It is in this sense that I view his response to maintaining tradition as “cosmopolitan”. His band is comprised of professional musicians, all of whom bring their own experience in playing different styles of music, and his aim is for a certain level of “sophistication” in the music, and to perform in a venerated concert hall:

To me, my ultimate goal is to do a concert at the Orpheum – Sumalao with the Symphony. So, the symphony doing all the arrangements for the Sumalao music. That’s how far I would like to go with the Andean roots, but in a more contemporary way. (Guzmán, Interview, 2000)

Arcentales is also attempting to take Andean music in new directions, to create “Latin fusion” music, but his musical influences are quite distinct from Guzman’s. Rather than Afro-Latin jazz, Arcentales has turned to North American indigenous traditions for inspiration. Growing up in Canada, Arcentales began to feel solidarity with Native people here; thus, his indigenous heritage has become a very salient aspect of his identity and one that is clearly presented through his music. In addition to the Native musicians he has worked with, Kanatan Aski has also performed at events and venues such as the Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre. The “indigenized” tradition embodied by Arcentales allows him to highlight his indigenous identity through the music he performs.

In Robichaud’s study of Andean musicians in Montreal, he found that the aim was “to stay as close as possible to the tradition established in the 1950s” and not allow themselves to be influenced by the Canadian environment (Robichaud 1996:151, my translation). Even among groups that contained French-Canadian members, they were all continuing to play in the *conjunto folklórico* style and identifying with indigenous Andean culture. This uniformity of attitudes towards preserving the musical tradition, without allowing outside influences, stands in contrast to the Vancouver musicians profiled in this paper. This may be a factor of time – Robichaud’s study was conducted in 1992, when according to the musicians I interviewed, Andean music was still relatively new to Canadian audiences, and there were many more opportunities for performance. It would be interesting to conduct a similar survey in Montreal today, and determine whether musicians hold the same attitudes.

CONCLUSION

The three musicians profiled in this study illustrate the potential of a variety of responses to the process of transnational migration and the perpetuation of musical traditions. While all came to Vancouver as carriers of traditional Andean folkloric music, they have developed unique ways of presenting this music to Canadian audiences. In this paper, I have proposed three categories to identify and describe these different responses. While the categories represent simplifications of

complex and overlapping processes, they are helpful in understanding and comparing how different individuals, all carrying a tradition of Andean music, respond to “music-making in transcultural displacement” (Zheng 1994). While the choices people make in response to particular circumstances are probably never predictable, by examining those choices we can see to what degree they have been determined by individuals’ background and experience.

For Hugo Sánchez, it has been important to continue playing “the music of his people” and to introduce Canadian audiences to the variety of musical instruments and styles of music performed in Andean communities, both historically and in the contemporary context. In this way, he is able to maintain connections with his home community and establish a unique musical identity in Vancouver, as an “authentic” indigenous Quechua musician. Guzmán and Arcentales have chosen different strategies for presenting their musical identities. As Andean music was important for both these artists in the formation of their early musical experiences as performers, they have sought ways of maintaining their connections to the tradition, while attempting to take it in new directions. The different routes they have chosen reflect the differences in their backgrounds and in their current social and cultural networks.

As transnational migrants, all of these musicians maintain some degree of connection with their home community or country, through travel and communication with family and friends. Yet, the longer they are in Canada the more they establish social networks here. As this study has demonstrated, it is within these networks and the dynamics among them that the study of change in musical traditions must be located. As focal points of identity construction and presentation for migrants in a transnational setting, musical traditions, and the ways in which they are used and modified by individuals, reflect changing and multiple identities in new environments.

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Ancient Cultures – <http://members.theglobe.com/cultures/ensemble.html>

APPENDIX: COMMON ANDEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND SONG TYPES

INSTRUMENTS:

quena - An end-blown, vertical, notched flute; pre-colonial in origin; today made from cane such as bamboo, or carved wood. Most *quenas* have six finger holes in front and one thumb hole in back. Those played by urban folkloric groups are tuned to European diatonic scale, and capable of producing full chromatic scales in at least 2 octaves. The standard size is approximately 35 cm long and tuned to the key of G; a larger version of the instrument with a deeper tone is called the *quenacho*.

zampoñas – Spanish generic name for pan-flutes, a series of reed pipes in graduated lengths lashed together. Also of pre-colonial origin. Pipes are plugged at the bottom end and sound is produced by blowing across the tops of the pipes. In southern Peru they are known by their Aymara name *siku* [pl. *sikuri*]. Traditionally played in pairs in indigenous communities, in interlocking “hocket” style. *Zampoñas* played by soloists in urban folkloric ensembles are double-rowed and tuned to diatonic scale. Four different sizes are given distinct names: *toyos*, *sankas*, *maltas* and *ch’ilis*.

charango – Most common among a number of small stringed instruments, created in post-colonial times, modelled on the Spanish guitar and mandolin. Sound box traditionally made from armadillo shell, now often carved of wood. Tunings may vary, but most common is 5 pairs of strings tuned to E-A-E-C-G.

bombo – Large, double-headed frame drum of pre-colonial origin. Most common drum accompaniment in folkloric ensembles, although other smaller types are sometimes used [e.g. *tinya* and *huanccara*].

SONG TYPES:

huayno – most common and widespread song and dance type found throughout Andean region, in both mestizo and indigenous communities. According to Turino (1993) it is a genre which is “situationally defined”, and has many different styles and instrumentation, but is generally a strophic song in duple-meter, with syncopated accents.

sikuri – dance rhythm from the *altiplano* region of southern Peru and Bolivia (around lake Titicaca), played on *zampoñas* (*sikuri*) and involving the “hocket” or *trenzando* (“braiding”) technique where the melody is shared between two players who alternate.