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FLUTES, FESTIVITIES, AND FRAGMENTED TRADITION:  
A STUDY OF THE MEANING OF  
MUSIC IN OTAVALO

by:

Brenna C. Halpin

A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Arts  
School of Music  
Advisor: Matthew Steel, Ph.D.

Western Michigan University  
Kalamazoo, Michigan  
April 2012

THE GRADUATE COLLEGE  
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY  
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

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WE HEREBY APPROVE THE THESIS SUBMITTED BY

Brenna C. Halpin

ENTITLED Flutes, Festivities, and Fragmented Tradition:

A Study of the Meaning of Music in Otavalo

AS PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts

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Dean of The Graduate College

Date April 2012

FLUTES, FESTIVITIES, AND FRAGMENTED TRADITION:  
A STUDY OF THE MEANING OF  
MUSIC IN OTAVALO

Brenna C. Halpin, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2012

This thesis consists of an intimate study of the value and meaning of flute music of indigenous musicians in the contemporary world. This is accomplished by interviewing and observing indigenous panpipe and flute musicians in and near the Plaza de Ponchos Market in Otavalo, Ecuador. Collected personal stories, historical accounts, and recordings and analysis of the music all provide insight into the purpose and traditions the music holds. While the musicians attempt to maintain a sense of cultural authenticity, modernization has altered the importance of customs and music as Otavalo moves toward a more commoditized and urbanized community, reflecting ethnic values through invented traditions and fragmented identity. As the world tends toward homogenization of culture, this research increases awareness of how music can and does contribute to the world's multicultural experience in today's society. Through the analysis of the effect of change on tradition by means of commercialization, this research depicts the values of Otavalan society as implied in their music expressions. This thesis concludes that musicians and instrument vendors in Otavalo construct their own identity around music, as it is continuously and increasingly intertwined with trade, and ultimately success. Music is not only commercial or ritual, but a great many things to the Otavalans.

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2012

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I would like to begin by thanking two great anthropologists, Dr. Lynn Meisch and Dr. Ann Miles. Their brilliance and wisdom on culture in Ecuador inspired me to pursue the subject and ultimately led to the work contained in this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge the time and effort spent by my research subjects in Otavalo, Ecuador. Without them, this thesis would lack life.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Project Intent

The original concept for this thesis emerged from my love of the Spanish language, fascination with Latin American culture, and passion for flute music. The focus of my project, an indigenous Spanish-language community and a culture rich in musical interest, and originally it was intended to study only street musicians in the world-famous, outdoor market, the *Plaza de Ponchos*, in Otavalo, Ecuador. However, the project developed to include flute vendors when it became apparent that music is played on the market only to sell instruments. As I researched, I aimed to discover how and to what extent the indigenous Otavalan people keep their musical and cultural identity alive and “authentic” through the atmosphere of the Andean culture infused with Hispanic influences over centuries and in spite of the globalization and commoditization of local culture in Otavalo. This provided a rich environment for me to study the resulting effects of syncretism through music. My abiding interest in the subject provided motivation and focus as I explored Otavalan music traditions and their impressive adaptations to an increasingly modernized city while I documented their challenges and successes relative to this goal. The intriguing indigenous flute musicians and instrument vendors in the world-famous artisan market in Otavalo provide an ideal population to explore the extent to which native people incorporate globalized influences into their musical expressions. The *cantón*<sup>1</sup> of Otavalo provides an eminently fascinating combination of concentrated market culture and transported country life that thrives within the city. Studying the

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B for definition and hereafter for all subsequent foreign terms in italics if not footnoted.

changing and thriving indigenous flute traditions intensely captivated me. The Otavalans' unique identity is maintained through the expression of authentic musical and cultural customs and the creative adaption to their increasingly commercialized world through the invention of contemporary traditions.

The goal of this thesis focuses on the exploration of the meaning and value of indigenous flute and panpipe music performed and sold in Otavalo. Through this study, I will identify the function of instruments used, performance practice techniques, and characteristics of the music. Personal stories of musicians, historical accounts, recordings and analysis of the music provide insight into the purpose and traditions of the music. While some musicians attempt to maintain a sense of cultural authenticity, economic potential has lessened the importance of customs and music as Otavalo moves toward a more urbanized community. Through this effort, ethnic values are often reflected in invented traditions and fragmented identity. As the world tends to migrate toward a globalized culture, this research increases awareness of how music can and does contribute to the world's multicultural experience in today's societies. Through the analysis of the influence of change on tradition due to commercialization, this research depicts the values of Otavalan society as implied in their musical experiences and expressions. In the face of a contemporary world, the Otavalans use music in many contexts, such as commercialized, globalized, traditional, and authentic.

## Methodology

To complete the fieldwork for this thesis, I traveled to Ecuador for three weeks during June 2011 to meet the indigenous *Quichua*-speaking Indians of Otavalo. I spent

time observing music vendors selling instruments and CD's at the market in the Plaza de Ponchos. I also visited live music venues, such as restaurants, an indigenous flute school, public and private in-home concerts, summer solstice festival sites, and instrument stores. Throughout my stay, I interviewed forty-five subjects, some only once for five minutes, others several times for as much as two hours. Live music sessions lasted anywhere from fifteen minutes to a total of seven hours with one group over several sessions. After returning home, I conducted follow-up emails and also interviewed eight additional musician-vendors who migrated to the United States from Otavalo to continue their musical careers. This transnational comparison shed light on musical differences in location and how Otavalan culture has truly globalized.

I transcribed all recorded interviews, conducted in Spanish, and translated them into English. An indigenous woman, with whom I stayed and had come to trust in Otavalo, assisted in any necessary Quichua to Spanish translation. Understanding that certain concepts are difficult to translate, I analyzed the transcriptions by searching for patterns in word choice and repetitions in their answers, and I compared the vendor-musicians' narrative to observed actions. As I did, I began to discover trends in perceptions of commercialization, invented tradition, sense of identity, and authenticity. I also examined several pertinent pieces of music: *El Condor Pasa* made famous by Paul Simon, a traditional *Inti Raymi* festival tune, and "*Otavalo Manta*,"<sup>2</sup> an original composition by an indigenous musical group. These analyses aided me in comprehending how these cultural phenomena exist in the musical sphere.

To give my project perspective, my research includes sources that had previously been completed on the aforementioned topics as well as sources on the history and

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<sup>2</sup> Both tunes transcribed by Eric Bowman

culture of the region. Because of the oral tradition of the Quichua people, most of their music has never been written down. I analyzed the few published pieces of music I could find and also transcribed others into Western notation for further analysis. When doing this, I took into consideration the fact that the Quichuas follow a sort of invented tradition,<sup>3</sup> customs that have been created by individuals over time due to constantly changing culture, in the style of what they consider to be *Sanjuanito* music. Not every piece of music has been passed down through generations, but many appear to be similar thematically to what their ancestors have played.

I acknowledge that my biases and voice may show through in the written work. I grew up as a middle-class, white, tall, blonde female in the Midwestern United States, an outsider to the indigenous Otavalan culture that I experienced for a mere three weeks. My Westernized involvement in music has directed my perspective on the musical experience. As an outsider, my grasp of Quichua concepts aims at impartial accuracy yet is filtered due to differences in language and culture. The footprints of other scholars support my research as well, offering additional informed research to my short-term field work.

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<sup>3</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006), 6.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

#### Background of Otavalo

The town of Otavalo sits in the province of Imbabura, just two hours by bus (80 kilometers) north of Ecuador's capital, Quito. With approximately 50,000 inhabitants living in a valley between two volcanoes Otavalo is world-famous for its Indian market at the Plaza de Ponchos (See Figure 1 and 2). People from surrounding villages use this market to sell their handicrafts to people from all over the world. In the plaza, one can find art, clothing, food, intricately woven fabrics, musical instruments, as well as a rich variety of handmade crafts. The market runs within one square block on weekdays; however, it sprawls out to engulf one third of the town to accommodate the Saturday sellers and buyers. Most famous for textiles, the indigenous people of Otavalo have become one of the wealthiest indigenous groups in Latin America by adapting quickly to the globalization and commoditization of the world. Their success has been realized through the marketing of their identity, a hybrid of Spanish and indigenous influences.



Figure 1: Above the Plaza de Ponchos (my photo, taken 6/11/11)





Figure 2: Inside the Plaza de Ponchos (my photo, taken 6/11/11)

### History of Indigenous Ecuador

The historical perspective summarily tells the Ecuadorian story specific to the Otavalan Indians as they transformed from pure Incan descendants to modern day indigenous Andean people through adaptation and survival over the centuries. It is important to understand the background of this creative population in order to comprehend their unique characteristics in a contemporary setting. This broad snapshot demonstrates what they have been through and how far they have come to get where they are today. The music of the Otavalans is characterized by current and past hardships, and it looks to the future for anticipatory change and prosperity for their communities.

### *Colonial Legacies*

The Incas invaded and colonized northern Ecuador in the late fifteenth century by making an agreement with the *Cañari* tribe, much to the bloody demise of the *Quitu* tribe that had previously settled there. Struggle within the royal Incan family and subsequent civil war made it easy for the Spaniard, Francisco Pizarro, to make alliances within the Incan empire, enabling him to conquer it in 1532. Soon after, the Spanish colonized the region, enslaving much of the indigenous Ecuadorian population through *mit'a*, a system of mandatory public service that the Spanish borrowed from Incan traditions. The indigenous population was forced to farm in *encomienda* land and labor systems and then later on *hacienda* plantations.

Specific to Otavalo, the Spanish brought sheep, spinning wheels, and looms to increase textile production. Textile production did not originate with the Spanish as it was a skill deeply rooted in the indigenous culture. Rural populations were concentrated in the Imbabura Valley<sup>4</sup> from San Rafael on Lake San Pablo for forced indigenous labor in *obrajes* (sweatshops) in the mid-1500s.<sup>5</sup> The woven cloth was exported to other Andean countries, as well as to the Spanish Crown. The textile industry became the foundation for a prosperous local trading culture. Since the 1500s, contact with Europe has altered the Otavalans' customs of trade; however, some cultural traditions have been maintained.<sup>6</sup> This syncretic variable of culture spread to many other aspects of indigenous culture, including music that is a fusion of several cultures. Some view the Spanish invasion as a powerful cultural, economic, political, and military force that drove

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix G for maps.

<sup>5</sup> Lynn A. Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in the Global Arena* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 21.

<sup>6</sup> Patricia Lyon, *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 356.

a weaker society to adopt its traditions while suppressing native customs, thus resulting in a syncretic and hybridized society in which the indigenous people are patronized as the lesser culture. This also occurred on a religious level through the replacement of the native Andean cosmology with Catholicism. Concerning such a concept of syncretism, ethnomusicologist and Latin American music specialist, Henry Stobart, states, "Not only is such an idea patronizing but also, if the experience of Andean music may be understood as a model, often inaccurate."<sup>7</sup> Culture in Otavalo continually changes and adapts; outside influences do not hinder, but rather assist, in this process of musical development.

After two centuries of European colonization and domination, the indigenous population still struggled for liberation from Spanish rule. In spite of the indigenous efforts to govern themselves, a race and class hierarchy created by the Europeans that placed the indigenous at the bottom persisted in all aspects of political, economic, and religious society. Through this, *indigenismo*, an indigenist sociopolitical movement that began to grow throughout the 1700s, but did not become influential in the early 1900s. It symbolically emphasized Andean culture for nationalistic and regionalistic purposes, intensely opposing European culture.<sup>8</sup> In the colonial era, indigenous people were marginalized by the dominant Spanish as they marketed their textiles and isolated in rural communities. The original Andean faith structure was suppressed, creating a syncretic faith with Catholicism. On the fringes of society, indigenous people were looked down upon, and their culture melded with the forced European traditions.

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<sup>7</sup> Henry Stobart, "The Llama's Flute: Musical Misunderstandings in the Andes," *Early Music from Around the World* 24, no. 3 (August 1996): 472.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Turino, "The Music of Andean Migrants in Lima, Peru: Demographics, Social Power, and Style," *Latin American Music Review* 9, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1988): 127.

### *Nineteenth Century*

The 1800s brought civil unrest to Ecuador, starting with a revolution against colonial rule in 1809, as the Quito *criollos* (people of mixed race) rebelled against Joseph Bonaparte, the new head of the Spanish throne. Shortly thereafter, Ecuador fought with Peru and Gran Colombia (present day Colombia and Venezuela) for land and Spanish emancipation until Ecuador finally gained its independence in 1822. The political turmoil did not cease until the era of conservatism (1860-1895). While the new president of Ecuador, Gabriel García Moreno (1821-1875), may have been dogmatic, he significantly expanded the country's exports and created enough economic growth to stabilize the nation. Following his assassination at the turn of the twentieth century, Ecuador steered toward more liberal economic policies and banks began to control politics, which created a financial crisis. In the nineteenth century, indigenous groups became more isolated as government gained greater power through its independence. Political instability gave way to rural poverty and uneven economic growth. However, indigenous people still did not hold much control over their lives.

### *Twentieth Century*

An era of liberalism began the twentieth century in Ecuador under the control of Eloy Alfaro (1842-1912). He passed civil rights laws, established public schools, and constructed railroads, yet after his violent death in 1912, the newly formed Central Bank gained control of the country by establishing a new budget system and distributing currency. War with Peru over territorial boundaries dominated the beginning of the twentieth century, leaving the country in poor condition once again. By the 1950s, the Ecuadorian government began promoting tourism as a potential economic stimulus. The

United Nations and the United States established *Centro Textil* in 1951 to advise indigenous people about how to improve technology used to make textiles, as well as their methods of promoting and selling crafts through the IEAG (Ecuadorian Institute of Anthropology and Geography).<sup>9</sup> Political instability reached a high point and indigenous groups began to fight for their rights. Textile production also increased, and indigenous people became players in the global economy.

Ecuador switched back and forth from military to civilian rule several times in the late 1900s, and finally to civilian power again in 1979. Ecuadorian generals had focused on oil exports, agrarian reform, and nationalistic industrialization. Politicians returned to power from the armed forces, and the indigenous population was finally allowed to vote as the new Constitution omitted the Spanish literacy requirement, stimulating their rise.<sup>10</sup> Three indigenous organizations allied together in 1986 to form CONAIE (Confederation of the Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador). This organization became an effective advocate for native peoples' rights throughout the 1990s. The Euro-whites and mestizos waged class warfare against the indigenous people through racism and oppression while a major political movement united twenty-six separate native groups into one solidified national association (CONAIE). With the combined efforts of the national association, the indigenous people began to thrive more than they ever had, yet still remained the most destitute of people in the nation. CONAIE started the civil rights uprising *Levantamiento* in 1990, blocking roads to negotiate political power as a national leading

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<sup>9</sup> Jeroen Windmeijer, "Crisis? Whose Crisis? Conflicting Views on the Crisis in the Artisan Economy of Otavalo, Ecuador," in *Imaging the Andes: Shifting Margins of a Marginal World* (Amsterdam, Celda, 2003), 303.

<sup>10</sup> Leon Zamosc, "The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador," *Latin American Politics and Society* 49, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 8.

force that organized various uprisings.<sup>11</sup> This was followed by a series of presidential elections and political coups d'état without progress with regard to indigenous rights. This led to the 1990 uprising, resulting in the returning of indigenous lands as an anti-capitalist approach.<sup>12</sup>

Religious affiliation was also changing. Originally, Moreno had made Catholicism a requirement for citizenship to protect the church and devoted the entire nation to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.<sup>13</sup> In the 1900s, 89-95% of the population of Ecuador considered themselves Catholic, even though this was no longer the official religion of the nation.<sup>14</sup> The Catholic Church also aided the first effective Indian organizations in the 1970s, FENOC (Ecuadorian Federation of Peasant Organization) and ECUARUNARI (Confederation of Peoples of Kichwa Nationality), to focus on land issues rather than “ethnicity, bilingual education, cultural preservation, racism, and a multicultural, plurinational state.”<sup>15</sup> These organizations grew into sects of CONAIE, creating social change for indigenous people. It took another decade until the aforementioned matters became an important focus. The indigenous people, considered second class citizens ever since the Spanish arrived, started to unite and fight back. In 1980, this developed into the natives founding the Confederation of the Indigenous People of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) to protect their culture and land, gaining legal recognition in 1984.<sup>16</sup>

While land rights continued to improve, lack of wealth worsened, with the poverty rate

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<sup>11</sup> Alison Brysk, *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 73.

<sup>12</sup> Zamosc, “The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador,” 66.

<sup>13</sup> Ann Miles, “Ecuadorian Women’s Narratives of Lupus, Suffering, and Vulnerability,” in *Chronic Conditions, Fluid States* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 116.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Roberts, “God’s Laboratory: Religious Rationalities and Modernity in Ecuadorian In-Vitro Fertilization,” *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 30, no. 4 (December 2006): 531.

<sup>15</sup> Allen Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics: A Recent History of Ecuador* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Incorporated, 2003), 66.

<sup>16</sup> Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics*, 54.

reaching 35%.<sup>17</sup> Numerous organizations with the same purpose evolved until the turn of the century, and the movement vastly expanded throughout the country.

The more politically correct term, “*indigena*,” was adopted in the 1980s to replace “aborigine” and “native” to eliminate cultural, ethnic, and racial stigmas. The people created non-government organizations with the hope of improving their situation and the belief that officials in political positions would not assist rural communities. Internal political power struggles caused the rise and fall of various indigenous organizations during this time period. This struggle is exemplified by indigenous groups dealing with the significant oppression and resettlement due to oil drilling levantamiento and economic crisis in the Amazon region that occurred during the late 1900s. The indigenous people not only fought a political battle, but also a religious and economic one to successfully reclaim their right to the land.

Tourism continued to grow in the 1990s, threatening not only the indigenous population’s privacy and autonomy in their native regions of Ecuador but also the survival of the oil industry. Since tourism developed into a valuable resource, the President passed a law making it illegal to extract oil from national parks in an effort to protect the environment. This damaged the oil revenue so much that the government reversed the policy, resulting in an even greater expansion of the oil industry, which established petroleum as the most important resource of the country.<sup>18</sup> Tourism became integral to the economy at the global, national, and Otavalo level. Indigenous ethnicity became cultural capital as natives began to identify as international entrepreneurs. For the first time in Ecuador’s history, indigenusness was coveted. Although indigenous

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<sup>17</sup> Brysk, *From Tribal Village to Global Village*, 257.

<sup>18</sup> Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics*, 55.

suppression still exists, indigenous people have come so far from their situation in the eighteenth century.

According to the Latin American historian, Allen Gerlach, “Unprecedented population growth that put pressures on the land and increased internal consumption played a major part in motivating rural modernization and restructuring.”<sup>19</sup> The entire population of Ecuador has quadrupled during the last 50 years. This population explosion resulted in changes made to agricultural laws. Gerlach also states that land was reassigned based on race, the better land kept by lighter-skinned people. As of 2001, the census counted the indigenous population at just under 15% of all Ecuadorians.<sup>20</sup> Other sources claim, however, that at the turn of the twenty-first century, the population of Ecuador consisted of 25% to 40% indigenous people, the remaining population included people of Spanish-decent and a mixture of the two, called *mestizos*.<sup>21</sup> A huge discrepancy exists between sources, since it remains rather difficult to identify indigenous characteristics. White/mestizo government leaders also spin a different perspective on the numbers, as opposed to the indigenous uprising leaders, who claim a much larger margin.

The president of CONAIE, Antonio Vargas, led the *Levantamiento Indígena*, or “Indigenous Uprising,” a massive protest in January of 2000, to force then President of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, to step aside. This enabled a replacement government to avoid an economic disaster. Thousands of indigenous people peacefully and without bloodshed marched to the capital building with partial support from the Armed Forces to demand the government disband. This event was partially caused by the government’s decision to replace the Ecuadorian *sucre* with the U.S. dollar for the purpose of stabilizing economic

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<sup>19</sup> Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics*, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Zamosc, “The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador,” 8.

<sup>21</sup> Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics*, 7.



growth. This caused the thirteen Indian nationalities to join under ECUARUNARI, which included the Otavalans, uniting indigenous populations across the region.<sup>22</sup> By the turn of this century, indigenous groups regained the right to preserve their cultural traditions and teach their native languages as promoted by CONAIE. National programs were also established for bicultural and bilingual education. The strength of these programs is especially evident in the last five years, since Latin America's first indigenous president, Evo Morales (born 1959), was elected in 2006 in Bolivia. He has promoted activities to keep the indigenous traditions alive in multiethnic and multicultural states, influencing all of Latin America.

Sociodemocrat Rafael Correa created a political campaign around indigenous rights and poverty awareness. CONAIE is believed to have supported him, and he won the presidential election in 2007 with the promise to defend their rights. However, since taking office, his policies have proven to infringe significantly on the indigenous peoples' rights. For example, his water law took control of irrigation away from local communities, he allowed mining projects onto ancestral land, and he created a justice administration in native areas to remove power from indigenous leaders. CONAIE filed a lawsuit against Correa for genocide of two Amazon populations, to which the president responded by accusing the indigenous organization of sabotage and terrorism. In spite of these events, his approval ratings remain oddly high.<sup>23</sup> He is up for reelection in 2013, so political tensions are high.

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<sup>22</sup> Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics*, 73.

<sup>23</sup> BBC News: Latin America & Caribbean, "Ecuador President Rafael Correa loses indigenous allies," last modified April 19, 2011, accessed December 30, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-12944231>.

## Culture of Indigenous Ecuador

### *Social and Economic Roles of Indigenous Otavalo*

Although the roots of the indigenous people of Otavalo may lie with the Incas, they could never be considered as such anymore. Descending from a mixture of Europeans and indigenous tribes from around the highland region of northern Ecuador, they now choose to refer to themselves as Quichua-speaking Indians or Otavalo indígenas, proudly declaring, “*Soy Indio!*” or “*Soy Otavaleño!*”<sup>24</sup> They dedicate their most precious and most frequently played songs, such as “Otavalo Manta,”<sup>25</sup> to their cultural identity. Although several groups of the Quichua Indians exist, they prefer to identify themselves by location or neighborhood since tribes no longer exist.

Because of the indigenous movement’s use of Andean folk music for nationalistic pride and identity in the 1920s, it became well-known to non-indigenous people and was more wide-spread than other cultural expression that met more resistance, such as clothing styles, language, and religion.<sup>26</sup> The indigenous movement inspired culture to spread for many years in the market in Otavalo, even though it was not until the late 1930s that it moved to the Plaza de Ponchos.<sup>27</sup> Here, indigenous Andean music continued to grow in size and scope for the next two decades, creating a distinctive economic atmosphere.

After World War II, Ecuador’s market expanded with the cacao export boom, followed by banana and oil booms in the 1960s and 1970s. This new-found export growth triggered urban market expansion across Ecuador, expanding the Plaza de

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<sup>24</sup> My translation: “I am Indian,” and “I am Otavalan.”

<sup>25</sup> See Authenticity Chapter for more detail.

<sup>26</sup> Tanya Korovkin, “Taming Capitalism: The Evolution of the Indigenous Peasant Economy in Northern Ecuador,” *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 3 (1997): 143.

<sup>27</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 33.

Ponchos even further.<sup>28</sup> Otavalo began to transform into more of a capitalist economy, with low prices and cheap labor.<sup>29</sup>

Because indigenous people had no way to support their families on the government-allocated, non-private plots that were a result of rapid population growth in the 1960s, agrarian reform efforts appeared in the 1970s to redistribute land. From 1962 to 1974, the population in Otavalo also increased by 25%, putting pressure on already poor quality land and an insufficiency of uncultivated land.<sup>30</sup> Since Otavalo relied on textile sales and tourism, the oil crisis of 1973 did not significantly impact Otavalo as it did other communities in Ecuador that relied more on oil and agriculture. The indigenous Otavalans hold a powerful leverage for gaining tourism business through the sale of their traditional crafts. These benefits, however, did not always overcome the negative aspects of daily life, such as racism and oppression from the dominating Spanish descendants, that being indigenous created. Although indigenous elites rose to power in other parts of the country during this time, this occurred on a larger scale in Otavalo through bilingual schools and indigenous federations.<sup>31</sup>

Increases in weaving and textile production occurred in Otavalo in the 1980s, since land cultivation was nearly impossible. The supply for textiles and indigenous crafts, such as musical instruments, increased, but the demand did not. Indigenous entrepreneurs and musicians were forced to search for new markets internationally. This cycle repeated in Europe and the United States, as too many musical groups saturated the cities. The economic crisis of the 1990s made it difficult for indigenous people to afford

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<sup>28</sup> Korovkin, "Taming Capitalism," 93.

<sup>29</sup> Korovkin, "Taming Capitalism," 106.

<sup>30</sup> Windmeijer, "Crisis? Whose Crisis?," 304-305.

<sup>31</sup> Tanya Korovkin, "Reinventing the Communal Tradition: Indigenous Peoples, Civil Society, and Democratization in Andean Ecuador," *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 3 (2001): 38.

international trips, especially with competition encountered overseas. Adapting, they remained in their communities using improved technology, such as electric looms and factory-made instruments in order to make a living. The result of the population stabilization of the Otavalo community resulted in rapid economic growth, as evidenced by the numerous tourists who visit the Plaza de Ponchos market. Indigenous people are now diversifying of economic activities in Otavalo, for they need the benefit of additional employment opportunities that exist as a precise result of their efforts. Oil prices fell in 1998 when a massive El Niño climatological event occurred, collapsing the economy into the worst recession since the 1930s. Nonetheless, crises can turn into opportunities, and the indigenous people succeeded over time in turning their situation around through their persistent adaptation to current political, economic and sociocultural events.

#### *Current Indigenous Otavalan Culture and Music*

After 500 years of cultural fusion, the Ecuadorian culture, economy, and society all continue to evolve and develop as the country participates in the global economy, and Otavalo mirrors this process. Many changes are evident, including the erosion of the traditional Spanish patriarchal, dominant authority. For instance, women and younger men now have some social power. Barred from official recognition by local governments, the leaders of Otavalan indigenous communities have developed to become active participants in civil society, mobilizing their members against the white-mestizo authorities. Modern indigenous struggles are considered legitimate, as they are fused with indigenous values centuries old and national developmentalist and leftist discourse through the market.<sup>32</sup> Otavalo communities recreated their identity largely around issues of governance and culture and have been able to increase access to public services largely

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<sup>32</sup> Korovkin, "Reinventing the Communal Tradition," 59.

without losing their cultural and organizational autonomy. Otavalo's experiments in communal governance represent an important example of the expansion and redefinition of democracy in Ecuador.

Historically, cultural, political, economic, and social events have impacted the Otavalan Indians, inspiring adaptations of their traditions. Change in the musical expressions and customs of this indigenous group is one of the foci of this study. Since language is an integral part of musical text and expression, it is important to recognize that the Quichua (or *Kichwa*) language remains an integral part of Otavalan daily communication and artistic expression. Quichua, part of the language family *Quechua*, has variants found in Bolivia, Peru, and Argentina, even the Indians of the *Oriente* Amazon. The shared language family extends across borders, with a common cultural past reaching back to the Incans. Similar to the shared musical instruments throughout the Andes, the Quichua language, though native to northern Ecuador, can also be found in other regions.

Music in Otavalo flourishes in a state of constant flux. Not only do many indigenous folk tunes played on native instruments pepper the streets and restaurants, but synthesized Latin American techno booms in bars and clubs by night. The majority of the music heard in the Plaza de Ponchos has been influenced by longstanding traditions passed down from Pre-Columbian times. Panpipes and indigenous flutes encompass folk music in its "most acceptable and prominent form,"<sup>33</sup> according to professor of Global Studies at Winona State University Linda D'Amico. Latin American Studies specialist Tanya Korovkin states that "Musical performance, then, is not only a way to remember or

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<sup>33</sup> Linda D'Amico, "Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo," (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1993), 161.

link oneself with the homeland. Rather, it is perceived as a central mechanism for uniting social groups and for competing with, and ‘changing,’ ... society. It is a tool for gaining greater acceptance for their identity units as well as an indication that a certain acceptance has already been gained.”<sup>34</sup> Many musicians and instrument vendors working there strongly identify with the music they sell, and they also travel throughout the world promoting their culture. Their fascinating success story makes sellers and musicians in the Otavalan market truly unique.

Gender plays a significant role in the music society of Otavalo, as only men play instruments. Female instrument vendors in the market typically are wives of men who craft and play the instruments they sell. Upon inquiry, women usually knew nothing about the music or instruments and consistently told me to come back for information when their husbands arrived. None of the women selling wind instruments in the market could play them. Several men not officially subjects of this thesis in Otavalo informed me that to play the flute, one must expend so much energy that women simply do not have the lung capacity to do so. They would get sick and die from the effort. Another Otavalan told me it would be inappropriate for women to play because of the phallic shape of the end-blown flutes such as the *quena*. However, women are still very important for music-making according to my research subjects. They prepare meals for events where there is music, and they dance and occasionally sing, and on rare occasions play percussive instruments. In one instance, the daughter of research subject 34<sup>35</sup> did perform on the *palla* and *chalchas* for a group of tourists (see Figure 3). The only reason she was allowed to perform was that no other men were available. This performance indicates that

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<sup>34</sup> Korovkin, “Taming Capitalism,” 145.

<sup>35</sup> Refer to Appendix C and D for research subject information.

women may know how to play instruments, but it is only socially acceptable under rare circumstances. While it may not be culturally appropriate for women to play indigenous flutes, they remain an integral part of music culture.



Figure 3: Research Subject 34 with his Daughter Performing for Tourists (my photo, taken 6/14/11)

## CHAPTER III

### AUTHENTICITY

#### Indigenous Instruments in Otavalo

##### *Historical Instruments*

Eminent ethnomusicologist, Bruno Nettl, has insisted that “the function of music in human society is to control humanity’s relationship to the supernatural, to mediate between people and other beings, and to support the integrity of social groups.”<sup>36</sup> He goes on to state that music expresses relevant cultural values in an abstract way. Ritual, military, and religious values were portrayed through music during Inca times, signifying the importance of music within the culture. Flutes and panpipes can be traced back to the 1400s and before, when they were initially made of bone, cane, clay, or condor plumes (see Figure 4 and 5). While it is rare, human bone flutes still exist (see Figure 6). Many contemporary indigenous flutes are versions of Inca instruments; however, some have assumed various functions that have been given different names over time. The notched Inca *pincollos* were what are now called *quen*as, not the modern *pingullos*. The latter are 3-holed duct flutes with obvious European influence. *Antari* were once coiled horns, but now are straight panpipes. The *rondín* was at one time a panpipe instrument with twelve tubes of alternating short and long lengths of bamboo to be played two at a time for harmony purposes. This is now called a *rondador*, while the *rondín* refers to a harmonica. The *pífano*, or *pingullu* in Quichua meaning “lower leg bone,” used to be made from the bone of a condor. No longer are these instruments made from this material, but they

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<sup>36</sup> Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 159.



retain the name.<sup>37</sup> A rondador can consist of 26 to 34 tubes. This name originated from night watchmen that held these while making their rounds (*rondas* in Spanish).

Rondador, pingullo, and transverse flute have been used for weddings, children's funerals, masses for saints, and festivals. In Incan times, the quena was made of bones or reeds and was eight to forty centimeters long with three to five holes. The ancient *antara* was also made of reed with five to twelve pipes successively shorter in length.



Figure 4: Early Rondador Made of Condor Plumes (my photo, taken 6/9/11)

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<sup>37</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 120, 124.



Figure 5: Early Flutes Made of Clay (my photo, taken 6/9/11)



Figure 6: Human Bone Flute (research subject 19) Played Today (my photo, taken 6/18/11)

### *Instruments of Today*

Today, the main wind instruments sold in the Plaza de Ponchos market are the antara, *flauta de pan*, *gaita*, *museño*, palla, pífano, pingullo, quena, rondador, and *zampoña*.<sup>38</sup> These instruments, made mostly of bamboo, are native to the Andean region. Those used most in performances are quenás and zampoñas, the latter of which are, according to D'Amico, "relatively recent introductions to the Otavaleño musical scene and are the result of the wave of the *Nueva Cancion* movement and cultural exchanges with Bolivian and Peruvian musicians"<sup>39</sup> in the 1970s and 1980s.

The most common is the quena. The general consensus of musicians and vendors is that it has a smooth, sweet sound. Traditionally made of quality bamboo or *hacaranda* wood, some makers now craft it using bone mouthpieces and with bone around the finger holes for traveling musicians who need more resistance for intonation issues in changing weather conditions. This change in the material originated in Argentina, then moved to Bolivia and Ecuador. Some vendor-musicians claim that this notched flute is originally from Peru, while others believe it is from Ecuador. The quena is used as a main melody instrument for group performances, as well as a countermelody to sung lyrics. Many quena players improvise solo lines using what musicians of the Euro-American tradition would consider extended techniques, such as flutter tonguing, trills, glissandos, micro-tones, and pitch bending through the use of half-holing. While these methods may reflect an extension of normal flute playing, they simply represent the standard Otavalan vocabulary for expression. The quena musicians also tend to switch back and forth to the zampoña, holding it under an arm while angling the quena outward.

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<sup>38</sup> See Appendix A for photos and details of these instruments.

<sup>39</sup> D'Amico, "Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo," 164-165.

The zampoña is another main melody instrument used for performing in groups. It is known for its harsh sound on fast melodic lines. The panpipe tubes are best made out of a sturdy type of bamboo called *carrizo*, and most vendor-musicians state that it is traditionally from Bolivia, although one subject did claim it is from Peru. It is common for the two rows of tubing to remain separate, so that musicians can hit them together for percussive effects. Extended techniques of trills, flutter tongue, heavy vibrato, slurring across several panpipes, and playing two tubes at once are also customary. The zampoña is normally played close to the body with right hand across the front without needing the support of the left hand except on occasions when angled outward. Usually, the musician also plays the *bomba* drum with the left hand.

A similar instrument, the antara is known as the best combination of the sound of the zampoña and quena, having the capacity to sound both sweet and harsh. Micro-tones and pitch-bending techniques are also used by changing the angle at which the air is directed. This instrument is commonly used at parties and is very traditional of Ecuador. Just before the turn of the twenty-first century, Romanian influences brought the curved antara to Ecuador, also known as the flauta de pan.<sup>40</sup> Antaras are traditionally played with the lower pitched tubes on the left side of the body; however, Bolivian musicians play with them on the right. Most flautas de pan on the market are curved with the lowest tube on the left, but the Romanian versions can be made both ways, as shown in Figure 7. Some vendors even add chromatic pitches, imitating the format of the black keys on a piano. Typically, this instrument is used for Andean love songs, but it is never used for festivals.

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<sup>40</sup> Research subject 2, interview 6/10/2011.



Figure 7: Romanian Pan Flutes Sold (by research subject 18) on the Market (my photo, taken 6/18/11)

According to the Otavalans, an authentic instrument from Ecuador is the transverse flute, or the gaita. It is made of strong carrizo and is usually (but not always) pitched in “ti” but can be pitched differently. These instruments are crafted in sets of two, since they are used for the center of festival dancing circles, and two players are always present. When playing and dancing, gaita players angle the flute downward, tilt their heads to the side, and usually watch their feet, aimed at the most functional and minimal effort possible. Some claim that it is the only wind instrument truly from Ecuador. In the late twentieth century, some instrument makers began adding an additional section onto the gaita to elongate it and change the sound, thus inventing the museño. Musicians also began playing directly into the mouthpiece rather than blowing across it (see Figure 8). This is a fairly rare instrument in the market; however, it is becoming more popular.



More popular and very traditional in Ecuador, the bamboo rondador's narrow and different length tubes allow musicians to play two tubes at once, creating harmony.



Figure 8: Vendor (research subject 7) Playing a Museño in the Market (my photo, taken 6/11/11)

A smaller version of the antara, the palla is also very typical of the area. While the antara can play a complete diatonic scale, the palla is tuned pentatonically. It is played at parties, for harvests, ceremonies, weddings, and special programs usually accompanied by a bomba drum. One instrument that is not commonly performed in recent times is the pingullo, also known as the *flauta dulce*, the Spanish name for “recorder.” This is very similar to a modern-day recorder. It is still typical to observe these at booths in the market, however. According to one subject, they were originally made of human bone. Most claim it originated in Peru, but one subject was convinced it came from Bolivia.

The pífano is somewhat similar, but it only contains three finger holes. Yet, with the overblowing through the harmonic sequence, an entire major scale is possible in the upper register. Instrument makers disagree when it comes to the quality of bamboo versus carrizo, some saying that bamboo reeds have a better sound, others saying it is more traditional to make flutes out of carrizo. A burning technique is used to make professional and semi-professional flutes that are bound with characteristic white or black thread (See Figure 9). Commercial flutes are coated in a glossy finish and bound with colorful string and tassels for aesthetic purposes (See Figure 10). Vendors are becoming more creative with their production methods as well, painting the bamboo tubes and creating artwork on the instruments (see Figure 11).



Figure 9: Semi-professional Zampoña Player (research subject 2) in the Market (my photo, taken 6/11/11)



Figure 10: Commercial Pan Flute Player (research subject 1) in the Market (my photo, taken 6/11/11)



Figure 11: Rondadores for Art's Sake on Display (my photo of research subject 20's art, taken 6/16/11)



At this point, traditions have melded together so much that it is difficult to ascertain which instruments are truly “authentic” to Otavalo and which exist mainly for commercial purposes. The various historical and newly traditional flute instruments hold an honorable place in a music vendor’s stand because they are the most important items to sell to the public. This may be a result of cultural pride, consumer demand, or both. Market vendors who sell musical items prominently display flutes, play recorded flute music, and may quickly pick up a flute to demonstrate its sound if a customer glances at their merchandise. Regardless of a customer’s knowledge of music, ethnic traditions, local values, or instrument quality, vendors persist in making a sale in the robust spirit of the market in the center of Otavalo.

#### Analysis of Musical Authenticity in Otavalo

Many outsiders feel that as Otavalans gain knowledge and use of technology, modern mestizo traditions, and North American culture, they risk losing their identity and authenticity, a product of over 600 years of cultural fusion. This assessment seems as illogical as the idea that people in the United States who sell, purchase, and use products made in China become Chinese. The Otavalans are definitely authentic vendors and businessmen. While the instruments they sell or the music they play may not be particularly authentic to the region, this may be irrelevant to them. They sell what is important to them, whether or not it is traditional to the area, as their profession is not only about music, but it is also about business. The concept of cultural fusion is a world-wide phenomenon at this point in history and has been for some time. No culture is completely unaffected by others. Outside influences do not particularly imply negative

change for a society; however, these influences may have a powerful inspirational effect, causing development within and between cultures.

Describing the global participation of Otavalans, anthropologist and Andean expert Lynn Meisch states, “textile and music production and marketing have strengthened rather than weakened cultural identity and increased Otavalo’s economic power to a degree unimagined thirty years ago.”<sup>41</sup> Since the Spanish conquest of South America, to be an Indian indicated low status as natives were treated in a derogatory manner; now to be indigenous may be desirable to many for financial and social reasons. While many indigenous people strive to become mestizo, there are also a number of mestizos identifying as Indians in order to play in indigenous musical groups with the hope of increasing their sales in the market. It is not unusual to observe other pan-Andean nationalities dressing and selling like Otavalan Indians in the market as well. Based on my observations, this adopted indigenous identity appears to be highly valued in the Otavalan culture.

When indigenous people realized that mestizo musicians began to alter indigenous music to make money from it in the 1970s, they started recording and performing outside their own ceremonial and social contexts.<sup>42</sup> Recording music modifies the dynamics of the sound, affecting the original characteristics of the music. Moreover, the usual live ritual performances can seem unending, as they can last for hours, while recordings dictate a more defined ending. Musical tracks are also recorded as a performance instead of collective participation, traditional to Andean music.

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<sup>41</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 201.

<sup>42</sup> Juniper Hill, “From Oppression to Opportunity to Expression: Intercultural relations in Indigenous Musics from the Ecuadorian Andes,” *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* 12 (Fall 2006): 10.

When musicians play with others from neighboring communities, instead of playing a repertoire specific to their region, it has become customary to play general pan-Andean folk music, such as *huaynos* from Peru and *sanjuanitos* from Ecuador. Through this practice, Otavalan musicians actually contribute to broadening their culture rather than losing their customs. Many scholars, such as Chase, tend to group together Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia due to their pan-Andean similarities. They all contain large indigenous populations, mainly mestizo racial mixture, cultural remnants of pre-Hispanic civilizations, and none has produced a composer of recognized international stature.<sup>43</sup> Some musicians in Otavalo look down on vendor-musicians who play music and sell instruments originating in countries other than Ecuador. One subject estimated that only 10% of indigenous flute musicians in the Otavalo market actually play legitimately customary music, while the other 90% perform a fusion of traditional and non-native music, going on to proclaim, “Traditional? Not here, it doesn’t exist.”<sup>44</sup>

Given a specific value, authenticity is in a sense a very Westernized ideal. It implies that others should live their lives a certain way, usually with expectations and stereotypes. If other people break the mold of who Euro-Americans deem them to be, then it is common for us to believe that they are unauthentic. The Otavalans do not conform, for instance, to the supposition that indigenous people are poor, as evidenced by their prosperous market economy. So, many foreigners negatively assume that they are abandoning their culture in order to become prosperous, as if discarding an ethnicity were even possible. Meisch calls for action, saying that, “We need to distinguish between

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<sup>43</sup> Gilbert Chase, “Creative Trends in Latin American Music – I,” *Tempo New Series*, no. 48 (Summer 1958): 31.

<sup>44</sup> Research Subject 24, interview 6/11/2011. My translation: “¿Tradicional? Aquí no, no existe.”

outsiders' preoccupation with authenticity and the Otavalos' concern about what constitutes their culture, whether change is positive or negative, and how to control it."<sup>45</sup>

While many of the crafts and musical instruments sold in the market are handmade in the region of Otavalo, vendors also buy from outside the area. This may seem inauthentic to outsiders; however, merchants have been trading as well as producing new products for centuries. According to the non-indigenous population, the Otavalan market is losing its identity by selling products that are no longer recognizable as Otavalan. Windmeijer estimates that 90-95% of the products sold in the Plaza de Ponchos are not Otavalan, "because they are alien to the culture of Otavalo and the Otavalos."<sup>46</sup> This may appear to be a negative change to outsiders; however, Otavalans are still adapting culturally to keep up to date with current economic standards and tourist needs. At first glance, I appeared to be an American tourist wandering through the market. When asked where the flutes originated, some vendors immediately responded that they were originally from Ecuador and were made by their own hands. However, some of the more commercial flutes were obviously machine made and carried the stamp of another maker. Truth does not always sell; merchants may tell tourists what they think they want to hear in hopes of a sale as well as not to disappoint. Otavalans are experienced vendors, and they believe that tourists will only buy what is handmade by them.

After explaining my specific interest and background in music, particularly in flutes, many vendors quickly changed their stories from their original versions of why the flute was a decent buy as it was made locally by them. When I made it clear that my aim

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<sup>45</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 96.

<sup>46</sup> Windmeijer, "Crisis? Whose Crisis?," 310.

was research for a university project, it was not uncommon to hear that the flutes were not, in fact, handmade by the merchants themselves in Ecuador, but actually by machine and shipped in from Bolivia or Peru. The Otavalans do not want to give false information knowingly to a source that could potentially bring knowledge of their culture to the outside, more educated world. They also do not appear to want to be caught giving false claims to a knowledgeable person. Otavalans may be natural entrepreneurs, but most are not prone to misleading others.

## CHAPTER IV

### COMMERCIALIZATION

#### The Function of Music in Otavalo

One of the important purposes of music in Otavalo is a result of commerce. In the Plaza de Ponchos market, it is evident that music has transformed from a lifestyle into a business plan. An integral aspect of living an indigenous life in Otavalo involves the selling of handmade, tangible goods, including musical instruments and their culture. Ethnic music in Ecuador holds various meanings for many people; however, an obvious motive for musicians selling their musical wares in the market appears to be financial gain. These selling grounds have been open since the 1930s for Otavalans to do business, but in 1973, the Plaza and the Pan American Highway was paved, indicative of the expansion of this economic hotspot.<sup>47</sup> Ever since then, commodification has grown to be part of everyday life. “Here music emerges ‘embodied,’ that is, as part and parcel of human beings working in the fields, migrating, dancing, making aesthetic choices, engaging with the market, responding to state promotion, and in general becoming part of larger sociocultural processes.”<sup>48</sup>

#### Comparison of Vendors and Musicians

Based on my participant observation of the market atmosphere and its scope in the surrounding community, two types of wind instrument vendors are clearly evident:

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<sup>47</sup> Michelle Wibbelsman, “*Otavaleños* at the Crossroads: Physical and Metaphysical Coordinates of an Indigenous World,” *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 10, no. 1 (2005): 157.

<sup>48</sup> Zoila Mendoza, “Review: Debating the Past: Music, Memory, and Identity in the Andes,” *Latin American Music Review* 23, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2002): 223.

those who do not know how to play the instruments they sell and those who do. When asked if they would play a tune, some in the former group blew into a flute, as if to prove that it could create a sound. These merchants usually sell cheaply made and brightly colored flutes, mostly of the *flauta dulce* (see Figure 12) variety that they claim to have made and painted themselves with conspicuously machine-made brand names printed on them. Emphasis on appearance and false representation of authenticity results in the vendors of the first category seeming to disregard instrument quality, lack musical ability, and be void of a sense of genuine tradition.



Figure 12: Commercial *Flauta Dulces* (my photo, taken 6/11/11)

Of the vendors in the market I spoke with, half did not have rudimentary knowledge of the origins and customs of the instruments that they sold, even though they

might have been able to play them. Rather, they demonstrate single notes attempting to make a sale. Many confidently claim that a specific flute originates from a certain Andean country. This group of sellers appears misinformed about the true origins of the instruments they sell. Typically, vendors first assert that all instruments on their table are originally from Ecuador, including the antara, flauta de pan, gaita, museño, palla, pífano, pingullo, quena, rondador, and zampoña (see Appendix A).

Actually, most of them are not of Ecuadorian descent specifically, but rather from the general Andean region, a native concept of boundaries rather than a modern political concept. Given the typical response from sellers in the market, it is the local belief that the zampoña originated in Bolivia, and the quena was created in Ecuador. In modern times, little regard is given to the exact country of origin, yet there is a general focus on the Andes region, which has geographically brought cultures together through warfare and conquest, as customs are shared across borders. Pure tradition and exclusively native goods do not necessarily appeal to all buyers for several vendor-musicians advertise Romanian pan flutes and Chinese flutes at their booths, demonstrating a lack of desire to sell solely regional instruments. The native conception of boundaries differs greatly from the Euro-American political concept. For instance, I asked vendors if the instruments they sell are originally from there. Many claim that they are, because geographical borders and boundaries are an arbitrary concept to them. It may be confusing in their minds, for it is not a part of their heritage to acknowledge political boundaries.

Distinctively, the amateur flute vendors pin responsibility for knowledge about their instruments and music elsewhere. When I asked if they could teach me how to play a specific flute, five subjects simply showed me children's methods books, refusing to



teach or recommend another musician to me. One mestizo woman in an instrument store proclaimed, “Go ask the indigenous people!”<sup>49</sup> This group of sellers’ sole purpose in a conversation appears to focus on making a sale. Two vendors (one shown in Figure 13) even insisted that I buy a flute before they would participate in my research and continued to attempt to inspire me to buy more. Others simply ignored me other than to ask me to buy something after finding out my goal was simply to converse about music and instruments. The focus of musicians in the Plaza de Ponchos is tinted with a commercialism that overshadows culture, tradition, and musical creativity.



Figure 13: Vendor (research subject 22) Selling Instruments in the Market (my photo, taken 6/11/2011)

There is also a significant number of legitimate musicians at the Otavalo market. About half of all of the subjects I studied actually play the instruments they sell, some have personal recordings as well, yet some do not pay attention to the origins and traditions of their instruments. When prompted, they can pick up any instrument to play

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<sup>49</sup> Research subject 27, interview 6/13/2011. My translation: “Pregúnta a la gente indígena!”

indigenous folk tunes as well as foreign songs. A minor rift seems to exist between the two groups, as the latter feels a grudge against the non-musicians for, in one subject's opinion, tainting the overall authenticity of instrument vendors in Otavalo. This second group of musicians plays in *Mi Otavalito* (see Figure 14), one of the only three restaurants in town, including *Pizzeria Cecilia* and *Peña Amauta*, which hold performances of live folk music from the Andean region. They choose to play what appeals to their audiences.



Figure 14: Musical Group (research subject 26) Performing in *Mi Otavalito* Restaurant (my photo, 6/11/2011)

Knowing that people will sing along with the popular Pan-American folk song, *Guantanamera*, musicians are inspired to play it because it is enjoyable, not because they feel the need to stay within the cultural boundaries of their own country. It is not uncommon to hear an Andean band playing riffs of Mexican folk songs, such as *La*

*Cucaracha* and *Cielito Lindo* in between songs. One subject informed me that Ecuadorians love these songs, but I found that my presence as a white Euro-American could have further impacted this multicultural performance. Another informant clarified this statement, saying that they play “what the people like, we can’t just play our culture, because there are so few people that come for the culture here. People come more for tourism here in Ecuador. They ask for it!”<sup>50</sup> While some may play for the sole purpose of making money, others truly value the creative process of music making, as exemplified in this subject’s statement; “I continue making music, I continue sounding with the music, I create music, and it’s my passion.”<sup>51</sup>

#### *El Condor Pasa* Analysis

The most frequently performed tune in the market is *El Condor Pasa* (The Condor Flies), a tune which helped revolutionize the world’s perception of indigenous music. This folk song is said to be the most frequently played in the world, having received more recording attention and media airtime than any other known Andean text.<sup>52</sup> This veritable anthem also spurred the growth of commodification of world music as a genre, spilling across borders. The fact that Andean folk music has reached other continents started with the commercial recording of *El Condor Pasa* (see Appendix H and attached CD) on Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel’s album, *Bridge over Troubled*

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<sup>50</sup> Research subject 25, interview 6/15/2011. My translation: “Lo que le gusta la gente, no solo podemos tocar nuestra cultura, porque noy hay mucha gente que viene aqui para la cultura. La gente viene más para el turismo aqui en Ecuador. ¡Lo piden!”

<sup>51</sup> Research subject 6, interview 6/11/2011. My translation: “Sigo haciendo música, sigo soñando con la música, creo música, y es mi gusto.”

<sup>52</sup> Kirstie Ann Dorr, “On Site in Sound: The Political Geographies of Globalized Peruvian Music,” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2006), 51.

*Water*,<sup>53</sup> causing Andean ensembles to appear in universities and on the streets over the years.<sup>54</sup> *El Condor Pasa* is now celebrated across the world as a symbol of cultural expression and freedom in the Andes region.

The Peruvian composer, Daniel Alomía Robles, claimed to have composed the song; he spent over fifteen years in the highlands of Peru recording and transcribing more than six hundred folk and popular songs. Some critics believe he did not purposely appropriate one of the songs from his travels, but definitely drew inspiration from them, publishing the song now known as *El Condor Pasa* in 1913 under his name.<sup>55</sup> According to Nicolas Slonimsky, it was first published as part of the finale of an operetta for Robles's zarzuela.<sup>56</sup> The text shown in Figure 14, written by Robles' librettist, Julio de la Paz (the pseudonym of Julio Baudoin), is a cry to nationalistic identity as a reaction to foreign imperialism. It depicts the Andean condor as "a symbol of freedom in the context of a Peruvian miner's struggle against his Yankee imperialist boss."<sup>57</sup> *El Condor Pasa*, is valued and played across the world by a number of indigenous musical groups from the Andes, including a group called *Urubambai*, named after the valley that contains Cuzco and Machu Picchu in Peru. None of the band members are indigenous Andeans, using the name to sound particularly indigenous South American. This exposes how much importance was placed on exoticism rather than authenticity, as well as how, as ethnomusicologist Fernando Rios puts it, "transnational musical commodification can be

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<sup>53</sup> Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel, *Bridge Over Troubled Water*, Columbia Records, KCS 9914, 1970, record.

<sup>54</sup> *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Volume 2, (New Orleans: Routledge, 1998), s.v. "Musical Dynamics."

<sup>55</sup> Dorr, "On Site in Sound," 51.

<sup>56</sup> Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America* (New York: Thomas Y. Corwell Company, 1945), 275.

<sup>57</sup> Dorr, "On Site in Sound," 132.

driven by intercultural processes.”<sup>58</sup> It was in France that Paul Simon heard *El Condor Pasa* for the first time by *Urubambai*, and he was given the impression from the band that it was an anonymous eighteenth-century piece. Simon recorded the band, also known as *Los Incas*, and sang new lyrics (see Figure 15) completely unrelated to the original meaning over their instrumental performance on his 1970 album, *Bridge over Troubled Water*. He toured with the band in 1973 and producing their 1974 album.<sup>59</sup>

**Original in Quechua by Julio de la Paz:**

Yaw kuntur llaqtay urqupi tiyaq  
maymantam qawamuwachkanki,  
kuntur, kuntur  
apallaway llaqtanchikman, wasinchikman  
chay chiri urqupi, kutiytam munani,  
añoro  
kuntur, kuntur.

Qusqu llaqtapim plazachallanpim  
suyaykamullaway,  
Machu Picchupi Wayna Picchupi  
purikunanchikpaq.

**My Translation of Spanish Version:**

Oh majestic Condor of the Andes,  
Take me to my home in the Andes,  
Oh Condor.  
I want to return to my loved land and live  
With my Incan brothers, I miss it most,  
Oh Condor

In Cusco, in the main plaza,  
Wait for me  
To Machu Picchu and Huayna Picchu  
We will pass.

**Spanish Translation of Quechua Version:**

Oh majestuoso Cóndor de los Andes,  
llévame, a mi hogar, en los Andes,  
Oh Cóndor.  
Quiero volver a mi tierra querida y vivir  
con mis hermanos Incas, que es lo que más  
adoro  
oh Cóndor.

En el Cusco, en la plaza principal,  
espérame  
para que a Machu Picchu y Huayna Picchu  
vayamos a pasear.

**New Version in English by Paul Simon:**

I'd rather be a sparrow than a snail  
Yes I would, if I could, I surely would.  
I'd rather be a hammer than a nail.  
Yes I would, if I could, I surely would.

Away, I'd rather sail away  
Like a swan that's here and gone  
A man gets tied up to the ground,  
he gives the world its saddest sound,

I'd rather be a forest than a street.  
Yes I would, if I could, I surely would.  
I'd rather feel the earth beneath my feet,  
Yes I would, if I could, I surely would.

Figure 15: Texts of El Condor Pasa

<sup>58</sup> Fernando Rios, “La flûte indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción,” *American Music Review* 29, no. 2 (Fall-Winter 2008): 159.

<sup>59</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 138.

Also known as “If I Could,” or “I’d Rather Be a Hammer than a Nail,” the ballad soared in popularity through live performances, radio, and television, even winning a Grammy Award for Song of the Year and Record of the Year in 1971. Almost a dozen cover versions followed from famous musicians. Unbeknownst to Simon, Robles had copyrighted the ballad with the U.S. Library of Congress in 1933; thus his son, Armando Robles Godoy filed a lawsuit against Simon for plagiarizing, creating controversy and even more media attention. Just after the turn of the twenty-first century, the National Institute of Culture in Peru reclaimed the piece as a symbol of national pride and heritage, or *patrimonio cultural*. *El Condor Pasa* is responsible for setting a precedent for the genre, Nueva Canción, an exoticist folk revival movement of the 1970s, inspiring awareness of ethnic music across the globe.<sup>60</sup> It has become a reference point for musicians. One research subject compared another Andean folk song, *La Bocina*, to it, assuming I would recognize *El Condor Pasa*, and understand the similarities, which I did.

No culture is truly isolated today; however, oral tradition can be maintained over millennia. Melancholy moods in pentatonic scales still exist today with traces of Incan remnants.<sup>61</sup> Sometimes known as the Quichua scale, several combinations are prevalent, incorporating major thirds, minor thirds, and major seconds with melodic descent. No specific tonic exists, and leaps of a seventh and tenth are frequent. This music doesn’t rhythmically fall into a Westernized meter but rather uses free rhythms in an asymmetrical meter, more typical of the indigenous Andean music culture.

The overarching structure of the song follows an AABB pattern, repeating the chorus and then the refrain, which can be seen in Figure 16 below, as well as in Appendix

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<sup>60</sup> Dorr, “On Site in Sound,” 67.

<sup>61</sup> Richard Klatovsky and Edward Agate, “Music in the Realm of the Incas,” *The Musical Times* 75, no. 1098 (August 1934): 696.

F. The chord structure uses pentatonic elements, only exploiting chords i, III, and VI in the harmonic minor scale. It seems that indigenous Andean music follows minor pentatonic scalar motion that the six-holed bamboo flutes of the region allow. Some scores incorporate  $V^7 - i$  cadences to add more definition to measures 4-5 of the 6-bar “A” section. These chords repeat only as necessary, demonstrating indigenous simplicity in refrains. While the harmony encompasses minimal chord changes, the melody captures every diatonic note but the sixth scale degree (F) in frequent stepwise motion in the first section of the piece. This only appears in vocal versions; however, because on an Andean flute such as the quena, the stepwise eighth-note motion in the melody on weak beats is not possible due to the quena’s pentatonic tuning system. The second section does remain melodically pentatonic with scale degrees one, three, four, five, and seven represented. Ornamentation sprinkles the score with grace notes as pickup notes to important beats. This type of embellishment appears in performance only if convenient with quena fingerings. This stylistic addition provides a bit of Andean flavor, for it appears that many traditional songs follow this embellishment practice, sometimes even with larger intervals for more dramatic effect.



Figure 16: Flute Solo Score of *El Condor Pasa* by Robles<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> “*El Condor Pasa*,” accessed October 16, 2011, <http://www.flutetunes.com/tunes.php?id=19>.

The piece combines three individual rhythmic practices: *yaraví*, *pasacalle*, and *huayno*. Through the mixture of distinctly separate traditions, different regions and time periods mesh together into a single musical transculturation. *Yaraví*, a slow mestizo, or “mixed race,” rhythm from the Peruvian highland mourning practice of *harahui*, gained favor in performances at society balls in Lima in the eighteenth century for the criollo elite, appearing in the primary A section (measures 1-6). *Pasacalle*, an upbeat march typically played in the northern Peruvian and Ecuadorian coastal areas, became associated with criollo localized racial communities. This appears in the B section of the work in the baseline. These measures 8 – 18 also incorporate a *huayno* in the soprano line, a universal rhythm of Peru’s Andean region in which two short beats follow a first stressed beat, followed by two short beats. Typical Peruvian music identified with this *huayno*.<sup>63</sup> Together, these three beats form the cadenced *rasgueo* of the music, similar to a flamenco rhythm structure, making *El Condor Pasa* a unique blend of indigenous Andean culture.

It is difficult to fit the *El Condor Pasa* into a conventional Western metric system. With elongated beats and the use of rests in performance practice, the music can fit into common time. Indigenous Andean musical rhythms originate from the feel of the beat freely rather than from the metrically structured written music of other cultures. Much of the music within oral traditions was never intended to be written down or fit within a certain meter. It then becomes difficult for musicians with Westernized understandings of music to completely comprehend what occurs in the original music. The same thing occurs harmonically in the Simon and Garfunkel score (see Appendix F<sup>64</sup> or [www.free-](http://www.free-)

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<sup>63</sup> Dorr, “On Site in Sound,” 62.

<sup>64</sup> “*El Condor Pasa*,” accessed October 16, 2011, <http://capotastomusic.blogspot.com>.



scores.com for other scores with harmony), some lines are missing the root of the chord that creates a Calypso-like baseline.<sup>65</sup> This underlying harmonic structure shows this Afro-Caribbean influence that is mirrored in the solo part in the “B” section. Standard folkloric practices began to appear to include general South American techniques (even from the Amazon region), wiping out individual local practices to appeal to a more cosmopolitan audience. For instance, equal temperament tuning replaced flexible intonation, clear instrumental timbre substituted for dense tone quality, and the tune was presented as a performance as opposed to general participation.<sup>66</sup>

The indigenismo movement became popular among the mestizo class through the emblematic use of the combination of indigenous and mestizo genres with mainly European influences, such as *El Condor Pasa*.<sup>67</sup> Original instrumentation for the zarzuela consisted of an amalgamation of European string instruments blended with *charango* and *hualaycho* (colonial-origin string instruments) for harmonic purposes as well as pre-colonial bamboo wind instruments, the *quena* and *siku*. The latter instruments provide the melodic contour and transitions of the text, as a hybrid of Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous cultural practices. This cultural blend illustrates that people are not only consumers of music, but also products of the music that they create and digest.<sup>68</sup>

Musicians all over South and Central America have adopted *El Condor Pasa* as their own. Regardless of the fact that it originated from a different region and heritage and is a copyrighted creation, they proudly perform it, while outsiders may not recognize the discrepancy. Through its notoriety, the Peruvian tune helps musicians become more

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<sup>65</sup> Derek Hasted, “*El Condor Pasa*,” *Classical Guitar* 26, no. 5 (January 2008): 48.

<sup>66</sup> Rios, “La flute indienne,” 150.

<sup>67</sup> Korovkin, “Taming Capitalism,” 132.

<sup>68</sup> Dorr, “On Site in Sound,” 85.

successful in their artistic and financial endeavors. Many Andean musicians claim that including the song on CDs will improve sales, and they certainly market it by showing tourists which CDs include the recognizable tune. Recording discs presents a difficult challenge without the resources of a producer, distributor, and retailer, inspiring most indigenous musicians to make home recordings. *El Condor Pasa* did not become popular in South America through mass production the way most songs do. Alternatively, the street became the prime advertisement for the music. The success of these musicians depends heavily on their ability to perform to a standard of authenticity; however, many musicians play this piece with great success without specific affiliation with it due to the audience's lack of knowledge of the song's origin.<sup>69</sup> Listeners may recognize the tune but not realize accuracy according to tradition. Because it resembles Andean folk music surviving primarily in an oral culture, many transcriptions of the tune now exist, even including variations in instrumentation and form, even by Robles himself. It is impossible to determine the original version of this tune, given that it has been passed down through oral tradition for centuries.

Instrument vendors and musicians in Otavalo explain that tourists request the song because they recognize and appreciate it. One subject also asserted that it holds meaning as a sweet and romantic song, and outsiders desire that musical genre. The king of the Andes mountain range, the condor soars freely as the biggest flight bird in the region. The music identifies with this power via a free-flying meter and bird call-like ornamentation. One person proclaimed, "It is the wings of the winds."<sup>70</sup> Another musician-vendor announced that the Andean ballad speaks of the bird that had coexisted

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<sup>69</sup> Dorr, "On Site in Sound," 43.

<sup>70</sup> Research subject, 11, follow-up email 8/28/2011. My translation: "Son las alas de los vientos."

with the people of the land for a great period of time and was considered sacred to all that feared and respected it. It also signifies living off the land, the *Pacha Mama*, or “Mother Earth.” The Ecuador coat of arms also depicts the condor and the indigenous culture greatly embraces the bird even though the folk tune originated in Peru.

According to Gregory Newton’s review of the Simon and Garfunkel tune, “It has colourful harmonies, irresistible rhythms, is full of variety and vitality, and uses the guitar’s resources to the utmost advantage.”<sup>71</sup> *El Condor Pasa* has changed over the years, yet remains a timeless piece of globalized music signifying freedom, progress, and heritage. Some vendor-musicians in the Otavalo market truly live this lifestyle, while others use it for financial gain. Paul Simon’s version is said to be “famous for being familiar and foreign-sounding at the same time, a selection of forms that are distinctive and yet compatible with mainstream [cosmopolitan] aesthetics.”<sup>72</sup> Andean folk music has grown into a transnational commercial phenomenon by being commoditized as exotic for the world to know and love, starting with musicians on the street in the heart of the Andes.

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<sup>71</sup> Gregory Newton, “Reviews: Music-*El Condor Pasa*, by Daniel A. Robles and Jorge Milchberg,” *Classical Guitar* 4, no. 5 (January 1986): 47.

<sup>72</sup> Rios, “La flute indienne,” 172.

## CHAPTER V

### INVENTED TRADITION

#### Continually Changing Customs

The indigenous people of Otavalo adhere to well-defined customs in existence before the Incas. However, this cultural affiliation has faded, leaving only fragmented remnants of customs. The Otavalan traditions continually change to the extent that the community itself defines how its citizens imagine it to be: a truly unique mixture of ancient cultured pride and modern, democratic, market-based participation. Benedict Anderson, professor emeritus of International Studies, Government and Asian Studies at Cornell University, considers nations to be imagined communities.<sup>73</sup> Invented boundaries, similar cultural roots, and a defined sovereign government do not necessarily inspire the development of the cultural heritage of the group. Many of the customs the indigenous Otavalans consider “traditional” have not been passed down for generations but are the effect of adaptations, adjustments, and accommodations to changes within the community. Nicole Fabricant argues that invented tradition is “a set of ritual symbolic practices governed by [...] accepted rules that seek to inculcate certain behavioral values and norms through repetition, which, in turn, implies continuity with the past.”<sup>74</sup> A significant characteristic of the Otavalo Indians is their continual adaptation to the world around them, which helped formulate who they are today.

As a means of cultural survival, the indigenous people of Otavalo continually reinvent themselves to succeed and thrive. This community remains an “ever-changing

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<sup>73</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

<sup>74</sup> Nicole Fabricant, “Performative Politics: The Camba Countermovement in Eastern Bolivia,” *American Ethnologist*, 36, no. 4 (November 2009): 773.

product of a continuous interaction between indigenous and nonindigenous cultures.”<sup>75</sup>

The values of the Incans, such as kinship-based communal living in *ayllus*, are reinvented to fit the commercialized society as a means to move forward politically in the present day. Many indigenous groups continue to self-govern within their local communities to this day. Indigenous norms of reciprocity and exchange clearly have a folkloric overtone in Otavalo, which are even more pronounced in the context of peasant differentiation and rural-urban migration. This is evoked repeatedly at communal assemblies and province-wide meetings by the new indigenous leaders as a part of their campaign to build a new ethnic identity through the organized communal task force of the *mingas* facilitated by introduction of bilingual education.<sup>76</sup> This leads to a rise of a new ethnic culture, blending Western and indigenous values into current cultural practices.

#### Traditional Indigenous Dress of Otavalans

The traditional dress of the indigenous people exemplifies how syncretic the Inca and Spanish cultures are, meshing together to create the individual identity of the Otavalo Indian. The women wear long, dark wool wrap skirts with brightly embroidered tops (obviously Spanish-influenced), many strands of gold jewelry and black cotton sandals with thick wool head coverings called *fachalinas*. The traditional male dress consists of a plain blue wool poncho with perfectly creased white pants, a black hat, and white cotton sandals. Men don this garb for presentations and festivals; however in daily life, many men have adapted to wearing contemporary clothing, such as jeans and name brand shirts from the United States with modified black fedora hats, which are British influenced.

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<sup>75</sup> Korovkin, “Reinventing the Communal Tradition,” 42.

<sup>76</sup> Korovkin, “Reinventing the Communal Tradition,” 49.

Both sexes continue to wear their hair long and braided, a symbol of indigenous identity. While this is considered the traditional dress, it has changed somewhat over time and has been significantly influenced by the Spanish. The embroidered shirts mimic Spanish styles from the eighteenth and nineteenth century and are machine made.<sup>77</sup> Women's gold jewelry, once fashioned from the precious metal, now made of plastic, continues to be worn with pride. While female dress remains embedded in tradition, male dress emulates cultural change over generations.<sup>78</sup> Even though altered over the years, choices in clothing continue to signify individuals as indigenous. In this sense, one may change his or her own identity from indigenous to mestizo by simply exchanging the traditional clothing for more modern outfits and wearing the hair differently. Their personal statement and identity is reflected less by what they look like racially (See Figure 17) and more by how they act and live their lives culturally. This cultural definition of identity is especially exemplified in their music, which Otavalo citizens truly love and take pride in celebrating with, listening to, and creating.

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<sup>77</sup> Hill, "From Oppression to Opportunity to Expression," 6.

<sup>78</sup> D'Amico, "Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo," 224.



Figure 17: Research Subject 3 playing quena in the market (my photo, taken 6/11/2011)

### *Inti Raymi Festival in Otavalo*

In the Andes, the summer solstice festival, Inti Raymi, evolved from Incan ceremonial practices. *Inti*, “Sun” as in the Sun God in Quichua and *Raymi*, “festival,” is truly a celebration of the corn harvest and the summer solstice<sup>79</sup> as a religious tradition derived from their ancestors. Later renamed the Fiesta de San Juan, or “Saint John’s Festival” through the persuasion of Catholic Spaniards, it continues to remain an important celebration the indigenous people observe each year. When asked on the streets, the indigenous people do not know why the festival is now referred to as San Juan. According to legend, the title change allowed for devotion of the Inca legacy while disguising the festival as Catholic. The current practices of the Inti Raymi summer solstice festival started during colonial times. One subject noted that the once clandestine

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<sup>79</sup> Although Otavalo is twenty-five miles north of the Equator and does not experience true seasons, its residents still consider May through August to be summer months.

celebrations originated in honor of indigenous heritage and in defiance of colonization and degradation by the Spanish. Since colonization, traditions have become more invented over time.

Festival celebrations in Otavalo include drinking *chicha* (a drink made of corn), dressing up in costumes and masks, and dancing. Traditionally, Inti Raymi dancing consists of participants stomping in a circle all in the same direction around central musicians, traditionally two gaita players. More recently, this has come to include bomba, quena, guitar, harmonica, or melodica players. With a random decision made by no one dancer in particular, they reverse the motion of the circle in unison. When asked how they know when to change direction, many subjects simply shrug, an intriguing example of unified group movement and dance based on emotion rather than organization. Family and friends will dance with one another at home, while eating and drinking. Then, they travel to a series of friends' homes and repeat this process. This begins with a small number of people, shown in Figure 18, while more members join throughout the night to celebrate together until dawn. While the day of San Juan is technically June 24<sup>th</sup>, festivities such as this start June 22<sup>nd</sup> and can end as late as June 28<sup>th</sup>.





Figure 18: Intimate Inti Raymi Gathering with Research Subject 26 (my photo, taken 6/24/11)

According to several of my research subjects, the festivities expand each year. Historically, people celebrated Inti Raymi for one week by wandering the streets, moving from house to house playing music, dancing, and picking up friends and family all night long. Concerned that the rich Inti Raymi celebrations were fading from common practice, the newly elected indigenous president of the Imbabura province, Luis Aguirre, started a campaign to bring back the indigenous traditions. Through this political support, these customs have been reinvented, and celebrating occurs in crowds of people at a festival site in town, much like a Western carnival (see Figure 19). Loud electronic versions of Inti Raymi tunes blast over speakers while vendors advertise toffee, kids play on rented rides, women cook traditional foods over halved oil drums and groups of celebrators parade through the streets. Although these festivals are very different from the original rituals, it does bring both the young and the elderly together.



Figure 19: Inti Raymi Dance at La Capilla de San Juan Festival Site (my photo, taken 6/26/11)

Even though traditions have changed over the centuries, the purpose, effect, and message remain genuinely indigenous. Males of all ages dance with one another, signifying communal ideals. While some people still wear traditional clothing, many dress up as they choose. Costuming has changed significantly over the years; however, people continue to use masks and brightly-colored costumes to disguise their identities (See Figure 20). While my subjects claimed the wool masks simply hide their identity, the cultural critic of Latin American folk art, Selden Rodman, asserts that they originally portrayed the smoke devil. Additionally, he claims, other than Imbabura, the only other place that disguises appear is in Puno in southeast Peru.<sup>80</sup> Investigation into the specific traditional outfit worn for the festivities revealed that the masses wore any disguise they could find, the more outlandish the better. The tradition of using colorful woolen

<sup>80</sup> Selden Rodman, *Artists in Tune with Their World; Masters of the Popular Art in the Americas and Their Relation to the Folk Tradition*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 181.

disguises during the Inti Raymi fete continues from the colonized Indians hiding their identity while rebelling against the Spanish to today with the adaptation of using whatever materials are at hand. This altering of conventional festival costume is representative of yet another tradition reinvented to accommodate contemporary issues, such as oppression and power. Linda D'Amico states in her dissertation that the festival of "San Juan is to feel collectively and to establish a moral continuity with the past, while actively constructing a social reality in opposition to dominant forms."<sup>81</sup> A rationale for adaptations in the indigenous Otavalan cultural traditions can be found in the oral legends and historical stories passed on from generation to generation.



Figure 20: Typical Inti Raymi Mask (my photo, taken 6/26/11)

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<sup>81</sup> D'Amico, "Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo," 185.

Each community in the Otavalo canton has its own unique way of celebrating Inti Raymi. Peguche musicians play gaita transverse flutes in pairs while others dance in the traditional circle around them. At the *Capilla de San Juan* (Chapel of St. John), activities are organized to preserve culture and tradition. Dancers whistle and stomp, but musical instrument playing rarely occurs. In the nearby village of Cotacachi, people play conches and carry weapons in case another group would attack to prove their dominance. People reportedly die almost every year in fights between groups of festival goers similar to a ritual passed down from the Incan *tinku*.<sup>82</sup> Many subjects commented that although they did not like the fighting, it did prove who was the most loyal to San Juan or the group with the most elaborate costumes. These aggressive groups are in fact facilitating yet another change of the indigenous cultural traditions for their own self identification purposes. While attempting to construct their own regional identities, individual groups take pride in their shared indigenous identity as a form of cultural resistance to the dominant Spanish culture. “San Juan festivities pronounce the independence of indigenous as a declaration of solidarity in the face of oppression; the reaffirmation of original traditions. Sanjuanitos outline the musical landscape as autochthonous expressions for Otavaleños. They touch the heart and soul of native sentiments.”<sup>83</sup>

#### *Inti Raymi Music in Otavalo*

According to D’Amico, “[Inti Raymi] music functions like a magnet which attracts people in exaltation and in an affirmation of their identity. The intensity and rhythm of the occasion resounds not only in people’s memories during these days, but throughout the year in popular music played in communities and aired on the radio. To

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<sup>82</sup> See Appendix B for further explanation.

<sup>83</sup> D’Amico, “Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo,” 188.

think/remember San Juan is to feel collectively and to establish a moral continuity with the past, while actively constructing a social reality in opposition to dominant forms.”<sup>84</sup> In 1863, Friedrich Hassaurek, United States Ambassador to Ecuador, observed Inti Raymi ritual music as drunken singing accompanied by guitar or harp, as well as rondador, flutes, violins, and horns while dancing in a circle.<sup>85</sup> John Schechter points out in his dissertation that shouts appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as accompaniment to the music and dance.<sup>86</sup> Today, harmonica and melodica have replaced the harp as accompaniment to a dance that has spanned the centuries. According to the indigenous populations, the traditional Inti Raymi flutes are the rondador and quena. However, they are hardly ever seen in celebratory parading and dancing. One subject claimed that this is due to the fact that the rondador’s volume is so soft that it cannot be heard in the large crowds of today’s festivals. Even though the quena is higher pitched and can pierce through noise better, it has also been replaced with the louder melodica and harmonica. This music is now orchestrated with whatever instruments are available that the participants know how to play. Usually, this is quena, harmonica, bomba drum, and melodica.

The simple bamboo flutes are not used because young people are not learning to play the traditional instruments anymore, a fading heritage phenomenon similarly noted by several subjects with regard to the young generation not learning the Quichua language. While flute may be difficult to learn, melodica is much more straightforward. The older generation calls this a loss of tradition, but to people in the younger

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<sup>84</sup> D’Amico, “Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo,” 185.

<sup>85</sup> Friedrich Hassaurek, *Four Years among the Ecuadorians* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967), 162-163.

<sup>86</sup> John M. Schechter, “Music in a Northern Ecuadorian Highland Locus: Diatonic Harp, Genres, Harpists, and Their Ritual Junction in the Quechua Child’s Wake,” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1982), 2.

generations, they are just finding their own way to participate. The gaita flute was also traditionally played, but it is now more common to see dancers carrying a flute as a prop rather than actually playing it. Music making, regardless of the instrumentation, symbolizes the indigenous ethnic identity and reflects the historical process of self-distinguishing, as it is invented based on the needs at the time and for that population. Just as the younger generation attempts to establish a new version of the cultural tradition of the Inti Raymi festivals through their adaptations, the festival also creates a separation in identity developing between the indigenous and mestizo people.

### *Sanjuanito Genre*

Otavalan culture and economy has focused on music and textiles for centuries, but folk groups only appeared to make recordings in the latter half of the twentieth century. Spain originally brought genres of music to Ecuador such as *fandango*, *malagueña*, *rondeña*, *murciana*, and *granadina* 500 years ago. Influences on Imbabura music in the 1960s and 1970s mainly came from the white and mesitzo Andes, and the 1980s and 1990s brought salsa, hip hop, techno, rap, rock and roll, *cumbia*, and reggae.<sup>87</sup> However, the most typical Quichua genre of Imbabura is the Sanjuanito, also known as *Sanjuan*, originating from the famous festival. D'Amico observes, "Sanjuanitos have become a genre of music which interweaves meaning into the norms of daily as well as ritual life."<sup>88</sup>

Sanjuan songs can be played on one instrument or several, sung in falsetto by one person or many. The calling out, hissing, and whistling is unique to Imbabura and does not appear in other pan-Andean music. One subject informed me that the whistling

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<sup>87</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 129.

<sup>88</sup> D'Amico, "Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo," 185.



showed others that they are happy, animated, and have strength.<sup>89</sup> Slonimsky points out that a monotonous drum beat is typical for the genre, as well as short phrases and long pauses.<sup>90</sup> Meisch clarifies that, “Sanjuanes are repetitive, with one predominant motive, usually eight-beat phrases with close or identical first-half and second-half rhythms, characteristic pitch and rhythm, and harmony that demonstrates a bimodal relationship of minor to relative major.”<sup>91</sup> They commonly occur in a minor key and in 2/4 time with triplet figures and syncopation.

Figure 21 exemplifies a typical Sanjuanito tune heard on the streets of Otavalo during Inti Raymi (See Appendix H). The score is an excerpt of the quena solo from Track 2 (2:07-3:08) on the attached CD. These songs normally last for hours with players and dancers repeating themes seemingly endlessly as more people join the festivities. This specific piece is one I observed in a private home in Otavalo, and it directly confirms what Meisch observed of the genre. The dominant motive appears at the beginning of the score with a strong relationship between C major and A minor throughout the A section. The chords are simple and repetitive, and the form is based on melodic movement rather than harmonic changes. It does not quite fit into a standard Western meter but is rather more free-flowing. Players and dancers stomp in rhythm along with the beat, but it does not always remain constant. Because of this non-exact meter, written syncopation is prevalent in the main theme and contrasting B section, even though the melody does not sound syncopated to the ear. This theme is also dotted with triplet figures, as is the C section, which moves to an F major tonality in the C Section.

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<sup>89</sup> Research subject 36, interview 6/27/11. My translation: “...que estoy feliz, estoy ya con animo, estoy con fuerza.”

<sup>90</sup> Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America*, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 130.

Leaps of a third are common, creating inverted arpeggios with ornamentation.

Embellishment and improvisation are not written in the score but appear frequently in performance, as shown in the different versions of all of the themes. A variation on the A section returns at the end of the solo to transition into the next portion of the song. The goal of the work and ultimately the genre is to be uncomplicated and adapt the form to fit the needs of the dance and be enjoyable. The feeling of communal elation and excitement is the most important to portray for this type of music.



The musical score is written for a single melodic line in treble clef. It consists of ten staves, each containing a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups of three (trios). Chords are indicated by letters (Am, C, G, F) placed above the staff. The score is divided into sections labeled A, B, C, and A'.

**Section A:** Staves 1-5. Chords: Am, A, Am, C, G, Am.

**Section B:** Staves 6-7. Chords: Am, C, F, F.

**Section C:** Staves 8-9. Chords: Am, Am, Am<sup>7</sup>.

**Section A':** Staff 10. Chords: Am, F, F.

The score includes various musical notations such as triplets (indicated by a '3' and a bracket), slurs, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *f*.

Figure 21: Typical Inti Raymi Tune (based on my recording, unpublished transcription by Eric Bowman)

The style of San Juan music has been passed down for generations, without anyone claiming ownership of specific tunes. Variations exist between communities, and it is now considered folk music. Everyone dances along with Sanjuanito music; if an outsider prefers not to participate, then he/she is viewed as odd. Anyone can join in, and everyone present is expected to, whether or not they are accustomed to this traditional dance. There is no judging of dance performance or musical ability. However, while filming, I was instructed several times to stomp my feet with the beat instead of shuffling. Sanjuanitos emphasize community, reciprocity, and inclusion via lyrics and performance practices. Otavalans do not appear upset by the commercialization of their music, for it has truly helped them realize financial and social success. Even though many Otavalans migrated to other parts of the world, the Sanjuanito music continues to unify them as a people. “Sanjuanitos have become a genre of music which interweaves meaning into the norms of daily as well as ritual life.”<sup>92</sup>

The Sanjuanito style can be compared to indigenous original compositions. Otavalans generate music for commercialization and artistic purposes. Research subject 3 produced a composition, called “Otavalo Manta” (See Appendix H and Track 3 of the attached CD), directly for the sake of honoring the hometown’s culture (lyrics shown in Figure 22). Figure 23 shows the typical repetitive harmony of traditional Andean music in parallel thirds. The flute solo directly imitates the melodic line of the refrain. With the exception of the first note (D) in the third measure in the second voice, these chords follow a pentatonic pattern, with only the notes, F, G, A, B, and E appearing regularly.

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<sup>92</sup> D’Amico, “Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo,” 185.

The pentatonic scale is known as “the music of the Incas.”<sup>93</sup> Through Spanish colonization, it eventually evolved into a 7-tone scale, usually in a minor key.<sup>94</sup> This piece exemplifies this model through pentatonic motives in the accompaniment and the more expansive tonality of E minor in the vocal and quena melodic line, shown in Figure 24. Only the C is missing in the melody, even though the III chord underlines the first 8-bar phrase. This phenomenon of the root of the chord missing from the melody also occurs in *El Condor Pasa*. Similar to the Inti Raymi work, triplet figures and irregular ornamentation are prevalent, as well as the strong relationship between the I chord and III chord, as Meisch observed of the sanjuanito genre. The songs that musicians in Otavalo create are directly influenced by what they know and love.

#### **Original Quichua Lyrics:**

*Nukaca runamy Otavalomanta kuisagu  
Maigan yachanchi takita flautata kuisagu  
Na runacakpilla mana munaguankichu  
Karawau azuaguta Otavalomanta kuisagu  
Kushillagu takingapa flautata kuisagu*

#### **Original Spanish Lyrics:**

*Yo soy el indio de Otavalo Manta  
los que sabemos manejar la flauta  
no porque soy indio no me has des querer  
dame la chicha de Otavalo Manta  
para con gusto manejar la flauta*

#### **My Translation of the Spanish Lyrics:**

I am an Indian of My Otavalo  
Those that know how to play the flute  
Not because I'm Indian I don't want to give  
Give me the chicha of My Otavalo  
In order to happily play the flute

Figure 22: Lyrics to “Otavalo Manta” and my Translation

<sup>93</sup> Barbara Bradby, “Symmetry around a Centre: Music of an Andean Community,” *Popular Music* 6, no. 2 (May 1987): 197.

<sup>94</sup> Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America*, 197.



Figure 23: “Otavalo Manta” Violin Introduction (based on my recording, unpublished transcription by Eric Bowman)

Figure 24: “Otavalo Manta” Flute Solo (based on my recording, unpublished transcription by Eric Bowman)

## Conclusion

Ethnic traditions in Otavalo have evolved as the indigenous people adapt to today’s world. The story of the flute exemplifies this process as it was once the main musical focal point of the Inti Raymi celebrations bringing people together to dance to its familiar notes. As the center of the festivities, flute players create the celebratory atmosphere for the community. Over time, melodicas replaced the traditional quena and rondador as younger generations attempt to keep pace with modern times. However, the festival tune itself remains constant. In spite of an adapted tradition, people in Otavalo

continue to view these indigenous flutes as typical Inti Raymi instruments and hold them in high regard even if only in their hands as a prop, a symbol of their indigenous identity. “San Juan festivities pronounce the independence of indigenous as a declaration of solidarity in the face of oppression; the reaffirmation of original traditions. Sanjuanitos outline the musical landscape as autochthonous expressions for Otavalans. They touch the heart and soul of native sentiments.”<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> D’Amico, “Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo,” 188.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

#### Identity: The Traditional and Invented

At the beginning of this project, I expected copious street musicians in the Plaza de Ponchos, which was not the case. Although the scope of the thesis has altered, the conclusions I have reached match my original expectations that vendor-musicians expand their traditional folk music settings to encompass contemporary culture while attempting to express authentic customs, yet they may not fully focus on the true meaning of “tradition.” This makes sense, since the relative concept of tradition does not have much meaning after the significant amount of cultural alteration that has taken place over centuries. Based on the information gathered, I have concluded that musicians and instrument vendors in Otavalo construct their own identity around music, as it is continuously and increasingly intertwined with market trade, and ultimately their success.

Through analysis of the commercial and ritual processes in Otavalo, it is clear that music not only holds economic and cultural purposes, but it also holds many other meanings to the Otavalan Indians. Most of the subjects of this study claim the music they play is typical of the local area and has been for generations. However, these musicians also assert that they write the songs in the style of oral traditions passed down from their ancestors. The Otavalans have established the possibility of keeping musical traditions alive, while adapting portions of their traditions when faced with economic opportunities, international influences, and a younger generation’s desire to participate in the creation of folk music. They achieve this phenomenon through the use of a variety of flutes for

various effects and purposes in indigenous music including the aforementioned extended techniques,<sup>96</sup> ornamentation, and new instrumentation to create a contemporary feeling while maintaining traditional customs, such as pentatonic harmonic outlines, characteristic meter, and syncopated rhythmic figures. I agree with Latin American music specialist Raul Romero who refers to this concept in the following statement: “The persistence of traditional music – or its successful adaptation into new forms without losing its essence – within a context of modernization and economic integration is feasible.”<sup>97</sup>

It is difficult to specifically ascertain what customs persist in the contemporary climate. Since historical accounts of musical traditions consist of oral and performance renditions, it appears challenging for musicians to remain traditional. The Otavalan Indians have successfully marketed this authenticity of ethnicity more than any other community in Latin America.<sup>98</sup> Only a few strive for a sense of what they believe to be authenticity, and even fewer achieve it, if even possible. Through observations and interviews, it appears that expressions of genuine folk music may not hold much importance to the Otavalan vendors, since economic success appears to have the highest priority. Inventing traditions that appeal to tourists and the younger native generation has grown their customs to a worldwide level, trending toward cultural homogeneity via symbolic capital, indigenous music in this case. They ingeniously construct their own ethnic identity, albeit fragmented from its origins, over time to appeal to customers and to celebrate their origins. As Linda D’Amico discovered, indigenous Otavalans have

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<sup>96</sup> See Chapter III: Authenticity.

<sup>97</sup> Raul R. Romero, “Musical Change and Cultural Resistance in the Central Andes of Peru,” *Latin American Music Review* 11, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1990): 28.

<sup>98</sup> Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld, “Don’t Be Lazy, Don’t Lie, Don’t Steal: Community Justice in the Neoliberal Andes,” *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 3 (2002): 640.

successfully merged traditional music themes and their creative adaptations together to construct syncretic musical expression.<sup>99</sup> I believe that I have clearly demonstrated that folk music reproduces the values of Otavalan society through cultural fusion of invented tradition and authentic customs.

## Globalization

The Indigenous Otavalan musicians and instrument vendors, along with the rest of the merchants at the Plaza de Ponchos market, have begun to increase their global trade over the last fifty years. Other nationalities appearing in Otavalo have also spurred multi-ethnic culture and commerce through tourism. Sharing of music, goods, and culture travels in both directions from the local to the international level and back.<sup>100</sup> It is evident that many people in the market remain very focused on international travel and commerce. Research subject 24 incorporates internationalism into his musical presentations with musicians of other nationalities, and they coexist by sharing music, culture, and food. Many of the people I spoke with had performed music, sold CDs, instruments, and artisan work in other countries in South America, some in the United States, a few in Asia, and most prominently in Europe. It is increasingly common for vendors to search for international markets due to the economic situation in the Plaza de Ponchos. It has been saturated with the multiplication of vendor competition due to expansion of the size of the market and its population over the years. The globalized environment of interpenetrating cultures spread when musicians realized they could sell

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<sup>99</sup> D'Amico, *Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo*, 160.

<sup>100</sup> D'Amico, *Expressivity, ethnicity and renaissance in Otavalo*, 206.



and perform overseas more successfully than in their own town.<sup>101</sup> However, their goal is not solely economic gain, but to revive their culture, mobilize and recuperate their lost traditions, maintain the tradition and return with financial success to their families and communities. This phenomenon gives Otavalo a unique prestige via “unprecedented long-distance organized travel” for musicians and merchants, according to David Preston.<sup>102</sup> Otavalans hold a certain reputation since they have become the community in Latin America to most successfully travel throughout the world performing their Andean music.

As skilled tradesmen, many vendor-musicians I spoke with made it obvious they were trying to travel abroad for economic reasons. I was offered several private concerts in my home country, and each offer was coupled with a request for assistance in obtaining a Visa. When asked what they played abroad, some responded that they play only the most traditional of music. Others answered that they would play anything their audience wanted to hear, such as cover versions by The Beatles and “Hotel California.”<sup>103</sup> Through expressive means in the international sphere, the Otavalans highlight their customs and cultural adaptation via musical production. A collective identity now exists for the community, one of global marketability and economic success based on ethnicity and change.<sup>104</sup> I predict that cultures will continue to adapt to each other as they collide through international exchange. Specifically, music will incorporate rich intercultural influences to create modified genres, while maintaining some traditional themes. I believe that pentatonic motives will always be prominent in Andean music, as

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<sup>101</sup> Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs*, 248.

<sup>102</sup> David A. Preston, “Weavers and Butchers: A Note on the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador,” *Man*, 63 (September 1963): 148.

<sup>103</sup> Information from Research Subject 25, 6/15/11.

<sup>104</sup> Wibbelsman, “*Otavaleños* at the Crossroads,” 153.

this is what it is known for and how the native people identify it. The manipulation of indigenous instruments will continue, as international influences expand native awareness, represented now in the existence of Romanian panpipes, Chinese flutes, and the museño flute design in the Plaza de Ponchos market. Otavalo provides a quintessential cultural study of a progressive economic community based on marketing ethnicity. The indigenous people celebrate communal ritual originality while developing new customs created from and incorporating their globalized experiences.

## Appendix A

### Instruments

**Figure 1:** Antara:\* straight panpipe flute made of bamboo with fifteen tubes of consecutive length, stopped at one end, 11.5” by 7” \*\*



**Figure 2:** Flauta de Pan: curved panpipe flute made of bamboo with at least twelve tubes of consecutive length, stopped at one end, 8” by 7”



\*All photographs taken by Brenna Halpin

\*\* Dimensions shown are minimum lengths, instruments can be larger

**Figure 3:** Gaita: transverse flute made of carrizo bamboo with six finger holes, 20.5"



**Figure 4:** Museño: transverse flute made of wood with six finger holes and a separate section to redirect airflow, 18.5" plus a 6" extension



**Figure 5:** Palla: straight panpipe flute made of bamboo with eight tubes of consecutive length, stopped at one end, 5" by 3.5"



**Figure 6:** Pifano: end-blown internal duct flute made of wood or bamboo with seven finger holes, 11.5" (also known as flauta dulce)



**Figure 7:** Pingullo: end-blown internal duct flute made of wood or bamboo with three finger holes, 11”



**Figure 8:** Quena: end-blown notched flute made of wood with seven finger holes, 15”



**Figure 9:** Rondador: straight panpipe flute made of bamboo with at least eighteen tubes of alternating lengths, stopped at one end, 6.5" by 6"



**Figure 10:** Zampoña: straight panpipe flute made of bamboo with two rows of tubes of consecutive length, stopped at one end, 17" by 6"





Appendix B  
Glossary of Foreign Terms

*Antara*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Antari*: (Qu.) Incan coiled horns

*Ayllus*: (Qu.) Incan kinship-based communities

*Bomba*: (Sp.) large drum swung over the shoulder played with a padded wooden mallet, usually accompanying chordophones and aerophones, typical of Ecuador

*Canton*: (Sp.) the Ecuador equivalent to a US county or parish

*Cañari*: (Qu.) pre-Incan tribe

*Carrizo*: (Sp.) thick reed similar to bamboo

*Chalchas*: (Sp.) shaker-like instrument typically made of goat hooves

*Charango*: (Sp.) guitar-like instrument originally made of an armadillo, usually five courses of two strings each, typical of Ecuador

*Chicha*: (Sp.) homemade celebratory drink made of corn, sometimes alcoholic

*Criollo*: (Sp.) “Creole” mixed race person

*Cumbia*: (Sp.) popular dance genre of Colombia

*Encomienda*: (Sp.) Spanish-controlled legal system for labor regulation

*Fachalina*: (Sp.) traditional head covering for indigenous women

*Fandango*: (Sp.) Spanish couples dance in triple meter

*Flauta de Pan*: (Sp.) (also *panflute*) See Appendix A

*Flauta Dulce*: (Sp.) wooden recorder, another term for *pingullo*

*Gaita*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Granadina*: (Sp.) localized version of the fandango from the Spanish city of Granada

*Hacaranda*: (Sp.) (also *jacaranda*) flowering plant native to South America

*Harahui*: (Sp.) Peruvian highland mourning practice

*Hualaycho*: (Qu.) colonial-origin lute-like fretted string instrument, smaller charango

*Huayno*: (Sp.) (also *wayno*, *huaiño*) popular dance genre of Peru

*Indígena*: (Sp.) indigenous person

*Indigenismo*: (Sp.) indigenous movement

*Indio*: (Sp.) “Indian” or native person

*Inti Raymi*: (Qu.) summer solstice and corn harvest festival

*Kichwa*: (Qu.) Indigenous language of the region, spelled *Quichua* in Spanish, a variant of the Quechua language group

*Levantamiento Indígena*: (Sp.) Spanish Uprising

*Malagueña*: (Sp.) Venezuelan folk music genre

*Mestizo*: (Sp.) (also *criollo*) mixed race person

*Minga*: (Sp.) traditional communal work in the Andes

*Mit’a*: (Qu.) mandatory public service system borrowed by the Spanish from the Incas

*Murciana*: (Sp.) localized version of the fandango from the Spanish city of Murcia

*Museño*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Nueva Canción*: (Sp.) exoticist folk revival movement of the 1970s

*Obraje*: (Sp.) “sweatshop”

*Oriente*: (Sp.) rural Andean highlands

*Otavaleño*: (Sp.) person from Otavalo

*Pacha Mama*: (Qu.) Mother Earth

*Palla*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Pasacalle*: (Sp.) upbeat Andean march

*Patrimonio Cultural*: (Sp.) piece of national heritage

*Pífano*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Pincollo*: (Qu.) Incan *quena*

*Pingullo*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Pingullu*: (Qu.) “lower leg bone”

*Plaza de Ponchos*: (Sp.) main square in Otavalo where the market takes place, literally “Ponchos Plaza”

*Quechua*: (Sp.) family of native languages in the Andes region

*Quena*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Quichua*: (Sp.) (*Kichwa* in Quichua) person who speaks the Quichua indigenous language

*Quitu*: (Qu.) pre-Incan tribe

*Rasgueo*: (Sp.) Spanish guitar technique vibrating two or more strings simultaneously

*Rondador*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

*Rondeña*: (Sp.) Spanish musical form of flamenco

*Rondín*: (Sp.) “harmonica”

*Sanjuanito*: (Sp.) (also *San Juanito*, *sanjuan*, *san juan*)

*Siku*: (Sp.) (also *sikus*) type of zampoña usually with six tubes

*Sucre*: (Sp.) previous currency in Ecuador before dollarization

*Tinku*: (Qu.) “an encounter, a ritual battle between opposing groups within the same community or between communities, a union or coming together of enemies, an equalization, a meeting of people or things coming from different directions, and also a sexual or romantic encounter.”<sup>105</sup>

*Yaraví*: (Sp.) (also *yarawi*) melancholy Indian song of the highlands

*Zampoña*: (Sp.) See Appendix A

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<sup>105</sup> Hill, “From Oppression to Opportunity to Expression,” 8.

## Appendix C

### Quantitative Research Subject Information

	Gender	Profession	Age	Location	Quality	Make	Knowledge	Identity
1	male	vendor	40s	plaza	commercial	handmade	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
2	male	vendor-musician	30s	plaza	commercial	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
3	male	vendor-musician	40s	plaza	commercial	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
4	male	vendor-musician	20s	plaza	commercial	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
5	male	vendor	10s	plaza	commercial	handmade	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
6	male	vendor-musician	30s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
7	male	vendor-musician	50s	plaza	commercial	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
8	female	vendor	40s	plaza	commercial	mass-produced	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
9	male	vendor	40s	plaza	commercial	mass-produced	confused knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
10	male	vendor-musician	50s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
11	male	vendor-musician	20s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
12	male	vendor	40s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
13	male	vendor	40s	store	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
14	male	vendor	50s	plaza	commercial	handmade	confused knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
15	male	vendor-musician	30s	plaza	commercial	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
16	male	vendor	40s	plaza	CDS professional		vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
17	male	vendor-musician	50s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
18	male	vendor	50s	plaza	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
19	male	vendor-musician	40s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
20	male	vendor	40s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
21	male	vendor	20s	plaza	CDs semi-professional		limited knowledge	Mestizo
22	male	vendor	50s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
23	male	vendor	20s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
24	male	musician	30s	school	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
25	male	musician	50s	restaurant	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
26	male	musician	50s	restaurant	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
27	female	vendor	50s	store	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Mestizo

	Gender	Profession	Age	Location	Quality	Make	Knowledge	Identity
28	female	vendor	40s	store	professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Mestizo
29	female	vendor	50s	plaza	commercial	handmade	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
30	male	vendor	10s	plaza	commercial	handmade	confused knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
31	male	musician	40s	school	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
32	male	musician	50s	hotel	professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
33	male	musician	50s	plaza	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
34	male	vendor-musician	60s	museum	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
35	male	vendor-musician	60s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
36	male	musician	40s	plaza	professional	handmade	vast knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
37	male	musician	50s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
38	female	vendor	30s	plaza	commercial	mass-produced	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
39	male	musician	20s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Chilean
40	female	vendor	40s	plaza	commercial	handmade	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
41	female	vendor	40s	plaza	commercial	handmade	no knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
42	male	musician	40s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Colombian
43	male	vendor-musician	50s	plaza	semi-professional	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
44	male	vendor	10s	plaza	commercial	mass-produced	confused knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan
45	male	vendor-musician	30s	plaza	commercial	handmade	limited knowledge	Indigenous Otavalan

Appendix D

Qualitative Research Subject Information



1. Indigenous (assume if not otherwise stated) male vendor on the Plaza de Ponchos in his forties (all ages are approximated based on my visual perception) wearing jeans and a black hat and selling handmade, commercial charangos, quenenas, zampoñas, and antaras, along with other commercial, mass-produced goods with no knowledge of musical customs and origins
2. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his thirties wearing jeans and a cotton coat and selling mestizo CDs, commercial, handmade quenenas, zampoñas, antaras, and pan flutes with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
3. Brother vendor-musicians on the Plaza in their forties wearing jeans and plaid collared shirts, selling commercial, handmade quenenas, pan flutes, antaras, and zampoñas; wearing white pants, white sandals, blue ponchos, and black hats during home performance with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
4. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his twenties wearing jeans and selling commercial, handmade quenenas, antaras, and zampoñas with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
5. Male vendor on the Plaza in his teens wearing jeans with mother wearing white embroidered shirt and dark wool shirt and selling commercial, handmade flutes with no knowledge of musical customs and origins
6. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his thirties wearing jeans and black hat and selling semi-professional, handmade quenenas, zampoñas, and his own recordings; has a studio/instrument shop on the Plaza de Ponchos square with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins

7. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his fifties wearing jeans, selling commercial, handmade quenenas, antaras, and museños with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins, and father of #5
8. Female vendor on the Plaza in her forties wearing traditional indigenous dress and selling commercial, mass-produced pallas and antaras with no knowledge of musical customs and origins
9. Male vendor on the Plaza in his forties wearing jeans and selling painted, square-bore recorders and other commercial, mass-produced goods with misinformed knowledge of musical customs and origins
10. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his fifties wearing jeans and a black hat with his wife wearing a traditional outfit and selling semi-professional, handmade pan flutes, antaras, zampoñas, rondadores, and gaitas with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
11. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his twenties wearing jeans and a brand-name jacket and selling semi-professional, handmade flutes made of wood, some with bone mouthpieces with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins, and owns small instrument museum in his home with his parents
12. Male vendor on the Plaza in his forties wearing jeans and a button-down shirt and selling semi-professional, handmade antaras, zampoñas, and pallas with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
13. Male vendor in an instrument store in his forties wearing jeans and selling and making professional, handmade bamboo flutes with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins

14. Male vendor walking in the Plaza without a booth in his fifties wearing wind pants and jacket and selling commercial, handmade clay whistles out of a duffle bag with misinformed knowledge of musical customs and origins
15. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his thirties wearing jeans and an “Andes” sweater and selling commercial, handmade pallas, antaras, rondadores, quenás, and pan flutes with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
16. Male vendor on the Plaza in his forties selling professional flute CDs with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
17. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his fifties wearing jeans and a black hat with his wife wearing traditional dress and selling semi-professional, handmade zampoñas, quenás, rondadores, and antaras with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
18. Male vendor on the Plaza in his fifties wearing a white button-down shirt, jeans and a black hat and selling professional, handmade flutes including a chromatic pan flute with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
19. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his forties wearing jeans and a wind breaker and selling semi-professional, handmade pingullos, quenás, and rondadores, also plays a human bone quena with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
20. Male vendor on the Plaza in his forties dressed in jeans, a jacket, and a black hat and selling semi-professional, handmade instruments of bamboo and wood; has instrument shop at home with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins

21. Mestizo male vendor on the Plaza in his twenties wearing sunglasses and jeans and selling CDs with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
22. Male vendor on the Plaza in his fifties wearing all white outfit and selling semi-professional, handmade panpipes with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
23. Male vendor on the Plaza in his twenties wearing jeans and cotton long sleeve shirt and selling professional, handmade Romanian pan flutes, quenás, rondadores, and zampoñas and CDs with misinformed knowledge of musical customs and origins
24. Male musician at a flute school in his thirties usually dressed in jeans and a collared shirt, but in traditional formal garb during performances with professional, handmade gaitas with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
25. Male musician in a restaurant in his fifties that performs at a restaurant wearing jeans and a white embroidered button-down shirt and plays professional, handmade quenás and zampoñas with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
26. Male musician in a restaurant in his fifties wearing jeans and a white embroidered button-down shirt and plays professional, handmade quenás and zampoñas with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
27. Female vendor in her fifties in an instrument store wearing jeans and selling professional, handmade instruments with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins

28. Female vendor in her forties in an instrument store wearing jeans and selling professional, handmade instruments with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
29. Female vendor on the Plaza in her fifties wearing traditional garb and selling commercial, handmade flutes with no knowledge of musical customs and origins
30. Male vendor on the Plaza in his teens wearing jeans with his younger sister and selling commercial, handmade instruments with misinformed knowledge of musical customs and origins and son of #7
31. Male musician at a flute school in his forties usually dressed in jeans and a collared shirt, but in traditional formal garb during performances playing professional, handmade gaitas with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
32. Male musician playing at a hotel in his fifties wearing jeans that plays various professional, handmade flutes with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
33. Male musician in his fifties wearing a fleece and jeans, plays all professional, handmade flute instruments with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins and owns small museum in his home with his father, #11
34. Male vendor-musician in his music museum home in his sixties, performing and selling professional, handmade instruments with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
35. Male vendor-musician on the Plaza in his sixties wearing a sweater, white pants, and a black hat and selling semi-professional, handmade flutes including gaitas

with cow bone mouthpieces with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins

36. Male musician on the Plaza in his forties wearing jeans, white embroidered shirts, and black hat and performing on professional, handmade quenás and rondadores with vast knowledge of musical customs and origins
37. Male musician on the Plaza in his fifties wearing jeans, a plaid shirt, and a brown hat and was playing a drum, cymbal, wood block, shaker, tamborine, and semi-professional, handmade antara with no knowledge of musical customs and origins
38. Female vendor on the Plaza in her thirties wearing a traditional skirt and a brand name sweater and selling mass-produced, commercial flutes with no knowledge of musical customs and origins
39. Chilean male musicians on the Plaza and in a restaurant in their twenties playing semi-professional, handmade guitar, mandoline, quena, and zampoña with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
40. Female vendor on the Plaza in her forties wearing a traditional skirt and jacket and selling commercial, handmade instruments with no knowledge of musical customs and origins and wife of #28
41. Female vendor on the Plaza in her forties wearing a traditional skirt and sweatshirt and selling commercial, handmade instruments with no knowledge of musical customs and origins and sister of #27
42. Columbian male musician on the Plaza in his forties wearing jeans and a plaid shirt and playing a 3-tiered semi-professional, handmade zampoña and guitar with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins

43. Male vendor-musician in his fifties on the Plaza wearing jeans and a black hat and selling drums, CDs, semi-professional, handmade flutes, and bracelets with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins
44. Male vendor on the Plaza in his teens wearing jeans and selling commercial mass-produced flutes with misinformed knowledge of musical customs and origins
45. Male vendor-musician in his thirties on the Plaza wearing jeans and a jacket and selling handmade, commercial flutes with limited knowledge of musical customs and origins

Appendix E  
HSIRB Approval Letter



# WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY



Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Date: February 24, 2011

To: Martha Councell-Vargas, Principal Investigator  
Brenna Halpin, Student Investigator for thesis

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair *Amy Naugle*

Re: HSIRB Project Number 11-02-45

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project titled "Panpipe Flute Music: Differences in Perception between Musicians in Otavalo and Migrants" has been approved under the expedited category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: February 24, 2012

Walwood Hall, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5456  
PHONE: (269) 387-8293 FAX: (269) 387-8276

# WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY



Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Date: November 11, 2011

To: Matthew Steel, Principal Investigator  
Brenna Halpin, Student Investigator for thesis

From: Victoria Janson, Interim Chair

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Victoria Janson".

Re: HSIRB Project Number 11-02-45

This letter will serve as confirmation that the change to your research project titled "Panpipe Flute Music: Differences in Perception between Musicians in Otavalo and Migrants" requested in your memo November 9, 2011 (to change title of the research project to "Flute, Festivities, and Fragmented Identity: A Study of the Value of Music in Otavalo") has been approved by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board.

The conditions and the duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University.

Please note that you may **only** conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: February 24, 2012

Walwood Hall, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5456  
PHONE: (269) 387-8293 FAX: (269) 387-8276

## Appendix F

### El Condor Pasa Additional Score

# El Condor Pasa (If I Could)

*This was Simon and Garfunkel's final hit before their professional divorce. The song is based on an eighteenth century folk song from Peru, and the recording features the Peruvian folk group Uvabamba. Simon would go on to produce this group's 1974 album.*

ENGLISH LYRIC BY PAUL SIMON

MUSICAL ARRANGEMENT BY JORGE MILCHBERG AND DANIEL ROBLES

Slowly

G Em

G Em

I'd rath-er be a spar-row than a

G

snail; Yes, I would, if I could, I sure-ly

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It begins with a 'Slowly' tempo marking. The first system shows a piano introduction with a G major chord and an Em chord. The second system introduces the vocal melody with the lyrics 'I'd rath-er be a spar-row than a'. The third system continues the melody with the lyrics 'snail; Yes, I would, if I could, I sure-ly'. The score includes guitar chord diagrams for G and Em, and a piano accompaniment with a steady eighth-note bass line.

38

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10 

11 

12 

13 

22  

man gets tied up to the ground, He gives the world its sad-dest



23 

sound, its sad-dest sound. I'd



26 

rather be in a forest than a street; Yes, I would, if I



28 

could I surely would I'd rather feel the earth beneath my



The image displays a musical score for the song "El Condor Pasa". It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes guitar chord diagrams for G, Em, and C. The lyrics are: "feet; Yes, I would, if I on - ly could, I sure - ly would".

**System 1 (Measures 35-38):** The vocal line begins with a G chord diagram. The lyrics are "feet; Yes, I would, if I on - ly could, I sure - ly". The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and a more active treble line.

**System 2 (Measures 39-41):** The vocal line continues with the word "would" and a G chord diagram. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns.

**System 3 (Measures 42-44):** The vocal line is silent, with Em and C chord diagrams indicated above the staff. The piano accompaniment continues.

**System 4 (Measures 45-48):** The vocal line is silent, with an Em chord diagram indicated above the staff. The piano accompaniment concludes the piece.

41

"El Condor Pasa," accessed October 16, 2011, <http://capotastomusic.blogspot.com>.

## Appendix G

### Maps





“Images of Ecuador,” Ecuador, accessed November 29, 2011,  
[http://zircon.mcli.dist.maricopa.edu/gwc/gail/ecuador/intro\\_english.html](http://zircon.mcli.dist.maricopa.edu/gwc/gail/ecuador/intro_english.html).



“Pinchincha/Imbabura,” Ibike Tours, accessed November 28, 2011,  
<http://www.ibike.org/ibike/ecuador/pi/0-map.htm>.

Appendix H  
Tracks for Attached CD

Track 1: El Condor Pasa: Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel<sup>106</sup>

Track 2: Inti Raymi: traditional<sup>107</sup>

Track 3: Otavalo Manta: Original Composition<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Simon and Garfunkel, *Bridge Over Troubled Water*.

<sup>107</sup> Live Recording by Brenna Halpin, all rights reserved.

<sup>108</sup> Studio Recording by Research Subject 3.

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