

Max Peter Baumann **Music, Dance, and Song of
the Chipayas (Bolivia)**

The Chipayas live in the Andean highlands of Bolivia in the Departamento de Oruro, approximately two hundred kilometers southwest of the mining center Oruro, near the Chilean border. They constitute a small, self-sufficient population of barely one thousand inhabitants¹ and have settled in the Salar desert between the spur of the volcanic Cordilleras and nearby Lago Coipasa² in the very cold and remote region of the Altiplano. In the Atahualpa Province (formerly Carangas), upstream of the confluence of Río Lauca into the Lago Coipasa and over 3800 meters above sea level, lies the village of Chipaya.³ Chipaya and Ayparavi constitute the only permanently inhabited villages of the Chipayas. Ayparavi is located approximately fifteen kilometers northeast of the main locality, Chipaya. The village was continually occupied as the former estancia (*k'ota*), according to the information of Tomás Condori (*registro oficial*), in order to have stronger insurance against the land disputes and claims on the part of the Aymaras.⁴

Together with the Urus of Lake Titicaca, the Chipayas belong to one of the most interesting ethnic groups of this Andean highland sector. In contrast to the Urus, who have died out, or rather have assimilated into the Aymaras, the Chipayas have been able to maintain themselves separate from the surrounding Aymaras in a linguistic and cultural enclave by means of a nearly exclusively endogamous marriage system. Whoever marries outside the tribe violates a taboo (Condori Ch. 1975: 6).

According to Arturo Posnansky (1918: 7), who first presented a comprehensive scientific study of the Chipayas, the Chipayas—together with the Urus—were probably the first indigenous inhabitants of the Andean region, and it appears that very early they possessed an advanced culture. G. de Créqui-Montfort and P. Rivet (1925-1927) put forth the

hypothesis that the Urus, who were related to the Chipayas, belonged linguistically to the Arawaks and thus would have possessed an Amazonian substratum. From the linguistic point of view, however, this opinion was not fully accepted. According to A. Métraux (1931: 100), the Chipayas and the Urus belong to a common Uro-Chipaya family. Like the Urus themselves, the Chipayas were also supposed to have been hunters and fishers. From the regions of Lake Titicaca and Lake Popóo, the Chipayas, one assumes, were forced into the barren regions by the Incas, where they began to adapt to the environment by breeding animals and farming, without ever completely giving up hunting or fishing.

The language of the Chipaya Indians is called Chipaya.⁵ Linguistic studies by R. Olson (1964, 1965) assert that Chipaya exhibits connections to *Proto-Mayan of Central America and that the Chipayas migrated from there to the Andean area as its first population group. The way in which quinoa (chenopodium) is manufactured, the general way the doors of the houses are constructed, and other ethnological shared traits support the hypothesis. According to Olson's statistical research (1965: 313), approximately 33 percent of Chipaya vocabulary (three thousand words) collected by him was taken from the Aymaras, Quechuas, and Spanish-speaking peoples. L. R. Stark (1972) asserts that, according to her investigations, Uru-Chipaya also exhibits linguistic similarities with the Yunga language, and she comes to the conclusion that Yunga-Chipaya constitutes a linguistic family, which is a sister language to *Proto-Mayan, and both developed from **Maya-Yunga-Chipaya.⁶ On the other hand, L. Campbell (1973) criticizes the Maya-Chipaya hypothesis, especially on methodological grounds, and considers the hypothesis as yet inconclusive and quite insignificant. His conclusion is "that the Maya-Chipaya hypothesis may be worthy of more investigation, but that we cannot at present fully embrace it" (1973: 133).

As with the language⁷ of the Chipayas itself, so there have also been numerous different conjectures and assertions made about the ethnological questions of parentage and origin. Definite results are few and far between. One thing is sure: the material and social culture was until recently, for the most part, identical with that of the old inhabitants of the Alto Perú of pre-Columbian times and to a certain extent even of pre-Incan times.⁸

The Name and Myth of the Chipayas

The name of the Chipayas derives from the Aymara word *chípa*,⁹ mean-

ing "straw net," a net woven with cords made of straw. The word refers to the characteristic building style of the houses: the roof is covered with straw and is protected from high winds by a net that is thrown over it. Because of the similarities of their houses¹⁰ to the *chullpas*, the old pre-Columbian and pre-Incan burial houses in the nearby area, the Chipayas are also somewhat scorned by the Aymaras and, not least of all because of their antiquated customs, are called *chullpas puchu* (remains of the Chullpas). *Chullpas* is the name for the mummies and skeletons of the interred dead found in these rectangular or round burial houses (Métraux 1931: 109). However, the name is applied both to the supraterrrestrial burial houses and to the ancestors, who lived in this area. According to the myth, these people are supposed to have hidden themselves in straw baskets when the sun rose for the first time (Ruíz Camacho 1960: 19). The Chipayas themselves believe also that they are direct descendants of the Chullpas,¹¹ who, by the Chipaya account, were already settled in the highland before the arrival of the Aymaras and Incas (Vellard 1954: 229), and who practiced burial of their mummified dead in the burial houses described above. The dress of the Chipayas, particularly the women's hair style with its numerous braids and bronze figures hanging in the hair (*laurages*),¹² is almost identical to that of archaeological finds of the area from Tihuacano to Lago Coipasa.

When asked about their origin, the Chipayas answer without hesitation: "Somos de la misma raza autóctona de los Chullpas."¹³ Francisco Quispe¹⁴ told me, first in Chipaya, then in a Spanish translation, his version of the mythological-historical legend of the Chullpas. Once—so it is told—the Chullpas ruled here in this region, and they subsisted entirely by hunting (fish and water birds) solely by the light of the moon, even before the sun existed. They sheltered in caves and wore straw clothing and animal skins, and they at that time had no names. It was the time before the sun had been created, even before the deluge. It was predicted that the sun would some day rise burning; whether it would rise in the north, in the south, or in the west still remained unclear to the Chullpas. In order to protect themselves from the scorching rays, the Chullpas constructed huts whose doorways faced the east. When, however, the sun rose in the east and not in another direction, as expected, the Chullpas were burned to death. Only a small group (in another version only a man and a woman) was able to flee to a nearby lake, near Río Lauca. They lived there from then on in the water during the day, and at night by moonlight they came onto land. Much later, the Aymaras forced their way into the area, and they erected the tower of Sabaya. The Chullpas came out of the lake at night and began to help the Aymaras with the construction. The Aymaras

soon noticed the secret helpers, posted guards, and captured the Chullpas. Thereupon, the Aymaras gave them land; later, however, quarrels between the two groups arose over this land. The Aymaras forced the Chullpas into the sandy desert, today forsaken. From the Aymara, who gave them names, derive also the family names.¹⁵

According to Vellard this story stands in a collective context with four great catastrophes from the legendary times of the Chullpas, on whom the Uro-Chipaya people base themselves. War, water, petrification, and fire were the world catastrophes, from which each time only a few people escaped alive.¹⁶ The Uro-Chipayas derive their ancestry from these first primitive people, the Chullpas, from whom all ruins of the Andean highland also supposedly stem.

Even today the Chipayas build their doorways facing east, as related in the story. And, if asked about the oldest musical instrument, they answer without long reflection that it is the *maizu*, their panpipes played in pairs, an instrument left to them by the Chullpas.

Maizu—The Panpipes of the Chullpas

Like those from Chipaya, the Chipayas from Aymaravi¹⁷ label themselves “sobrevivientes de los Chullpas,” who they say are their ancestors (*abuelos*). In the same manner, they also consider themselves the grandchildren of the old Urus (“Somos los hijos y nietos de los antiguos Urus”).

Authorities state that the *maizu*-panpipes, together with their melodies, were handed down to them from the Chullpas. The Chipayas continue to play their *tonos*. Of all the instruments they possess, the *maizu*-panpipes are considered their original and oldest instruments. In ascending chronology, they are earliest, preceding first *ch'utus* (duct flutes), then *lichiwayas* (*quena* flutes), then *tarkas* (the same type of notched flutes the Aymaras and Quechuas use), then *sikus* (eight- or seven-pipe panpipes), then *guitarrillas* (small homemade guitars), then *bombo*, *caja*, and *doti* (*pututu*-trumpet). From earlier times, only four players have supposedly made up the *maizu* ensemble. It comprises four panpipes: one contains three stopped tubes; the other three instruments each have two stopped tubes.

In a two-instrument pair, the three-pipe panpipe is considered masculine (*lutaga* = man; informants also refer to this instrument as *ira*), the two-pipe panpipe, feminine (*mataqa* = woman; the instrument is also called *arca*). In conformance with the general practice in this sector of the Andean highland, these panpipes are played in pairs, alternating masculine and feminine, so that while the one instrument plays the other pauses, and vice-versa. The melody begins with the panpipes'

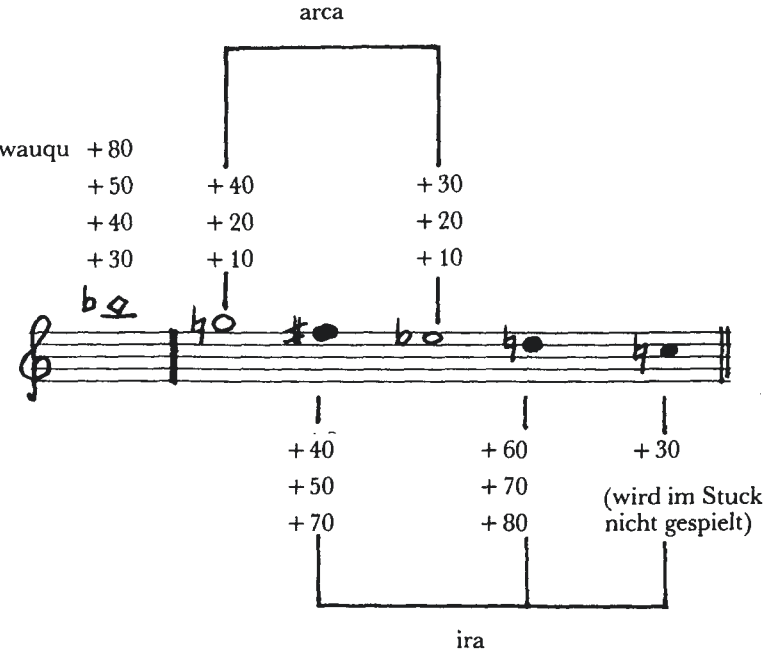
hocket melody.¹⁸ Then the clay vessel-pipe (*wauqu*) enters; its highest tone is played in the same hocket technique. The vessel-pipe *wauqu* has a larger mouth hole and a smaller side hole; the latter sounds a tone approximately a minor third above the lower tone. The *wauqu* is played by the same player who blows the panpipe made of three bound pipes. The three other two-pipe panpipes are blown in unison, each by a different player.

The fundamentals of the single panpipes, as they were blown by the informants tone-for-tone for the analysis of the single tones, are the following pitches (the numbers placed over them show the deviations in cents)¹⁹:

		arca	
		┌───────────┐	
		│ │	
3. Instr.		+ 100	- 30
2. Instr.		+ 40	+ 10
1. Instr.		- 10	- 20
		+ 30	- 20
		+ 30	+ 30

The two tones of the vessel-pipe *wauqu* give the following pitches, with strong variations in practice:

However, it very soon appears that the variations in blowing are considerable; according to both air pressure and position of the panpipe cylinders, and also through slight covering of the mouth hole with the hand or a finger, deviations of up to seventy cents can result in the pitches of single pipes. A pitch blown on the panpipe always exhibits a certain range of variation. This is exhibited also in the piece cited below. If one compares the instrument's theoretical (tested) pitches with actual blown pitches in the melody, quite different values result at any given time. Also, in the melody realized by the player, the average



pitch-variation for particular melodic pitches stands at a not-insignificant thirty cents; thus, the interval structure is still more strongly influenced, particularly in the sequence of adjacent pitches. Thus, in panpipes of this type, the single pitch ranges \pm fifteen cents and has a certain range from \pm fifteen even up to \pm twenty cents.

Here it is to be noted that at any given time only the most significant pitch deviations were given. The writing of $f\sharp$ in the place of $g\flat$ was chosen only for reasons concerning instrument-reading techniques. In principle, however, it should be pointed out here how problematic pitch measurements on panpipes remain: results vary with external conditions; moreover, one must always differentiate between the abstract measured pitches and the measuring of realized melody pitches. If the single pitch differences as a whole are related to the juxtaposed pitches in the sense of interval sequences, a differentiation between maximal and minimal interval steps can be made (descending from top to bottom).

Table 1. Pitch Deviations in Panpipe Performance

Interval sequence	Interval variance range	Average interval in cents
"Minor 3rd"	max. 370 cents min. 270 cents	320 cents
Reduced half step	max. 100 cents min. 40 cents	70 cents
"Minor 3rd"	max. 360 cents min. 310 cents	325 cents
Quarter-tone	max. 70 cents min. 30 cents	50 cents

This arrangement must not be understood as an absolute; it serves through the indicated values merely as an aid to interpretation for the transcription of the *tonada de los Chullpas*. The problem of variance of single pitches will be more accurately understood with this interpretation.

The *tonad de los Chullpas*, or the *wirsu de los Chullpas* (*wirsu* = *verso*), is composed of two short melodic phrases (A and B), which repeat themselves in succession. At the beginning the first "measure" is repeated (I); it serves essentially as an aid to orientation for the first entrance of the vessel-pipe. A more slowly developing codalike structure makes up the closing; shorter or longer, this "coda" is typical in pieces by analogous

arrangements of panpipes elsewhere in this Andean highland zone.

The *maizu*-panpipes are bound together simply in the shape of a raft.

Tonada de los Chullpas (maizu)

$\text{♩} = 92$ (1'42")

$\text{♩} = \text{waugu}$

No. 767 b

(5x)

Coda

I - AB AB AB AB AB - Coda

Métraux (1932: 253f) and Izikowitz (1932: 278) mentioned the instrument by the name *maiso*,²⁰ but it remained known to them only as an instrument with two tubes. They did not mention the performance practice by pairs. Métraux could see the instrument only once, which led him to believe that it was a particularly revered instrument. Izikowitz concluded from this that it was a sacred instrument, especially because it was in the possession of the *mayordomo* and because the panpipes were spoken of with the greatest respect (1932: 278). It is interesting to note that the instrument possesses a second name. The *maizu*-panpipes are also labeled *chirihuana* by the experts in Ayparavi. The dance is carried out simultaneously with the melody and is called *baile chirihuano* or *zakny chirihuana*²¹ and should be performed especially on the festival days of the Fiesta de Santiago (July 25). As a dance prop a type of fan (*adorno chirihuano*), a feather ornament fastened on a longer stick, is brought along. The dance prop is carried by a dancer to the measured steps of the melody. More about the dance itself could not be ascertained, except that the vessel-flute could imitate the scream of a child or of a dead person.²²




As Métraux (1954-1956: 147f) and Izikowitz (1932: 278) have already indicated, the *maizu*-panpipes appear to be sacred instruments

played in connection with ritual occasions. According to them it was only one instrument that was supposed to have been blown in connection with the carnival festival. However, contrary to these assertions, the *maizu-wirsus* are also played in honor of Santiago at the festivities of the Fiesta de Santiago (*fiesta principal*), which last for more than a week. Next to San Agustín and the Virgen de Copacabana, the major saints of the village, Santiago is the most honored saint. Of course, Pachamama and other traditional deities (*mallkus*) also are honored in ritual sacrifices.

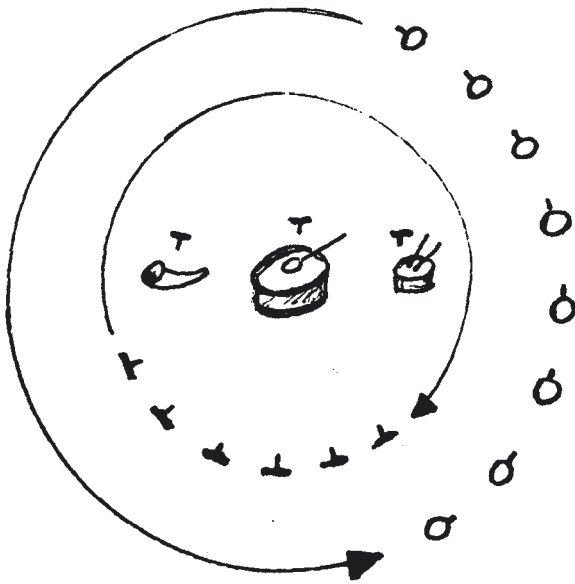
Ch'utus and *Lichiwayus* (Duct Flutes and Notched Flutes)

The duct flutes of the Chipayas are called *ch'utus*. They are also labeled *ushny pinkayllo* in connection with the carnival (*ushny tsakny*). There are two sizes of these six-holed flutes, a large one (*paquilla*) and a small one (*qoltaylla*). They are at the approximate interval of a tritone and perform melodic lines in parallel motion. *Pinkayllo* is the group designation for the duct flutes, as it is influenced by the Aymara word *pinkillo* (other spellings: *pinkullo*, *pinkullu*, *pinquillo*). The flutes are made of willow wood (*sauce*), or of *tola* (*Baccharis tola*). The branches, most of which are rather crooked, are cut in half, hollowed out, and tied together again with llama or sheep nerves. A section cut out of the front with a set-in fipple and six holes on the upper surface complete the instrument.²³ The *ch'utus* are accompanied by the rhythm instruments *pumpu* (*bombo*: large drum) and *caja* (small drum).²⁴ Completing this ensemble are the cowhorn (*doti*),²⁵ and large and small llama-bells (*campanas*).²⁶

Before playing, musicians fill the *ch'utu* flutes with water so that the instruments expand and are made watertight. As is the common practice in the Bolivian highland indigenous area, only the men play musical instruments, while song and dance are left predominantly to the women. The llama-bell is the only exception with the Chipayas; women hold it in their right hands and swing it back and forth, mostly to stress the "strong" beat. Their dancing around the musicians is a simple tripping, one dancer behind the other, and marks the long quarter note

the trochaic foot () with a weighted stress of a step on the quarter note (), in contrast to the other "light eighth" (),²⁷ which is only a light tapping on the ground. The women sing along with the melody (the *wirsu*) of the large *ch'utu*-flutes in the highest range, where the individual pitches are connected with one another in a glissandolike

manner on a simple vocalization like *e-y-ey-y-e*. The circle dance is begun by the women dancing counterclockwise around the *bombo*, *tambor*, and *doti* players. At the sign of a *ch'utu* player or perhaps of the *doti* player, the circle of women turns in the opposite direction, and the women dancers turn 180 degrees toward the outside of the circle. The flute players (facing the center of the circle) stand side by side in a semicircle and move sideways, in small steps, in the opposite direction of the women dancing around them. At the sign of the change of direction, the flute-playing men turn a full 360 degrees and dance, still playing (again facing the center of the circle and the *bombo*, *tambor*, and *doti*), with the same lateral steps, this time in the opposite direction:



♣ = male dancer

“nose” indicates the direction
the dancers are facing

○ = female dancer

Ushny (Carnival)²⁸

♩ = 92 (3' 28")

No. 660

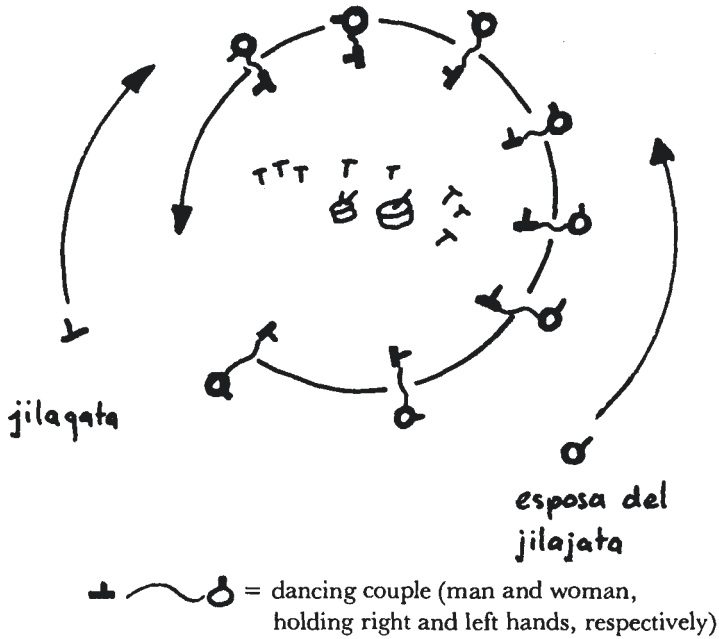
The musical score is arranged in four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system is labeled 'ch'utu' and 'ch'utus + canto'. The second system is labeled 'bombo'. The third system is labeled 'caja'. The fourth system is labeled 'da Capo' and '(0'9")'. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 92 (3' 28"). The score features a 4/4 time signature and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is characterized by a steady bass line and a melody with frequent triplets. The first system includes a first ending bracketed with a '3' and a '4' above it. The second and third systems end with 'etc.'. The fourth system ends with a double bar line and the instruction 'da Capo'.

(Music example continued on next page)



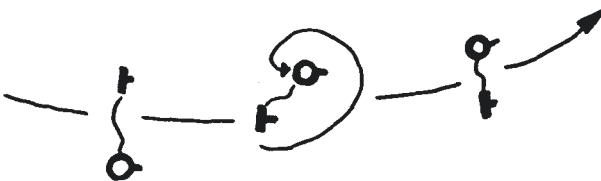
In contrast to the *ch'utu*-flutes, the *lichwayu* notched flutes are played predominantly in the months of May through July. They take on a central role on July 25, at the Fiesta de Santiago, and also at the Fiesta de San Juan (June 23). The *lichwayu*-flute is a type of large *quena* with six finger holes on the upper surface and one finger hole (*pheta*) on the lower surface. The notch cut out is right angular and, as the truly thick-walled *tokoro* wood is beveled to a smooth edge, this notch is somewhat rounded off.²⁹ All flutes are wound with llama gut, so that they do not crack when they dry.

The following example is a *lichwayu*-dance.³⁰ The three largest *quenas* and the three smallest play the same melody at the interval of an octave. The parallel octaves are divided by the middle flute into parallel fourths and fifths. The two-phrase melody is arranged in repeating phrases (/:A://:B:/) and is continuously repeated in its entirety. In unison with the low flute tones, the women's voices enter again, after a short time, with their characteristic wordless song. Now and then—sometimes weaker than the song of the women—one also hears in the lower octave single voices of men, who, in contrast with the women, sing along predominantly on the syllables *ley-ley*. *Bombo* and *caja* provide the rhythmic foundation of the singing.³¹ At the beginning of the performance, couples dance around the instrumentalists. Also here the llama-bells are rung rhythmically, notably by the women as they dance. In their hands, the women hold small purses (*tschontsches zuke* = *chuspa*) decorated with old coins and with rough pig bristles; authorities say these purses are reserved for dance use. The dance couples (each a man and a woman, who hold hands) dance around the musicians, beginning again in a counterclockwise direction. The same skipping step (*huayñu*) is led by the *alcalde* (*jilaqata*), who as a sign of honor has the cowhorn (*doti*) hung on himself,³² and his *bastón de mando* sways gently during the dance. The *jilaqata* and his wife dance, in opposite directions, around the couples who are dancing behind one another in the circle.

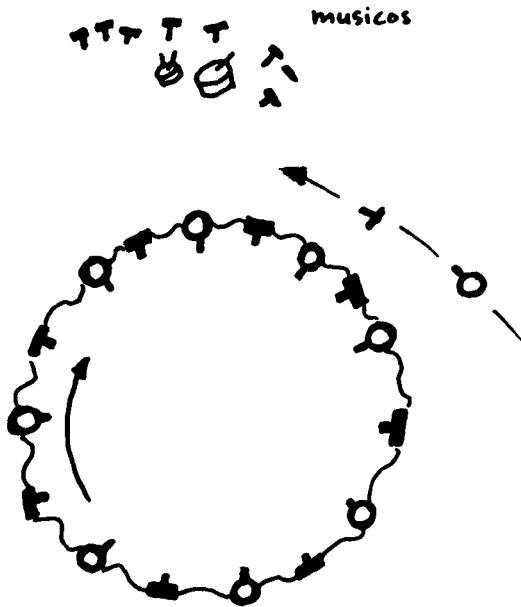


During the dance the partners change sides after several revolutions of the circle. The man leads his partner in a full turn under his raised right arm to his left side and dances with her farther in the same direction:

Reversal of the couple



After another period of time the dancers form a circle, facing the center, give one another their hands, and skip as in the round dance, swaying slightly to the right and to the left, in front of the musicians.



They change direction with a complete about-face around their own axis, in order to continue in a counterclockwise direction with the same round dance. The entire sequence repeats itself, and so forth. Depending on the surroundings—for example, a village square—the dancers may enter a wide area, followed by the musicians, who dance along, and the entire configuration attains yet another dimension of movement. The *lichwayu baile*, a truly cheerful dance, can last uninterrupted for a long period of time; throughout it remains quite constant in tempo.

Lichiwayu (huaynu)

$\text{♩} = 91$ (5'06")

No. 663

litchiwaya - palta
+ tupa

lucha
tambo



litchiwaya - paqi
+ aento


A

3 x (A:B)

Tarkeada and Sikuriada

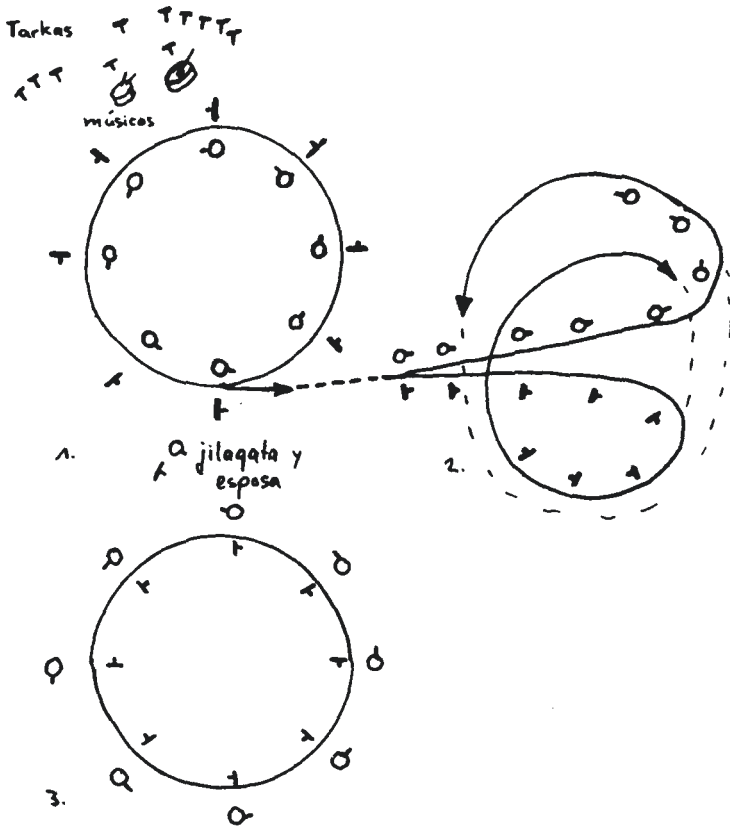
The duct flute *tarka* (*tar pinkayllu*) is found in three different sizes among the Chipayas. The largest is called *paj tar pinkayllu*, the middle one *cin-talla tar pinkayllu*, and the smallest *qolta tar pinkayllu*. All flute sizes have six finger holes on the upper surface. They are built exactly the same as the *tarka* (also called *tarkha*)³³ of the Aymaras and Quechuas. As is generally practiced in this Andean highland, these instruments are played by the Chipayas during the rainy season, especially during carnival season. The main days during which the *tarkeada* is danced are Carnival Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and the following Saturday, and Sunday (*tentación*). It is not unusual that, during the *tarkeada*, a *k'usillo* (masked person) carries on his fun and teasing.

The eight *tarkas* are accompanied by *bombo* and *caja* (*tambor*). Male and female dancers lift and drop their slightly bent arms in a fluid motion, the llama-bell ringing in the rhythm of the *bombo* beats. Their dance step is again the characteristic skipping, whereby on the accented eighth () the one foot, somewhat farther stretched out, causes a stronger stress and with that a dancelike emphasis, in contrast with the following lighter beat in which the other foot is put down more lightly. Essentially, this dancelike gait contains the fundamental trochaic element of stress/nonstress of the *ushny*-dance () in the somewhat

rhythmically varied form:  Simultaneously with the emphasis of the "heavy" step, the arms are thrust upward; they are let down again on the unstressed beat. The musicians stand facing the dancers. The latter, as couples, begin to dance again counterclockwise, forming a circle (see Figure 1). After that the first couple breaks out, led by the dancer with the trill-pipe (*pito*). The couples, following one another in a column, separate in a circular motion away from one another. The row of women goes to the left side counterclockwise and makes a larger loop back; the men, going to the right, do the same, only in a somewhat smaller loop (see Figure 2), so that in the end the men move in the opposite direction within the circle of women that encloses them. Thus have two circles been created: the outer circle of women proceeds counterclockwise, one woman behind another; the inner circle of men, who are dancing in the same manner behind one another, moves clockwise (see Figure 4). The melody (*ABACD*) is danced twice through in this manner; shortly before the last end of the phrase *D*, the dancer with the trill-pipe lets his signal ring out. All the female and male dancers turn on the spot to the left around their own axis one-and-one-half times; on the second whistle they start anew, this time in a half turn to the right,

so that, with the beginning of phrase *A*, they dance again in the same direction as before. When turning around on their own axis all dancers stretch their arms high and hold hands with slightly bent elbows over their heads, until both turns are made, one directly after the other. (First trill-whistle: circle to the left; second trill-whistle: circle to the right.)

Tarkeada



The *jilaqata* and his wife dance to and fro before the circle in a somewhat free configuration. The wife of the *jilaqata* carries with her a white feather on a long stick and on her back a shawl, a bundle of straw grass.³⁴ The large and small *tarkas*-flutes are voiced in octaves. The five *paj tar pinkayllus* produce the lower octave, the two *qolta tar pinkayllus* the upper octave. The middle voice, a fifth above the lowest instruments or a fourth under the upper voices, is taken by the *cintalla tar pinkayllu*. The

tonada (wirsu) is lively and cheerful, in a continuously energetic rhythm. Now and then, the *jilaqata* gives a long single-pitched signal on the cow-horn (*doti*). After numerous repetitions of the *wirsu*, some women begin to sing the main melody along with the instruments in the same manner as previously described.

Tarkeada (Carnaval)

No. 671

$\text{♩} = 90$ (2'44")

gaita tar pinkaylla
cintalla tar pinkaylla
paj tar pinkaylla

tambor
bombo

alal Segno 2

Coda rit.

II = 11 (ABACD) + Coda

The musical score is written for a multi-instrument ensemble. It begins with a tempo marking of quarter note = 90 and a duration of 2'44". The score is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one flat. The instruments are: Gaita (melody), Tambor and Bombo (percussion), and a string quartet (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass). The score includes a vocal line with lyrics in Quechua, and various performance markings such as 'alal Segno 2', 'Coda', and 'rit.'. The piece concludes with a repeat sign and the instruction 'II = 11 (ABACD) + Coda'.

During the dry season, the "época de frío," the *sikus* are played at the Fiestas de San Juan and Santiago, generally in the months of June and July. The *sikus* of the Chipayas from Ayparavi consist of a pair of panpipes. The one set of panpipes comprises eight stopped cylinders (they are called *siku arca*), and the other set, seven stopped cylinders (*ira*).³⁵ Each pair of panpipes is comprised of these two complementary instruments. The cylinders are bound together in the form of a raft and are arranged according to size. The same number of unstopped, that is, open, panpipes of the same length, also tied together in the shape of a raft, are connected in a second row to these cylinders. The Chipayas have these pairs of panpipes in only two different sizes. They stand at an interval of an octave. The *sanjas* are tuned in the lower range, the *taipi* pipes are tuned an octave higher.


Table 2. *Sikus of the Chipayas in Ayparavi*

siku peks (*siku* instruments)

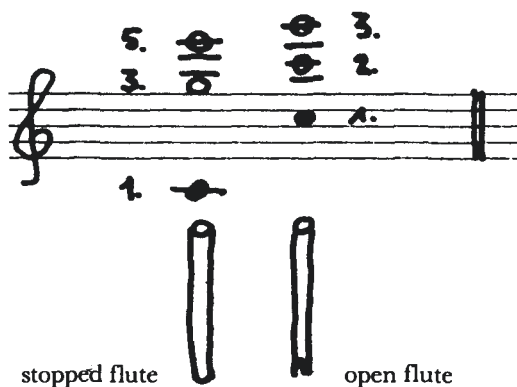
2 *sikus sanjas* — $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{arca} \text{ (8 stopped cylinders and 8 open cylinders)} \\ \textit{ira} \text{ (7 stopped cylinders and 7 open cylinders)} \end{array} \right.$

5 *sikus taipi* or *malta* — $\left[\begin{array}{l} 3 \textit{ arcas} \text{ (8 + 8)} \\ 2 \textit{ iras} \text{ (7 + 7)} \end{array} \right.$

The unclosed cylinders sound in sympathy with the stopped cylinders and serve as resonance strengtheners. Because they sound an octave higher, they help particularly in tone color expansion. An open cylinder, at the exact length of a closed one, would result in a somewhat inexact octave. This has doubtless been noticed, for the open cylinders have been slightly cut away on the side to approximate a shortening, in order to obtain a true octave. Because the stopped cylinders produce only the uneven-numbered partials, and because the open cylinders in contrast to and in addition to this have their fundamental an octave higher, the first and second partials of the open cylinders lie at the points of the second and fourth partials of the stopped cylinders, points

which the stopped cylinders cannot produce.³⁶ The Chipayas' way of playing the *sikus* is no different from that of the Aymaras. The instruments and the repertoire of melodies appear to have been taken over from the Aymaras. The dance is a *sikuriada* (*siku tsaty*) and is seen as a type of *huayñu*, in 2/4 meter . In general, the irregularities are

those of tempo disparity between the membranophones and the panpipes. These irregularities are caused at least in part by the racketlike way of blowing the panpipes on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the accelerating tempo of the piece, which in the course of six repetitions increases from $\text{♩} = 102$ to $\text{♩} = 130$. A "major"-oriented scale underlies the melody and exhibits hardly anything that would be considered typical for the Chipayas. The introduction of the piece leads one to think of an urban influence.³⁷



- = Fundamental (or first partial)
- = Partial (the ordinal number given refers to the corresponding partial)

Sikuriada (huaynu)

No. 766

$\text{♩} \approx 100$ (5^o) $\text{♩} 102 > 120$

bambo
tamber

taipi (8m)
sanja

A

B

A

B

C

dal Segno ✕

fin \wedge (2'38")

I - (A_(v) B A_(v) B_(v) C) x 6 + fin

During the *sikuriada* of the Chipayas the couples dance in the usual *huayñu* step around the panpipe players and percussionists. The men are on the inside of the circle, the women on the outside; now and then the couples, who are dancing behind one another, turn 180 degrees and continue dancing in the opposite direction. Also, during this dance the llama-bells are swung in rhythm as dance props.

Guitarrillas and Song

The only string instrument the Chipayas are familiar with is the *guitarrilla*. Izikowitz mentioned it in 1932 (p. 287) and believed it had probably been taken over from the Aymaran tradespeople. Today, they are produced by a "carpenter" in the place itself. The *guitarrilla* is a neck-lute with a guitarlike body, with ribs, a flat front, and a somewhat curved back. As for the *charango*,³⁸ the string arrangement consists of five double courses, drawn back from the wooden bridge over a round open sound hole to a slightly bent backboard of the tuning mechanism. There are six frets affixed onto the guitar neck. The *guitarrilla* is played as a solo instrument or as accompaniment to female and male singers. Accompanying himself on the *guitarrilla*, Simón Mamani performed a *huayñu de cordero* (song in praise of the sheep), accompanied by a second *guitarrilla* player. The *wirsu* (*tonada*) lauds the ram^m in a simple pentatonic scale. The tuning (*timplis*) of the strings contains in itself the central pitches of the melody (d'd'—a'a'—f'f'—c'c'—g'g'). Unmarried people are encouraged to dance with the song. It is sung in connection with the festival at which sheep and other animals are marked with a red wool-marker on the ears. The melody in each individual case is somewhat dependent on the text, which also often contains improvised text sections of the existing *topoi*. The charged vocalizations that frequently appear during the repeated melody sections are striking. The single pitches are somewhat slurred and are not always easily distinguished in the high range. Also, the repetitive pitches are contracted when repeated (cf., for example, line B). The *guitarrilla* accompaniment proceeds in regular eighth notes, in which the strings are struck, with the finger tip, from top to bottom, and back again from bottom to top, in the manner of the *rasgueado*.

The Chipayas from Aymaravi are familiar with three different large *guitarrillas* (*paj* *guitarrilla*, *taipi*, and *qolta*). Their tone is somewhat muffled because the strings are made of sheep gut; the instruments

huayno de cordero⁴⁰

$\text{♩} = 152$ No. 664

Ay ra la lay to-roy to-roy - Na
Lay ra la la to-roy - Na to - ro

Waj-ran-ta-sin ay to-ro to-roy - Na
ray la la la to-ro to-roy - Na -

2()

tu-jan-ta-sin ay to-roy to-roy - Na
(mu)chan-ta-sin to-ro to-roy - Na

2[] (R^o)

tu-kin-ta-sin ay to-roy to-roy - Na
lay ra la la to-ro

to-ro to-roy - Na to-ro to - ro - -
i-ra la la la la la la la - -

Waj-ran-ta-sin ay to-ro to-ro
ay-ra la la la la la la la

mu-chan-ta-sin ay to-roy to-ro
ay ra la la la la la la la

(22^o)

tu-jan-ta-sin ay to-ro to-ro
ay ra la la lay to-ro to-ro ... etc.

la la la la to-roy to-ro

ay ra la la lay to-ro to-ro

al Segno³
(5^a)

AB-CDE - CDCD - CD


elaborate the rhythmic structure of the pieces. The large and medium *guitarrillas* are tuned the same, while the small instrument has the same intervals but is tuned a fourth higher ($g^1g^1-d^2d^2-b^1b^1-f^1f^1-c^2c^2$).

The songs of the stringed instruments are for the most part without text. In various *tonadas del ganado* (songs of the animals) the animals held by the Chipayas are praised on the festival days, Christmastide, San

Gerónimo, and Espíritu. The songs stand in close connection to the *k'illpa*, the festival at which the llamas and sheep are marked with the ear marks.⁴¹ Once a year, an entire day is devoted to the animals. The *tonada del ganado* is also sung and danced at the festivals of the marking (also called *marcara*). This *tonada* is made up of different melodic phrases, from the *tonada* for the ram, from the *tonada* for the ewe, from the *tonada* for the male and female llama (*tonada del llama machu, del llama hembra*), and from the *tonada* for the pig.⁴² Métraux (1931: 122) described this manner of singing thus:

. . . en la cabaña algunos indios se pusieron a tocar la guitarra únicamente para divertir a la concurrencia. En un momento dado, una voz primera muy aguda, plañidera y no modulada, salió del grupo de las mujeres. En seguida otras la acompañaron con las mismas notas. Era un canto sin palabras, lento y melodioso, de numerosas inflexiones; las notas, frecuentemente muy prolongadas, eran seguidas por los acompañantes. En el mismo instante en que parecía extinguirse el canto, renacía, retomado por otras voces. Estas curiosas melopeas tienen, al parecer, un valor mágico, pues cada una de sus variantes recibía el nombre "tonada de los llamas machos, de los llamas hembras, de los chanchos, etc." Trátase sin duda de encantamientos destinados a obrar sobre la fecundidad y la prosperidad de los rebaños.

The men and women sing alternately the *wirsu* for the marking of the animals (*marcara/k'illpa*) to the accompaniment of four *guitarrillas* and to the ringing of the llama-bells. To signal the neighbors that the festival should be undertaken, a white flag is normally raised at the house on the estancia. The neighbors are encouraged to participate in the song and dance. The *guitarrillas* perform the rhythm in continuous eighth-

note motion (*rasgueo* ). All five double strings are completely struck,

from top to bottom, with emphasis, and back up from bottom to top. Moreover, single melodic pitches also are plucked. Playing once through the first phase, the men begin their textless song; it is answered an octave higher by the somewhat strained and nasal song of the women. The volume of the women's song dominates the softer song of the men. The two melodic phrases *AB* are repeated numerous times: the men precede singing the phrase *a*, the women answer with the same phrase *A*. In isolated cases the phrases exhibit small variations, which occur through pitch repetition or through the tying together of eighth notes. The song utilizes a pentatonic scale with a pronouncedly descending melodic contour; pitches are conjoined by glissandi.

The following transcription provides only the melodic phrase of the women, which alternates with the men's and is virtually identical with it.

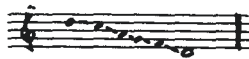
k'illpa/marcara

No. 764

(9)

$\text{♩} = 126$

The musical score consists of ten systems of staves. Each system includes a vocal line (A) and a piano accompaniment line (B). The vocal line starts with a melodic phrase and includes lyrics: "A - y a - y ay ay ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya". The piano accompaniment features rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Measure numbers 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The score concludes with a double bar line.



I - aAaAaA bBbB aA /:bB:/ aAbB /:aA bB bB:/
 a(Melodic phrase of the men, an octave lower)
 A(Melodic phrase of the women)

Church Song

Since the two greater missionary drives in the twentieth century, there have been Roman Catholic and Pentecostal efforts to instruct the Chipayas in the new Christian songs. In addition, duplicated text-note-books have been disseminated with Christian hymns in the language of the Chipayas. These "himnos cristianos en Chipaya" (*Yooz wirsununca its libro*, 1974) are strophic texts, mostly sung to Aymara melodies; although these songs are unrelated to traditional Chipaya song, they have become well liked by the Chipayas. Scattered among hymns in Chipaya are also songs in Aymaran and even in Spanish. The community singing is carried on for the most part on Sunday morning. The Catholics congregate in their church at the main square, while the Pentecostals gather in the house of one of their members, carrying out their individual devotions in prayer, song, and praise of God.⁴³

Whereas the Roman Catholic Church has been more generous in permitting the integration of traditional customs and songs, the Pentecostal Church has officially forbidden its members to dance or sing in the traditional manner.⁴⁴

I refer to some characteristics of these hymns by using three chosen examples. The Aymara melodies are strictly pentatonic, now eschewing, in performance, the characteristic slurred tones of the Chipayas. "Rehearsed" singing is now the rule, although, occasionally, in the middle of a church song a woman suddenly begins to sing a lamenting halleluja, which appears to be based on the traditional lamentation.⁴⁵ Each of the hymns has several verses, which are arranged in two or three melody lines and are repeated virtually unchanged. Along with the simple singing through of verses (see Musical Example 11, *himno* no. 6: *walja okznampancha*), there are also beginnings of antiphonal singing between a mixed "choir" and a women's response (see Musical Example 12, *himno* no. 28 *del cancionero*). Finally, there is yet a further manner of singing that is accompanied by the joyful clapping of the singers (Musical Example 13, *himno* no. 30).

Himno cristiano (Walja Okznampancha)

$\text{♩} = \pm 74$ (1'10") No. 730

A
B
C
D

AB | CD:| 

Himno católico

$\text{♩} = 67$ (1'08") No. 751

(M) A
hombres y mujeres
(F) B C
(M) D mujeres 7
(M) E

|:ABC|:DE| 

Himno católico

$\text{♩} = 128$ (42°) No. 254

hombres y mujeres

palmas

AA8

Ritual Ceremony (*Wilancha*)

Today, the Chipayas are officially Christians. They were converted by the Spanish missionaries probably in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, many characteristics of their original religion have been kept. Furthermore, different protective spirits (*malkus* and *samiris*) have a specially favored significance in connection with the fertility cults for land and animals. Above all is Pachamama (mother earth), who brings life to everything and to whom sacrifices are made. Then comes *Sajama*, the divine and life-giving mountain, from which the waters of Río Lauca come and "fertilize" the sand. Nearly all mountains and hills in the immediate surroundings are honored with sacrifices and ritual ceremonies. To the honor of *malkus*, sacrificial animals (llamas, sheep, and pigs) are brought. The gathered blood is sprinkled in the four directions

of the wind while the supplicant appeals to the different deities. The customs and concepts of belief are similar to those of the Aymaras, in part a combination of traditional and Christian views; certainly, as Rufz Camacho (1960: 22) believes, the traditional indigenous elements continue to dominate the Chipayas. Pachamama is often confounded with the Virgin Mary, as the holy Santiago, San Gerónimo, San Juan, and others are the new embodiment of *mallku*. The Roman Catholic church tower in Chipaya is viewed as a symbol of the *mallku mayor*. Other *mallkus* are represented in the same manner, with small conical towers built of clay. Each house stands, moreover, under the special protection of a *mallku* (Métraux et al. 1955: 76f).

Also, during our visit, the actual festival day on which the Chipayas played their music and carried out their dances was started with a sacrificial ritual. The sacrificial ritual is called *wilancha*. The *wilancha* is "un acto que tiene el objeto de expeler del pueblo los malos espíritus, epidemias, malignos aires, y consiste en una cantidad de ceremonias en las cuales matan animales con cuya sangre aspergen el suelo y las paredes de las viviendas, todo bajo el son de una música lúgubre, de tambores, en forma de cajas cuadradas y flautas curvas de escala pentatónica musical" (Posnansky 1918: 11f). The ceremony appears to have remained essentially the same as it was prior to 1918, when Posnansky observed it; the only difference was that during the sacrifice itself in Ayparavi the instrument was not yet played.

After the sounding of the cowhorn (*doti*) to mark the beginning, the two sheep chosen to be sacrificed were laid down with bound feet on the main square directly in front of the church. After a short smoke offering, the *sukachiri* (*eje de wilancha*) and his helper (*piwuna*) opened the neck veins of the animals, catching the blood in a basin. The *sukachiri* dispersed this with a cup in all directions; then, on his knees he begged Pachamama, Santiago, the Virgen de Copacabana, and San Agustín to help make the festival successful. *Bombo*, *caja*, and one or two types of different wind instruments lay spread out on a cloth behind the sacrificial animals. The instruments were also sprinkled with the blood of the animals in order to carry the good omen to the instruments. Only after a completed *wilancha*⁴⁶ did the festival take on its full dimensions; at a later point, the festival was interrupted again by the drinking sacrifice, *liqanaqa*.

The Chipayas kill animals usually for ritual sacrificial purposes only. They live for the most part from the yield of the quinoa harvests and from small sheep-cheeses, which they trade with the Aymaras for other wares. Llamas and sheep are sold in Oruro; the Chipayas' produce hardly suffices for their needs. The major staples are quinoa, corn, and *chuño* (a type of freeze-dried potato); only fish and water birds are a

slight enrichment. Because the animal breeding (some chickens also are raised), together with the cheese preparation and the quinoa, sometimes barely yields the minimum for existence, some Chipayas go in search of work in salt mines. Others move as far away as Chile, in order to earn some money temporarily and far away from home. Last year (1980) the entire quinoa crop in Aymaravi froze. Not only food but also medical aid is urgent. The constant problems with rainy season flooding require workable technological help in small doses. The tedious building of sand dams, in which *Paja*-grass is woven with straw cords, so that the wind builds additional sand dunes, and the troublesome washing out of the saline earth through the detouring of the river, demand a more advanced work force in this sterile landscape. The people's request for limited but effective help from the outside world should not be allowed to go unheard.⁴⁷ The difficult food situation repeatedly brings up the question of emigration. The existence and continuation of the traditional musical culture of the Chipayas will also remain dependent in a sense on the total economic and social situation of the population itself.

Conclusion

From the little ethnological, linguistic, and historical knowledge available about the Chipayas we learn at least that one has to reckon with different acculturative phases in the course of the culture's history, each of which probably involved effects on the music. For example, the *maizu*-panpipes appear to reach back to the time of the Chullpas. Since these panpipes are also called *chirihuana*, a possible contact of the Chipayas with the Chiriguanos, inhabitants of the lowlands, may be assumed. Whether the Chipayas came in contact with them during their migrations from the lowland or whether this happened only later in the battles of the Kollas with the Chiriguanos can only be speculated upon. In any case, it remains interesting that both the Aymaras and the Quechuas know dances by the name *chiriguanos*, which were carried out at the same time in honor of the outstanding warriors of the Chiriguanos. It is highly probable that the fipple flute (*lichiwayu*) and the duct flutes (*ch'utu* and *tar pinkayllu*) are connected with the musical culture of the Aymara, a conclusion drawn from straightforward terminological similarities. Even in Quechua linguistic regions, musical concepts and names of instruments are strongly shaped by the Aymara terminology. Lasting influence on the part of the Aymara can also be established in the double-row *siku* panpipes melodies. The same is also true for the llama-bells (*campanas*); because the Chipayas are unfamiliar with metallurgy, these are purchased from the Aymaras. In addition to these two

acculturative levels, on the one hand the Chullpas/Chiriguanos and, on the other hand, the influence of the Aymaras (which is still effective today), there is a third musical acculturative phase already seen. Only with the gradual transition in lifestyle from fishing/hunting to animal breeding/agriculture did the *tonadas del ganado* become possible. It is difficult to establish, however, that the melodic material of those *tonadas* remained the same as that utilized with songs earlier performed to other animals.

A fourth very important acculturative level is to be observed in the Spanish missions. Here, the *guitarrillas*, likely transmitted by a yet earlier carrier group of Aymaras, first were assimilated. If at first these string instruments were simply bought from the Aymaras, now they are built by the Chipayas according to their own specifications. To what extent the first missions had an influence on the songs is hard to say because of lack of sources. With the newer mission by various Christian communities, melodies predominantly of the Aymaras are found with Christian texts translated into the Chipayan language. The song style of the church music is differentiated sharply from the characteristic song of the Chipayas, which for the most part is carried out in textless vocalization by the women in a very high range, with slurred pitches prominent and a predominantly descending melody line. *Pumpu* (*bombo*) and *caja* (*tambor*) are likewise purchased today from the outside. Their construction is closely akin to that of the percussion instruments of the *banda militar*. The *tambor chipaya* in its rectangular form appears to have fallen into disuse, in Aymaravi.

Functionally, a strong connection arises between music and song, on the one hand, and the traditional expressions of belief, ceremonies, and festivals, on the other. Christmas, carnival, and numerous saints' days (San Juan, Santiago, and so forth) have their specific functions within the rural church calendar. *K'illpa* (marking of animals) and *wilancha* (animal sacrifice) are two significant occasions during which music, song, and dance cannot be absent. The dances are circle dances, the circles composed of couples standing behind one another, or of men separated from women. The step consists of a simple "skip," in which stressed and unstressed steps are differentiated. The dances always begin in counterclockwise motion. After a subsequent turn around their own axes the men and women dancing in circle usually change direction. The melodies are built out of a few phrase segments, regularly repeated *da capo*. With the exception of the *tonada de los Chullpas* (which displays semitones and quarter tones), melodic lines are pentatonic; in *siku* music, a "major"-oriented scale appears. Parallel harmonies result in performances by the *ch'utus* (duct flutes, in tritones), by the *lichwayus* (fipple flutes, in fifths and fourths), by the *tar pinkayllus* (*tarkas*, again in fourths and fifths), and by the *sikus* (panpipes, in octaves). The

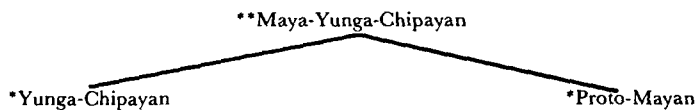
guitarrilla fulfills a chordal rhythmic function as accompaniment to the various *wirsus* (*tonadas*), which are sung by solo singers, as well as communally, antiphonally between several women and men. The playing of musical instruments (with the exception of the llama-bells, which the women ring as they dance) is reserved exclusively for men.

Notes

1. Métraux (1931: 99) around 1930 counted approximately 240 Chipayas. According to La Barre (1946: 583), at the same time there were approximately 350, while Vellard (1954: 214) some years later estimated the number to be about 500. Olson (1964: 313), along with Wachtel (1974), one of the best specialists on the Chipayas, estimated their number to be 750 in 1961, 800 in 1964, and 900-1000 in 1978 (cf. also Olson 1979: 1). The last number coincides with authorities' statements that I received in 1980.
2. Chipaya was located originally on the shores of Lago Coipasa. However, the lake dried up more and more, so that today the village is located several kilometers away from it. It has been said that the original site, Capilla Perdida, where ruins are still to be found, also lay on the bank of the lake. However, because of aridity, the lake continued to recede, and the village Chipaya was founded directly on the banks of the lake; the town has since then been separated from the lake by five kilometers (see Condori Ch. 1975: 2).
3. The first geographic-cartographic evidence of the name *Chipaya* stems from an atlas of 1830, in which Lago Coipasa is entered as Laguna Chipaya (P. Bellier, ed., *Géographie Moderne*, Paris 1830, table 81). According to other historical documents, after about 1722 the Chipayas began to be surrounded more and more by the Aymaras. As a rule, the Chipayas preferred to retreat from their aggressors. According to Olson the terms for "to fight" and "to flee" are the same in their language (1979). Judging from the Chipayan church architecture, which displays striking similarities in construction with the Spanish style at the time of the viceroy, one can assume that the Spaniards had christianized the Chipayas very early and must have known them at the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, perhaps under another name (eventually under the name of the Urus) (cf. Mesa and Gisbert 1966: 479f).
4. The old Ayparavi was repeatedly flooded years ago during the rainy season, so that it was finally abandoned (the ruins are still visible). Ayparavi was built again two kilometers from the old site, better protected from the Río Barras; indeed, with the exception of one single house, houses are no longer built according to the traditional type of construction, but rather are in rectangular form, because these—as I was told—are roomier than the old circular houses. Ayparavi was made a *cantón* in 1960. In contrast to the locality Chipaya, which is divided into four *ayllus* (Wachtel 1974), the village Ayparavi is a single *ayllu*, the *Ayllu Unión Barras* (informant: Tomás Condori, *oficial registro*). According to statements of T. Condori, the community (*comunidad*) today numbers 206 persons (other estimates run up to 300). At the time of my visit, approximately one quarter of the people (mostly men) were absent; because the entire crop had frozen, they had to pursue other work, including some salt mining and some work in Chile.
5. Uru-Chipaya has long been confused with Puquina. The confusion over the name of the language the Chipayas speak is considerable. Different writers assume that Uru

and Puquina are related. According to Vellard (1954: 149), the mistake arose probably for the reason that Posnansky falsely told his informants that they probably spoke Puquina (cf. also Klein 1973: 141, 147; Ibarra Grasso 1955: 40). Uru-Chipaya is, however, according to Condori Ch. (1975: 2), also completely different from the Puquina language. However, it should be added here that my informants from Aymaravi, when asked about their own language, labeled it, as a matter of course, "Puquina." Olson also draws attention to this condition: "The name Chipaya includes the village, the people, and their language. The language of Chipaya is commonly called Puquina by outsiders, but among themselves they simply say Chipaya language. Puquina may be an old name for Uru or it may be a separate, perhaps related, language. The author [i.e., Olson] has heard the Chipaya refer to themselves as descendants of the Urus."

6. "Since Yunga and Uru-Chipaya share innovations which are not found in the Mayan languages, we will assume that they are more closely related to one another than to the Mayan languages" (1972: 135).



7. According to information from the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (Bolivia), Ronald Olson's book, the *Grammatical Structure of Chipaya*, is completed but has not yet been published. Two small notebooks with collected Chipaya stories in Chipaya and in Spanish translation, by the same author, are valuable: *Quintunaca Liyaquicha/Vamos a leer cuentos*. Libro 1 (44 pp.) and 2 (57 pp.). Cochabamba 1966.
8. Cf. the research of Posnansky (1918), Métraux (1931 and 1932), Vellard (1954), Métraux (1954, 1955, 1956), and others.
9. *Ch'ipa* (Aymara: net, net for tradegoods, bundle); *ch'ipaña* (verb: to tie together). Besides this name, which was taken over from the Aymaras, the Chipaya are also called *wili-wilis*, "those who hunt birds [ducks and flamingoes]."
10. The narrow opening of the *chullpas* is oriented toward the east, as the doors of the traditional round houses of the Chipayas still are today. These are the *putuku* (conical house built with cut earthen bricks in the estancias) and *kjuya* (the round house of the village with a straw roof). In the *chullpas* are found mummies, whose clothing is, in cut, color, and character, nearly identical with the contemporary clothing of women, children, and, to some degree, men. Burial houses of this type are found in the immediate surroundings, especially in Yuyni de Huanaco, Puerto de Condores, Pucaras de Chiarjake, and Capilla Perdida (Métraux et al. 1955: 74).
11. According to Posnansky, the Chullpas were the first representatives of the original civilization on the bank of Lake Titicaca: "Chullpas o Chullpa-Uta se llama en Bolivia las viviendas prehistóricas redondas o cuadradas que se hallan diseminadas por doquiera en el Altiplano y adyacentes" (1918: 7). *Chullpas* is understood to apply to both the buildings and the people (cf. note 5 and more under note 16; also Hans Dietrich Disselhoff, *Geschichte der altamerikanischen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979, p. 327). According to Jesús Lara (*Diccionario Quéshua-Castellano/Castellano-Quéshua*, 2d. ed. La Paz - Cochabamba 1978: 67), *Chullpa* signifies "mummy" or "sarcophagus" in Quechua.
12. Cf. Posnansky (1918: 8f) and Métraux (1932: 244; 1954: 32). As I observed, these little bronze figures are still in use. They are considered a sign of a married woman and are inherited by succeeding generations.

13. Informant: Tomás Condori; *comunidad* Aymaravi.
14. *Comunidad* Aymaravi. Quispe is, moreover, one of the *guitarrilla* players and very reliable as an authority. Like many of the men, he also speaks Spanish. Besides Spanish, Aymara is also spoken as a trade language with the neighbors.
15. Chino, for example, is the name of that Chipaya who has been captured by the Aymaras with the rope (Aymara: *chimuntata*); Lasura is that person who has been captured with the lasso (*lasuntata*), and so forth. A detailed version of the myth, *Historia tradicional de los Urus de Chipaya*, can be found in Quispe (1955: 135-139), Métraux (1931: 112f), Vellard (1954: 227f), and Métraux et al. 1955: 79f).
16. Cf. Vellard (1953: 119ff). Montañó Aragón (1975) points out, moreover, that in the areas of Potolo, Potosí, and Uncía there are roughly five thousand *Indios*, who even today speak Quechua but who still give themselves the name *Chullpas*. Concerning the same question, one should compare the article "Chullpas" in José Felipe Costas Arguedas, ed., *Diccionario del folklore boliviano*, Sucre 1967, tomo I, pp. 238-234.
17. All musical examples record the Chipayas from the village Aymaravi, where we were on a visit at the invitation of the village, and where we were allowed by the Chipayas to document their traditional musical customs at a large festival. My companions were Ms. Rosana Barragán (sent as a representative of the Departamento de Etnomusicología) and Mr. Aljoscha Klee (as professional photographer). Previously, musicians and dancers from Aymaravi had visited Cochabamba, where they had taken part in the V Festival Folklórico Nacional Luz Mila Patiño (sponsored by the Centro Pedagógico y Cultural de Portales, Cochabamba). This festival was documented in tape recording, photograph, and movie. Documentation was continued in Aymaravi itself, and both results were studied comparatively. The author takes this opportunity to thank heartily all informants and assistants. All transcriptions and diagrams are the author's.
18. *Arca* and *ira* make a pair; together they perform melody in hocket. This hocket principle is widespread in this altiplano zone. *Arca* and *ira* are words from the Aymara language. *Ira* means, roughly, that person who leads or begins. *Arca* designates that player, or rather that instrument, with which one follows the other in the melody. The application of this concept of type applied to the panpipes is sometimes just the opposite in isolated regions of the Aymaras and Quechuas. Often *arca* is used for that panpipe with more cylinders and *ira* for that with fewer. Cf. Antonio González Bravo (1949: 92-101), and Baumann (1979: 13, 18f., 24, 27, 32, 35). The panpipes are made from tubes of bamboo (*caña hueca*).
19. All measurements were made with a simple Korg-chromatic tuner WT-12, comparing normal speed and, as a control, at half speed. One should certainly bear in mind when reading the instrument that a minimal inexactness is caused by the moment of inertia of the pointer, but this should not carry much weight, since the single tone of a panpipe demonstrates great variations in any case. To state the case clearly, the empirical (i.e., mechanical) reading is a minimally relevant factor in tonal interpretation.
20. *Maiso* may be the Spanish weakening of the final *u*, in analogy to forms like *huayñu*, *huayño*. According to my information, the instrument is (interchangeably) called *maizu* as well as *maizo*; the *z* is pronounced very voiced, very similar to the English *sh*.
21. *Chirihuana*, from the name designation of the Chiriguano tribe. *Chirihuano*s or *chiriguano*s is a dance with a warlike beat in the Aymara and Quechua regions. The dance is supposedly kept alive in remembrance of the warlike spirit of the Chiriguano, who live in the southeast and who waged successful struggles against the Incas in pre-Columbian times. *Chirihuano* dances are known in Charazani, Copacabana, Ayopaya, the Argentine Chaco, and elsewhere. Cf. Kutscher (1977:

- 180-182), and Baumann (1979: 13f.). Posnansky (1934: 289) reports that the Urus said of their dances of *Mimula* and *Taurila* that "imitamos a los Chiriguano y Chunchos cuando bailamos la 'Mimula' y el 'Taurila.'"
22. Informant: Simón Mamani; it appears to deal with the same instrument that Ruíz Camacho (1960: 22) has designated as *ayo*.
 23. Izikowitz (1932: 278) specifies *táks* as "dénomination générique pour 'flûtes'" (Uro-Chipaya). I could not establish anything similar; perhaps it was because the instrument in Chipaya is designated, generally, with *peks* (for example *chirihuana peks*, *siku peks*). As *pinkayllo* is understood as a group designation for the duct flutes, it then follows, among other things, that the designation *tar pinkayllo* is applied to the *tarka*. An illustration and exact description of *ch'utu* are found in Izikowitz (1932: 274, figs. 11a and 11b). I oriented the phonetic transcription of Chipaya words according to accepted orthography for Bolivian Quechua, and I have transcribed phonetically from the recordings.
 24. The *bombo* (large drum) is hit with a drum stick (*pumpujis tomasa*), the small *caja* with two drum sticks (*cajauts tomasa*) (drum sticks of the *caja*). Both membranophones display ribs with a frame on either side and are spanned with a double skin, just like the newer *bombo militar*. The instruments are bought outside the community. I was unable to locate the traditional rectangular *caja* (the *tambor Chipaya*) anywhere in Ayparavi. (Cf. the description in Izikowitz 1932: 267f). The snare of the *caja* is called *curtaza* in Chipaya.
 25. *Doti*; *t'oti* in Izikowitz (1932: 270-271). The horn did not have a particular mouth-piece. Because the Chipayas do not own any cows, they must have taken these instruments over from the Aymaras. The same is also true of the bells. The Chipayas are not acquainted with metallurgy and purchased their llama bells from Aymaras. The cowhorn is post-Columbian. Before the Conquest comparable trumpets were made of clay, calabashes, or shells. The people are summoned to gatherings with the horn. Besides its musical use at dances, the horn was blown at the beginning of festivals. According to Métraux (1956: 145) and Izikowitz (1932: 270f), it is blown in connection with vegetation and fertility rites; it serves also as a status symbol and to summon rain. The cowhorn with flat reed made of *caña hueca* forms the single-reed instrument, the *erqe doti*. In Ayparavi itself I could see no such instrument. Perhaps erroneously, the designation of the normal cowhorn has also been given as *erqe doti* (cf. the description in Izikowitz 1932: 271). The cowhorn plays with momentary interruptions in the rhythm of the *bombo* (see pattern: *doti*, Musical Example 5).
 26. The llama-bells are spoken of only as *campana* (Spanish term). They are made of bronze and have a hanging clapper. Ayparavi knows three sizes: the *campana paquilla* (large bell), the *campana tsipilla* (middle), and the *campana qoltaylla* (small).
 27. The "accent" falls somewhat differently for each woman dancer, so that this can occur on the right foot for some, on the left foot for others.
 28. The dance is performed at carnival (which may fall in February or March). It is a circle dance (*ushny tsakny muytis*), also danced at the *Fiestas de compadre y comadre* before the carnival. A white flag is carried and individual men wear a special headdress made of horse hair (*caval chara*). The man with the hairpiece is supposed to express himself through dance, at carnival time, on the days of *mallkus*, for the production of sun-dried bricks (*adobes*) and clay earth. It is also said that the *ch'utus*, which the Chipayas supposedly took over from their ancestors (*de los antiguos*), are played to plea for rain. Informants: Felipe Cóndori, Santos Chino, Felipe Hermenegildo, Florencio Chino; cf. also Métraux (1956: 149f).
 29. According to R. and M. d'Harcourt (1925, I: 65), the round notch of the *quenás* is pre-Columbian; the rectangular notch comes from Spanish influence. Izikowitz

(1932: 272f) refers to Métraux, who, Izikowitz claims, saw but few *quenas* in Chipaya. Izikowitz believes that, because the *quenas* of the Chipayas are constructed similarly to those of the Aymaras, the Chipayas must have taken these over from the Aymaras (certainly the reverse could theoretically also be the case). Izikowitz (ibid.) mentions only one *quena*, 39.8 centimeters in length. The Chipayas in Ayparavi are acquainted with an entire *lichiwayu*-ensemble, composed of three different sizes of *quena*: the smallest (*qolla*: 30.7 centimeters long), the medium one (*taipi*: 40.8 centimeters long), and the largest (*paqi*: 58 centimeters long). The last one has an inside diameter of 3.4 centimeters. *Lichihuayus* is a dance performed with *quenas* at the Fiesta de Santiago in the Oruro region, according to M. Rigoberto Paredes (1977: 17). Where the term *lichiwayu* comes from and what it means remain unclear to me. The popular explanation, that the word is derived from the Aymara *lichí-wayuna* (*llevar leche*), is hardly believable. I have recorded dances with the same name in Yuyuni and in Tapacarí. The large *quena* was characteristic of both. The fipple flute is also occasionally named *lichí-wayu-pinkayllu* by the Chipayas, although *pinkayllos* are usually duct flutes.

30. Couple dance: *pukulta tsajilaya*.
31. In the village Ayparavi the same dance was also still accompanied by a modern trill-pipe (*bito*).
32. The *alcalde* from Ayparavi is Leoncio Condori, and his wife is Segundina de Condori (1980). While the *lichihuayus* played in Ayparavi, the *alférez* (*alpiza*) distributed the drinks (alcoholic) to the male and female dignitaries of the village. The dignitaries sat down in the main square on a bench or a spread cloth and received the *liqinaqa* (*ch'alla*: offering) and coca leaves from the hands of the *alférez*. Afterwards a *k'usillo*, wearing a knitted wool hat-mask, played pranks. The *k'usillo* was also termed "mono para burlar, que hace chistes." An illustration of the dance purse is found in Métraux (1932: 248, fig. 13).
33. Although Izikowitz does not mention the instrument by name in connection with the Chipayas, he does offer an exact description of the *tarka* with the general name *pinkullu* in figs. 14a and 14b (1932: 276), corresponding precisely to the *tar pinkayllu* (= *tarka*) of the Chipayas. The largest instrument from Ayparavi measures 54 centimeters in length and 5.2 centimeters in outer diameter; the bore (the inner diameter) measures 2.1 centimeters.
34. Cf. the illustrations by Ruíz Calero (1979: 194f), or the detailed description of the fertility cults in Métraux (1931: 123f).
35. As to the designation of *arca* and *ira*, see note 18. The Chipayas designate with *arca* that instrument "that knows how to play" ("que sabe tocar") and with *ira* that set of panpipes "that answers" ("que contesta"). According to all appearances both parts of the panpipes (*arca* and *ira*) are called *isni* in the language of the Chipayas. Izikowitz (1932: 279) knew about the panpipes of the Chipayas and reported that these instruments had five or seven cylinders (in a double row with the same number of open cylinders: 5 + 5; 7 + 7). In contrast to this description, the Chipayas of Ayparavi today possess the type of panpipes generally attributed to the Aymaras by Izikowitz (cf. his fig. 17).
36. One might compare this pairing principle to that described by Hugo Zemp (Disc: *Polyphonies des Îles Salomon—Guadalcanal et Savo—Le Chant du Monde LDX 74663*, Collection du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et du Musée de l'Homme, 1978).
37. Some few transistor radios are already found in Ayparavi. In a small "general store" there is also a record player, which is played from time to time, when the people gather in the evenings. Also, young people sometimes dance to the music. It is for

- the most part indigenous *cuecas*, *bailecitos*, and *huayños* that are popular, because they are above all loved as single records by the *mestizos* in the cities.
38. For a more in-depth description and history of this Spanish-influenced string instrument, cf. Baumann (1979a). The designations for the individual parts of the instrument in Chipaya are: *guitar puitsch* (top), *cassi* (neck), *acha* (tuning head), *clavo* (tuning peg), *sk'i* (bridge), *chintauna* (*madera fina*).
 39. *Toro cordero*: *toro* appears to mean not the steer but, generally, the ram. In Métraux (1954–1955: 29) one finds, in reference to Posnansky (1918: 6), the name *torro* in quotation marks for the *toxo* (also *tujo*: small rodent).
 40. Here the transcription is to be understood as a fundamental framework. The text was transcribed from the tape as accurately as possible, and it is incomplete (the last six lines of the repeat are missing).
 41. *Falak'illpa* (marking of the llamas), *ushak'illpa* (marking of the sheep). Cf. Condori Ch. 1975: 7).
 42. An in-depth analysis of this *tonada del ganado* is provided in another context. So much is clear: a certain melodic phrase is assigned to each animal; the whole is concluded with a *wirsu del inca*.
 43. No priests were present in Ayparavi at that time. The devotions were carried out in both religious groups by the Chipayas themselves. The Chipayas were evangelized by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, the Pentecostal Church, the Bolivian Baptist Union, and other churches.
 44. This is according to the information of some authorities. The problem of the loss of the cultural identity in the area of music is often not recognized by the missionaries.
 45. I have heard similar songs lamenting the dead in the Department of Cochabamba on All Saints' Day.
 46. Cf. the descriptions in Métraux (1931a: 1) and in Métraux et al. (1955: 76).
 47. The need for help and support was continually expressed. Special needs presently include seed corn, medical supplies, a small water pump (water is ladled from water holes), a small tractor to build the protective dam, and, particularly, the construction of a bridge over the Río Lauca to reach the road to Oruro. The wish that the new village Ayparavi be put on the Bolivian map alone displays the will that a near-forgotten people not be entirely lost.

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Umberto Condori Copa. In addition, I would like to thank the Centro Pedagógico y Cultural de Portales, beginning with its director, Mr. Richard Bauer, for his generous support, Ms. Rosana Barragán for her association as representative of the Departamento de Etnomusicología, Mr. Freddy Bustillos, director of the Departamento de Etnomusicología (La Paz), and Mr. Aljoscha Klee, whom I have to thank for the photography. Finally I would like to thank the German Research Society, which made it possible for me through generous support to undertake field research in Bolivia on several occasions. In the larger framework of Andean music, this study of the music of the Chipayas is a small contribution. I am greatly indebted, last but not least, to Ms. Amanda Zelaya Rodríguez (Oruro), at whose initiative the whole project was set in motion.

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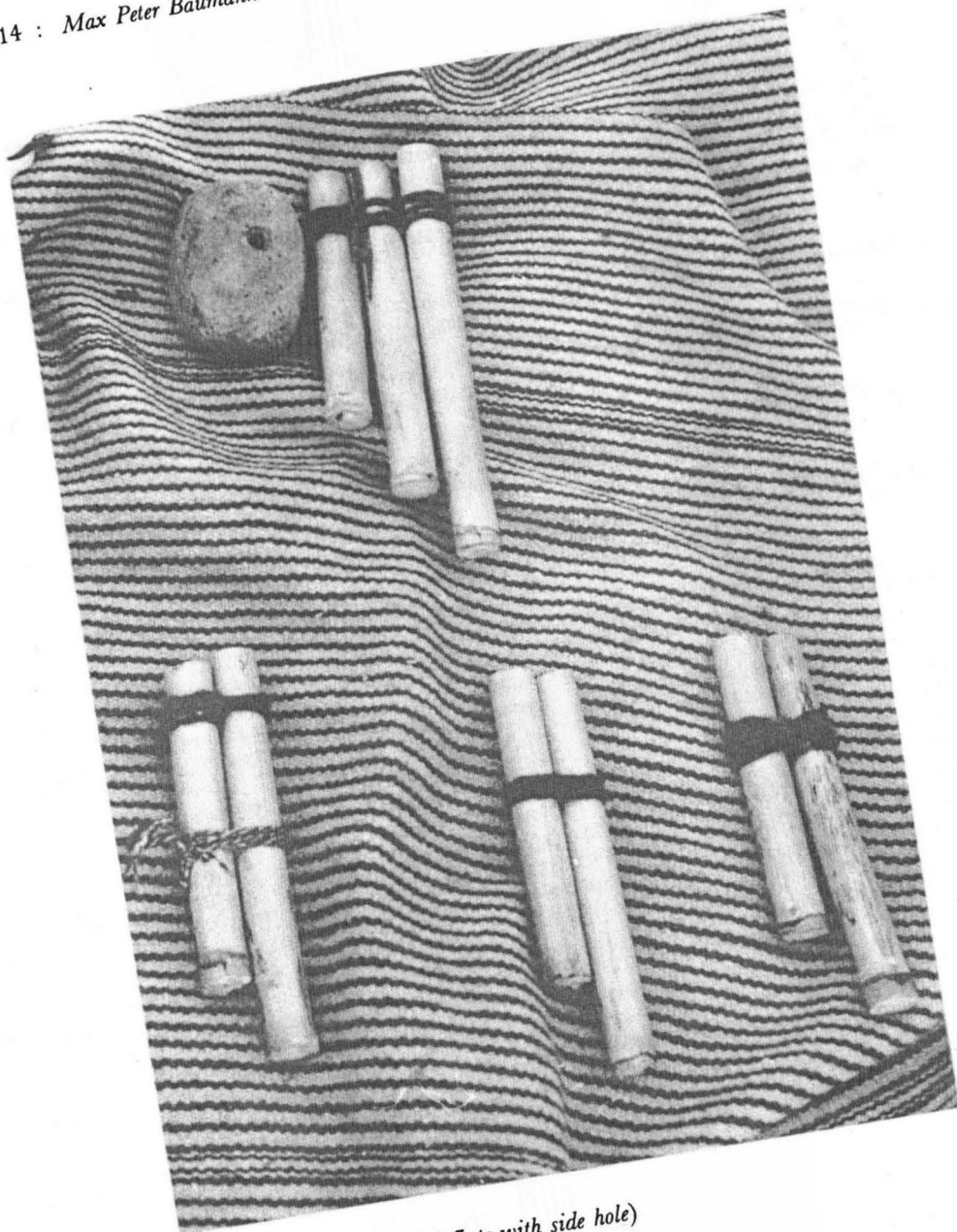
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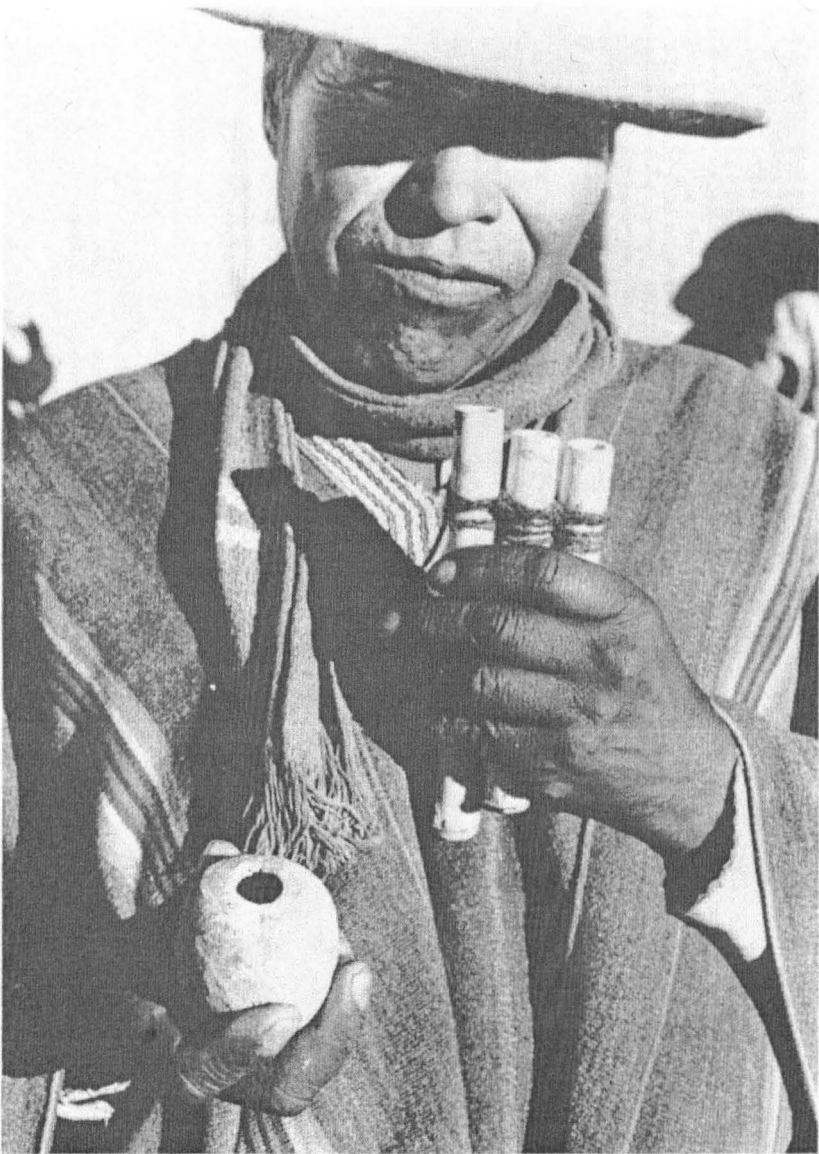
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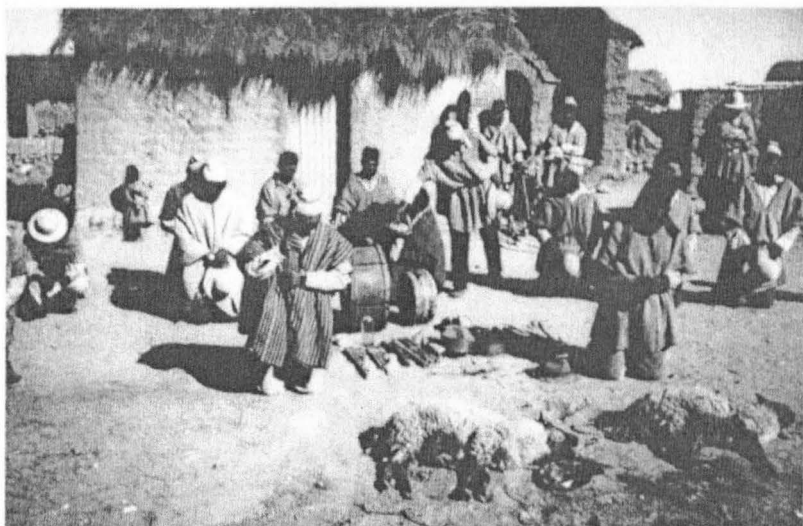
Upper left: wauqu (vessel-flute with side hole)
Upper right: three-pipe maizu (lutaqa or ira)
Lower: three two-pipe maizu (mataqa or arca)
Photography: Aljoscha Klee (Bern)



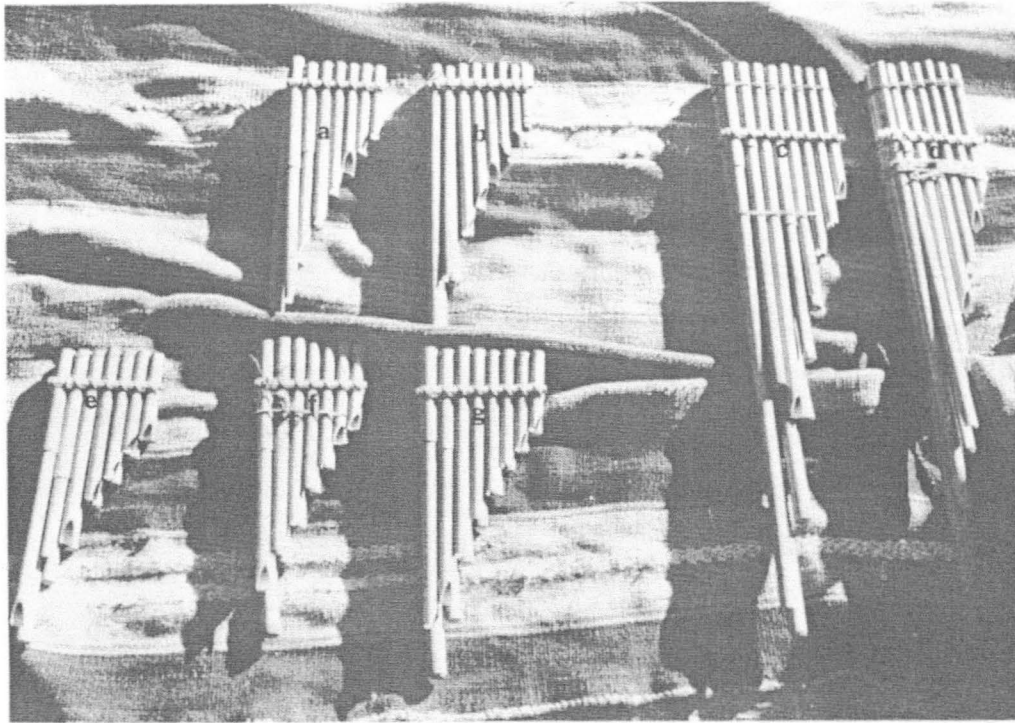
Maizu panpipes and waugu (vessel flute with view of blowing hole).
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee



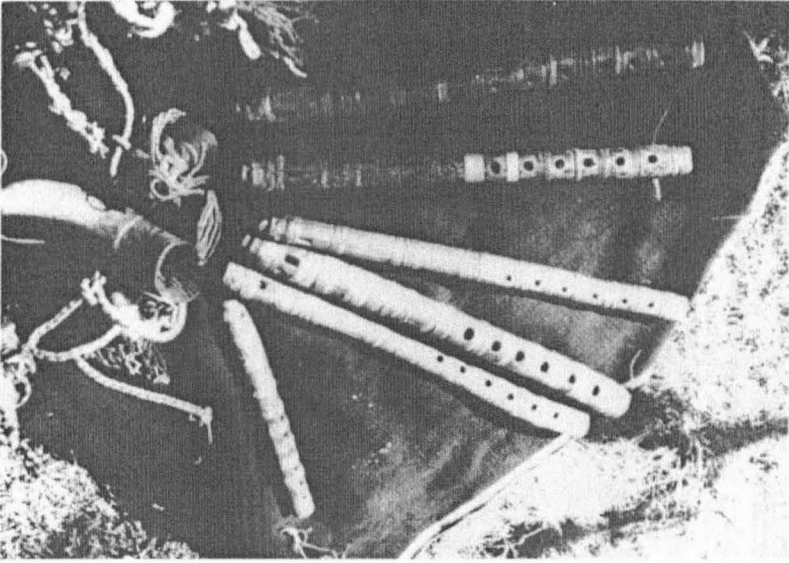
*Doti (cowhorn, or pututu).
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee*



*During the wilancha sacrificial ritual; to the right in the background, the entrance to the Roman Catholic Church of Ayparavi.
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee*

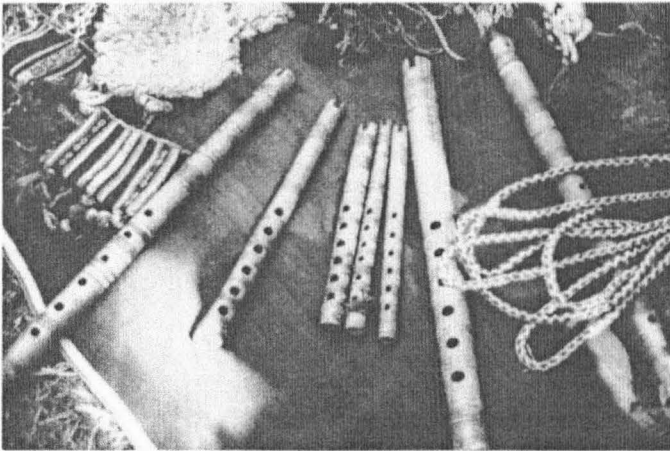


Seven sikus (two-rowed panpipes, each with a row of stopped and a row of open pipes). A, B, E, F, and G are small siku taipi or maltas. B, C, and G are siku arca (eight stopped cylinders with the same number of open cylinders). A, D, E, and F are siku ira (seven stopped cylinders with the same number of open cylinders). Photograph by Aljoscha Klee



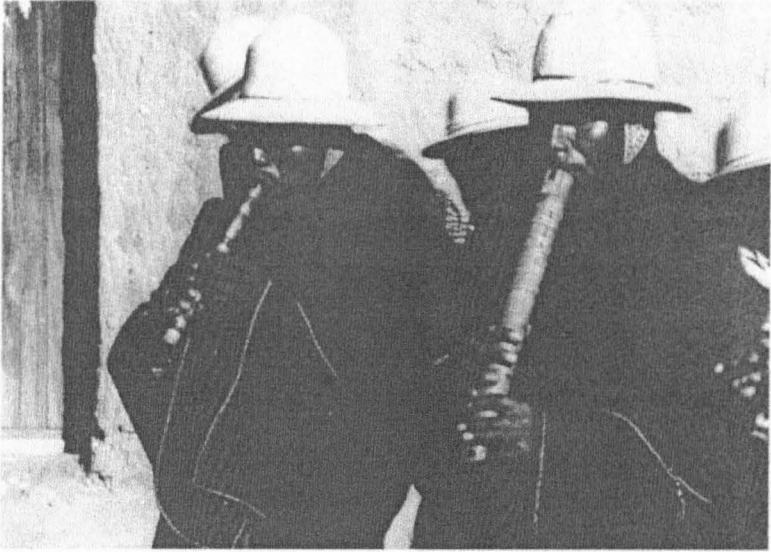
Ch'utus (ushny pinkayllos) with six finger holes; the doti (pututu) (cow's horn); a llama bell.

Photograph by Aljoscha Klee

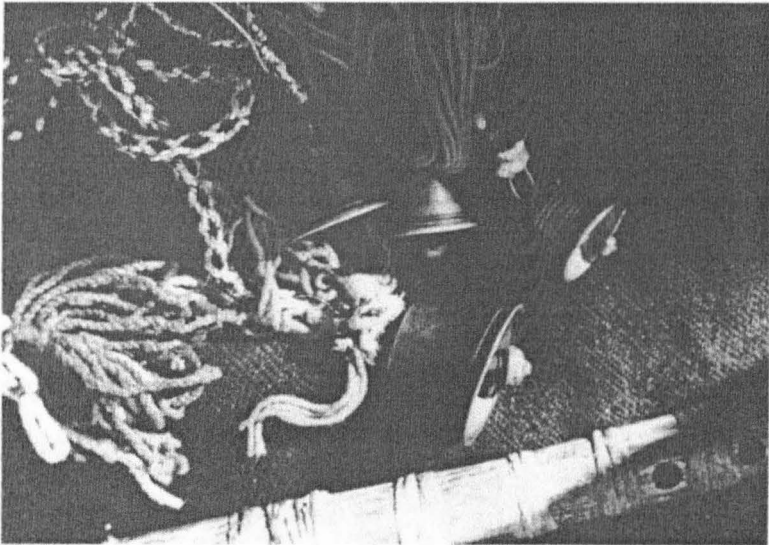


Lichiwayus (quenalike end-notched flutes with six anterior finger holes, one posterior finger hole.

Photograph by Aljoscha Klee



Lichiwayu players.
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee



Llama bells (campanas)
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee

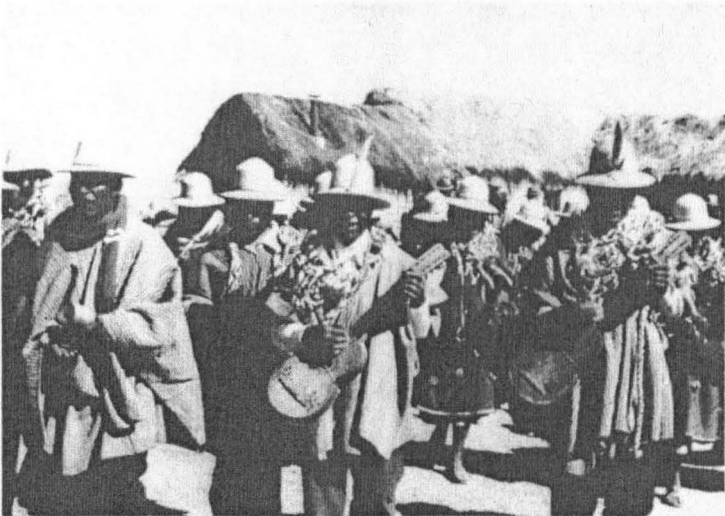


Two guitarillas (rearview); three tar pinkayllus (tarkas), each with six anterior finger holes.

Photograph by Aljoscha Klee



*Chipayas at an Ayparavi Carnival performance (tarkeada) with bombo, tambor, six tarkas, and pututu (i.e. pumpu, caja, tar pinkayllus, and doti).
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee*



*Guitarrillas with five orders of double strings
Photograph by Aljoscha Klee*



Musical instruments of the Chipayas laid ready for wilancha (sacrificial rite). In the second row of instruments: large drum (pumpu), small drum with snare(caja). In the foreground from left to right: siku arca and ira (two-rowed panpipes), ch'utu (duct flutes), qolta tar pinkayllu (small tarka, duct flute), paqi lichiwayu (quena, large fipple flute), two paj tar pinkayllu, wauqu (vessel flute), guitarrilla, on it bastón de mando of the jilaqata, and another three tar pinkayllu (paj tar pinkayllu, cintalla, qolta). Photograph by Aljoscha Klee